

Framing brings the foreign fighter home

*A discourse analysis on foreign fighters in Dutch newspapers between December 2014 and
December 2017*

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Abstract:

The goal of this thesis was to study to what extent there were different or similar frames in the selected Dutch newspapers about foreign fighters between December 2014 and December 2017. Between December 2014 and December 2017 six frames have been discovered about foreign fighters. This study made use of framing theory and framing analysis through reasoning and framing devices to illustrate the frames clear in 2015, 2016 and 2017. The conclusion is that although the frames are similar in name, the reasoning and framing devices differ per year.

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This thesis is the final assignment of my master Crisis and Security Management and marks the end of my academic career. What might sound strange is that I thoroughly enjoyed writing my thesis. It was a fascinating topic and the more newspapers I read the more I became fascinated with the frames within newspapers.

However, thanks to the help of my thesis supervisor Stef Wittendorp this thesis stayed enjoyable. His feedback was very quick and always on point.

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Table of contents

Introduction.....	7
1.1 Defining foreign fighters.....	9
1.2 Scientific relevance.....	12
1.3 Societal relevance	16
1.4 Research question	17
2. Theoretical Framework.....	19
2.1 Introduction	19
2.2 Framing introduction	19
2.3 Framing categories and framing paradigms	21
2.4 How do frames work?.....	25
2.4.1 Framing devices and reasoning devices	28
Sub-conclusion	29
2.5 Identifying several types of frames.....	30
2.5.1 The Human Interest frame.....	30
2.5.2 The Threat frame.....	31
2.5.3 The Economic frame	31
2.5.4 The Administrative frame.....	31
2.6 Frames related to foreign fighters.....	32
2.6.1 The Terrorist frame	32
2.6.2 The Victim frame	32
2.6.3 The Adventurer frame	33
2.6.4 The Don Quixote frame.....	33
2.6.5 The Martyr frame	33
3. Methodology	35
3.1 Type of research and research design	35
3.2 Case studies	37

3.2.1 Charlie Hebdo	39
3.2.2 November 2015 Paris attacks	40
3.2.3 <i>Jihad</i> play	40
3.2.4 The return and conviction of Laura Hansen and Nice attack.	41
3.2.5 The movie Layla M.	42
3.2.6 Revocation of the Dutch nationality of foreign fighters and Barcelona attack	43
3.3 Operationalization.....	44
3.4 Data gathering	49
3.3.1 De Telegraaf	50
3.3.2 AD	51
3.3.3 De Volkskrant	52
3.3.4 NRC.....	52
3.4 Limitations of the research design	53
4. Analysis and results	55
4.1 Frames found in the case studies of 2015	55
4.1.1 The Terrorist frame	55
4.1.2 The Recruiter frame	59
4.1.3 The Martyr frame	61
4.1.4 The Provider frame	64
4.1.5 The Asylum Seeker frame	65
Sub-conclusion	67
4.2 Frames found in the case studies of 2016	71
4.2.1 The Terrorist frame	71
4.2.1 The Recruiter frame	73
4.2.3 The Martyr frame	76
4.2.4 The Provider frame	76
4.2.5 The Asylum Seeker frame	78

4.2.6 The Women and Children of IS frame	79
Sub-conclusion	81
4.3 Frames found in the case studies of 2017	86
4.3.1 The Terrorist frame	86
4.3.2 The Recruiter frame	88
4.3.3. The Martyr frame	89
4.3.4 The Provider frame	90
4.3.5. The Asylum Seeker frame	91
4.3.6 The Women and Children of IS	92
Sub-conclusion	93
Conclusion	99
How does this fit into the current research?.....	102
Future research, limitations and practical recommendations	102
Bibliography.....	104

Introduction

All of this was brought upon us in a single day -- and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack. Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking: Who attacked our country? The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al Qaeda (...). Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated.¹

With these words, the War on Terror started in 2001 and many countries including the United States of America (USA) are still fighting this war. Although President Barak Obama stopped using the frame the war on terror, the fight against terrorist organisations was continued in the Middle-East as he introduced the frame ‘we are at war with a specific network, al-Qaeda.’² The war against terror was such a powerful frame that a coalition of the willing was formed, and article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) was invoked. Article 5 means that an attack against one ally is considered an attack against all allies. It was the first time in history that article 5 was invoked.³

Since President George W. Bush stated that we have a war on terror several other national leaders have followed him in this discourse. For example, in 2017 the Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte said on national television that the Netherlands are at war with the Islamic State (IS).⁴ In addition, the French president François Hollande stated in 2017 after the terrorist attacks in Paris that ‘France is at War’, and the Belgium First Minister Charles Michel also stated that ‘we are at war with IS.’⁵ This shows that the discourse has not drastically changed within Europe and multiple countries are still at war with terror or a terrorist organisation.

¹ George W. Bush, “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People”, September 20, 2001, accessed May 18, 2018, <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>.

² Toby Harnden, “Barack Obama declares The War on Terror is over” *The Telegraph* May 27, 2010, accessed October 26, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/barackobama/7772598/Barack-Obama-declares-the-War-on-Terror-is-over.html>.

³ NATO, “Collective defence – Article 5”, *NATO*, March 22, 2017, accessed May 18, 2018, https://www.nato.int/cps/ua/natohq/topics_110496.htm.

⁴ NOS, “Rutte: we zijn in oorlog met IS,” *NOS*, November 14, 2015, accessed April 17, 2017, <http://nos.nl/artikel/2069063-rutte-we-zijn-in-oorlog-met-is.html>.

⁵ Aurelien Breeden, “Hollande Says France Is at War,” *New York Times* November 16, 2015, accessed April 17, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/07/26/politics/us-officials-retool-slogan-for-terror-war.html> and “Charles Michel: Daders liegen als ze zeggen dat ze doden in naam van Allah”, *Het Laatste Nieuws*, November 15, 2015, accessed May 18, 2018, <https://www.hln.be/nieuws/charles-michel-daders-liegen-als-ze-zeggen-dat-ze-doden-in-naam-van-allah~ad5e0fd6/>.

NATO invoked article 5 for the situation in Syria for instance. Since President Bush made this statement in 2001 the fight against terrorism has been accepted as an international issue, as many countries are currently fighting together against terrorist organisations as Al-Qaida, Jabhat al-Nusra and IS.

This fight is not only abroad, but also within a country. Preventing people from radicalising or stopping people from joining these terrorist groups could be seen as a way of fighting terrorism. Foreign fighters are a large part of the main forces of IS and therefore it is essential to stop people from joining them. This fight should not only be done by the government, as Aykut Töngür and Hakan Kara argue that the media could contribute to this fight against terrorism.⁶ Töngür and Kara analysed several Turkish newspapers and came to the conclusion that ‘media organs are not free from biases and ruling ideology and political views affect newspapers, magazines or televisions while presenting terror news.’⁷ In other words, the press could – unintentionally – influence how the fight against terrorism and foreign fighters is perceived in a biased way. Every person is influenced by his or her discourse and therefore biased, however the media has more influence than the average person.

This framing by the media is a powerful tool and therefore how news is presented by the media is important to study. The reader of a newspaper article is often not aware of the several frames that are used in a newspaper. His or her opinion is formed by reading articles and therefore is influenced by the several frames within an article. The understanding by society of terrorism and foreign fighters is therefore impacted by framing. To understand terrorism and in larger extent foreign fighters it is important to study how media frame these topics. Raquel Da Silva and Rhys Crilley therefore argue that: ‘we recognise that understanding how elites and the media frame acts of political violence, and issues such as foreign fighters, is vital if we are to understand such phenomena.’⁸ Consequently, more research on this topic could lead to more effective and more informed policy decisions and better understanding of the topic by society as a whole. Therefore the main focus of this thesis is the frames used in Dutch newspapers with regard to foreign fighters.

The structure of this thesis is as follows. First, a definition and a short history of foreign fighters is given. Next, the academic and societal relevance is explained. At the end of this part the central research question is stated. In the second chapter the theoretical framework is given.

⁶ Aykut Töngür and Hakan Batirkan Kara, “Critical discourse analysis on the news about terrorism: An analytical study on Turkish media”, *International Journal of Human Sciences* 13, no.1 (2016), 1629-1630.

⁷ Töngur and Kara, “Critical discourse analysis”, 1629-1630.

⁸ Raquel da Silva and Rhys Crilley, “Talk about Terror in our back gardens: an analysis of online comments about British Foreign Fighters in Syria” *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 10, no.1 (2017), 165.

Within this framework theories of framing are explained. After this chapter the methodology is elaborated on and then in the analysis six case studies covering 2015, 2016 and 2017 are analysed. Per year there is a sub-conclusion. The last chapter is the conclusion. In this conclusion the central research question is answered and based on the analysis of the case studies. In addition, in the conclusion there is a brief discussion on further research and practical recommendations are given.

1.1 Defining foreign fighters

Before diving into the theoretical framework it is important to have an understanding of this phenomenon. Foreign fighters are not a new phenomenon to this world, as the phenomenon as well as its framing has a long history. It depends on the country, the culture and also the media on how a foreign fighter is framed. For instance, in the Netherlands the words *Syriëganger* (translates to someone who travels to Syria) or *Jihadists* are frames to describe a foreign fighter. It is important to give some very brief background information about foreign fighters in the Netherlands to have a better understanding of the concept. The most important matter is that foreign fighters are not an anomaly in history and likewise they are not an anomaly in Dutch history.

Edwin Bakker and Grol describe how the first Dutch foreign fighters were probably of Frisian descent. They had a religious motivation and took part in the Fifth Crusade (1217-1221) to retake Jerusalem.⁹ In the 1860's around two-thousand Dutch Catholics travelled abroad to defend the pontifical state against the attack of the king of Italy.¹⁰ Next, during the Spanish Civil War a few hundred Dutch inhabitants travelled to Spain to fight against the fascists of General Francisco Franco. During the Second World War (WWII) it is estimated that around 22,000 – 25,000 Dutchmen joined the *Waffen-SS* to fight for Nazi-Germany.¹¹ After WWII not many Dutch citizens travelled abroad to fight. The most (in)famous one is probably the woman Tanja Nijmeijer who joined the FARC in Colombia in 2002. It is not entirely sure how many fighters travelled to Syria and Iraq, however in 2016 it was estimated that around 220 Dutch foreign fighters fought in the region.¹² Bakker and Grol conclude that all these foreign fighters

⁹ Edwin Bakker and Peter Grol, *Nederlandse Jihadisten: Van naïeve idealisten tot geharde terroristen* (Amsterdam: Hollands Diep, 2017), 22.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ Edwin Bakker and Roel de Bont, “Belgium and Dutch Jihadist Foreign Fighters (2012-2015): Characteristics, Motivations, and Roles in the War in Syria and Iraq”, *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 27 (2016), 839.

¹² *Ibidem*.

have something in common. They all joined a violent fight in a foreign country because of ideological, ethnical or religious reasons.¹³

Next, when using the concept foreign fighters it is essential to elaborate on the concept and explain what definition is used throughout this thesis. Da Silva and Crilley analysed how foreign fighters are seen by IS in the magazine *Dabiq*. This magazine is used by IS to recruit people for their cause. Da Silva and Crilley came to the conclusion that *Dabiq* might describe foreign fighters as rightful Muslims who fight for their *ummah*:

ISIS constructs an overarching discursive message that establishes the Islamic State as an imagined community of Muslims that strives to preserve Islamic traditions from internal decay by hypocrites and safe-guard the sharply delineated, exclusive in-group community from the threat of a coalition of apostates and crusaders. This message aims to shape the motivations of foreign fighters seeking to satisfy their need for identity and a place to belong by offering certainty and reinforcement of tradition by commitment to the in-group.¹⁴

This description of Da Silva and Crilley based on their analysis of *Dabiq* is a scholarly definition of foreign fighters and is unremarkably different than the simple Syriëganger or Jihadist. The concept of a foreign fighter differs per scholar, media, government or organisation related to security uses. For instance, EUROPOL uses the following as a definition of foreign fighters: ‘individuals motivated by religion, who leave their country of origin in order to train, fight or perform extremist activities in war zones’.¹⁵ However, this definition is problematic as it specifically mentions religiously motivation, which means that a foreign fighter cannot be a man or a woman who is not motivated by religion. In the subchapter that goes more in depth regarding frames related to foreign fighters it is made clear that this definition is not sufficient. In short, there is no single ideological, religious or moral reason of why foreign fighters are fighting. Bakker and Grol argue this in their latest book that there are multiple reasons of why

¹³ Bakker and Grol, *Nederlandse Jihadisten*, 22-24.

¹⁴ H.A.H. Langemeijer, “Don’t Hear about us, Hear From Us: The role of ISIS’ online magazine *Dabiq* in shaping foreign fighters motivations”, *Utrecht University* (2016), 52.

¹⁵ V. Azinovic and M. Jusic, *The Lure of the Syrian War: The Foreign Fighters’ Bosnian Contingent* (Sarajevo: The Atlantic Initiative, 2015), 13.

an individual would become a foreign fighter, and it has not always something to do with religion or explicitly Islam: there is not a single stereotype when it comes to foreign fighters.¹⁶ In conjunction with the previous sentence, it means that a clear definition is difficult. Nevertheless, David Malet gives a definition that fits well: ‘noncitizens of conflict-states who join insurgencies during civil conflicts.’¹⁷ Yet this definition does not give a reason for why they go and although this is difficult since there is no single reason; it is a very broad definition. Therefore Thomas Hegghammer stated that a foreign fighter is: ‘an agent who (1) has joined, and operates within the confines of an insurgency, (2) lacks citizenship of the conflict state or kinship links to its warring factions, (3) lacks affiliation to an official military organisation; and (4) is unpaid.’¹⁸ This is more in depth, however the unpaid part is also problematic since IS pays their foreign fighters.

The Academy of International Law and Human Rights brings another definition to the table that is more of a middle ground between EUROPOL, Malet and Hegghammer. They define a foreign fighter as an: ‘individual who leaves his or her country of origin or habitual residence to join a non-state armed group in an armed conflict abroad and who is primarily motivated by ideology, religion and/or kinship.’¹⁹ As aforementioned, in the framing chapter it is made clear that ideology, religion or kinship are not always important factors. Nevertheless, the use of ‘primarily’ is important as it leaves room for other motivations. This definition will therefore be used since multiple reasons or motivations are possible, and the rest of the definition fits well for this thesis.

To conclude, it is important to mention the use of the term foreign. Alex Schmid sheds some light on this issue: ‘if most foreign fighters are Muslims, does that make them “foreign” in a conflict that is about key Muslim concerns? Only if we take the Western concept of the state and of citizenship as a reference framework, we create “foreigners.”’²⁰ Nonetheless, this thesis uses the abovementioned definition and foreign in this case means an individual who leaves his or her country of origin or habitual residence, as stated above in the definition of the Academy of International Law and Human Rights. Dutch foreign fighters were born in the

¹⁶ Bakker and Grol, *Nederlandse Jihadisten*.

¹⁷ David Malet, *Foreign Fighters: Transnational Identity in Civic Conflicts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 10.

¹⁸ Thomas Hegghammer, “The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters. Islam and the Globalization of Jihad”, *International Security* 35, no.3 (2010/2011), 58.

¹⁹ Geneva Academy of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights, *Academy Briefing No. 7: Foreign Fighters Under International Law* (Geneva Academy of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights, 2014), 7.

²⁰ Alex Schmid, “Foreign Terrorist Fighters Estimates: Conceptual and Data Issues”, *ICCT Policy Brief* (October 2015), 3.

Netherlands or have a Dutch passport and by definition they are foreign to the country they are going to fight in unless they have a double citizenship from Syria or Iraq in this case. Even though most of them are Muslim, like Schmid mentioned, and their sympathy lies with IS this fact does not make them less Dutch. For the sake of clarity this definition is therefore still useful, however it was important to mention that there is some conceptual debate about the use of foreign in the term foreign fighters.

1.2 Scientific relevance

Although studies on terrorism and media coverage are not explicitly a gap in the literature, there is a gap in the literature on foreign fighters, discourse analysis and media coverage in the Netherlands. This gap is explained further in this subchapter where the relevant academic works on foreign fighters, discourse analysis and media coverage are discussed. Zizi Papacharassi and Maria de Fatima Oliveira argue that scholars have been concerned with terrorism for a long time.²¹ Papacharassi and Oliveira have increasingly been concerned with how terrorism is portrayed in the media since the 9/11 attacks on the Twin Towers in New York. They studied and compared several newspapers in the USA and the United Kingdom (UK) on terrorism. Nevertheless, how the media portrays terrorism is not a new topic. May Patrick is right to acknowledge the following:

Understanding how the public perceives an act of terrorism requires close analysis of the ensuing media coverage. News frames possess extraordinary power to paint a lasting image that becomes the accepted interpretation of an event. Thus, framing in news articles cannot be ignored. It is far too easy to overlook how journalists favour certain information, choose quotations and identify the main idea and theme of a story.²²

According to Patrick the media mainly portrays terrorism in an *us versus them* perspective. She studied the media coverage after the Madrid Bombings in 2004 and the twin suicide car bombings in Baghdad in 2009. This *us versus them* is a form of Othering. Cultural theorist Edward Said used the concept of othering to explain how the West constructs a superior identity

²¹ Zizi Papacharassi and Maria de Fatima Oliveira, "News Frames Terrorism: A Comparative Analysis of Frames Employed in Terrorism Coverage in U.S. and U.K. Newspapers" *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 13, no. 1 (2008), 52.

²² Sarah May Patrick, "Framing Terrorism: geography-based media coverage variations of the 2004 commuter train bombings in Madrid and the 2009 twin suicide car bombings in Baghdad", *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 7, no.3,(2014), 379.

by identifying the other as different. Christopher Baker-Beall published an article on how the EU constructed the terrorist as different and as *the other*, and how counter-terrorism and the fight against terrorism specifically are constructed.²³ His focus was mainly on the EU as an actor. Baker-Beall's study touched upon discourse analysis, however he looked at policy reports of the European Union and not at the newspapers as Töngür and Kara did.²⁴

The above mentioned academic literature mainly touches upon terrorism, media and discourse, however studies on discourse, media and foreign fighters are less prominent. Viktor Johansson also identifies this as a gap when he states that: 'regarding media's portrayal of foreign fighters to the recent conflict in Syria, the literature is scarce.'²⁵ In 2015 a comparable study on the framing of foreign fighters was done by Anna Berbers et al., however they do not use case studies and focused on two Dutch newspapers in 2013.²⁶ They compared the results of their discourse analysis to Flemish newspapers. The choice for case studies and its usefulness will be later on in this thesis explained.

This thesis therefore builds upon their work since the focus of this study is beyond 2013 and made use of case studies. Töngür and Kara did publish a recent media discourse analysis, however their study focused on the media in Turkey. Töngür and Kara differ from Papacharassi and Oliveira; as the latter had a critical look at how stories are presented and the former are more critical of the influence newspapers have. Neither of these studies did focus on the Netherlands or used case studies. Another study on discourse analysis and foreign fighters was conducted by Da Silva and Crilley as they studied foreign fighters through a discourse analysis, however they did not focus on the media but on comments made on online news websites.²⁷

The reasons why people join organisations like IS or how many foreign fighters have travelled abroad or might return to Europe have been studied before. This is not only a hot topic in academic terrorism studies but also within social fields such as the media and politics: 'the question of why young men and women would travel from Britain to Syria to partake in hostilities is one that has been prominent in "Western" media and political discourse.'²⁸ Prime Minister David Cameron even went as far to state that foreign fighters are the most dangerous

²³ Christopher Baker-Beall, "The Evolution of the European Union's Fight against terrorism discourse: constructing the terrorist other", *Cooperation and Conflict* 49, no.2 (2014), 212-38.

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ Viktor Johansson, "The news framing of the 'Syrian Fighters' in Sweden: a frame analysis of Swedish Newspapers" *Umea University* (2017), 6.

²⁶ Anna Berbers, Willem Joris, Jan Boesman, Leen D'Haenens, Joyce Koeman and Baldwin van Gorp, "The news framing of the Syria Fighters in Flanders and the Netherlands: victims or terrorists?" *Ethnicities* 16, no. 6 (2016).

²⁷ Raquel da Silva and Rhys Crilley, "Talk about Terror in our back gardens: an analysis of online comments about British Foreign Fighters in Syria" *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 10, no.1 (2017).

²⁸ Raquel da Silva and Rhys Crilley, "Talk about Terror" 163.

threat to the national security of the UK.²⁹ A comparable line of reasoning is used in the Netherlands. Every three months the Dutch government organisation the National Coordinator for Security and Counterterrorism (NCTV) publishes a terrorist threat assessment. In this assessment the jihadist threat is seen as follows:

Jihadism remains the principal terrorist threat to the Netherlands. This threat is posed by both al Qa'ida and ISIS (...) The existence of a Dutch and Dutchspeaking jihadist movement has a major impact on the conceivable terrorist threat to the Netherlands. Now that travelling to the jihadist conflict zone in Syria and Iraq is no longer an option, the Dutch jihadist movement finds itself in a transitional period.³⁰

Foreign fighters are thus seen as a threat, however the framing and representation of this threat are important as it actively shapes and constructs our understanding of the said topic. Jackson et al. stated: 'representations of terrorism in the news, media, films, video games and elsewhere are central to the social construction of the phenomenon (...) [because] they actively help to shape the ways in which terrorism is understood and assessed by consumers.'³¹ This is also acknowledged by Piers Robinson as he argues that the coverage of terrorism in media is important:

Put simply, we all know that media attention to terrorism matters and that terrorist acts are themselves principally a form of communication. With these two basic assumptions in mind, this special issue of *Critical Studies on Terrorism* is dedicated to developing and expanding critical engagement with issues relating to the communication and mediatisation of terrorism.'³²

However, the gap is that there is not much academic work on the framing of foreign fighters in Dutch media, and especially Dutch newspapers. The only study found that is somewhat comparable is the study of Berbers et al. since they focus on framing in 2013. According to

²⁹ Reuters, "Cameron says foreign fighters in Iraq, Syria most serious threat to UK", *Reuters*, June 14, 2014, accessed May 22, 2018, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-iraq-security-britain/cameron-says-foreign-fighters-in-iraq-syria-most-serious-threat-to-uk-idUKKBN0ES1VL20140617>.

³⁰ NCTV, *Terrorist Threat Assessment for the Netherlands* 47 (2018), 2.

³¹ Richard Jackson, Lee Jarvis, Jeroen Gunning, Marie Breen-Smyth, *Terrorism: a critical introduction* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 71.

³² Piers Robinson, "Editor's Introduction: Communicating Terrorism", *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 2, no.2 (2009), 1.

Bakker and Grol specifically since 2013 there has been an unprecedented rise of foreign fighters traveling to Syria and Iraq.³³ The assessment of the NCTV stated that in 2017: ‘travel from the Netherlands to jihadist zones has largely ceased. As far as is known, there have been no successful departures since June 2017. Scarcely any returnees have succeeded in leaving the conflict zone in Syria and Iraq and reaching the Netherlands.’³⁴ The time period up till 2017 is therefore an interesting period for further research. Moreover, if foreign fighters pose such a threat, or are perceived as such, to the nation-states in the EU and if the representation of foreign fighters in the media is of such importance on how terrorism is understood, why are there little to none studies on the representation of foreign fighters in Dutch media?

Although questions such as ‘why do foreign fighters travel abroad?’ and ‘how many foreign fighters are there and how many will return?’ are undoubtedly important; the argument here is that it is vital to understand how the media portrays foreign fighters and which frames are used. As has been argued above the importance of newspapers in framing topics is important. A better understanding and knowledge about framing and foreign fighters could help the media, the public and politicians to become more aware about the frames and the phenomenon itself. This awareness could further help to shape an opinion, help us to understand foreign fighters and help have a critical look at policy. More awareness, knowledge and better understanding contributes to more effective and specific policy. The media shape our understanding and due to the lack of research on this specific topic within the Dutch context this thesis fills this gap. This thesis analyses the framing of foreign fighters by Dutch media and aims to enhance our understanding of this specific topic. Moreover, this kind of study is important and necessary as Berbers et al. argue in their study in 2013:

Islam and Muslims have been portrayed in an especially negative light in news coverage across Europe. Since the 9/11 attacks increased coverage of terrorism has tended to associate ‘Islamic culture’ with ‘terrorism’. This trend in the news coverage seems to go hand in hand with increasing Islamophobia, rendering the Syria fighter issue a particularly important topic for a thorough analysis.³⁵

Therefore this thesis consequently contributes to the general body of knowledge of foreign fighters and discourse analysis and additionally contributes to the debate with new research.

³³ Bakker and Grol, *Nederlandse Jihadisten*, 7.

³⁴ NCTV, *Terrorist Threat Assessment*, 3.

³⁵ Berbers et al., “The news framing”. 1-2.

1.3 Societal relevance

Next, the societal relevance is also important. The power of media outlets in influencing public opinion should not be underestimated. Their reports could also have an influence on policy. Therefore it is related to crisis and security management and it is relevant to study the discourse and make clear what potential biases are.

For instance, as Baker-Beall shows a foreign fighter is not seen as part of the EU but seen as a fighter who happens to be in EU.³⁶ Not only academic works makes this visible, in Dutch policy this is also implicitly made clear. In March 2017 the Dutch government got the mandate to revoke the nationality to strip a foreign fighter with a dual nationality of the Dutch nationality.³⁷ This thesis argues that the stripping of citizenship can be seen as a way of dealing with the problem and as a way of reframing. The foreign fighter is no longer Dutch and therefore the fighter is reframed as *the other*. Nevertheless, it could also be the other way around and the framing of foreign fighters as the other have led to the revocation of the Dutch nationality. Of course this does not address the threat aspect of the foreign fighter as the fighter is not very likely to suddenly abandon his or her beliefs now that he or she does not have a passport anymore.

As mentioned above, the reader is often unaware of frames and therefore to define and disclose the several frames that newspapers have is socially relevant. Lene Hansen argues this in her book *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis on the Bosnian War*:

There can be no understanding of development policies without a description of who the underdeveloped are. (...) Policies require identities, but identities do not exist as objective accounts of what people and places really are, but as continuously restated, negotiated and reshaped subjects and objects.³⁸

Further, she argues that identity is not only found in inter-state relations, but in any ‘significant political decision’.³⁹ In the case of revoking passports, it could be argued that foreign fighters are not part of the Dutch identity. Their decision to go join a terrorist organisation is not part of the Dutch identity. This raises the question if the frame leads to policy or policy leads to

³⁶ Baker-Beall, “The Evolution”, 212-213.

³⁷ NOS, “Ook Eerste Kamer achter afpakken Nederlanderschap jihadistien”, *NOS*, 7 February 2017, accessed 15 May 2018, <https://nos.nl/artikel/2156975-ook-eerste-kamer-achter-afpakken-nederlanderschap-jihadisten.html>.

³⁸ Lene Hansen, *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis on the Bosnian War* (London: Routledge, 2006), xvi.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, xvii.

framing, and it shows the societal relevance of understanding the frame. Baker-Beall also builds upon the work of Hansen as he states that counter-terrorism policies rely upon the representation of identity, but it is through counter-terrorism policies that identities are produced and reproduced'.⁴⁰ With a doubt it is hard to prove there is a causal relationship between policies and framing in the newspapers, nevertheless it is relevant to study the frames used in newspapers as they have an influence on society.

Identity is also part of framing and newspapers have a role in this identity-making. This thesis will focus on the frames used in Dutch newspapers on foreign fighters. This is vital since these frames could influence the public perception of foreign fighters and moreover could influence the perception by 'extension the Muslim community at large'.⁴¹ In addition, the argument of Bakker and Grol is in line with the aforementioned increasing Islamophobia, the importance of the foreign fighter issue and the influence framing has on policy and public understanding.

1.4 Research question

Framing as a way of understanding foreign fighters is interesting and it is important to understand how Dutch newspapers portrays foreign fighters, and has this changed over time? The study of Berbers et al. focuses on media framing in 2013 and therefore it is not necessary to use their time frame as well. The study of Berbers et al. and this study, however, can be compared as this thesis uses another timeframe and analyse if the discourse differs over the years. Although a comparison with the research of Berbers e al. is not the focus of this thesis, it is useful to continue build on the work of Berbers et al. and therefore a brief comparison is made in the conclusion.

Thus the research question is therefore: to what extent are there different or similar frames in the selected Dutch newspapers about foreign fighters between December 2014 and December 2017? This specific timeframe is chosen because since 2013 there is an unprecedented rise in Dutch foreign fighters traveling to jihadist movements.⁴² Moreover, the abovementioned assessment of the NCTV made clear that since June 2017 there were no successful departures by jihadists.⁴³ Since the timeframe of the study of Berbers et al. ended in 2013, it would be logical to continue in 2014. In 2014 there have been some Islamic terrorist

⁴⁰ Baker-Beall, 213.

⁴¹ Berbers et al., 2.

⁴² Bakker and Grol, *Nederlandse Jihadisten*,: 7.

⁴³ NCTV, *Terrorist Threat Assessment*, 3.

attacks in Western Europe – such as the attack on the Jewish museum, however the later attacks in 2015, 2016 and 2017 were of a higher profile and not comparable to the attacks in 2014. Moreover, no other significant other events related to this study happened in 2014. However, since the first case study starts in January 2015 and the month before the case study is also analysed, December 2014 is also analysed. This will be further explained in the methodology chapter. Next, between 2015 and 2017 there have been several high profile terrorist attacks, such as Charlie Hebdo January 2015, the Paris attacks November 2015, the Brussel airport bombings March 2016, Berlin December 2016, the Nice attack July 2016 and the bombing at the Ariana Grande concert in Manchester May 2017. These attacks have led to widespread media attention in the Netherlands. December 2017 is chosen as the limit of the timeframe because there is a case study in November 2017 and the month before and the month after are also studied. In November 2017 Laura Hansen, a foreign fighter who returned to the Netherlands, got convicted and this has led to significant media attention.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

In the following chapter this thesis addresses several theoretical discussions about framing theory in general. The origin of framing is found within the academic field of cognitive psychology.⁴⁴ Since then several academic fields have included framing studies in their research and this has led to an extensive body of knowledge on the use of frames and heterogeneity of research about framing. Therefore this also means that if everything is framing; it becomes difficult to differentiate between the multiple definitions of framing. Thus it is necessary to avoid vagueness and equivocal definitions. The purpose of the following chapter is to give context to framing and define several characteristics.

2.2 Framing introduction

The power of language and the use of a certain discourse are important. In the linguistic turn during the 1970's several authors such as Michel Foucault recognized the power of language and the framing of others. Framing is central to *othering* as one is perceived and dissociated through frames as the other. Robert Entman recognizes this as he says that 'the power of a frame can be as great as language itself (...) and directs our attention to the details of just how a communicated text exerts its power.'⁴⁵ Hence, framing is a powerful tool that shapes the thoughts of the reader and constructs this process of othering. As Entman argues:

The concept of framing consistently 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 speech, utterance, news report or novel – to that consciousness.⁴⁶

Another important author in framing research is George Lakoff. In his influential book *Do not think of an elephant* he shows that the power of language and frames are important. By stating do not think of an elephant, the reader immediately starts thinking of an elephant and with this the author influences the thought process of the reader. In his own words, Lakoff states the

⁴⁴ Frederic Bartlett, *Remembering: A study in experimental and social psychology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁴⁵ Robert Entman, "Framing: :Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm", *Journal of Communication* 43, no.4 (1993), 55.

⁴⁶ Entman, "Framing", 51-52.

following: 'Frames are mental structures that shape the way we see the world. They shape the goals we seek, the plans we make, the way we act, and what counts as a good or bad outcome of our actions. Framing is about getting language that fits your worldview.'⁴⁷ This interpretation of framing as constructing a worldview or perceived reality is also seen in the work of Paul van den Hoven:

A frame is a metaphor for a limited network of values and beliefs. Framing elements are structural elements that invite the audience to interpret everything that follows - and sometimes in retrospect also much of what has preceded the framing element - from a specific mind-set. Framing can often best be understood as, just that little push that can guide the audience's interpretation process in one direction instead of the other.⁴⁸

All these ideas of framing stress the importance of guiding the audience or the reader in a specific direction the author wants. Framing is used to create an image or idea about a certain affair. Since framing can have several definitions it is important to define this concept carefully. Entman defines framing as:

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.⁴⁹

What is important is that Entman argues that the act of framing uses selection and it is therefore an active process of constructing a perceived reality. Several aspects of this reality are emphasized while other aspects are ignored. Entman his concept of framing is most widely used in several academic fields and is useful to study the differences and similarities between frames.⁵⁰ More specifically, his concept focuses primarily on framing within the media. This definition of framing is thus especially suitable for this research and is used throughout this thesis. Nevertheless, defining framing is only the first step. Entman recognized a fractured

⁴⁷ George Lakoff, *Don't think of an elephant!*, (Vermont: White River Junction, 2004), XV-4.

⁴⁸ Paul van den Hoven, *Gold mining: the art of rhetorical discourse analysis*, (Xiamen: Xiamen University Press, 2016), 295-296.

⁴⁹ Entman, "Framing", 52.

⁵⁰ Rianne Dekkers and Peter Scholten, "Tsunami of Tragedie? Media-aandacht en Beeldvorming rond het Vreemdelingenbeleid," *Erasmus Universiteit* (2015), 17.

paradigm, however within framing research there are more paradigms and categories of framing. It is therefore important to discuss several theories on framing categories and paradigms.

2.3 Framing categories and framing paradigms

According to Van Gorp frames in the media are ‘latent messages from the journalist oriented to the receiver.’⁵¹ These frames stimulate and shape the understanding of the topic the receiver is reading. Lecheler and De Vreese have shown that journalists by making use of these frames shape our understanding.⁵² In situations where the reader is uncertain how to understand a particular matter the frames chosen by the journalists are taken into account when forming an opinion.⁵³ In short, journalists and newspapers are important in shaping the opinion. Paul D’Angelo responded to Entman and agrees that his definition of framing is important, however there is no single ‘mended paradigm of framing research’.⁵⁴

Next, according to D’Angelo, there are four categories for researching frames in news. The first category is the identification of frames. The second one is to study the conditions that lead to frames. The third one examines the relation between these frames and prior knowledge in the memory. The final category is to examine how frames shape the public opinion and debates centred on policy.⁵⁵ This thesis focuses on the first category used by D’Angelo: the identification of frames within newspapers.

Now that the definition of framing and the framing category is made clear it is important to mention paradigms again. Contrary to the mended or fractured paradigm recognized by Entman, D’Angelo recognizes three central paradigms. The concept of framing by Entman is still useful, however it is necessary to recognize the several paradigms that are present in framing studies. Thus, D’Angelo stated that: ‘my meta-study nominally separate framing research into different camps, they also contribute to and help preserve the ‘remarkable continuity’ among the growing community of researchers who study framing.’⁵⁶ Hence, the research into framing is subdivided into three paradigms. These paradigms are the cognitive paradigm, the critical paradigm and constructionist paradigm.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, paradigms are

⁵¹ Baldwin van Gorp “Where is the Frame?”, *European Journal of Communication* 20, no.4 (2005), 487.

⁵² Sophie Lecheler and Claes H, de Vreese, “News Framing and Public Opinion: A Mediation Analysis of Framing Effects on Political Attitudes”, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 89, no.2 (2012), 185-204.

⁵³ Van Gorp, “ Where is the Frame” 484-507.

⁵⁴ Paul D’Angelo, “News Framing as a Multiparadigmatic Research Program: A Response to Entman” *Journal of Communication* 52, no. 4 (2002), 870.

⁵⁵ D’Angelo, “News Framing”, 873.

⁵⁶ D’Angelo, “News Framing”, 875.

⁵⁷ D’Angelo, “News Framing”, 871.

not mutually exclusive and during the research of this thesis it became clear that researchers synthesize and incorporate different ideas across paradigms.⁵⁸ Yet, the main differences are important to know and are discussed below.

The cognitive paradigm states that frames are constructed through negotiation. A person has already prior knowledge about a specific topic and when he or she comes in contact with the frame the negotiation starts.⁵⁹ According to Capella and Jamieson, this prior knowledge is the mediator for the influence and power of a frame in a decision-making or evaluative context.⁶⁰ The media creates multiple frames and when the audience comes in contact with these frames it uses its prior knowledge to form an opinion, shaped by the frame. This process of creating an opinion through the frame and prior knowledge is what D'Angelo means with negotiation.⁶¹ The cognitive paradigm is mainly interested 'in detecting thoughts that mirror propositions encoded in frames.'⁶²

Scholars who do research within the critical paradigm claim and presume that frames are the result of newsgathering techniques by journalists. Journalists rely on information, values and perspectives of the political and economic elite. The values of the elite are therefore dominant in shaping the news. The frames that are created by the journalists support the status-quo as there is only one dominant frame, created by the elite. Hence, his paradigm differs from the cognitive paradigm, where more than frame can be used within a news article. The second difference is that the critical paradigm sees political power not distributed in a pluralist way and the cognitive paradigm sees journalists as 'being more responsive to the demands of pluralist presentation of information.'⁶³ Third, as mentioned above, the cognitive paradigm identifies frames as a negotiation which can be decoded to make judgements: 'cognitivists design their studies to detect slight variations in activated knowledge because they think individuals can flexibly decode frames and use them to make decisions and judgements.'⁶⁴ The critical paradigm is more restrictive as they claim that frames limit the political consciousness of the public.

The constructive paradigm is the last paradigm identified by D'Angelo and this paradigm presumes that journalists gather information and use this information to construct

⁵⁸ D'Angelo, "News Framing", 878.

⁵⁹ D'Angelo, "News Framing", 875.

⁶⁰ Joseph Capella and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *The Spiral of Cynicism: The press and the public good* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1997).

⁶¹ D'Angelo, "News Framing", 876.

⁶² Ibidem.

⁶³ D'Angelo, "News Framing", 877.

⁶⁴ D'Angelo, "News Framing", 877, and Jong Woo Rhee, "Strategy and issue frames in election campaign coverage: a social cognitive account of framing effects", *Journal of Communication* 47, no.3 (1997), 26-48.

several frames in their presentation of the news. Journalists ‘are information processors who create “interpretative packages” of the positions of politically invested sponsors (e.g. sources) in order to both reflect and add to the culture of the topic.’⁶⁵ Just as within the critical paradigm frames can dominate the news in the constructive paradigm, however the difference is that there is co-optation. This means that constructivists see frames as a tool-kit and ‘from which citizens *ought* to draw in order to form their opinions about issues’.⁶⁶ Videlicet, forming an opinion about an issue requires effort and does not just happen with only a dominant news frame.

Therefore William Gamson and Andre Mogdigliani state that these tools ‘that are developed, spotlighted and made readily accessible have a higher degree of being used.’⁶⁷ D’Angelo is in accordance with Gamson and Modigliani as they both argue that the construction of frames by journalists takes place through numerous factors.⁶⁸ For example, the construction of frames happens on two different levels. The journalists present information and the public forms an opinion based on the information presented by the journalists.⁶⁹ Brüggeman continues on this idea and identifies that the personal interpretation of a journalist and other societal factors, such as the national and media culture, are of importance.⁷⁰ For example, the organizational culture such as the ideological point of view of the newspaper is important as well.

In this study the focus is on the first level of the constructivist paradigm, the presentation of the news by journalists through interpretative packages. The study on foreign fighters that was conducted by Berbers et al. also situated within the constructive paradigm.⁷¹ The main difference of the constructive paradigm with the cognitive paradigm is that the cognitive paradigm focuses more on thought-listing procedures in experimental designs. The cognitive paradigm focuses on the thoughts that mirror frames. The emphasis here is therefore more on the effects of framing than on the frame itself.

The critical paradigm views the news as hegemonic as the elite delivers the news frames and therefore ‘information contrary to hegemonic stances is anomalous and not apt to foster

⁶⁵ D’Angelo, “News Framing”, 877.

⁶⁶ D’Angelo, “News Framing”, 877.

⁶⁷ William Gamson and Andre Modigliani, “Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: a constructionist approach”, *American journal of Sociology* 95 (1989), 10.

⁶⁸ Gamson and Modigliani, “Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: a constructionist approach”, *American journal of Sociology* 95 (1989), 1-37.

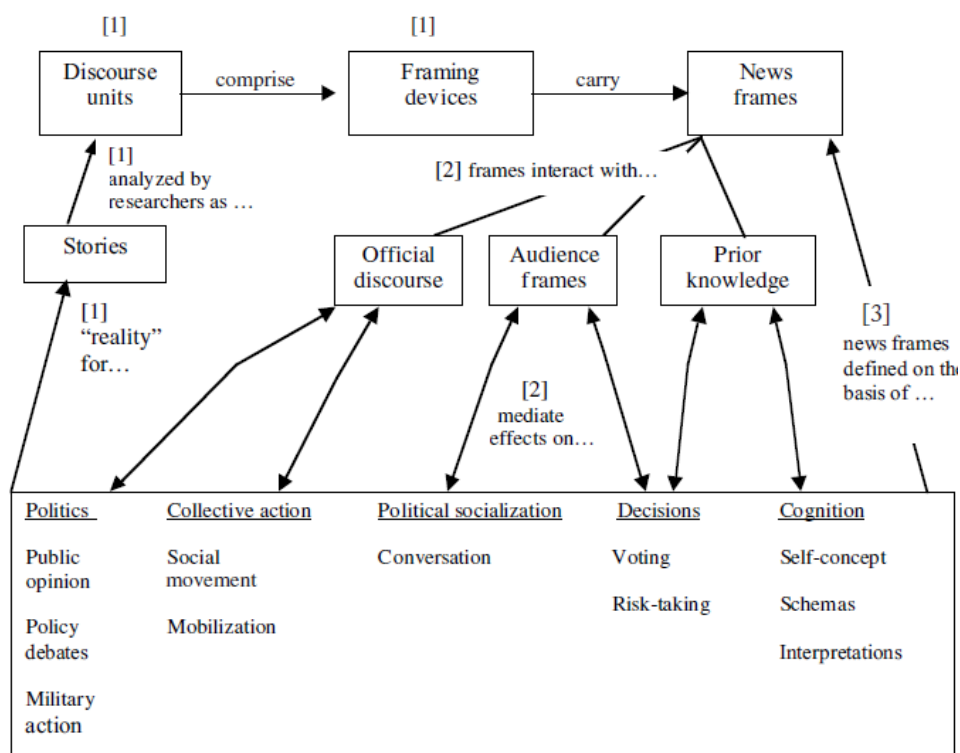
⁶⁹ Dietram A. Scheufele and David Tewksbury, “Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: the Evolution of Three Media Effects Models”, *Journal of Communication* 57, no.1 (2007), 12.

⁷⁰ Michael Brüggemann, “Between Frame Setting and Frame Sending: How Journalists Contribute to News Frames”, *Communication Theory* 24, no.1, (2014), 62-82.

⁷¹ Berbers et al., “The News Framing”, 2.

alternative viewpoints within the audience.’⁷² The critical paradigm views news as a status-quo of the political elite and states that there is only one dominant frame. This study argues that this paradigm is too limited as more than one frame can exist in an article or across multiple articles and newspapers. Moreover, journalists in the Netherlands are not only relying on the values and frames of ‘the elite’. Critical journalism still exists within the Netherlands. A recent example was when the previous Minister of Foreign Affairs Halbe Zijlstra had to resign in January 2018 due to critical journalism. The Volkskrant (Dutch newspaper) found out that he lied about previous statements that were important for his appointment as minister.

To make the framing process more tangible D’Angelo came up with a model of the news framing process where all three paradigms are represented. This model is further explained below.



Note. [1] = Frame construction flow; [2] = Framing effects flow; [3] = Frame definition flow. Model 1: D’Angelo’s news framing process ⁷³

The model makes clear that the framing of news works in three sub-processes. These sub-processes correspondents with the numbers in the model above. For example and as mentioned in the note below the model, the frame construction flow is the first subprocesses. All [1]’s in

⁷² D’Angelo, “News Framing”, 878.

⁷³ D’Angelo, “News Framing”, 880.

the model represent the frame construction flow. In the frame reconstruction flow, scholars try to conceptualize and make sense of the frames constructed by journalists. In other words, scholars start their work as the journalists finish their articles.⁷⁴ This work by scholars is important as research has shown that although journalists create frames and thus a self-made reality, they do not take part in comprehensive self-reflective questioning of this reality.⁷⁵ The second subprocess is more focused on what the effects of frames are on government discourses or on society.⁷⁶ The research on this sub-process fits for instance more within the cognitive paradigm.

Lastly, the frame definition flow is discussed. This is what D'Angelo called a 'recursive loop in the study of framing.'⁷⁷ The loop starts at the first part of the framing process. This part identifies the carriers of framing and the frame itself. The second part is the effect and as these are studied this leads to researchers constantly coming up with new definitions of frames as it is inevitable as scholars differ in thoughts of what framing entails, which frames are used, what the effects of frames are and how frames will function within the convoluted system. As new definitions or concepts are discovered the loop starts again as these could give more insight into the process as a whole.⁷⁸ This study focuses on the first part of the loop and studies the frames created by journalists in news articles: the constructive paradigm. Yet, by conducting this research this thesis in addition adds to the recursive loop of framing.

2.4 How do frames work?

The definition, the category and the paradigm of framing used throughout this thesis have been explained, however it is important to understand how exactly frames work. An anecdotal example of the elephant is simply not sufficient and therefore the introduction of this thesis used a frame. The first few words in the introduction mentioned two powerful and dominant frames, namely the war on terror and the attack on freedom. President Bush, President Hollande and Prime Minister Rutte all used these or similar words in addressing terrorism.

These frames are used to 'define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies.'⁷⁹ To make it more tangible, the frame war on terror is deconstructed: terror is defined as a problem, with al-Qaeda as the cause and judged as the evil power that

⁷⁴ Ibidem.

⁷⁵ Tuchman 1978.

⁷⁶ D'Angelo, "News Framing", 882.

⁷⁷ Ibidem.

⁷⁸ Ibidem.

⁷⁹ D'Angelo, "News Framing", 875.

attacked the USA and its freedom, and the suggested remedy is war. Entman concluded that this war on terror frame was so powerful that even though there was no evidence for weapons of mass destruction nor was there evidence for the direct involvement of Saddam Hussein ‘the majorities of Americans came to believe Saddam Hussein was personally involved in the 9/11 attacks.’⁸⁰ This example illustrates that the public opinion is inseparably connected to the frames used by politicians and the media. In this case the newspapers made use of the frame of George Bush by printing it in articles to form an opinion. The media does not only make use of frames used by politicians but is notably active in framing, consequently framing is an interesting theory to use for this thesis.

According to Entman frames work because frames have at least four locations during the process of communication.⁸¹ These locations are the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture. Communicators are important because they (un)consciously frame judgements and are guided by frames that ‘organize their belief systems’.⁸² The communicator is guided by his or her belief system, however Van Gorp states that the active discourse within a culture also plays a role in choosing frames.⁸³ This means the journalist is active in the debate about foreign fighters. The frames that are used differentiate between morals such as good or wrong and will make a judgement of this issue at hand. The text contains frames through the use of words or images that actively reinforces facts or judgements: “which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments.”⁸⁴ For example, there were protests in Washington DC on January the 19th and 20th of 2017 against the administration of President Donald Trump. During this protest an ‘infamous’ garbage can was lit on fire, as can be seen in the following image:

⁸⁰ Entman, “Cascading Activation: Contesting the White House’s Frame after 9/11” *Political Communication* 20, no.4 (2003), 426.

⁸¹ Entman, “Framing”, 52.

⁸² Ibidem.

⁸³ Baldwin van Gorp, “The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back in”, *Journal of Communication* 57 (2007), 60-78.

⁸⁴ Entman, “Framing”, 52.



Image 1: garbage can lit on fire during

the Washington DC protests.⁸⁵

The result was that reporters flocked to this burning trashcan and used it as a metaphor for the protest or the administration of President Trump. The safety of the reporters was not in danger as can be seen on the photo as there are no protestors around and a single trashcan is slightly burning. This image can be used to frame the protest in a way that suits the journalist, to make the protest look better or worse than the actual situation. An example of how words and expressions can frame a certain topic is illustrated by Rianne Dekkers and Peter Scholten with the title of their article: “Tsunami of Tragedie?” (Tsunami or Tragedy?).⁸⁶ In this case newspapers used tsunami as an abstract term to describe the number of asylum seekers coming to Europe. It is a perfect example of the use of the threat frame. A tsunami has inherently a dangerous connotation when it is framed as coming towards you; hence asylum seekers are also framed as part of this threat. Moreover, Van Gorp argues that this threat frame is also commonly used in newspapers as a frame to protect their ‘own’ citizens.⁸⁷

Next, the communicator and the frames he or she (un)consciously choose to use within a text ‘guide the receiver his consciousness and his thoughts. As explained in the cognitivist and constructive paradigm approach, the reader uses the tool-kits provided by the communicator and text through co-optation and negotiation. Nevertheless, the receiver is actively guided by the chosen frames.

⁸⁵ Benjamin Freed, “Grasping for Metaphor. Reporters Flock to Burning DC Garbage Can” *Washingtonian*, January 20, 2017, accessed January 18, 2018, <https://www.washingtonian.com/2017/01/20/searching-metaphor-reporters-flock-burning-dc-garbage-can/>

⁸⁶ Dekkers and Scholten, “Tsunami of Tragedie?”.

⁸⁷ Van Gorp, *Framing Asiel: Indringers en Slachtoffers in de Pers* (Leuven: Acco, 2006).

The culture is the ‘stock of commonly invoked frames’.⁸⁸ The culture in this case refers to ‘an organized set of beliefs, codes, myths, stereotypes, values, norms, frames and so forth that are shared in the collective memory of a group or society’.⁸⁹ Consequently, there is an active discourse that influences the way of thinking of most people within that culture.⁹⁰ Concluding, frames work because of the communicator chooses frames from within a culture that will highlight pieces of information about a subject through communication such as text or images and ‘thereby elevating them in salience’.⁹¹

Together the combined interpretative package of all the above factors guides the reader into a certain direction. The mechanism of framing is structured in a way that these frames will activate schemata. This is how Van Gorp builds on the constructionist approach of guiding the reader towards a certain direction.⁹² In his article Van Gorp argues that schemata are personal mental structures and differ from frames in several ways.⁹³ Frames are part of a culture and not inherently personal and schemata are. These schemata will shape how the individual processes new information and frames will help shape the schemata. However, it is important to stress that readers also have their own agency, which according to Doris Graber means that the readers are not always affected by the frames in a text.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, journalists try to activate schemata by presenting frames through the abovementioned process of communication. The power of frames lies in the fact that they can be so powerful that they can activate the wanted schemata with only a single reference to it.⁹⁵ On the other side, some frames have unintended effects and will activate schemata that are not directly coinciding with the frame used by the author of the text.

2.4.1 Framing devices and reasoning devices

Van Gorp also argues the interpretative package of frames consists of framing devices and reasoning devices. These devices are closely related to the four locations of the communication process of Entman. According to Van Gorp frames work and can activate schemata because of both these devices. Framing devices are the combined elements of the message. This means the words, metaphors and images in a text for example.⁹⁶ As Entman explained, the culture is

⁸⁸ Entman, “Framing”, 52.

⁸⁹ Van Gorp, “The Constructionist Approach”, 62.

⁹⁰ Entman, “Framing”, 53.

⁹¹ Ibidem.

⁹² Van Gorp, “The Constructionist Approach”, 60-78.

⁹³ Van Gorp, “The Constructionist Approach”, 63.

⁹⁴ Doris Graber, *Processing the news: how many people tame the information tide* (New York: Longman, 1988).

⁹⁵ Van Gorp, “The Constructionist Approach”, 66-67.

⁹⁶ Van Gorp, “The Constructionist Approach”, 64.

important. These framing devices activate schemata because the frame is part of the culture. This means that the author and the receiver of the same culture are familiar with the frame and because the receiver is familiar with the frame, the frame will activate schemata. Thus, the receiver is able to understand the framing device of the author.

The reasoning devices are ‘explicit and implicit statements that deal with justifications, causes and consequences in a temporal order and which complete the frame package.’⁹⁷ The reasoning devices are linked to the four functions that Entman discussed and are mentioned above: define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies. Together these two devices form an interpretative frame package that will activate schemata because of the four locations in the communication process. The reader is able to activate schemata and able to understand the frame because he or she is familiar with the frame package.

Sub-conclusion

This part of the chapter focused on the general theories about framing and how framing works. The definition that will be used is the abovementioned definition of Entman:

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.⁹⁸

Next, within framing research this study fits into the constructive paradigm of D’Angelo. It is important to remember that frames are part of the total interpretative package. This includes the culture, the author and the reader. The culture is important since the frame is part of it and the culture influences how the author or reader react to the frame and activate schemata. The effect of the frame is in this study of less importance, and the focus is on which frames are being used in a text and how they differ or are comparable to each other over time. This focus is shown in the flowchart of D’Angelo. Consequently, it means that because of the constructive approach there is not only one dominant frame and more than one frame within a text is possible. The next part of this chapter will therefore focus on elucidating master frames and the common frames that are used in newspaper articles about foreign fighters

⁹⁷ Ibidem.

⁹⁸ Entman, “Framing”, 52.

2.5 Identifying several types of frames

The definition of framing and how frames work is explained, however there is of course not a single kind of frame. Therefore four master frames in communication studies are identified by Dekkers and Peter.⁹⁹ They use four master frames which can be applied to numerous issues. Originally they used these frames for their own discourse analysis on newspaper articles.

Based on the frames that are distinguished in the literature, four 'master frames' are distinguished. These master frames are a merge and sometimes simplified frames from the literature. Master-frames (...) are frames that potentially apply to different issues. Master frames are sufficiently common to apply to various types of cases (...) or to policy proposals.¹⁰⁰

These master frames are the human interest frame, the threat frame, the economic frame and the administrative frame. These master frames are overarching the frames used in foreign fighter and are therefore vital to understand. These overarching frames are what Brüggeman calls the generic frame. Moreover, these frames can be used with Entman's definition of framing. Generic frames define a problem, evaluate the problem and provide certain solutions.¹⁰¹

2.5.1 The Human Interest frame

According to d'Haenens and De Lange in their article "Framing of Asylum Seekers in Dutch Regional Newspapers" the human interest main 'emphasis lies on the personal, emotional aspect of the event.'¹⁰² The frame does an appeal on the moral duty to help fellow humans that are in need of help.¹⁰³ For instance in the newspapers that they analysed this frame:

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,

⁹⁹ Dekkers and Scholten, "Tsunami of Tragedie".

¹⁰⁰ Ibidem, 21.

¹⁰¹ Brüggemann, "Between Frame Setting and Frame Sending", 63-64.

¹⁰² Leen d'Haenens and Mariëlle de Lange, "Framing of Asylum Seekers in Dutch Regional Newspapers", *Media, Culture and Society* 23, no.6 (2001), 856.

¹⁰³ Dekkers and Scholten, "Tsunami of Tragedie", 19.

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.¹⁰⁴

2.5.2 The Threat frame

In opposition, or the ‘moral counterpart’, of the human interest frame there is the threat frame.¹⁰⁵ According to Paul Baker and Tony McErny this framing as a threat happens mostly at the group level and with abstract terms.¹⁰⁶ As mentioned above, Dekkers and Scholten illustrated this with the title of their article: “Tsunami of Tragedie?” This is also part of the othering framing as the ‘own citizens’ have to be protected from asylum seekers in this case.

2.5.3 The Economic frame

In this frame the economic costs are discussed. Who have profits and who have losses are issues at hand: also to make the costs clear to the public: ‘this frame is often used to make potential economic impact or consequences clear to the public.’¹⁰⁷ It seems that this economic frame is more useful to the asylum debate, however like Dekkers and Scholten stated these frames can be applied to various cases. In the case of foreign fighters the Netherlands have a policy in place which can freeze the assets and bank accounts of foreign fighters.

2.5.4 The Administrative frame

In this frame the moral questions that are raised in the parts above are not involved in the framing. This frame will instead focus on the depoliticized policy issues at hand.¹⁰⁸ One of the central issues at hand is for example the question of who is responsible. The focus could be on politicians and a discussion in newspaper about adequate ability of these politicians to deal with the situation.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, Van Gorp also identifies that within the administrative frame there is more than often distrust of politicians.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ D’Haenens and de Lange, “Framing of Asylum Seekers”. 855.

¹⁰⁵ Dekkers and Scholten, “Tsunami of Tragedie?”, 23.

¹⁰⁶ Paul Baker and Tony McErny, “A Corpus-Based Approach to Discourses of Refugees in UN and Newspaper Texts”, *Journal of Language and Politics* 4, no.2 (2005), 197-226.

¹⁰⁷ D’Haenens and De Lange, “Framing of Asylum Seekers”, 850.

¹⁰⁸ Dekkers and Scholten, “Tsunami of Tragedie?”, 20.

¹⁰⁹ Ibidem.

¹¹⁰ Van Gorp, *Framing Asiel*.

2.6 Frames related to foreign fighters

Now that the overarching frames have been explained it is necessary to dive into frames that are used when describing foreign fighters. In the study of Berbers et al. it becomes prominent that in Dutch and Flemish newspapers five frames covering foreign fighters have been used. These five frames were used in a deductive approach to study more newspapers in a different time period. The benefit of a deductive approach is that it gives a directory while conducting the research. Since using these frames is a deductive approach it could be that by doing so several frames in articles will be missed. The disadvantage is that it *a priori* excludes other frames that might exist in the documents. Therefore the approach to this study was also inductive: when a frame – other than the frames aforementioned – was found in the newspaper article, this frame was coded as well. By doing so the advantage of a deductive approach was still there while the disadvantage was avoided. The five frames found in the study of Berbers et al. are the following frames.

2.6.1 The Terrorist frame

The terrorist frame falls within the overarching threat frame. The terrorist frame focuses on the issue of radicalized Muslims and the threat to the national security. These radicalized Muslims are seen as possible terrorists and associated with values which are not the norm in the Netherlands and Belgium. Democracy or freedom of speech for instance are such values and the radicalized Muslims reject these in favour of the sharia rule in the Islamic State. Moreover, the articles suggest that these Muslims are not only a threat in regard to a possible terrorist attack, they also pose a threat by spreading their radical ideology. This creates a strong othering aspect and an ‘us’ versus ‘them’. In this case the West versus the Islam which is related to social identity issues.¹¹¹

2.6.2 The Victim frame

The victim frame is more in line with the human interest frame and provides a human face to the issue of foreign fighters. In this case research have shown that the foreign fighter is not necessarily acting at their own will, however they are manipulated and radicalized through recruitment techniques. The IS recruiter puts them under a spell of control and makes use of the vulnerability of adolescence or emotional trauma.¹¹² The young Muslims will be indoctrinated by the recruiter and as a consequence they will travel to Syria or Iraq to fight for IS. This journey

¹¹¹ Berbers et al., “The news framing”, 12.

¹¹² Ibidem.

is not framed as an active choice, but as something that will happen to the young foreign fighter. In other words, they are the victim of the manipulative recruiter and have little own agency.

2.6.3 The Adventurer frame

The adventurer frame is also part of the human interest frame. In this case the jihadist is a naïve adventurer. The ideas that they have about the war are romanticized and distorted from reality.¹¹³ The process of becoming a jihadist in a foreign country is an act of free will, however the individual is not able to understand the consequences of his or her actions. The difference between the victim and the adventure frame is that the adventures go to Syria based on their free will and the victims go because they are taken advantage of by a recruiter.

2.6.4 The Don Quixote frame

The Don Quixote frame is also part of the human interest frame. In this case the foreign fighter decides to travel to Syria because of his or her moral duties. The civil war produces heavy violence with many innocent victims in Syria. It seems that nobody is doing something, so the foreign fighter must go to do it on his own. The choice is therefore based on humanitarian motivation and it is not based on religious doctrines found in the Islam. Sometimes this frame compares the modern foreign fighters to historic foreign fighters and tries to deproblematize the issue. For example, during the civil war in Yugoslavia the foreign fighters were seen as heroes. The frame will also frame a foreign fighter as ‘committed to the cause of helping others, ‘for which he is ready to endure untold misery.’¹¹⁴

2.6.5 The Martyr frame

The martyr frame: ‘portrays the issue in conservative Islamic terms and embodies the in-group perspective. It depicts the Syria fighters not as a problem, but as a solution to the demise of Islam due to the perceived secularization of the Ummah (international Muslim community) and Western influence’.¹¹⁵ This is the opposite of the terrorist frame, however the ‘us versus them’ aspect is also used in this frame. During an interview a foreign fighter stated that the West will not help you and the only one that will help you is Allah. This is a clear example of the ‘us versus them’, but then from the perspective of the foreign fighter instead of the Western

¹¹³ Ibidem.

¹¹⁴ Berbers et al., “The News Framing”, 810.

¹¹⁵ Ibidem.

perspective.¹¹⁶ It is more difficult to categorize this frame as it is partly human interest as it gives a human face to the foreign fighter. Nevertheless, the martyr can still be seen as a threat to society and therefore falls under the threat frame.

¹¹⁶ Ibidem.

3. Methodology

The following chapter focuses on the methodology of the thesis. It goes in depth on the type of research, the research design, data gathering and case selection, operationalization and at last the limitations of this research are discussed. This thesis aims to explore new data that has not been studied before in combination with the theoretical framework provided in chapter two.

3.1 Type of research and research design

The design of this thesis is a case study design. Case studies are a form of qualitative research. Since the timeframe December January 2014 and December 2017 is very broad to conduct a discourse analysis on, this paper used several case studies to narrow down the analysis within the chosen timeframe. Moreover, Peter Swanborn argues in his book *Case Study Research: What, Why and How* that case studies are the best option for what he calls the intensive approach.¹¹⁷ This approach focuses on “only one specific instance of the phenomenon to be studied.”¹¹⁸ Swanborn argues that case means an event, situation or condition.¹¹⁹ In this study some events are chosen as case studies and these case studies are used to analyse the framing of foreign fighters over the years in the media. In this thesis the independent variables are be the case studies and the frames are the dependent variables.

The overarching case study is the newspapers in the Netherlands. To study the main case several incidents or smaller ‘case studies’ are used to analyse how the frames in Dutch newspapers changed or did not change. The case studies selected for the study are related to policy issues, cultural issues or terrorist attacks, and all case studied led to an increase in media attention. As explained in the theoretical framework, newspapers choose frames for describing the news, therefore the original intention of this thesis was to research the relationship between the case studies and the frames used in the selected newspapers. For example, does a cultural case study have a different impact on the frames used in newspapers than a case study related to policy or a terrorist attack? It proved to be complicated to measure this relationship since excluding external factors such as IS losing ground, more returning foreign fighters and international politics was not possible. Furthermore, the preliminary conclusion was that although the case studies differed in context the use of the frames did not differ significantly. Therefore there was an adjustment in the research direction and the objective of the study changed to show the change in the frames in the selected newspapers over the years.

¹¹⁷ Peter Swanborn, *Case Study Research: What, Why and How* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2010).

¹¹⁸ Ibidem.

¹¹⁹ Swanborn, *Case Study Research*, 3.

The case studies were already selected and considering they did not have a significant influence on the frames used in the newspapers they still could be used whilst granting the benefits of providing different contexts. Moreover, with an extensive study covering three years it was necessary to demarcate within the timeframe otherwise it would be too time consuming. The case studies were useful in demarcating the timeframe, hence the study was feasible to conduct.

Lastly, for a researcher it is important to have a structure in the research and writing process. By using case studies and demarcating the timeframe it provided a clear structure for the research. Therefore the case studies were studied to analyse the change over the years in the frames, and not to display the effect of the case study on the frame as it proved that there was no significant change. This study incorporated both the inductive and the deductive approach, but this will be explained later. The frames related to foreign fighters were the guideline and next to this if new frames were found they would be mentioned in the analysis. In short, the deductive approach will be the starting point.

Next it is necessary to discuss the quality of the research design, validity and reliability are indicators for the quality of a research design. Reliability is related to the explanations of the decisions taken within the research design. It means that the decisions are sufficiently explained in the methodology and the research process can be repeated independent of the researcher. The researcher should write down what will be studied, how the researcher is going to conduct the study, and in addition which choices were made.¹²⁰ Moreover, the research should describe the data gathering as well as the data analysis method.¹²¹ The choice for case studies and the choices for the newspapers are explained in this chapter. How the data is gathered and how it will be analysed will additionally be explained later. Therefore the what and how are covered in this chapter. The choice for the concepts and theory were explained in the theoretical framework. The reliability improves when a researcher makes use of data triangulation, which means there is more than one method or data source.¹²² This thesis makes use of several different data sources and the method of Berbers et al. and Dekkers and Scholten are combined. Everything described has contributed to increasing the reliability of this research, as the aim was to enhance the quality and reliability of the research.

Next are internal and external validity. Since this thesis focuses on qualitative research and not on quantitative research this needs to be taken into account for determining the validity. Using qualitative research provides more in-depth analysis than just quantitative research. For

¹²⁰ Hennie Boeije, *Analyseren in kwalitatief onderzoek* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2016), 150.

¹²¹ Boeije, *Analyseren*, 152-154.

¹²² Boeije, *Analyseren*, 156.

the external validity in qualitative research it is about generalising the results, just as in quantitative research. Generalisation means that the results can be generalized to other contexts¹²³ Or in other words: generalised (...) across different types of persons, settings, and times.’¹²⁴ Yet, according to Boeije the internal validity in qualitative research is carefully defining what we want to measure.¹²⁵ This thesis defined the concepts throughout the several chapters. The internal validity increases if the data is collected that the researched wanted to collect, and if this data can be used to answer the research question.¹²⁶ This can be done for instance through case studies. Moreover, internal validity is about ‘the ‘truth value’ of an inquiry/ the degree to which we can be certain about the truth of the findings and their correspondence to the world ‘out there’.’¹²⁷ By making use of case studies the world out there is taken into account, as the newspapers describe their own world through the frames.

Thus this research design by making use of case studies has a high internal validity. Furthermore, the study is making use of different newspapers and therefore the mix of reporting styles creates a balance, through which the internal validity increases. However, the external validity is almost non-existent. It is difficult to generalize the analysis and conclusion, since the newspapers and frames are part of a culture. This culture was briefly explained as important in the theoretical framework and every culture influences the schemata, frames and interpretative package. Moreover, the researcher is influenced by the culture and therefore he or she could come to different conclusions if reading the same material. The theories and research question can be used and altered to a different country. The analysis will be done using Dutch newspapers; therefore one who will conduct this study on different newspapers articles there is possibility that he or she comes to a different analysis and conclusions. It might also be the case that the frames are generic in one way or another and they can be found in other newspapers.

3.2 Case studies

Six cases have been selected which will be studied in chronological order. The cases are selected incidents that are related to foreign fighters and had various degree of media attention. The first case study will be the attack on Charlie Hebdo in France on 7 January 2015. The

¹²³ Ben Baarda, Martijn de Goede and J. Teunissen, *Kwalitatief onderzoek: praktische handleiding voor het opzetten en uitvoeren van kwalitatief onderzoek* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 2001), 99-100.

¹²⁴ Thomas D. Cook and Donald T. Campbell, *Quasi-experimentation: design & analysis issues for field settings* (Chicago: Rand McNally College Pub. Co, 1979), 37.

¹²⁵ Boeije, *Analyseren*, 150-151.

¹²⁶ Baarda, De Goede, Teunissen, *Kwalitatief onderzoek*, 100-101.

¹²⁷¹²⁷ Merel Visse, *Openings for humanisation in modern health care practices* (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2012), 26.

second case study will be the Paris attacks on 13-14 November 2015. The third case study will be the premiere of the play *Jihad* about foreign fighters in the Netherlands on the 25th of January 2016. The fourth case study will be the return of Laura Hansen to the Netherlands on 2 Augustus 2016 and the Nice attack on July 13, 2016. The main time frame will be the Laura Hansen case study, yet it partly studies the Nice attack due to the fact that within the studied time frame of the Laura Hansen case study the Nice attack also happened. The time frame focus is on the Laura Hansen study since she is Dutch and hence fits better in this analysis of Dutch newspapers, and in addition the focus would shift too much on terrorist attacks. Additionally, in this way other events than terrorist attacks get taken into account. This does not mean that the Nice attack is forgotten, however the time frame will be between July 2 and September 2 2016 instead of June 13 and August 13 2016. The fifth case study will be the premiere of the movie *Layla M*, which premiered on 17 November 2016. The sixth case study is the revocation of the Dutch nationality of Dutch foreign fighters in September 2017. The reason that ‘only’ two individual terrorist attacks – and one combined with the Laura Hansen case study – have been chosen as case studies is that it is more likely that the threat frame will be the dominant frame. As can be seen in the matrix below the case studies differ in media attention.

Some of these events are representative of Islamic terrorist attacks in Western Europe. The execution of these attacks was successful, they brought fear and terror to Europe. More importantly, they brought the attention to foreign fighters as it was feared that they would travel back to Europe blended in with refugees from Syria. The other case studies such as the play, the movie, the return of Laura Hansen and the revocation of the passports have in common that they brought up the discussion about foreign fighters and had the attention of the media in the Netherlands. The case studies were also selected based on their abstraction and emotion. The case study of Laura Hansen focuses on an individual and is more concrete and tangible while the case study of the revocation of passports focuses more on policy and is more abstract. Moreover, by only using terrorist attacks it would be more likely that the frames related to the threat frame would be dominant. By including cultural aspects such as a play and a movie as well as actual policy such as the revocation of the passports this gives a wide representation of foreign fighters.

Next, during the selection of the case studies the amount of media attention was also taken into account. As can be seen below, some cases attracted more news attention than other cases. It seems that high profile case studies such as the attack on Charlie Hebdo attract more media attention than for instance the movie *Layla M* or the *Jihad* play. Therefore with the selection of the case studies the amount of media attention, the level of abstraction and the

individual or group level was taken into account. Below the total amount of articles by all the newspapers combined within the time period can be found. The name of the case studies, or a combination of the name in a Boolean search string was used for analysing the media attention.¹²⁸

Case studies:	Amount of articles
Charlie Hebdo	N=654
Paris attack	N=360
Jihad play	N=6
Return/conviction of Laura Hansen/Nice Attack	N=28 and N=249
Movie Layla M.	N=10
Revocation Dutch nationality/Barcelona attack	N=10 and N=153

Table one: case studies and the amount of newspaper articles during the time period in the selected newspapers.

3.2.1 Charlie Hebdo

Charlie Hebdo is a French satirical weekly paper, based in Paris. It is known for their critical cartoons and in 2011 it got attacked because of a cartoon that was critical of the Islam and the prophet Mohammed. Since then Charlie Hebdo got daily security. Despite the extra security measures on 7 January 2017 two armed men with Kalashnikovs forced entry into the building of Charlie Hebdo. Ten journalists and several police agents were killed in this attack and many more injured. The attack on Charlie Hebdo was the first ‘major’ terrorist attack in Europe since the war in Syria and Iraq broke out, and it was the deadliest attack on French soil since the Algerian war.¹²⁹ Two brothers, Chérif Kouachi and Saïd Kouachi were responsible for the attack. Al-Qaeda claimed responsibility for the attack. They both fought in Syria before returning to France. The aftermath of the attack was widespread media attention, as can be seen in table 1. Je suis Charlie was a hashtag used by many people to show support to Charlie Hebdo

¹²⁸ Charlie Hebdo AND aanslag, Parijs AND Aanslag OR Bataclan, Jihadtoneelstuk OR Jihad AND Toneelstuk, Laura Hansen, Layla M., Nederlanderschap OR Intrekken, Barcelona AND Aanslag.

¹²⁹ L. Boel, “Reconstructie. Eén jaar na aanslag op Charlie Hebdo: dit gebeurde er die noodlottige 8 januari”, *Nieuwsblad*, January 7, 2016, accessed May 29, 2018, https://www.nieuwsblad.be/cnt/dmf20160105_02050093.

and condemn the attack. The hashtag #jesuischarlie was one of the most popular hashtags in Twitter history and also led to extensive media attention in the Netherlands.¹³⁰

3.2.2 November 2015 Paris attacks

2015 was a year of many terrorist attacks and after Charlie Hebdo Paris was struck again on Friday 13 November 2015. That night several targets in Paris were hit in coordinated attacks. The attacks were mainly focused at Stade de France with suicide bombings, several mass shootings at restaurants and a mass shooting at nightclub the Bataclan, where most killings took place. 89 people were killed at the Bataclan, 130 people in total were killed and another 413 people were injured. This was the deadliest attack on French soil since World War II and the deadliest in Europe since the Madrid bombings in 2004.¹³¹ IS claimed responsibility for the attack. After the attack the French President that France was at war with IS, quoted at the beginning of this thesis. It led to widespread media coverage: the most talked about subject of 2015 on Twitter was the Paris attacks.¹³²

3.2.3 Jihad play

This original play named Djihad was written by the Belgian Ismael Saidi and premiered in spring 2015. In January 2016 the Dutch version premiered and was named Jihad. Saidi wrote this partly as an autobiographical play, as he was recruited to fight in Afghanistan when he was younger. The Wallonia government successfully incorporated this play to prevent radicalisation of younger Muslims.¹³³ The Dutch Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment co-financed the buying of the rights of the play so it could be staged in the Netherlands as well.¹³⁴ In Belgium as well as the Netherlands the play aimed to target an audience of youngsters still at school. The critics were very positive and although the original play was only intended to be performed

¹³⁰ Tom Whitehead, "Paris Charlie Hebdo attack: Je Suis Charlie hashtag on of most popular in Twitter history", January 9, 2015, accessed May 29, 2018, *The Telegraph*, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11336879/Paris-Charlie-Hebdo-attack-Je-Suis-Charlie-hashtag-one-of-most-popular-in-Twitter-history.html>.

¹³¹ Tracy McVeigh and Emma Graham-Harrison, "Parisians throw open doors in wake of attacks, but Muslims fear repercussions", *The Guardian*, November 14, 2015, accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/14/paris-attacks-people-throw-open-doors-to-help>.

¹³² Emma Henderson, "Twitter Reveals its most popular hashtags of 2015", *The Independent*, December 7, 2015, accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/twitters-biggest-moments-of-2015-a6763036.html>.

¹³³ Moos van den Broek, "Belangwekkende scholieren voorstelling overstijgt zichzelf", *Theaterkrant*, January 29, 2016, accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.theaterkrant.nl/recensie/jihad/senf-producties/>.

¹³⁴ Ibidem.

five times, the Wallonia government ordered 30 more to be staged.¹³⁵ In the Netherlands the critics were also highly positive. After the play there was an open debate with the directors, the actors, and the audience. The goal of this debate was to openly talk radicalisation, create mutual understanding and make it acceptable to talk about radicalisation. It was the first time in the Netherlands that radicalisation was seen in a fictional story in this way.¹³⁶

3.2.4 The return and conviction of Laura Hansen and Nice attack.

Laura Hansen is a Dutch woman that travelled to Syria at the end of 2015 with her husband and her two children. Hansen claimed that she did not know she was going to join IS and thought they were going to help refugees. The public prosecutor claimed the opposite and stated that she knew exactly what they were going to do. The court agreed with the public prosecutor. Her role and what she did for IS is not entirely clear, however she got convicted in November 2017 for ‘facilitating terror’¹³⁷. It was not proven that she was part of IS, nevertheless the court found it proven that she was a civilian of IS. Her father played a key role in getting her back to the Netherlands, as he paid 10,000 euro to an organisation that freed Hansen.

For the case of Laura Hansen the time frame used for the other case studies was not sufficient, it was not a ‘closed’ case study as for example a terrorist attack. As with an attack it happened, the media attention followed, and after awhile the attention fades away, although it might be brought up again when a similar event happens. With the case of Laura Hansen it was not a closed case study as the attention drags on, hence not only her return has been chosen as a time frame for her case study, but also her conviction which can be seen as the end of this case for now. Her return was in July 2016 and her conviction was in November 2017. Therefore this case study consists of the timeframe July – September 2016 and October 2017 – December 2017. The time period of a month before and a month after is still the same as with the other case studies, however the total time period is lengthened.

The Nice attack happened on the national holiday of France: the 14th of July. The perpetrator was Mohamed Lahouaiej Bouhlel and he drove a 19 tonne cargo truck into a busy crowd during the celebrations, killing 84 people and wounding hundreds more. After the Paris

¹³⁵ Herien Wensink, “Toneel tegen jihad komt un ook naar Nederland”, *NRC Handelsblad*, 19 October 2015, accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2015/10/19/toneel-tegen-jihad-komt-nu-ook-naar-nederland-1547216-a127506>.

¹³⁶ NOS, “Layla M: kan je radicalisering tegengaan vanuit het theater?”, *NOS*, November 25, 2016, accessed May 28, 2018, <https://nos.nl/op3/artikel/2145007-layla-m-kan-je-radicalisering-tegengaan-vanuit-het-theater.html>.

¹³⁷ Elif Isitman, “Rechtbank: Laura Hansen ging willens en wetens naar IS”, *Elsevier*, November 13, 2017, accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.elsevierweekblad.nl/nederland/achtergrond/2017/11/twee-jaar-cel-voor-jihadbruid-laura-hansen-559093/>.

attacks in November 2015 this was the deadliest attack on French soil and it left even more injured than during the November attacks. There were raised several questions if Bouhlel was truly a jihadist, or that he was a madman. Nevertheless, the attack was claimed by IS and within his truck several fake weapons were found.¹³⁸

3.2.5 The movie Layla M.

The movie Layla M. premiered on 17 November 2016 in Dutch cinemas. The world premiere was in Toronto during the world film festival and the movie was also shown during movie festivals in London and Rome. All over the world the movie got high praise and excellent reviews.¹³⁹ The movie shows how a young girl – 18 years old – radicalizes and pulls away from Dutch society. Layla does not feel like she fits in and feels more and more left out. Eventually, Layla marries a radicalized Muslim and together they travel to Syria.¹⁴⁰ One of the goals of the movie was to reach as many young girls as possible and reradicalize them. Another goal related to the previous one was to prevent youngsters from travelling to Syria by changing their mind through this movie.¹⁴¹ The director, Mijke de Jong, stated that she felt the urge and the need to incorporate the daily actual situation of the Netherlands in the movie. De Jong felt obliged to research radicalizing young Muslims and let the movie show a sociological reflection.

This movie was the second time radicalization was seen through a fictional story, the first time was the previous mentioned *Jihad* play. With Layla M. there was an educational plan included, as the movie was shown in schools as well. Seran de Leede is a researcher at the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism and argues that the play and movie could have an effect of stopping radicalisation, however it is hard to say. Nevertheless, it is important because it gives society more insight and understanding of radicalisation.¹⁴² Therefore it is vital to not only study the terrorist attacks as case studies, but also the softer cultural aspect as this adds a new perspective to the table. These cultural case studies are quite new as they premiered in the

¹³⁸ Peter Vermaas, “Was de dader jihadist, gestoord of allebei?”, *NRC Handelsblad*, July 18, 2016, accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2016/07/18/was-de-dader-jihadist-gestoord-of-allebei-3288263-a1512069>.

¹³⁹ Floortje Smit, “Zoveel mogelijk jonge meiden bereiken, dat was het doel”, *De Volkskrant*, November 17, 2016, accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.volkskrant.nl/cultuur-media/-zo-veel-mogelijk-jonge-meiden-bereiken-dat-was-ook-het-doel-~ba9695b2>.

¹⁴⁰ Berend Jan Bocking, “Layla M. zoekt het hartverscheurde verhaal achter de krantenkop”, *De Volkskrant*, November 17, 2016, accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.volkskrant.nl/cultuur-media/layla-m-zoekt-het-hartverscheurende-verhaal-achter-de-krantenkop~b5bfcfbf/>.

¹⁴¹ NOS, “Kan je Radicalisering”.

¹⁴² Ibidem.

beginning of 2016 and in the end of 2016, therefore the study of Berbers et al. did not have this opportunity.

3.2.6 Revocation of the Dutch nationality of foreign fighters and Barcelona attack

The terrorist attacks provide the opportunity to use the safety lens in the case study, while the play and the movies provide a cultural case study and the last case study allows an administrative and more policy orientated lens. On 13 September 2017 the Dutch nationality of four foreign fighters was revoked. Anis Z., Driss D., Hatim R. and Nouredin B. travelled to Syria in 2013 and fought in the civil war. They published stories about their time with IS via social media channels. In March 2017 the authority of the Dutch Minister of Justice and Safety was extended, as Dutch citizenship can now also be withdrawn even without a conviction if the person is deemed to be a safety threat to the Netherlands.

This is a new and stricter line of policy than before. This line of policy has been criticized by scholars and lawyers. Some lawyers, such as Florimond Wassenaar and Pauline Kruik, argue that this policy is discrimination, due to the fact that the nationality could only be withdrawn from foreign fighters with a double nationality.¹⁴³ In addition, it does not address the safety aspect. They still form a threat and the foreign fighters are not suddenly deradicalised because their nationality has been withdrawn. Their passport is put on an international wanted list, therefore it does not make sense to revoke their passport as they are already wanted.¹⁴⁴

Another question that is raised is if they are born and raised in the Netherlands, why should foreign fighters become the problem of the other country they have a nationality of? For example, some news outlets go even further in the language they use in the debate. The far right-leaning website *De Dagelijkse Standaard*, comparable to Breitbart, for instance stated in their article “whining about withdrawing citizenship from Jihadists” that it was ‘good riddance’ that the citizenship of ‘beastlike Jihadists’ was withdrawn.¹⁴⁵ These more extreme frames make these policy debates interesting to take into account.

During this time period the Barcelona attack also happened. There are two weeks of overlap, however it is important to mention this. The attack happened on 17 and 18 August

¹⁴³ Cyril Rosman, “Afpakken Nederlandschap van jihadisten is discriminatie”, *Algemeen Dagblad*, May 15, 2018, accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.ad.nl/binnenland/afpakken-nederlandschap-van-jihadisten-is-discriminatie~abef86ae/>.

¹⁴⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁴⁵ Wout Willemsen, “Gejank om intrekken Nederlandschap bij Jihadisten”, *De Dagelijkse Standaard*, May 15, 2018, accessed May 28, 2018, <http://www.dagelijksestandaard.nl/2018/05/gejank-om-intrekken-nederlandschap-bij-jihadisten/>, and Reinier Kist, “Dit is de Nederlandse Breitbart”, *NRC Handelsblad*, February 20, 2017, accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/02/20/niet-subtiel-dus-wilders-is-er-dol-op-6787145-a1546836>.

2017. 16 persons died and more than 130 persons were wounded. Just as the Nice attack a truck was used to drive into the public and wreak havoc among the population.¹⁴⁶ This happened in Barcelona and after midnight in Cambrils. The attack was claimed by IS.

3.3 Operationalization

The five frames of Berbers et al. were used for the operationalization part. The terrorist frame, the victim frame, the adventurer frame, the Don Quixote frame and the martyr frame were used to study the several news articles. To code the articles and order them in regard to these frames a colour scheme was used. Dekker and Scholten used the following scheme (see matrix one). The orange colour refers to the human interest frame, the red colour to the threat frame, the green colour to the administrative frame and the blue colour refers to the economic frame. The articles and documents selected were coded accordingly to a specific colour, but then according to the frames of Berbers et al. (table 2, p.46) and the newly found frames. This also means that there multiple frames within a document. When a frame other than the five frames was found in the documents, this frame was given a name and a different colour.

¹⁴⁶Nu.nl, “Dodental aanslag Barcelona opgelopen naar zestien”, *Nu.nl*, August 27, 2017, accessed June 4, 2018. <https://www.nu.nl/terrorisme-in-europa/4896623/dodental-aanslag-barcelona-opgelopen-zestien.html>.

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

D'Haenens & De Lange (2001)	El Rafaie (2001)/Hors ti (2003)	Van Gorp (2005; 2006)	Nickels (2007)	Vliegthart (2007); Vliegthart & Roggeband (2007); Roggeband & Vliegthart (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			

Matrix 1: coding scheme Dekkers and Scholten.¹⁴⁷

As stated above Dekkers and Scholten mentioned that: ‘Master-frames (...) are frames that potentially apply to different issues. Master frames are sufficiently common to apply to various types of cases (...) or to policy proposals’.¹⁴⁸ The ideal type is split into more specific types in the literature, however their examples of specific frames are more tied to the framing of refugees. In Table 2 (p.46) the relation between the master frames and the specific foreign fighter frames is made more clear.

¹⁴⁷ Dekkers and Scholten, 19.

¹⁴⁸ Ibidem, 21.

Frames	Master Frame
Terrorist	Threat frame
Victim	Human interest
Martyr	Threat and human interest
Don Quixote	Human interest
Adventurer	Human interest

Table 2: colour coding scheme for the newspaper articles with the foreign fighter frames. Colours are not specifically related to the colours in the matrix by Dekkers and Scholten.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to use empirical variables per frame. In the theoretical framework the reasoning and the framing devices have been explained. For the operationalization this means the following. In the news articles this study started from a deductive point of view per case, however the text of course needs to present the frames. Consequently, the reasoning devices and framing devices have to be present in a text. To make this more clear Berbers et al. presented a matrix (matrix 2, p.46) wherein they gathered the combined frames and reasoning devices plus framing devices. The relation between the master frames and the foreign fighter frames illustrate that the main frames are the human interest and the threat frame. The ideal type frames, the economic and the administrative frame, were found in the newspaper articles and these are discussed in the (sub)conclusion(s).

In the news articles these reasoning and framing devices were used as a guideline for the operationalisation part. The other found frames were added to the matrix. This was also done for the reasoning devices and framing devices. This study used the coding of matrix three, combined with the colours that proved useful to Dekkers and Scholten. The colours used were not the same, however it was used to code the newspaper articles and combine this with the matrix below. New frames, reasoning devices and framing devices were added to the matrix per year. Every frame got its own colour in the matrix. An example matrix is found on page 48.

Matrix two: reasoning and framing devices for the five frames.¹⁴⁹

Frame	Reasoning devices					Framing devices	
	Definition of the problem /situation	Cause	Consequences	Possible solutions	Moral values	Archetypes/ Myths	Catchphrases & lexical choices
Terrorist	Young people join the ranks of Al Qaida to fight for the radical Islam and Islamic state in Syria	Muslims are not loyal to the values associated with democracy and liberalism and try to spread their extremist views	The likelihood that an terrorist attack will occur in Belgium or the Netherlands has become substantially greater than before	Restrictive measures against radical organizations and increased surveillance in Muslim communities to stop them leaving/returning	Rejecting democracy in favor of an Islamic state and associated values (out-group perspective)	Myth of the scapegoat	It's questionable if they can function in a harmonious society without violence. This can mean danger to <i>our</i> security ticking time bombs Labels: jihadists, militant radicals, extremists, radical lunatics, salafists
Victim	Young people are being manipulated to go fight in Syria by religious extremists	The youngsters are susceptible for the brainwashing techniques of the recruiters because of their troubled background	They are used as cannon fodder, financially exploited and not allowed to leave	Supportive measures to make the youngsters less susceptible to the extremist rhetoric	Abused and manipulated to serve as cannon fodder Easy prey	Myth of the victim	This has to be stopped before there are more victims. A lot of these boys are in a hopeless situation. They are unemployed, have no future and are easy prey
Martyr	Young Muslims decide to help their brothers and sister in Syria as a part of their religious duty	The Mujahideen are motivated by the suffering of their brothers and sisters of the international Ummah and perceived disrespect and threat from the west to Islam	The fighters will possibly have the honor of sacrificing themselves for their faith and support the Ummah in the process, as well as get to paradise	The situation is presented as the solution to the problem of demise of the Islam due to the west and secularization of the Ummah	Self-sacrifice, honor and pride Dedication to religion: purity of faith (in-group perspective)	The Martyr	Don't expect anything from the west. Your only ally is Allah I want to die as a warrior, killed by an infidel. There is no other God than Allah Labels: Holy war, sharia state,
Don Quixote	Idealist choose to help the population in Syria	Disgust with the atrocities committed in Syria and desire to help the population	The experience will have a formative effect on their personality and will make them who they are	The situation is not really problematized	Humanitarianism, secularism Idealist commitment, and bravery	Tragic hero: Don Quixote	... boys who are shocked by the horrific images of the war and want to take action ...are motivated by a sense of justice ... convinced by their ideal: freedom
Adventurer	Naïve adventurers choose to go to Syria to fight with the rebels	Longing for adventure and youthful ignorance on the consequences of their actions	Their romantic views of the civil war and bravery will be shattered as they are confronted with reality	The situation is not really problematized	Youthful ignorance and naivety	Naive youths	... the longing for adventure also plays a part Labels: patat-jihadist, Jihad-Jordy, polderjihadist, daredevils, jihad travelers

In addition, this matrix fits within the definition of framing by Entman that is used in this thesis as it is possible to define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies.

¹⁴⁹ Berbers et al, "Framing", 15.

Frame	Reasoning devices					Framing devices	
	Definition of the problem/situation	Cause	Consequences	Possible solutions	Moral values	Archetypes/myths	Catchphrases
Terrorist							
Victim							
Martyr							
Don Quixote							
Adventurer							

Matrix 3: example matrix, combining the five frames of Berbers et al. with the colour coding of Dekkers and Scholten, plus the reasoning and framing device

3.4 Data gathering

The data was gathered by using LexisNexis. This is a database that stores newspapers from all over the world, but most importantly, this database can be accessed by students of Leiden University and stores Dutch newspapers. Keywords were used to find relevant newspaper articles. Often used words for describing foreign fighters are jihadgangers, uitreizigers, Syriëgangers and jihadreizigers.¹⁵⁰ These keywords were combined with some of the keywords used by Berbers et al. and are used in a Boolean search string to find relevant articles in the given time period. The exact Boolean search string can be found in the following footnote.¹⁵¹

The newspapers that were analysed are the four largest (based on normal and digital subscriptions) newspapers of the Netherlands. These are De Telegraaf, Algemeen Dagblad (AD), De Volkskrant and NRC Handelsblad (NRC). To give a good representation of the different political views within the Netherlands these newspapers are also reflective of both the left wing and the right wing of the Dutch political landscape. *A priori* it is was not wise to exclude the newspapers associated with the right or the left wing, because it was entirely possible that newspapers used different frames. Furthermore, to improve the credibility this study used articles wherein the author of the article was stated. However, due to a low amount of newspaper articles for some case studies it was necessary to include articles without an author. When this happened the articles of lower quality were excluded. An example of a lower quality newspaper article is for instance just a very brief statement about a certain event, without a named author. Table 3 (p. 49) gives the total amount of articles found after combining the keywords in the database of LexisNexis with the time period of the case studies. Per case study four articles per newspaper prior to the case study were selected and four articles per newspaper after the case study happened. In the case there were fewer than four usable or relevant articles, the next maximum amount of articles was analysed.

This study did not manually select newspaper articles from the provided LexisNexis list. To combat bias that could happen when selecting newspaper articles – for instance, an interesting headline – this study made use of an online randomizer. The newspaper articles that were analysed were randomly selected by entering the number of articles per newspaper in the randomizer. For example, as seen in matrix three below the Charlie Hebdo case study has 47

¹⁵⁰ Edwin Bakker and Jeanine de Roy van Zuijdewijn, “Barometer van de Dreiging: Tien jaar Dreigingsbeeld Terrorisme-Nederland 2005-2015” *NCTV* (2015), 21.

¹⁵¹ Polderjihadist OR jihadgangers OR uitreizigers OR Syriëgangers OR Jihadreizigers OR polderjihadisten OR Nederlandse Strijders OR Jihadtoerisme OR Nederlandse Jihadisten OR Jihadreis OR Radicalisatie.

hits in de Telegraaf. The randomizer gave four random numbers in between 1 and 47. These numbers correspondents with the numbers – assigned to an article – in LexisNexis. This way the data population was random so there was no influence on the selection of newspaper articles. If the article was not usable – it happened the article was not related to the study and was wrongly randomly selected – the article was replaced by another randomly selected article.

	Charlie Hebdo	Paris attack	Jihad play	Laura Hansen Nice	Layla M.	Revocation Passports and Barcelona	Conviction Of Laura Hansen
Telegraaf:	N=47	N=22	N=7	N=7	N=7	N=14	N=7
AD	N=35	N=23	N=10	N=7	N=10	N=15	N=13
De Volkskrant	N=35	N=30	N=20	N=15	N=10	N=12	N=16
NRC	N= 46	N=25	N=11	N=15	N=11	N=11	N=14
Total:	N=163	N=93	N=48	N=44	N=38	N=52	N=50

Table 3: the number of newspaper articles after combining the key search words with the selected time period

3.3.1 De Telegraaf

De Telegraaf exists since the 1st of January 1893 and celebrated its 125th birthday this year. De Telegraaf is the largest daily newspaper of the Netherlands. The Telegraaf got a ban in the years after the Second World War for collaboration with the Nazi's, however, media historian Mariëlle Wolff got her Ph.D. on the history of De Telegraaf and revised that part of its history:

Relatively De Telegraaf was severely punished, compared to other newspapers that remained legal during the occupation. Yet the content of the newspaper was not much more wrong than the other newspapers. However, De Telegraaf had no representation in the pillarized politics; therefore the newspaper was an easy scapegoat on which everything that was wrong in the war could be projected. De Telegraaf has therefore long suffered from that war history. That does not alter the fact that even before the appointment of an SS-officer as editor, De Telegraaf published articles that should never

have been published, but that applies to all newspapers that continued to appear as legal newspapers during the occupation.”¹⁵²

After the publication ban was lifted De Telegraaf continued to grow as the largest Dutch newspaper. According to its own website: “De Telegraaf is still known for being confrontational, being it with institutions, the government or people. They are known for publishing strong opinions. Jan Blokker, a Dutch writer, journalist and columnist, once formulated it as follows: “No newspaper has the thermometer as deep in the buttocks of society as De Telegraaf.”¹⁵³

Twenty-five percent of the readers of De Telegraaf vote Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV). The political affiliation of this party is populist, with conservative, liberal, ‘left-wing’ and ‘right-wing’ views. The main trait of the party is that it is Islam critical with Geert Wilders as its leader.¹⁵⁴ De Telegraaf has a daily paid subscription circulation of 382.000 newspapers.¹⁵⁵ This does not include online subscriptions, however they state that they reached half of the population in 2017 with their articles.¹⁵⁶ There is no information about the level of education of its readers.

3.3.2 AD

AD was founded in 1946 as a sister-paper of the Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant (nowadays the NRC Handelsblad) and is the second largest newspaper in the Netherlands. Seventeen percent of the readers of AD vote Christen-Democratisch Appel (CDA) which is a Christian Democratic party and seventeen percent of the readers of AD vote Volkspartij voor Vrede en Democratie (VVD) which is a conservative liberal party. There is no information about the level of education of its readers.

¹⁵² Devi Smits, “Met het 125-jarig jubileum van De Telegraaf komt ook het oorlogsverleden weer aan bod”, *De Volkskrant*, January 2, 2018, accessed January 22, 2018, <https://www.volkskrant.nl/media/met-het-125-jarig-jubileum-van-de-telegraaf-komt-ook-het-oorlogsverleden-weer-aan-bod~a4552385/>.

¹⁵³ Telegraaf Archief, “De Telegraaf: het geheim van de grootste krant van Nederland”, *Telegraaf-Archief*, accessed January 22, 2018, <https://telegraaf-archief.nl/geschiedenis-van-de-telegraaf.php>.

¹⁵⁴ Parlement, “Partij voor de Vrijheid”, *Parliament.com*, accessed January 22, 2018, https://www.parlement.com/id/vhnnmt7m4rqi/partij_voor_de_vrijheid_pvv.

¹⁵⁵ NOS, “Telegraaf verliest meeste lezers”, *NOS*, March 30, 2017, accessed January 22, 2018, <https://nos.nl/artikel/2165673-telegraaf-verliest-meeste-lezers.html>.

¹⁵⁶ TMG, “De Telegraaf”, *TMG*, accessed January 22, 2018, <https://www.tmg.nl/nl/telegraaf>.

3.3.3 De Volkskrant

De Volkskrant was founded in 1919 as a weekly newspaper and became a daily newspaper in 1921. It is the third largest newspaper in the Netherlands. For the first forty years De Volkskrant's target audience were the Roman Catholics and also has its roots in the Catholic labour movement of the Netherlands. The production stopped during World War II and after the war De Volkskrant aimed to serve a broader audience than just the Roman Catholic inhabitants. Since 1964 De Volkskrant became a more progressive newspaper with a younger target audience.

De Volkskrant has the highest number of digital readers, with 88.535 online subscriptions. The total daily circulation of paid subscriptions is 217.796 and with the online subscriptions its circulation is around 300.000.¹⁵⁷ Fifty-three percent of the readers of De Volkskrant are higher educated and around 18% is between eighteen and thirty-five years old. Almost a quarter (23%) of the readers of De Volkskrant vote for the Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA), which is the social-democratic Labour Party of the Netherlands.¹⁵⁸

3.3.4 NRC

The NRC exists since 1970 and is a fusion between two other newspapers. One newspaper was located in Amsterdam (Handelsblad, 1828) and the other newspaper was located in Rotterdam (Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant, 1844). Both newspaper were liberal newspapers and NRC still calls itself a liberal modern newspaper. Moreover, impartiality and investigative journalism is one of the key aspects of the newspaper.¹⁵⁹ The NRC is the fourth largest newspaper of the Netherlands.

Fifty-nine percent of the NRC readers are higher educated.¹⁶⁰ The average age of the reader is fifty years, however the website of the newspaper attracts a younger audience.¹⁶¹ Almost one-third of its audience online is between eighteen and thirty-five. In 2016 the NRC had 135.764 paid subscriptions and 66.00 online subscriptions.¹⁶² With the daily sales and the

¹⁵⁷ NOS, "Telegraaf".

¹⁵⁸ Algemeen Dagblad, "Wat stemmen krantenlezers?", *Algemeen Dagblad*, March 18, 2015, accessed January 22, 2018, <https://www.ad.nl/binnenland/wat-stemmen-krantenlezers~a655e176/>.

¹⁵⁹ NRC Handelsblad, "De geschiedenis van NRC", *NRC Handelsblad*, July 27, 2017, accessed January 22, 2018, https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/07/27/de-geschiedenis-van-nrc-a1566801?utm_source=NRC&utm_medium=related&utm_campaign=related2.

¹⁶⁰ NRC Media, "Wat weten we over de NRC-lezer?" *NRC Media*, April 2017, accessed January 22, 2018, <https://www.nrcmedia.nl/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/2017.NRC-Factsheet-NRC-lezer.pdf>.

¹⁶¹ NRC Media, "De NRC-lezer", *NRC-Media*, accessed January 22, 2018, <https://www.nrcmedia.nl/nrc-lezer/>.

¹⁶² NOS, "Telegraaf".

online subscriptions the newspaper circulates 241.017 newspapers on average per day.¹⁶³ The political party that percentage wise most of their readers vote for is Democrats '66 (D66). A quarter of the readers of NRC votes for the progressive-liberal party D66.¹⁶⁴

3.4 Limitations of the research design

Every research has its limitations and this study – like every other research – has its limitations as it is difficult to comprehend the completeness of a social singularity. First, this study assumes that the media is biased and uses several frames, however this study is not free of bias. Therefore in these kinds of studies the objectivity is important, yet it is impossible to be completely objective. Next, media is a very broad concept. And although this study focuses on media in the form of newspaper articles, there are of course many other forms of media. For example, social media, television and radio are other forms of media that could be interesting and useful to study. This study therefore cannot be solely representative as a study on ‘the media’, as the media is more than just the newspapers covered in this study. Therefore the results are limited to the selected Dutch newspapers.

Moreover, this study used four newspapers. As explained, these newspapers cover the Netherlands demographically and political wise pretty well. Although in this study Dutch newspapers and the frames abovementioned are analysed, one should not forget that in the selection process of the newspapers it also means that some newspapers are chosen not to be studied. There are many more (regional) newspapers in the Netherlands that could or could not use these frames.

As already mentioned in the theoretical framework, there are several ways to study framing. This study will focus on the frames used in newspaper articles, however the reception of these frames by the public and its effect on the public opinion are not studied. Focusing on the frames itself is as explained above a useful and legitimate research design, nevertheless it is not sufficient to measure the impact, if it has any.

Lastly, this study focused on three years and did this by making use of case studies. The case studies make it more tangible for the researcher to study a phenomenon and adds structure, however it limits the timeframe within the years studied. There is a risk that through making use of these case studies this study will miss theoretically noteworthy representations of foreign

¹⁶³ Peter Vandermeersch, “Stevige digitale stijging van NRC maakt daling papier ruimschoots goed, *NRC Handelsblad*, February 8, 2017, accessed January 22, 2018, <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/02/08/stevige-digitale-stijging-van-nrc-maakt-daling-papier-ruimschoots-goed-a1544937>.

¹⁶⁴ Algemeen Dagblad, “Wat stemmen krantenlezers?”.

fighters through frames. Nevertheless, due to time limitations and the other benefits of using case studies it is believed that overall case studies have an added value. Moreover, as was explained in chapter 3.1 the case studies did not affect the frames.

4. Analysis and results

The years 2015, 2016 and 2017 are analysed individually and per year the frames are made clear. As stated in the methodology the studied years are analysed through case studies. The case studies are the Charlie Hebdo attack, the Paris attacks, the Jihad Play, the return of Laura Hansen/the Nice attack, the movie Layla M., the revocation of the Dutch nationality/the Barcelona attack and lastly the conviction of Laura Hansen. Per studied year the case studies are analysed and the frames within the case studies are made clear. The combined frames of the case studies are organised per year in a matrix based upon the matrix used by Berbers et al and the colour coding of Dekkers and Scholten. This matrix is used to give an overview of the analysed year and states the reasoning devices consisting of the problem definition, the causes, the consequences and the possible solutions. The framing devices consist of the myths or archetypes and the catchphrases. Together these devices form the interpretive package consisting of the frame. Per year a sub-conclusion is given that reflects on the used frames and how they relate to the four master frames found by Dekkers and Scholten. In appendix A all the studied articles are found. The number of studied newspaper articles over the three years is 142.

4.1 Frames found in the case studies of 2015

The case studies of 2015 are the terrorist attack on Charlie Hebdo in January 2015 and the attack in Paris in November 2015. The timeframe consists of December 2014 – February 2015 and October 2015 – December 2015. The found frames within this timeframe are the terrorist, the recruiter, the martyr, the provider and the asylum seeker frame. Between the case studies there are no significant differences found in the reasoning and framing devices. 50 articles were analysed for the case studies in 2015.

4.1.1 The Terrorist frame

The terrorist frame is centered on radicalized young Muslims becoming foreign fighters and the threat they pose to Dutch society and the country they travel to. In the newspapers it is stated that they reject Dutch society and their Western values in favor of a strong conservative Islamic ideology. In Berbers et al. the frame was also centered on the spreading of their extremist ideas, in the newspaper articles of 2015 the frame is not centered on this. However, the focus of the terrorist frame in Berbers et al. and in this study is the same, namely newspapers focus on the threat foreign fighters pose. Possible terrorist attacks in the Netherlands plus the war crimes they commit in name of IS are the central theme.

Moreover, some journalists are questioning if they are ‘actual Dutch’ and other journalists emphasize they are somewhat of an anomaly but are still Dutch. This is seen in the following frames they use in the articles during the Charlie Hebdo case study:

The majority of Dutch Jihadists are third of fourth generation Moroccans, who are as Dutch as clogs and windmills and nonetheless radicalize.¹⁶⁵

Call them crazy primitives, aggressive lunatics or murderous monsters. But typically Dutch? That is a bridge too far. (...) For years these people have stood up against the ‘kaaskoppen (cheese heads, used to point out the Dutch nationality) (...) and now the head of the intelligence services claims that they are like us?’¹⁶⁶

These two quotes in two different articles show that there is a debate, even within the same newspaper. They are not seen as Dutch by some journalists, as they are viewed as disloyal to Western values as democracy, and as Berbers et al. also stated, other associated values. The newspapers describe that foreign fighters prefer a life in an Islamic State over the life in the Netherlands and the Islamic State is seen as a way out for them. The terrorist frame is seen through an out-group perspective, as is seen in the Paris attacks case study: ‘they do not acknowledge the Dutch state’.¹⁶⁷ In the quotes above, the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ perspective is present.

The case studies of 2015 both emphasize the Moroccan ethnicity of the foreign fighters. This was seen in the previous quote related to the Charlie Hebdo case, but this is also seen in the next quote related to the Paris attacks quote: ‘In Molenbeek I saw criminal Moroccans become Salafist’¹⁶⁸ In the terrorist frame Moroccans are often named as part of the problem and sometimes criminal backgrounds are named as a cause for why Muslims turn into a Salafist or terrorist. The problem definition and the use of Moroccans are found in several newspaper articles: ‘the majority of Dutch foreign fighters are supposed to be Moroccan’.¹⁶⁹ This frame

¹⁶⁵ Bart Olmer, “Polderjihadisten ‘oer-Nederlands’; AIVD door uitbarsting overrompeld”, in *De Telegraaf*, December 13, 2014.

¹⁶⁶ Bert Dijkstra, “Allahs klompen”, in *De Telegraaf*, December 14, 2014, accessed May 20, 2018.

¹⁶⁷ Laura de Jong, “Na Parijs, Londen en Brussel is Nederland aan de beurt” in *De Volkskrant*, November 24, 2015, accessed May 20, 2018.

¹⁶⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁶⁹ Jan-Willem Navis, “PVV-leider: Minder is iets anders dan alle’: Wilders ontkent bij recherche Marokkanen te discrimineren”, in *De Telegraaf*, December 8, 2014, accessed May 20, 2018.

continues in other articles where sometimes it is made clear that the foreign fighter is Dutch-Moroccan, or ‘Moroccan from Amsterdam.’¹⁷⁰

A few days after the attack on Charlie Hebdo in Paris, the attention shifts to Verviers in Belgium. A cell of former Syria fighters is hiding there and prepares attacks. The suspects are killed in a firefight with the police. The track leads to Molenbeek, nicknamed Little Morocco.¹⁷¹

Alienation of society is also used as a cause, just as in the recruiter frame, however in the recruiter frame the emphasis lies on the fact that alienation can lead to recruitment and within the terrorist frame the emphasis lies on the threat. The following quote was found in a newspaper of the Charlie Hebdo case study and is about foreign fighters who were kicked out of their mosque: ‘by kicking them out, you drive them into isolation. This releases a considerable amount of anger.’¹⁷² The emphasis by newspapers on the perceived threat is also seen in the Paris attacks case study: ‘We have failed to prevent young Muslims from choosing this path (...) do not forget that these foreign fighters commit gruesome attacks in Syria and Iraq’.¹⁷³ ‘People who are alienated are prone to aggression’.¹⁷⁴ So far these two case studies they use the same reasoning and framing devices.

The two most common perceived threats in the newspapers are the threat of the returning foreign fighters and the threat of a possible terrorist attack in the Netherlands. Restrictive measures to prevent foreign fighters from coming back are often stated in the articles. The following quotes make clear that in both case studies this is the emphasis.

Muslim radicals who are stopped in their ‘Jihad trip’ to Syria or Iraq are increasingly threatening security. It concerns people who get frustrated or inspired here and start to use violent extremism.¹⁷⁵ (Charlie Hebdo)

¹⁷⁰ NRC-editor, “Tegengehouden jihadreiziger groeiend gevaar voor veiligheid”, in *NRC Handelsblad*, December 23, 2014, accessed May 20, 2018.

¹⁷¹ Tijn Sadee, “Molenbeek – Kroniek van een aangekondigde ramp”, in *NRC Handelsblad*, November 28, 2015, accessed May 20, 2018.

¹⁷² Andreas Kouwenhoven, “Geïsoleerd en als terrorist weggezet”, in *NRC Handelsblad*, December 17, 2014, accessed May 20, 2018.

¹⁷³ Martijn van Beeten, “Moeten we ons niet schamen voor onze zelfmoordterroristen?”, in *Algemeen Dagblad*, February 2, 2015, accessed May 20, 2018.

¹⁷⁴ Andreas Kouwenhoven, “Soms radicaliseren ze door een sterfgeval”, in *NRC Handelsblad*, October 13, 2015, accessed May 20, 2018.

¹⁷⁵ NRC Handelsblad editor, “Tegengehouden Jihadreiziger groeiend gevaar voor veiligheid” in *NRC Handelsblad*, December 23, 2014, accessed May 20, 2018.

This perceived increasing threat in the form of a terrorist attack in the Netherlands is also seen here:

The risk of a possible terrorist attack in the Netherlands is increasing. This is because a number of Dutch foreign fighters in Syria and Iraq have climbed the ladder of the organisation IS. They have joined subgroups that focus on committing attacks in the West.¹⁷⁶ (Paris attacks)

Nevertheless, there is an example in an article in the case study of Charlie Hebdo where another threat perspective is given, and where the possible solution is something different than restrictive measures:

When the Dutch government revokes passports of Dutch fighters in Syria or Iraq, it increases the chance of a career as a seasoned jihadist who also will participate in future conflicts.¹⁷⁷

However, this point of view of not revoking passports is not the norm and in general the above outlined frame is most common in the newspapers in both case studies. Just as in the Berbers et al. study the terrorist frame in newspapers describes foreign fighters as ticking time bombs.¹⁷⁸ The possible solution that is given in the newspapers is restrictive measures to prevent them from leaving or coming back or increase the intelligence services so that they can be monitored more effectively.

Concluding, the overall focus is on the threat they form to Dutch society and how the risk of a possible terrorist attack in the Netherlands is increasing. The stated cause is the alienation of young Muslims is seen as the major cause of radicalisation and therefore becoming a foreign fighter. As a consequence the newspapers report that a terrorist attack in the Netherlands increases significantly. The solutions named in newspapers are more restrictive measures to prevent radicalised Muslims from leaving and more surveillance in Muslim communities.

¹⁷⁶ Suzanne Geuze, "Meer Risico op aanslag door promotie jihadgangers", in *Algemeen Dagblad*, November 10, 2015, accessed May 20, 2018.

¹⁷⁷ Bram Peeters, "Afnemen paspoort helpt de jihadisten", in *NRC Handelsblad*

¹⁷⁸ Tijn Sadec, "Tikkende tijdbommen in België" in *NRC Handelsblad*, January 16, 2015, accessed May 20, 2018.

4.1.2 The Recruiter frame

The recruiter is a new frame within the newspapers. In the study of Berbers et al. a closely related frame was the victim frame, where the main subject was the victim. In 2015 the main subject in the newspapers is the recruiter. Young Muslims are still sometimes seen as victims, however the journalists place more emphasis on the problem of the recruiting. Which means the focus is more on the recruiting than on Muslims being a victim, hence there are some differences between the two frames. This difference in the emphasis is made clear below. The recruiter frame does not focus on the perceived threat of young Muslims, but on how they are attracted to IS by recruiters or propaganda: ‘they lost the connection to our society (...) eventually one leaves and he helps others to radicalize and they are attracted to the dream of the Caliphate. The message that IS sends becomes the one and only truth.’¹⁷⁹ In both case studies the newspapers report the recruitment as the problem definition.

According to this frame the recruitment is done in two-ways, but in essence they use the same reasoning and framing devices. The first part of the frame is the actual physical recruiting of young Muslims and the recruiter tries to radicalize them: ‘The Saudi imam Abdullah al-Muhaysini such as the call upon Dutch Muslims to go to Syria for the Jihad.’¹⁸⁰ This frame sees mosques and organisations such as Sharia4Belgium as places and organisations where propaganda is used. The newspapers state that the recruiters ‘brainwash’ and ‘encourage’ young people to travel to Syria.¹⁸¹ The physical recruitment is both used in the Charlie Hebdo case study as well in the Paris attacks case study.

The second part of the frame is the virtual recruiter. Both case studies use the virtual recruitment. Recruitment is done through messages or videos via the use of social media:

They [social media posts] are meant to deter the enemy, or to recruit new fighters. Twitter is the most used platform. The amount of messages is uninterrupted and the reach is almost unlimited. The accounts of jihadists are constantly removed, but they return just as fast.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ Tijn Sadee, “Voor de Jihadisten werkt IS als drugs”, in *NRC Handelsblad*, November 21, 2015, accessed May, 20, 2018.

¹⁸⁰ Unknown editor, “Jihad-ideoloog doet oproep”, in *Algemeen Dagblad*, December 30, 2014, accessed May 20, 2015.

¹⁸¹ Leen Vervaeke, “Ik ben een uitdager, geen terrorist” in *De Volkskrant*, December 11, 2014, accessed May 20, 2018.

¹⁸² Robbert Salome and Carla van der Wal, “Jihad in 140 tekens”, in *Algemeen Dagblad*, December 10, 2014, accessed May 20, 2018/

Within the martyr frame the ‘virtual’ recruiter and physical recruitment are sometimes combined:

Not only the individuals are suspected of recruiting for the Jihad, but the group as a whole. Through agitating films, glorification of Jihadist violence through social media and through lectures, young people were spiritually prepared for the fight in Syria: Jews must die, the Jihad is the duty of every Muslim, and the caliphate is worthy of congratulations.

The newspapers make clear that virtual recruitment is done through social media posts and the physical recruitment through lectures and the showing of violence in films. Within this quote the martyr frame is also represented, and here the fine line between them is made clear. Although it is done through the recruiter frame, the martyr frame is expressed with the following sentence: ‘the Jihad is the duty of every Muslim, and the caliphate is worthy of congratulation’.

According to the newspapers who make use of the recruiter frame the goal is also to ‘normalize violence (...), Raqqa seems like an exciting version of The Hague, where you can easily go to’.¹⁸³ The frame also presents consequences such as call upon Dutch soldiers not to wear their military uniform in public transport.¹⁸⁴ This consequence was only found in the case study of Charlie Hebdo. Part of the victim frame is still found in the recruiter frame and portrays the cause and why the recruitment can take place. This is seen in the following article:

Society does not want them [young Muslims]. Even with their parents and their grandparents they will find incomprehension. Only on the internet they feel well. The hate speech provides the only guidance. They communicate with other companions who will tell them to commit a terrorist attack. This saves costs for IS as well. The organisation would otherwise have to invest a great deal in travel and accommodation for Syria travelers. For IS it is much cheaper to have the boys stay at home and commit a terrorist attack in Belgium or the Netherlands, in the name of IS.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Ibidem.

¹⁸⁴ Editor unknown, “Jihadi’s veel talrijker dan cijfers tonen; officiële aantallen bewust laag gehouden om probleem kleiner voor te stellen”, in *De Telegraaf*, January 9, 2015, accessed May 20, 2018.

¹⁸⁵ Tijn Sadec, “‘We maken jongeren tot dynamiet’; internet”, in *NRC Handelsblad*, January 17, 2015, accessed May 20, 2018.

Here it is made clear that the victim part is still used, however the emphasis of the frame is on the recruitment of youngsters through social media, and the intent to let them attack the West. In other words, the recruiter frame in newspapers is mostly used to emphasize the problem of recruitment and the further radicalization of young Muslims, instead of emphasizing the victim part.

The recruiter frame could be seen as a step in the radicalization process and sometimes foreign fighters encourage Muslims at home to perform an attack. It is therefore closely related to the martyr frame, however the martyr frame is more inward and religious, as will be made clear. The recruiter frame is more attentive to one or more persons recruiting other Muslims. This can be seen in the following quote of the Charlie Hebdo case study:

Abdelkarim el Atrach (28) who recently in a video message urged for a firm deed against the Dutch government, because of their attacks on foreign fighters. This video message was the reason why Dutch soldiers no longer travel in military uniform in public transport.¹⁸⁶

Possible solutions in some of the newspaper articles to stop the recruiting are socioeconomic inclusive processes. These solutions are found in both case studies, although there is not much emphasize on the solution reasoning device. In both case studies the emphasis is more on stopping the recruiters, which corresponds with the change in the main subject as it is no longer the victim but the recruiter. Consequently, some newspaper articles state that poverty and disadvantages in society of Muslims are not the archetype of what motivates foreign fighters, there is no simple archetype because everyone can be radicalized.¹⁸⁷ This cause by the newspapers was not found in the Charlie Hebdo Case studies, however it was used numerous times in the Paris attacks case study. To this cause there is not really a possible solution stated in the newspapers other than the removal of twitter accounts or persecuting recruiters, as anyone can be radicalized.

4.1.3 The Martyr frame

In the newspapers the martyr frame and the recruiter frame have several similarities. In both frames it is made clear that the cause of the problem is that Muslims are not feeling part of

¹⁸⁶ Editor unknown, "Jihadi's veel talrijker".

¹⁸⁷ Birgit Pfeifer, "Hou op met cliché over armoede en terrorisme", in *De Volkskrant*, 21 January 2015, accessed May 20, 2018.

society, they are considered outsiders. In the recruiter frame the perception is more than often that they failed by society or that their perception is that they are not wanted. Within the martyr frame Muslims are said not to feel part of society, however the emphasis is more on the religious aspect. The caliphate and the jihad are two important concepts of the martyr frame, as this is how a true Muslim should live. Part of the emphasis in the newspapers is on the fact that Muslims cannot practice their religion in the West as they should, which is why IS is tempting. This is seen in both case studies. The recruiter frame could be seen as a step in the radicalization process and before the Muslims are portrayed in the terrorist frame or the martyr frame, although this is not explicitly stated in the newspapers. Nevertheless, in both frames they feel alienated in the West, but the emphasis is more on religion and perceived disrespect to Islam within the Martyr frame.

An important distinction with the terrorist frame is that in the terrorist frame the out-group perspective is described, while the martyr frame is about the in-group perspective and how the martyr rejects for example democracy or Western values, and not how they are seen or described through the terrorist frame. This is seen in some later quotes. The problem definition in the newspapers in both case studies is an important part of the martyr frame and is what the name of the frame suggests: martyrdom. The holy war, the Jihad, the caliphate and paradise are important concepts in this frame. The frame also uses the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ perspective, this is for example seen in a quote of the Charlie Hebdo case study:

For young Muslims who take their faith 100 percent seriously, there is no room in Western Europe. That is how they feel. Going to Syria to fight is a statement: you oppose the West and at the same time it is salvation.¹⁸⁸

In the terrorist frame the terrorist was sometimes described as not Dutch, or the emphasis was on the threat they form. They were described in an out-group perspective, seen through the eyes of the journalist and the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ is often seen. In this following quote of the Paris attacks case study the focus is more on what the in-group perspective of the martyr. The vision of the martyr is described by journalists here:

¹⁸⁸ Sadee, “Tikkende Tijdbommen”.

Dutch foreign fighters say they do not fight for the money, but for their ideals. In their vision communism, socialism and democracy has failed. They dream of a Caliphate where they can walk unhindered on the path of Allah.¹⁸⁹

This in-group perspective is also seen in how martyrs perceive disrespect to Islam, according to the newspapers. In the martyr frame the Muslims perceive disrespect from the West to Islam and see this secularisation as a threat. In the quote above the martyr was searching for a place where Islam was not threatened by democracy and where he could walk the path of Allah.

The martyr part of the frame is focused on the afterlife, as is seen in the next quote of the Paris attacks case study: “He became a martyr. Or, like another Dutch ‘brother’ in Syria happily reported: Achraf is with Allah.”¹⁹⁰ The newspapers publish the statements of foreign fighters and in these statements foreign fighters give themselves the status of a martyr and they blame society for their deeds.¹⁹¹ This is also seen in the following quote of the Charlie Hebdo case study:

In order to achieve immortality, foreign fighters cling to the promise of the paradise; to ignore the existential loneliness, they seek brotherhood with other Muslims; (...) they act as the defender of the Islam and to achieve this freedom they break with their values of the past and the society in which they grew up.¹⁹²

Another important part of the martyr frame is the suffering of their perceived brotherhood with other Muslims. This frame uses suffering as a motivation as a reason to become a foreign fighter:

According to a Belgian Jihadist revenge is the reason for ex foreign fighters to attack the West, with attacks in the heart of Europe. They want to fight back because of the bombs dropped by the West in areas where other foreign fighters from the Netherlands and Belgium are fighting. (...) They have lost their friends due to drones and bombs.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ Janny Groen, “Wij laten zien wat zich werkelijk afspeelt in het kalifaat” in *De Volkskrant*, November 5, 2015, accessed May 20, 2018.

¹⁹⁰ Groen, “Farid is zijn zoon definitief kwijt”.

¹⁹¹ Ibidem.

¹⁹² Pfeifer, “Hou op”.

¹⁹³ Robbert Salome en Carla van de Wal, “Jihadgevaar komt nu van alle kanten”, in *Algemeen Dagblad*, January 16, 2015, accessed May 20, 2018.

The overall problem definition is that radical Muslims decide to travel to Syria to live there and/or help their brothers and sisters as a part of their religious duty. The cause is because they do not feel welcome in the West anymore, the West is a perceived threat to Islam, they perceive disrespect and lastly they cannot practice their religion in the West as true Muslim. The consequences are that they leave for Syria or Iraq to fight in the name of Islam and that they can become a martyr there. Paradise is the goal for the foreign fighter in this frame. The solution in this martyr frame is for a foreign fighter to travel to Syria and fight for the Ummah. If they return or were not able to go to Syria or Iraq, the solution is to carry out an attack in the West. This frame is an in-group perspective, so the solution is also within this perspective.

4.1.4 The Provider frame

The provider frame portrays foreign fighters, returned foreign fighters and radicalized Muslims at home as providers of weapons and or money to IS, or other radicalized Muslims in the West. This is for instance seen in the following newspaper article of the Charlie Hebdo case study: ‘However, a returned foreign fighter has been arrested for planning an armed robbery. The profits would have been used to support the Jihad in Syria’.¹⁹⁴

The newspapers’ frame identifies the providing of finances or weapons as a problem. The newspapers state the cause for this problem is the support of the ideology of IS and the support of affiliated terrorists within Europe. This support is carried out through a terrorist attack or by financing IS. This leads to the consequence of robberies, providing of illegal weapons or the use of tax money in the form of social benefits for illegal terrorist activities, which is seen in both the case studies. Here is an example of the Charlie Hebdo case study:

Former foreign fighters are also weapon dealers for Islamists and criminals. (...) The error suspects are all in their young twenties and besides being former foreign fighters they would also be weapon dealers. They would provide weapons to other Islamists or criminals.¹⁹⁵

In the frame several solutions for the consequences are named, as is seen here: ‘the Nederlandsche Bank (Dutch Central Bank) freezes the funds of several foreign fighters.’¹⁹⁶ This

¹⁹⁴ NRC-editor, “Tegengehouden jihadreiziger groeiend gevaar voor veiligheid”, in *NRC Handelsblad*, December 23, 2014, accessed May 20, 2018.

¹⁹⁵ Unknown editor, “Ontsnapt aan tweede Parijs; Oud-Syriëgangsters zijn ook wapenhandelaren voor groepen islamisten en criminelen”, in *De Telegraaf*, January 16, 2015, accessed May 20, 2018.

¹⁹⁶ Unknown editor, “Jihadi’s veel talrijker”.

freezing of the funds – although the Nederlandsche bank is not all times named specifically – is seen in both case studies.¹⁹⁷ Moreover, the government declared it illegal to support foreign fighters:

To make jihadists and terror suspects it as difficult as possible, the government can freeze their financial assets. The so-called sanction list now contains 19 names, including those of a few jihadists. The social benefits of dozens of fighters have recently been stopped. Whoever wants to support the foreign fighters financially runs the risk of prosecution for financing terrorism.¹⁹⁸

The problem definition given by the newspapers is that radical Muslims use illegal acquired money or social benefits to finance terrorist organisations such as IS or use it to finance their stay in Syria or Iraq. They also provide weapons to other radicals or criminals. The overall moral value in the newspapers is that the use of tax money through social benefits is not acceptable, nor is it that people in the Netherlands support IS or foreign fighters.

4.1.5 The Asylum Seeker frame

In this frame the perceived threat of returning foreign fighters and asylum seekers are linked. This frame was only found in the case study of the Paris attacks. Which could be explained because although the Syrian Civil War started in 2013, there was a peak in incoming asylum seekers in 2015.¹⁹⁹ The timeframe of the Charlie Hebdo attack is at the end of 2014 and beginning of 2015. Nevertheless, the newspapers identified the asylum seeker as a problem in regard to foreign fighters. The frame makes it clear that it is possible that within the stream of asylum seekers there is a danger:

The refugee flow involves risks. More than two thousand asylum seekers arrive in the Netherlands every week. Among them can be accomplices of terrorist organisations. PVV leader Geert Wilders repeatedly warns: "Among those asylum seekers the Islamic State smuggles thousands of terrorists to Europe".²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ Bart Olmer and Bjorn Thimister, "G. wilde naar IS of hier verderf zaaien; Recherche hoort verdachte jihadist steeds krankzinniger worden", in *De Telegraaf*, October 15, 2015, accessed May 20, 2018.

¹⁹⁸ Unknown editor, "Thousands are trained", in *Algemeen Dagblad*, January 13, 2015, accessed May 20, 2018.

¹⁹⁹ <https://studiegids.leidenuniv.nl/courses/show/76789/The-European-refugee-crisis>

²⁰⁰ Andreas Kouwenhoven, "Zo'n IS-strijder pik je er niet uit", in *NRC Handelsblad*, November 7, 2015, accessed May 20, 2018.

The newspapers portray not only the asylum seekers as terrorists, but in addition linking this to the consequence of an increased risk of possible terrorist attacks:

They are ready to slaughter each one of us. The same boy texted me: “we will create chaos, the more the better.” He [the boy] thinks the Syrian refugee flow to Europe is great: “there will be people in this flow who will commit terrorist attacks in Europe”.²⁰¹

The possible solutions are more screening and vetting of the asylum seekers:

Refugees are questioned in great detail. (...) If doubts arise during the interview, the asylum application is referred to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (IND) that has more knowledge about the situation in Syria and also consults judicial information about foreign fighters. This department assesses the credibility of the refugee's story. Twenty refugees were refused last year due to possible war crimes, ten of whom were Syrians.²⁰²

These solutions are seen in multiple newspaper articles and all solutions are aimed at stricter vetting of refugees and stricter border control because of the influx of refugees. Although the solutions come back several time, there is a clear emphasis on the risk of the refugees and not as much on the solution. Even if the solution is named – as is done in the next quote – the emphasis is on how the solution is not waterproof and how there still is a risk, even if the vetting is done properly:

It is difficult for the intelligence agency and the IND to filter terrorists from the refugees- even with precise screening. Security services say they have no concrete indications for the coming of a high profile terrorist to the Netherlands. The IND also contradicted this. Terrorists will rather take the plane than cross the Mediterranean Sea by boat, said the IND director. The question is how do the services know this for sure? How do they pick up the terrorists from the tens of thousands of refugees?²⁰³

²⁰¹ Tijn Sadec, “Voor de jihadisten”.

²⁰² Andreas Kouwenhoven, “Zo’n IS-strijder”.

²⁰³ Andreas Kouwenhoven, “Zo’n IS-strijder”.

The newspaper articles go even further with the stated solutions as some journalists are mentioning the policy solutions of politicians in their articles. This means that not only extra vetting should be done, but apart from the extra screening the solution in this frame is preventive incarceration. This focus on preventive incarceration is seen in the following quote: ‘Ideally, the VVD would incarcerate the people on whom no check has been done by default. This is now only possible for asylum seekers who enter the Netherlands through Schiphol Airport.’²⁰⁴ This shows how the newspapers frame the asylum seeker, since the focus on preventive incarceration makes clear that asylum seekers cannot be trusted.

The problem definition of the newspapers is that refugees are coming to Europe. Within the flow of refugees it is not clear who is a genuine asylum seeker and who is a terrorist. The frame clearly connects the asylum seekers to possible terrorist attacks committed by terrorists who come to Europe by making use of the asylum seeker flow. The cause of this flow is the war in the Middle-East. Some solutions are named, such as the incarceration of asylum seekers. However, the focus of the overall frame is on stricter screening and more border control.

Sub-conclusion

This subchapter studied the frames in 2015 and five different frames have been found, the terrorist frame, the recruiter frame, the martyr frame, the provider frame and the asylum seeker frame. Apart from the asylum seeker all frames were found in both case studies. There was one difference for the recruiter frame as well. In the Paris attacks case study one cause was that everyone could be recruited, and in the Charlie Hebdo case study the focus was solely on socioeconomic matters. The total number of analysed articles was 50. Some articles were of low quality, not related to the topic and or did not have an author. Some articles were used that did not name an author, however they were of high quality or the newspaper made it clear that the author was known at the editorial office. In table 4 the number of articles per frame and the percentage can be found.

²⁰⁴ Annemarie Kas, “Den Haag vestigt hoop op wijkagent”, in *NRC Handelsblad*, November 20, 2015, accessed May 20, 2018.

Frames:	Articles (total N=50)	Percentage
Terrorist	N=47	94%
Recruiter	N=28	56%
Martyr	N=23	46%
Provider:	N=15	30%
Asylum seeker	N =5	10%

Table 4: Number of frames in 2015

This subchapter gave an overview of the most common frames including the reasoning and framing devices used by journalists in the newspaper articles in regard to foreign fighters. It is palpable that the terrorist frame is the most used frame in 2015. It shows that the framing regarding foreign fighters is mostly related to perceived threats and negativity surrounding Muslims.

It seems that there was not much attention in the beginning of 2015 to the relation between the asylum seeker flow and foreign fighters, however later on in the Paris attacks case study there was more emphasis on this frame. When newspapers used this frame they reported negatively about the asylum seeker as the main focus was on the possible threat. The frames recurring in the newspapers that were described asylum seekers emphasized the possibility of returning foreign fighters. What came back in both case studies and in several of the frames that the newspapers used was that perceived alienation and exclusion from society will lead to radicalization and therefore to the framing of terrorist, recruiter or as martyr. On the next two pages the coding matrix can be found, which includes all the reasoning devices and the framing devices.

The overarching master frame was predominantly the threat frame, as that frame overarched all the frames in 2015. All frames had some part of the threat frame. The administrative frame was also found often, as many newspapers used policy solutions to combat the threats. This was for instance seen in the more strict measures preventing radicalized Muslims from travelling to Syria, the stricter border controls or the freezing of bank accounts of foreign fighters. The economic frame was related to the provider frame, as it was made clear that tax money should not be used by providers to finance the Jihad. Lastly, the human interest frame was not used often as the main focus of the recruiter frame was more focused on threat of the recruiter than on the victim part of this frame. Nevertheless, sometimes it was used to elaborate on the vulnerabilities and struggles of young Muslims in the Netherlands.

Frame	Reasoning devices					Framing devices	
	Definition of the problem/situation	Cause	Consequences	Possible solutions	Moral values	Archetypes/ myths	Catchphrases
Terrorist	Muslims join the ranks of al-Qaida or IS, fight for the radical Islam and the ideology of the Islamic State. The returning of terrorists is a perceived threat. Moroccans are often named as ethnicity that is associated with terrorism.	The violent Islamic State is seen as a way out. Criminal backgrounds and/or isolation lead to violent radicalized Muslims. However, the opposite is also mentioned and states that everybody can be radicalized.	The likelihood that a terrorist attack will occur in the Netherlands has substantially become greater than before. Killing of different-minded in Syria and/or Iraq.	Restrictive measure against radical Muslims, organisations and increased surveillance in Muslim communities to stop them from leaving/returning. Conviction/deradicalisation processes for returned fighters. Fighting IS in Syria and Iraq. Increased power for police and intelligence agencies.	Out-group perspective: They are seen as a 'them' and not an 'us' They are 'Not Dutch' and are not seen as part of Dutch society, democracy and acquired freedom and values). Associated with IS ideology. Their atrocities are horrendous and they must be stopped and deradicalised.	The terrorist	They form a danger to our society and we have to defend our freedom. It is questionable if they can function in our Western society. Labels: Polderjihadisten, Syriëganger, backward believer, adolescent-jihadi, lunatics
The Recruiter	Recruiters try to radicalize young Muslims to join the ranks of al-Qaida or IS to fight for the radical Islam and Islamic State. IS affiliated fighters use (online) propaganda to recruit Muslims for their cause and urge for attacks.	Young Muslims have the perception that the West does not need them and they lose the connection to society. This combined with troubled backgrounds and alienation gives the last push for radicalisation, often used by recruiters.	Soldiers were instructed not to travel in uniform in public transport. Radicalized Muslims travel to Syria or Iraq through the efforts of the recruiter. IS propaganda can call for attacks and this is seen as a threat.	Inclusive processes to make young Muslims feel wanted by society. Give them the same opportunities as non-Muslims so radicalisation comes to a halt. The removal of social media accounts of recruiters or other anti-propaganda measures such as convictions.	True practice of the Islam, manipulation and brainwashing, radicalisation, demoralisation: The West does not need us.	The Recruiter and the Victim are loosely merged and both used, however the emphasis is on the recruiter.	The message of society is: we don't need you. They are radicalized on the internet or by recruiters. Labels: sharia, Syriëganger, ronselaar, propaganda, Mediajihad, brainwash, jihadi
The Martyr	Radical Muslims decide to travel to Syria to live there and/or help their brothers and sisters as a part of their religious duty.	They are motivated by the suffering of their brothers and sisters of the international Ummah and perceived disrespect, and threat from the west to the Islam. They lose faith in living in the secularised West as a rightful Muslim.	The fighters have the honour to fight for the Islamic State. They support the international Ummah and terrorist attacks in the West and get if they die they go to the Paradise.	The solution for the radicalized Muslims is to travel to Syria and fight for the Ummah. If they have returned or did not go to Syria or Iraq, the solution is to carry out an attack in the West.	In-group perspective: Self-sacrifice, honour and pride, martyrdom, purity of the Islam, rejecting democracy and other Western values	The martyr	"He is with Allah" "My son is in paradise" Labels: infidels, Holy war/Jihad, ideologists/IS-ideology, sharia-state, Caliphate, martyrdom, paradise.

The provider	Radical Muslims use illegal acquired money or social benefits to finance terrorist organisations such as IS or use it to finance their stay in Syria or Iraq. They provide weapons to other radicals or criminals.	The providers do not have an option to go to Syria or they already returned to Europe and support the cause from here.	The financiers are acquired through illegal activity such as robberies or the tax money meant for social benefits is used to finance terrorist organisations. Once they come back they keep providing money, or they provide weapons to other radicals.	The termination of social benefits once a foreign fighter has travelled abroad. Freezing of bank accounts. For the providing of weapons no possible solution is stated.	It is not acceptable that illegal acquired money or tax resources go to terrorist organisations.	The provider	The money they sent to friends was used for the fight in the caliphate. Labels: wapenhandelaar, jihadfinancier
The Asylum seeker	Returning foreign fighters are disguised as asylum seekers.	Syrian civil war leads to an increase in asylum seekers and IS wants to commit terror attacks in Europe.	An increased risk of possible terrorist attacks in Europe	More border control and strict screening of asylum seekers, incarcerate asylum seekers who are not screened yet.	Humanitarianism vs. (inter)national security	The asylum seeker	We do not know who we let in, there is not control. Labels: asielzoekers, IS-strijders.
Frame	Definition of the problem/situation	Cause	Consequences	Possible solutions	Moral values	Archetypes/ myths	Catchphrases
	Reasoning devices					Framing devices	

Matrix 4: Frames found in 2015.

4.2 Frames found in the case studies of 2016

In the subchapter above several frames have been identified. In this part the frames will be compared to the newspaper articles in 2016. The three case studies for 2016 are the Jihad play, the return of Laura Hansen/Barcelona attack and the movie Layla M. The same reasoning and framing devices of the frames are not described as in as much detail as above since this leads to repetition, however the differences in the frame are described. Just as in 2015 the differences or similarities per case study are described. The same frames as in 2015 are found, with the exception of a new frame: the women and children of IS. This frame is described more elaborately. 41 articles were analyzed for the case studies of 2016.

4.2.1 The Terrorist frame

The reasoning and framing devices of this frame are explained in detail in the previous subchapter, therefore the same aspects of the frame are described in as much detail as in the previous subchapter. The reasoning devices and framing devices are the same as in 2015. In 2016 the terrorist frame is found in all case studies and the newspapers related to this case study. The main emphasis is still the threat of foreign fighters as it underlines how people travel to Syria and Iraq to fight for IS, and the threat foreign fighters and radicalized Muslims pose as is seen in the Jihad play case study: ‘foreign fighters returning to the Netherlands from the IS caliphate may have been given the task to carry out terror attacks here.’²⁰⁵

Restrictive measures and the possibility of an attack are often named: ‘Not only returning foreign fighters, but also supporters of IS and radicalized youngsters pose a threat. How does the AIVD keep track of so many potential attackers 24 hours a day?’²⁰⁶ And: ‘in Maastricht, a possible return of her [a foreign fighter] to the city is seen as a safety risk (...) she is suspected to be a member of IS’. Next, the same moral values also come back in 2016: ‘Foreign fighters have a pull factor (...) One of these factors is the moral motivation, in which Western values such as democracy, freedom of expression and equality are considered hypocritical.’²⁰⁷ Another example of restrictive measures is for instance more security at events

²⁰⁵ Cyril Rosman, “IS’er die nu terugkeert groot risico”, in *Algemeen Dagblad*, January 21, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.

²⁰⁶ Jolande van der Graaf, “Meegroei met terreurdreiging: AIVD-baas Bertholee: IS-Strijders netwerken, dat moeten wij ook”, in *De Telegraaf*, December 30, 2015, accessed May, 20, 2018. And Johan van de beek en Claire van Dyck, “Hoe gevaarlijk is de mysterieuze Aïcha?” in *Algemeen Dagblad*, January 5, 2016, accessed May, 20, 2018.

²⁰⁷ Amy-Jane Gielen, “IS-Mythen zijn ontrafeld, laat echte werk beginnen”, January 19, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.

and the preemptive controls of bags.²⁰⁸ These quotes are from the case studies the Jihad play and the return of Laura Hansen, and it is seen that they not differ from the case studies in 2015.

However, what is different is that the frame in 2016 emphasizes another aspect besides the perceived threat of returning fighters. In 2015 the frame was mostly focused on the threat they pose in the form of a terrorist attack within Europe and reintegration was barely mentioned. Thus, the measures and solutions were mostly aimed at preventing them from travelling to Syria or incarceration when a foreign fighter came back. In 2016 the frame also emphasizes reintegration and how society should deal with the foreign fighters – besides incarceration – once they have returned. This focus on the reintegration and the problem was found predominantly in the articles of the case studies of the Jihad play and the movie Layla M, yet also to a lesser extent in the case study the return of Laura Hansen. The subsequent quotes from the newspaper articles of the Laura Hansen and the Jihad play case studies show this:

Most jihad suspects in the Netherlands receive a suspended sentence, in which they return to society under the supervision of the probation service. (...) However, for jihadists we do not have an effective program yet. The probation service tries everything and everything, they ponder themselves, but they just do not have the answer.²⁰⁹ (Laura Hansen)

Now it is virtually impossible to return, so for many municipalities the reintegration process of ex-Syrian visitors hits not close to home, but given the current developments in the Syrian conflict it is a scenario where we already should think about.²¹⁰ (Jihad play)

In another newspaper article of the Jihad the frame correspondingly makes clear that there is no simple solution for this reintegration process as the current programs aimed at reintegration are not suitable for returned foreign fighters:

Perpetrators who show insight can change their behaviour in therapy, end their addiction, or learn to control their sexual orientation. Such punishments have meaning,

²⁰⁸ Guest editor, “Angs mag niet winnen”, in *De Telegraaf*, July 16, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.

²⁰⁹ Andreas Kouwenhoven, “Rechter betwijfelt nut straffen jihadi’s”, in *NRC Handelsblad*, January 13, 2016, accessed May 2018.

²¹⁰ Gielen, “IS-Mythen zijn ontrafeld”.

they 'help' more and are more effective than mere detention. The problem with jihadists is that they are 'belief perpetrators'. If they confess it does not mean that they also show repentance and change their beliefs; for them, a verdict can be an acknowledgment rather than a conviction.²¹¹

This differs with the frame used in 2015, as can be seen in this article of the Jihad play case study: 'they do me think of Alex of Clockwork Orange. He gets treated by the government, but in the end he still is a criminal. I have no illusion about the 'treatment' of jihadists'.²¹² Another example is seen in this quote from an article: 'With special deradicalisation teams, Belgium tries to guide returned foreign fighters into reintegration. But according to Alde'emeh, this does not help.'²¹³ In the case study of Laura Hansen there is also one article that states that reintegration is not the solution, but incarceration.²¹⁴ In the same case study it is also stated that the measures taken right does not help ex-jihadists with reintegration, as sometimes they are deprived of their income.²¹⁵

In 2015 the focus was mostly on the returning threat, yet in 2016 the emphasis was on reintegration as foreign fighters are more often returning to the Netherlands. This emphasis was in all of the case studies, but predominantly in the case studies of the Jihad play and Layla M. In the case study of Laura Hansen there was also one critical note about how the Netherlands should not focus on the reintegration process, but on incarceration. The newspapers are framing this reintegration as a difficult process. It seems that the identity of terrorists is not the identity wanted for Dutch society by the newspapers, as the newspapers make it clear that the reintegration part is very difficult because they – the foreign fighters – are significantly different than the rest of society.

4.2.1 The Recruiter frame

In consonance with the terrorist frame, the recruiter frame is also used in the newspapers in 2016. The reasoning and framing devices are similar, yet there are some differences that will be explained in this part. An example of the recruitment process from outside the Netherlands and by foreign fighters in Syria is seen here in an article of the case study of the Jihad play:

²¹¹ Editor unknown, "Jihadisten in het strafrecht", in *NRC Handelsblad*, January 15, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.

²¹² Anna van den Breemer and Laura de Jong, "Stop nou eens met dat eeuwige pamperen", January 17, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.

²¹³ Tijn Sadec, "'We maken jongeren'".

²¹⁴ Wierd Duk, "Te weinig aandacht voor de genocide die IS pleegt", November 8, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.

²¹⁵ Andreas Kouwenhoven and Kees Versteegh, "U staat op de terroristenlijst, dood of levend", in *NRC Handelsblad*, October 22, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.

They have an explicit second task; women are obliged to recruit other women, such as sisters and girlfriends in the Netherlands. A poignant example of this is the practice of Angela B. from Soesterberg, who actually succeeded from Raqqa to persuade Dutch girls to come to the caliphate as a husband for Dutch fighters.²¹⁶

The physical recruiter and the virtual recruiter are both used in 2016, and an emphasis is on the importance of one-on-one recruitment. This newspaper article makes it clear that recruiters emphasize on the fact that life is wonderful in Syria and that IS creates a pull factor:

That individual conversation is very important because IS, apart from general jihadist propaganda, also recruits one-on-one. Do you have doubts whether the food in Raqqa is good? Then you get photos of McDonald's meals (...) you can always Skype with someone who is already in Syria and who can show from her balcony that it is not that bad with those bombings.²¹⁷

The recruitment works not only because of pull factors, as there are also push factors. One of the same reasoning device that returns in the newspapers and that is a push factor is the perceived alienation from society by young Muslims, which is for instance seen in an article of the Layla M. case study:

We see that IS recruits among children of ten or eleven years old. Also in the Netherlands, because the alienation is really no less severe than in Belgium. These children must commit attacks here in Europe. They are completely alienated from society, growing up in families where Arabic TV channels are on all day. In the mosques, these children are driven mad through fear.²¹⁸

The newspapers in 2015 made use of the physical recruitment frame and the virtual recruitment frame, although they make use of the same reasoning and framing devices. In 2016 the virtual

²¹⁶ Jan Albert Sterkman, "IS-Heilstaat is flauwekul; ontluisterend beeld van AIVD na anderhalfjaar onderzoek" in *De Telegraaf*, January 13, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.

²¹⁷ Gielen, "IS-Mythen zijn ontrafeld".

²¹⁸ Wierd Duk, "Nederland kan een terreuraanslag niet aan", in *Algemeen Dagblad*, October 17, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.

recruitment frame is also used in the newspapers and an example of virtual recruitment is seen here in the case study of the Jihad play:

They send optimistic messages through social media to the home front. Everyone has their own home, they report to 'brothers' and 'sisters' who have stayed behind and they want to tempt them to come to the caliphate. Those stories have nothing to do with reality, but the propaganda works. And thus the attraction of the caliphate remains. They send WhatsApp messages with photos of the most delicious dishes. Tell them that the garbage is collected every day. That they have access to excellent medical care.²¹⁹

In this quote the pull factor is also used. The virtual recruitment is also seen in the Laura Hansen case study and Layla M.²²⁰

What is different in 2016 is that although the solution is the same, there is more emphasis in the newspapers on the punishment of recruiters and what should be done to stop the recruitment. The journalists of the newspapers stress the incarceration in the Jihad play and the Laura Hansen case studies. A few examples from articles are seen here: 'heavy convictions help to prevent recruitment, as he found out after the conviction of Abou Moussa at the end of last year. I have encountered a number of those guys who had been around him before he got convicted. They changed their use of language; some of them even started smoking.'²²¹ In addition another article of the Jihad play case study makes use of this quote: 'The judges issued punishments up to 6 years in prison for inciting and recruiting with terrorist intent. Whoever condones, legitimizes or glorifies terrorism is not punishable. But anyone who systematically pushes people to violent jihad is.'²²²

This focus in the newspapers was seen in the case studies of the Jihad play and Laura Hansen, there was no particular focus on the incarceration of recruiters in the case study of Layla M, nevertheless that could also be the case because fewer articles were studied for the last case study due to the lower amount of articles available for this case study. Although the overall reasoning and framing devices were seen in every case study, there was one new focus in 2016 which was the emphasis on the incarceration of recruiters.

²¹⁹ Janny Groen, "Eenmaal in het kalifaat valt het sprookje tegen", in *De Volkskrant*, January 16, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.

²²⁰ Andreas Kouwenhoven and Kees Versteegh, "U staat", and Cyril Rosman, "Jihadist tot in".

²²¹ Fokke Obbema, "Haatprediker in Oostenrijk krijgt 20 jaar", in *De Volkskrant*, July 14, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.

²²² Janny Groen, "Je komt niet meer weg met 'ik wilde op vakantie in Syrië'", February 23, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.

4.2.3 The Martyr frame

The martyr frame does not change and the newspapers make use of the same reasoning and framing devices in 2016. The focus of the newspaper articles is still on the fact that Muslims travel to Syria to help out their brothers and sisters, and fight the holy war against the unbelievers. In the martyr frame of 2016 the West is still seen as a threat to Islam and Muslims perceive the West as a place where they cannot live a truly rightful religious life. The perceived threat to Islam is for instance made clear in the Jihad play case study: ‘this leads to a stir among radical Muslims, who react indignantly on social media about double standards. Their message is that Muslims are arrested purely and simply because of their religion.’²²³ Moreover, the fight against the unbelievers and the goal of Paradise is still seen in 2016, for example in the Layla M. and Laura Hansen case studies: ‘They are being told that they will be tortured if they die in sin, that a snake will bite their buttocks. But if they die as 'martyrs' their sins are forgiven and even their family members go to paradise.’²²⁴ (Layla M.)

Believers have the duty to wage jihad against unbelievers: 'Islam does not mean peace, the attack is obligatory'. The armed struggle is regarded as the 'individual duty of faith' of Muslims. The killing of unbelievers gives 'great joy'. He regards slaughter as 'the most beautiful form of killing'.²²⁵ (Laura Hansen)

These quotes are a good illustration of the martyr frame due to the fact that in the quotes above the interpretative package consisting of the all the reasoning and framing devices is seen. In the quotes the described situation, the cause, the consequences and solutions from an in-group perspectives are the same as in 2015. The moral values such as martyrdom and self-sacrifice likewise return. The martyr frame in 2016 does not differ per case study as they all focus on the same reasoning and framing devices of 2015.

4.2.4 The Provider frame

For this frame the reasoning devices for the solution changes. In 2015 there was barely any attention for the prosecution of jihad financiers, and there was more slightly more attention for the providing of weapons. Yet, it was not a frame that was often used and if it was, it was briefly

²²³ Janny Groen, “De juiste straf kiezen voor terroristen is maatwerk” in *De Volkskrant*, January 26, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.

²²⁴ Wierd Duk, “Nederland kan een terreuraanslag niet aan”.

²²⁵ Fokke Obbema, “Haatprediker in Oostenrijk krijgt 20 jaar”, in *De Volkskrant*, July 14, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.W

described. In all the case studies of 2016 the provider frame is described more extensively in than in 2015. In 2015 only short parts of an article mentioned the matter and in 2016 larger parts of the articles gave an extensive description of the problem.

This in depth description likewise meant that the reasoning devices changed. In 2015 there was only one mention of incarceration and financing foreign fighters: ‘Whoever wants to assist the foreign fighters financially, runs the risk of prosecution on account of financing of terrorism.’²²⁶ In this frame there is mentioned that there is a risk, however in 2016 there is significantly more focus on incarceration as is seen in the Jihad play case study: sending money is enough for a few years in prison.²²⁷ And this focus continues in another article from the same case study:

Sending money or goods to jihad areas has been assessed as participation in a terrorist organization. "This verdict is very important. Some people think that transferring 500 or 1,000 euros to a friend who is fighting there is not that bad. Certainly not if it is emphasized that the money is meant for private affairs. To buy bread or clothing. The judge says that you also contribute to the capital of a foreign fighter and thus support the armed jihad."²²⁸

In the Laura Hansen case study there is not really a focus on the incarceration of jihadists, however in the Layla M. case study there is. For example, the newspapers mention that financiers of jihad are now also put on the national terrorist lists. This list contains persons who are deemed a risk for the national security of the Netherlands.²²⁹

To conclude, in 2016 there were a few differences in the use of the frame in comparison to 2015. Firstly, the frame was not used more often by journalists, however when it was used the articles described the frame more extensively. Secondly, in two of the case studies there was significant more attention to the solution part of the reasoning and framing devices. The stated solution in the newspapers was the incarceration of providers. For the rest the newspapers made use of the same reasoning and framing devices.

²²⁶ Editor unknown, “Duizenden getraind”, in *Algemeen Dagblad*, January 13, 2015, accessed May 20, 2018.

²²⁷ Groen, “Ook sympathisant is jihadganger” in *De Volkskrant* February 23, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.

²²⁸ Groen, “Je komt niet meer weg”.

²²⁹ Kouwenhoven and Versteegh, “U staat op terroristenlijst”.

4.2.5 The Asylum Seeker frame

This frame is also used in the newspapers in 2016 as is seen in an article of the Jihad play case study: 'Identity papers are immediately collected on arrival, so that desertion is excluded. This dizzying amount of passports and ID cards are used by IS for sending terrorists to Europe, the secret services acknowledges.'²³⁰ The reasoning devices and framing device in the case studies are similar to the ones used in 2015, except for a few differences.

The first difference is found in all of the case studies. What is different is that although the frame itself does not really change significantly in reasoning or framing devices, there is more attention to the refugee flow as more articles use this frame than in 2015. Furthermore, when the frame is used it is described more extensively as whole paragraphs use the asylum seeker frame, as can be seen in the next quote from the Laura Hansen case study. Additionally, in the same quote there is also a new reasoning device being used that focuses on the consequences of the influx of asylum seekers:

The refugees from Syria, the possible presence of IS infiltrators here, and the growing likelihood of domestic attacks ('threat level substantial'). There is anger among the people about the refugee flow as the accompanying fear of new radical Muslims coming to the Netherlands have given the extreme right new impetus, the NCTV observes. A number of new extreme right-wing groups have been established, such as 'citizen patrols' according to the Scandinavian example.²³¹

There is a new consequence added to the reasoning device of this frame, namely as a consequence of the influx of asylum seekers the extreme right have gotten more impetus. The following consequence is not direct a consequence of the asylum seeker influx; however it is a consequence of the extreme right wing consequence:

The NCTV does not think there is high chance of them forming a large ideological block because of classic obstacles such as a lack of cohesion and leadership. And usually actions of those groups also remain within the limits of the law. Nevertheless, violent actions must be taken into account, according to the terrorist attack on a mosque in

²³⁰ Jan Albert Sterkman, "IS-heilstaat is flauwekul; Ontluisterend beeld van AIVD na anderhalf jaar onderzoek", in *De Telegraaf*, January 13, 2016, accessed May 2018.

²³¹ Janny Groen, "Toch IS-Strijders tussen asielzoekers", *De Volkskrant*, July 12, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.

Enschede in February 2016. Some arrests have been made in this case. The extent to which the suspects acted as a group or as a separate association is still unclear.²³²

Because of the consequence of the impetus of the extreme right wing the consequence of that is that it could lead to violence, as did happen with the attack on the Mosque. This new consequence was only found in the Laura Hansen case study, as no other case studies reported about these two new consequences. Overall the frame got more attention in the newspapers of all three case studies, but the consequence reasoning device did only chance in the articles of the Laura Hansen study.

4.2.6 The Women and Children of IS frame

This is a new frame in both this study as well as in the Berbers et al. study. The frame focuses more on the human interest side, as it revolves around the women and children and their situation within IS. What is interesting is that although all three case studies are very different, a Jihad play, the return of Laura Hansen plus the Nice attack and the Layla M. movie they all three used this frame in 2016. Moreover, all reasoning and framing devices return in the case studies except for the threat part of this frame. The threat reasoning device is not used in the Layla M. case study.

Within the problem and situation definition of the framing device there is not per se an emphasize on safety threats, however it is more of a description of the horrible situation women and children are in and how they could get traumatized, as is seen in the Jihad play case study:

At least seventy Dutch children are currently in the terror state IS in Syria and Iraq. (...)The intelligence services states that the life for these children is 'heavy and traumatizing'. Children are confronted with the fact that their father or relatives die in battle. IS members also regularly take young children to public executions and corporal punishment. In some cases, parents even photographed their children with the human remains of prisoners executed by IS.²³³

The frame of the newspapers portrays the life for women as boring and obedient: 'In addition, life in the caliphate offers rather few exiting moments for a young woman who is used to get

²³² Ibidem.

²³³ Jan Albert Sterkman, "Zeventig kinderen uit Nederland in het terreurgebied", in *De Telegraaf*, January 13, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.

what she wants. She is expected to sit indoors all day and, according to Yilmaz, do “girl things” like cooking and tea parties.’²³⁴ The main task of a woman is also described in an article, but as a dangerous one:

There is a deplorable health care. The latter is especially true for women, who only can be helped by female doctors and there is a major shortage of them. Childbirths are life-threatening. But the main task of women is to give birth to new jihadists. As much and as quickly as possible. The AIVD does not know exactly how many Dutch children were born in the caliphate. More than twenty is the estimate, but probably more. The Dutch babies have no identity papers, are not registered anywhere.²³⁵

The reason is that women that want to travel to IS and live their lives there are misguided through propaganda or forced by their husbands according to the newspapers. The consequences of this frame are that women and children live in harsh and traumatizing conditions. The solution that is given is related to the aftercare and reception of children after they return: ‘Is the municipal health care system equipped to provide and monitor these 'child soldiers' for years of intensive guidance?’²³⁶

At the same there is not only attention for the suffering of women and children in this frame and thus there is not only a focus on the human interest perspective. The women are likewise seen as jihadist and when they return they should be convicted, as can be seen in the Jihad play case study:

For example, the intelligence services states that women do not, in principle, participate in the armed struggle, but are expected lend a hand. “They are walking around armed, some with a bomb belt. The role of women cannot be underestimated”, says Van Veghel. “We do not do that either. There are serious investigations on women.”²³⁷

Besides the aforementioned struggles of the women and children of IS stated in the newspapers, they are also seen as a threat, this focus on children as a threat is for example seen in the Laura Hansen case study:

²³⁴ Johan van de Beek and Claire van Dyck, “Hoe gevaarlijk is mysterieuze Aïcha?”, in *Algemeen Dagblad*, January 5, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.

²³⁵ Groen, “Eenmaal in het kalifaat”.

²³⁶ Gielen, “IS-Mythen”.

²³⁷ Janny Groen, “Ook sympathisant is Jihadganger” in *De Volkskrant*, February 23, 2016, accessed May 20, 2018.

But as IS in Syria and Iraq comes under more pressure, according to the NCTV, there is an increased possibility of women and children that will be used for attacks in the West. As a result children from 9 years of age who have travelled to the caliphate with their parents are included in the number of foreign fighters since May.²³⁸

Concluding, the journalists are using the following the reasoning and framing devices in newspapers. The problem definition of this frame is that women and children are treated horrible in the Islamic State and in addition they are seen as a threat as they can carry out attacks. The cause is mostly on the victim part as male foreign fighters treat them according to Sharia law. The threat part is seen due to the fact that IS is coming under pressure and women and children are used to commit attacks. The stated consequence in the newspapers is that women and children suffer health risks and become traumatized which can be problematic when they return. Therefore the stated solution in the articles is that the current healthcare system is not sufficient to deal with what these women and children have gone through. For the threat part of the frame there is no specific solution stated.

Sub-conclusion

The total number of analysed newspapers is 41. Due to a lower amount of relevant articles, the lack of named authors and quality of the articles the amount is a bit lower than in 2015. Below in table 5 the number of frames and the percentages can be found.

Frames:	Articles (total N=41)	Percentage	Difference in % compared to 2015
Terrorist	41	100	+6% (94%)
Recruiter	16	39	-17% (56%)
Martyr	12	29	-17% (46%)
Provider	7	20	-10% (30%)
Asylum	7	17	+7% (10%)
Women and children	12	29	Not used in 2015

Table 5: Number of frames in 2015

²³⁸ Janny Groen, "Toch IS-Strijders".

If this table is compared to the table of 2015 there are a few differences. The use of the terrorist frame increased, the recruiter, the martyr and the provider frame all decreased and the asylum seeker frame increased in popularity. Moreover, a new frame was introduced, to be precise the women and children of IS.

However, this is not the only matter that changed. Not only did some frames get more or less attention, there were also differences in the extensiveness of the frames. The provider and the asylum seeker were described more extensively in the newspapers of 2016. Next, besides the quantitative differences there are also differences in the frame package, consisting of the reasoning and framing devices. For the terrorist frame there was less focus on the terrorist attack threat and more emphasis on what the government should do when they come back as the current deradicalisation programs are described as not sufficient. The newspapers emphasized that foreign fighters have experienced and lived through horrific situations and the current system is not sufficient. This is also more of a focus on the human interest and administrative side, nevertheless there is still a focus on the threat they pose of course if they do not radicalize. However, the focus is on how they should be treated.

For the provider and recruiter frame there was a stronger emphasis in the newspapers on the incarceration of supporters of and recruiters for violent jihadism. For the asylum seeker frame there was an increase in attention and this also led to two new reasoning devices being used in the newspapers. Extreme right wing groups grew in popularity due to the increased influx of asylum seekers, who were taught to be terrorists. The newspapers use this frame to portray the origin of the right wing groups as a result of the increased flow of asylum seekers. The stated consequence in the articles is that the groups want to protect the Netherlands to the perceived threat of the asylum seekers.

Lastly, the largest difference was the use of a new frame. There was a substantial focus in the newspapers on the life of Dutch women and children living in Syria and Iraq under the reign of IS. This frame focused more on the human interest side, however it was also overarched by the administrative and threat frame as well. The administrative frame used in the newspapers emphasized that current trauma recovery programs are not equipped to deal with the situation. The threat frame was used to describe how women and children were being used as attackers by IS, as IS was coming under pressure of the West. Nevertheless, the emphasis was on the difficult and burdensome life of the women and children.

This means that in 2016 there was a difference in quantity of the frames being used. There was a difference in reasoning and framing devices for the existing frames and lastly, there

was an increased focus on a human interest frame that was not being used in 2015. This human interest frame was used in the women and children of IS, and was also seen more often in the terrorist frame. In the matrix below the differences in reasoning and framing devices are stated. Given that not all reasoning devices and framing devices changed significantly, only the changes are explicitly stated in red text.

Frame	Reasoning devices					Framing devices	
	Definition of the problem/situation	Cause	Consequences	Possible solutions	Moral values	Archetypes/myths	Catchphrases
Terrorist	<p>Muslims join the ranks of al-Qaida or IS, fight for the radical Islam and the ideology of the Islamic State. The returning of terrorists is a perceived threat. Moroccans are often named as ethnicity that is associated with terrorism.</p> <p style="color: red;">More focus on the reintegration of foreign fighters when they return</p>	<p>The violent Islamic State is seen as a way out. Criminal backgrounds and/or isolation lead to violent radicalized Muslims. However, the opposite is also mentioned and states that everybody can be radicalized.</p> <p style="color: red;">Current rehabilitation programs are not suited for foreign fighters.</p>	<p>The likelihood that a terrorist attack will occur in the Netherlands has substantially become greater than before. Killing of different-minded in Syria and/or Iraq.</p> <p style="color: red;">Returned foreign fighters will not deradicalise.</p>	<p>Restrictive measure against radical Muslims, organisations and increased surveillance in Muslim communities to stop them from leaving/returning. Conviction/deradicalisation processes for returned fighters. Fighting IS in Syria and Iraq. Increased power for police and intelligence agencies.</p> <p style="color: red;">Setting up new programs for the rehabilitation of foreign fighters and evaluation of this program.</p>	<p>Out-group perspective: They are seen as a ‘them’ and not an ‘us’ They are ‘Not Dutch’ and are not seen as part of Dutch society, democracy and acquired freedom and values). Associated with IS ideology. Their atrocities are horrendous and they must be stopped and deradicalised.</p> <p style="color: red;">It is desirable that after their sentence they are reintegrated in society</p>	The terrorist	<p>They form a danger to our society and we have to defend our freedom. It is questionable if they can function in our Western society. Labels: Polderjihadisten, Syriëganger, backward believer, adolescent-jihadi, lunatics</p> <p style="color: red;">They form a danger to our society if they are not deradicalised</p>
The Recruiter	<p>Recruiters try to radicalize young Muslims to join the ranks of al-Qaida or IS to fight for the radical Islam and Islamic State. IS affiliated fighters use (online) propaganda to recruit Muslims for their cause and urge for attacks.</p>	<p>Young Muslims have the perception that the West does not need them and they lose the connection to society. This combined with troubled backgrounds and alienation gives the last push for radicalisation, often used by recruiters.</p> <p style="color: red;">Less focus on the alienation.</p>	<p>Soldiers were instructed not to travel in uniform in public transport. Radicalized Muslims travel to Syria or Iraq through the efforts of the recruiter. IS propaganda can call for attacks and this is seen as a threat.</p>	<p>Inclusive processes to make young Muslims feel wanted by society. Give them the same opportunities as non-Muslims so radicalisation comes to a halt. The removal of social media accounts of recruiters or other anti-propaganda measures such as convictions.</p> <p style="color: red;">More emphasis of the incarceration of recruiters</p>	<p>True practice of the Islam, manipulation and brainwashing, radicalisation, demoralisation: The West does not need us.</p>	<p>The Recruiter and the Victim are loosely merged and both used, however the emphasis is on the recruiter.</p> <p style="color: red;">Only the recruiter</p>	<p>The message of society is: we don’t need you. They are radicalized on the internet or by recruiters.</p> <p>Labels: sharia, Syriëganger, ronselaar, propaganda, Mediajihad, brainwash, jihadi</p>
The Martyr	<p>Radical Muslims decide to travel to Syria to live there and/or help their brothers and sisters as a part of their religious duty.</p>	<p>They are motivated by the suffering of their brothers and sisters of the international Ummah and perceived disrespect, and threat from the west to the</p>	<p>The fighters have the honour to fight for the Islamic State. They support the international Ummah and terrorist attacks in the West and get if</p>	<p>The solution for the radicalized Muslims is to travel to Syria and fight for the Ummah. If they have returned or did not go to Syria or Iraq, the solution is</p>	<p>In-group perspective: Self-sacrifice, honour and pride, martyrdom, purity of the Islam, rejecting democracy and other Western values</p>	The martyr	<p>“He is with Allah” “My son is in paradise” Labels: infidels, Holy war/Jihad, ideologists/IS-ideology, sharia-state, Caliphate, martyrdom, paradise.</p>

		Islam. They lose faith in living in the secularised West as a rightful Muslim.	they die they go to the Paradise.	to carry out an attack in the West.			
The provider	Radical Muslims use illegal acquired money or social benefits to finance terrorist organisations such as IS or use it to finance their stay in Syria or Iraq. They provide other radicals or criminals of weapons.	The providers do not have an option to go to Syria or they already returned to Europe and support the cause from here.	The financiers are acquired through illegal activity such as robberies or the tax money meant for social benefits is used to finance terrorist organisations. Once they come back they keep providing money, or they provide weapons to other radicals.	The termination of social benefits once a foreign fighter has travelled abroad. Freezing of bank accounts. For the providing of weapons no possible solution is stated. Strong emphasis on the incarceration of the providers	It is not acceptable that illegal acquired money or tax resources go to terrorist organisations. This is also fighting against IS, making a statement that supporting terrorism is punished.	The provider	The money they sent to friends was used for the fight in the caliphate.
The Asylum seeker	Returning foreign fighters are disguised as asylum seekers.	Syrian civil war leads to an increase in asylum seekers and IS wants to commit terror attacks in Europe.	An increased risk of possible terrorist attacks in Europe Extreme right wing groups are established, which can lead to violence.	More border control and strict screening of asylum seekers, incarcerate asylum seekers who are not screened yet.	Humanitarianism vs. (inter)national security	The asylum seeker	We do not know who we let in, there is not control.
Women and Children of IS	Women and children are treated horrible in the Islamic State. They can carry out attacks	Foreign fighters treat them according to Sharia law. IS is coming under pressure and children are used to commit attacks	Women and children suffer health risks and become traumatized which can be problematic when they return.	The health care system needs to change to adequately deal with it when they return	Protect the children and women.	The women and children of IS	These children are living a heavy and traumatized life. It is not safe for women, no sufficient healthcare Labels: jihadbruid
Frame	Definition of the problem/situation	Cause	Consequences	Possible solutions	Moral values	Archetypes/ myths	Catchphrases
	Reasoning devices					Framing devices	

Matrix 5: reasoning and framing devices in 2016. The red text signifies the changes in the devices in comparison with 2015.

4.3 Frames found in the case studies of 2017

The case studies for 2017 were the revocation of the Dutch nationality of foreign fighters with a double nationality. The timeframe for this study was between the 13th of August and the 13th of October. During this timeframe the Barcelona attack happened, as the attack happened on the 17th and 18th of August. The second case study is the conviction of the Laura Hansen. The timeframe for this study is between October 13 and December 13, 2017. In 2017 there are no new frames found. The terrorist, the recruiter, the martyr, the provider, the asylum seeker and the women and children of IS frame are used by the newspapers in 2017. However, there are changes for some of the frames in the reasoning and framing devices. 51 articles were analysed for the case studies in 2017.

4.3.1 The Terrorist frame

In 2017 some of the reasoning and framing devices change and some stay the same yet are more emphasized than in other years. For example, in 2015 the link between foreign fighters and Moroccan descent was made, in 2016 it was mentioned but without much emphasis, however in 2017 there is significantly more focus on this frame than in 2015 and 2016. More articles discussed this aforementioned link than before and to a greater extent. This is for example seen in the revocation of the Dutch nationality case study: ‘You see that there is really something going on in the Moroccan community (...) the number of foreign fighters with a Moroccan background is by far in the majority.’²³⁹ More newspapers in the revocation of the Dutch nationality case study seem to have identified this link and use the frame to ask how it is possible that most of them are Moroccan: ‘They are young, grew up in Western European countries, and in a few cases transformed within a blink of an eye from Western adolescents in jihadist killing machines (...) and: just about everyone have a Moroccan background.’²⁴⁰ This frame falls more under the human interest frame than the threat frame, as there is more interest in the persons and the background of the terrorists. Along with this renewed interest in the background of the foreign fighters or radicalized Muslims there is interest in how the foreign fighters live their life:

Young European Muslims leaving to Syria are almost daily topics of conversation in the news. But the British director Peter Kosminsky noticed that we barely know anything about their lives after that. "We sometimes see some blurry security images of how they

²³⁹ Carla van der Wal, “Waarom juist zij?”, in *Algemeen Dagblad*, August 23, 2017, accessed May, 2018.

²⁴⁰ Hassan Bahara, “De Marokkaanse link”, in *De Volkskrant*, September 2, 2017, accessed May 20, 2018.

cross the border between Turkey and Syria and then: nothing. A silence. We do not know what happens to them afterwards. There are no letters, there is no information.”

Kosminsky: We wanted to make a series about the daily life of these young Syria visitors. Where do they live? What are they doing? What are they eating? How do you survive when you grew up in London or Paris? What is the normal course of events on an average day in the Islamic State? ²⁴¹

The greater emphasis on ethnicity and human interest is not seen as much in the conviction of the Laura Hansen case study, as in this case study the focus stays on the threat frame. However, there are some examples as is seen in the following quote: ‘He hugged the cat Titis. As a young stray cat, Titis was picked up by Samy from the streets and lovingly brought up. He loved the animal, so much so that when Samy joined IS, he called himself ‘Abou Titis.’²⁴² It shows that the article wants to frame the terrorist in a more humane perspective, as terrorists can love cats as well.

For the threat frame new reasoning and framing devices appear. In 2016 the attention shifted away from a threat to society with as a solution incarceration to a more of an administrative frame wherein it was stated that the current reintegration programs in the Netherlands are not suitable for returning foreign fighters and how this needs to change. In 2017 the frame switches back to the threat frame and the question is repeatedly ask if all these measures against terrorism and deradicalisation are working. The frame raises the question if these foreign fighters will be able to reintegrate, as is seen in the revocation of the Dutch nationality case study: ‘You talk about people who were willing to behead others. The question is: can you reintegrate them? You need a system that deals with them. Europe is not ready for it now.’ Next, even if it is possible the frame states that these programs are not effective:

All people who have really been deradicalised have never been in a program for that purpose”, says an ex-radical from the same environment as Bilal L. ., The boy was never really deradicalised, it is scam, meant to make money and hope to sell to desperate and silly policy makers.²⁴³

²⁴¹ Daniëlle Kool, “We hebben niks verzonnen”, in *De Telegraaf*, September 18, 2017, accessed May 20, 2018.

²⁴² Arjen Fortuin, “Engel Samy werd duivel in Bataclan” in *NRC Handelsblad*, November 14, 2017, accessed May 20, 2018.

²⁴³ Cyril Rosman, “Experts: Pas op met het inzetten van ex-radicalen”, in *Algemeen Dagblad*, September 18, 2017, accessed May 20, 2018.

'It looks good on paper', says Shaikh, who fears that the Netherlands has too little de-radicalization expertise to really understand the jihadists. 'IS fighters can return to the West with an order to commit attacks. They go to jail, willingly participate in deradicalisation programs, and know exactly which answers to give and how they should behave. They also know that they are being monitored by the services in the first few years. But they have patience. They strike when attention for them is weakened. And that will happen. That is the logic of the number. No Western service has the capacity to keep all return travelers and frustrated travelers in sight.'²⁴⁴

This emphasis on the threat is stated in newspapers of both the case studies. It is evident that the terrorist frame is used to sketch a situation where it is made clear that reintegration or deradicalisation does not work. The newspapers see this as problematic as it increases the risk of a terrorist attack, since the foreign fighters have trouble with reintegration. In addition, the revocation of the Dutch nationality is used in both case studies as a solution: "The decision of Blok, for which an amendment to the Kingdom Act on Dutch citizenship paved the way, also marks the end of the illusion that former jihadists can be effectively resocialized."²⁴⁵

4.3.2 The Recruiter frame

The same reasoning and framing devices are used in 2017, with some new devices being added to the total package. The recruiter frame was seen above in the terrorist frame, where there was also an emphasis of the ethnicity. In 2015 there was still focus on the victim part of young Muslims, yet just as in 2016 the recruiter frame is emphasizing the recruitment part in 2017. What still is being used in this frame is the alienation and social exclusion part, as can be seen in the following quote of a recruiter: 'You will never belong here, shouted the former football talent and now radical Muslim Azzedine C.'²⁴⁶ This is also seen here: 'Recruiters make use of the victim role. We must deny them their arguments.'²⁴⁷ Although the victim part is mentioned, the focus is still on the agency of the recruiter. Moreover, the victim part is very briefly described, however the causes such as alienation, discrimination are not used simultaneously.

²⁴⁴ Ibidem.

²⁴⁵ Sander van Walsum, "Ex-Nederlanders", in *De Volkskrant*, September 15, 2017, accessed May 20, 2018.

²⁴⁶ Van der Wal, "Waarom juist zij?".

²⁴⁷ Bas Soetenhorst, "Jihadisten zijn ons pakkie-an", in *Algemeen Dagblad*, September 20, 2017, accessed May 20, 2018.

In the terrorist frame there was an emphasis on Moroccan ethnicity in the revocation of the Dutch nationality case studies. The Moroccan part of the frame is not only used for the terrorist frame, it is also used for recruiters in the same case study:

Or they go for work to Europe as a spiritual / recruiter, such as the Moroccan-born imam Abdelbaki Es Satty who got Moroccan-Spanish teenagers to commit an attack in Barcelona.²⁴⁸

The Netherlands too has to deal with itinerant imams of Moroccan origin who have dubious international contacts. They pose an elusive threat to the intelligence service.²⁴⁹

Nevertheless there are some new focuses. It is now clear that the IS not only uses social media or physical recruiters according to the frame as: “The GTA-5 game is popular among IS recruiters. They create virtual worlds where attacks are simulated, battle flags flutter and players behold victims in orange suits. "Join my crew IS", writes Oussama. 'Come to my team'.”²⁵⁰ However, this detail was only mentioned in one article in the revocation of the Dutch nationality case study. Next, a new solution to deal with the recruiters is used in the frame of 2017. The use of anti-propaganda by the government: “The film fits in with the government's preventive policy to undermine jihadist propaganda and other forms of extremist messages.”²⁵¹ In 2017 there was not much focus on the recruiter frame. In the case study of the revocation of the Dutch nationality it described more extensively than during the Laura Hansen case study, nevertheless there were not many articles using the frame overall. Yet, whenever the frame was used the reasoning and framing devices were the same as in 2015 and 2016.

4.3.3. The Martyr frame

Within the martyr frame there are no major changes within the reasoning and framing devices, nevertheless there is a small change. In the frames in 2015 and 2016 the importance of dying as a martyr was commonly used, however in 2017 there is an adaptation to the martyr frame. This change was seen in the revocation of the Dutch nationality case study:

²⁴⁸ Ibidem.

²⁴⁹ Sheila Kamerman and Andreas Kouwenhoven, “Wie controleert de rondreizende Imam?” in *NRC Handelsblad*, August 26, 2017, accessed May, 20, 2018.

²⁵⁰ Editor Unknown, “Op stage bij IS-ronselaar”, in *De Telegraaf*, September 15, 2017, accessed May, 2018.

²⁵¹ Andreas Kouwenhoven, “Antiterrorisme-organisatie NCTV subsidieerde documentaire over IS”, in *NRC Handelsblad*, September 22, 2017, accessed May 20, 2018.

Of course it is wonderful to die as a martyr, says IS, but if you can commit a second attack: even better! There are more examples, such as Salah Abdeslam, the only living perpetrator of the attacks in Paris in November 2015. The willingness of terrorists to give their own life is diminishing.²⁵²

This is in contrast to the frame used in 2015 and 2016, when there was no mention of this. Nonetheless, the same reasoning and framing devices are still used: ‘Hundreds of IS fighters have declared war on our Western way of life’.²⁵³ The cause and the reason why Muslims join the Jihad also stay the same, namely because of western military interventions in the Middle East. According to the frame in the newspapers the frustration about these abuses strip some Muslim youth from their Western layer and makes them susceptible to jihadism.²⁵⁴ These factors are seen in both case studies, as the last example is from the Laura Hansen case study ‘it is a divine mission and order to stand up for Islam and Muslims. A victimization of Sunnis is created. Also the enemy is created of Shiites, Jews, atheists and the West.’²⁵⁵

Within the martyr it is seen that the same reasoning and framing devices are used as in 2015 in 2016. In a couple of articles of the revocation of the Dutch nationality it was seen that martyrs were less willing to give their life for the cause. Furthermore, the use of the frame declined and the frame was also described less extensively.

4.3.4 The Provider frame

For the provider frame there were no significant changes in the reasoning or framing devices, except for an added problem definition:

Nearly three-quarters of the money used to organise a terror attack came from their own pockets (social benefits, salary, and money from the sale of drugs or cars). (...) Those who are no longer able to use their own money are prevented from preparing an attack. This is one of the reasons why the three experts applauded this approach [freezing of assets]. But there are also limitations. IS generated a huge amount of its own income (oil, raw materials, Sunni donors in countries such as Saudi Arabia). Furthermore,

²⁵² Kees Versteegh, “Terreur in Catalonië leert nieuwe lessen”, in *NRC Handelsblad*, August 22, 2017, accessed May 20, 2018.

²⁵³ Hans van Soest, “Barcelona”, in *Algemeen Dagblad*, Augustus 19, 2017, accessed May 20, 2018.

²⁵⁴ Groen, “De Marokkaanse link”.

²⁵⁵ Kees Versteegh, “Orthodoxe imam streed juist met tong, mond en pen”, in *NRC Handelsblad*, November 3, 2017, accessed May 20, 2018.

terrorists became more resourceful in committing 'cheap' attacks with many victims, such as 'truck terror'.

There is a new problem, because the freezing of financial assets are no longer always effective. There is no real solution found for this problem in the frame. The rest of the reasoning and framing devices were the same in 2015 and there was no strong emphasis on the incarceration of providers as there was in 2016. An example of the moral cause is seen in the case study of Laura Hansen: 'It is up to the investigative and intelligence services to report to the tax authorities to stop the allowances of foreign fighters (...). It is very, very undesirable if these people receive support from the Dutch State.'²⁵⁶

4.3.5. The Asylum Seeker frame

In 2017 the same reasoning and framing devices as in 2015 are used. There is no consequence of new extreme right wing groups in the frame of 2017, a consequence that was used in 2016. However, a new consequence of stricter border control is added to the frame:

Inspection checks by the European Commission, for example in Greece in 2015 and 2016, revealed significant gaps in the controls of the EU's external borders. Several terrorists, including those in Paris (November 2015), used these shortcomings and entered Europe through Greece and other EU Member States. The borders were not checked thoroughly, and as result terrorist attacks, such as in Ansbach (July 2016, twelve wounded) and Berlin (December 2016) happened. Nowadays, substantial progress has been made on both border controls and control of asylum seekers. According to reports from inspection services in the EU and the Netherlands border controls improved, but a sour side effect were homegrown terrorists who had not, or hardly ever, emerged from their countries became more important. Attacks such as in Nice, London or Barcelona / Ripoll were carried out by homegrown terrorists.²⁵⁷

Within the frame all the old reasoning and framing devices of 2015 are found, and the new consequence of the emergence of homegrown terrorism is seen. Moreover, not only the threat

²⁵⁶ Editor unknown, "Nog geen stop op toeslagen Jihadisten", in *De Telegraaf*, November 21, 2017, accessed May 20, 2018.

²⁵⁷ Versteegh, "Helpen al die Maatregelen".

frame is seen here but also the administrative frame is seen here as the border control is the responsibility of the EU and national governments.

4.3.6 The Women and Children of IS

In 2017 the frame used a little less often than in 2016, however there was a clear difference between the case studies this time. In 2016 it was used evenly among the case studies, however in 2017 the frame is mainly used in the Laura Hansen case study. In addition to this difference there is a significant difference in the reasoning and framing devices used. In 2016 the main emphasis of the frame was to portray the situation of the women in the Islamic State and the emphasis was on the victim part, or the human interest. In 2017 there is more focus on the threat the women pose, and the newspapers describe the women as foreign fighters, instead as just merely victims. The women get more agency in this frame. However, this does not mean that the victim part disappears as this part of the frame is still used in the newspapers. The increased agency is for instance seen in the next quote of the Laura Hansen case study:

What to do with the 180 Dutch fighters still on the battlefield? Do we make a difference between men and women? And what to do with their young children who are there, probably about 80? Should we take care of those women again? I do not think so. For years they were complicit in atrocities that killed thousands of people.²⁵⁸

The change in the discourse of the newspapers is clearly illustrated with this example and this line of reasoning continues throughout the case study. However, even though they now seen as actors and foreign fighters in the war, they are still described with the human interest frame in mind: ‘At night they sleep side by side, on mattresses that are piled high during the day. These women stand out among the thousands of other inhabitants of the camp, wrapped in rags. They are young, handsome and European.’²⁵⁹ Here the human interest part of the woman and children of IS frame is visible. Their life situation and appearance is sketched by the journalists. The victim part is emphasized: ‘the stories of the women are similar to each other: by chance landed in the caliphate, happily married there, spent years at home with the children, no idea what IS was doing outside.’²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ Cyril Rosman, “Niemand weet raad met de Jihadbruiden”, in *Algemeen Dagblad*, October 19, 2017, accessed May 20, 2018.

²⁵⁹ Ana van Es, “De IS-vrouwen uit Europa willen terug, en snel graag”, in *De Volkskrant*, October 17, 2017, accessed May 20, 2018.

²⁶⁰ Ibidem.

Furthermore what is interesting is that although the women are seen as foreign fighters and not just victims, although this reasoning device is also used, the revocation of the Dutch nationality is not part of the solution. In the terrorist frame there was a vibrant shift in the newspapers from measures to prevent them from travelling abroad in 2015, to analyzing the reradicalisation programs in 2016 to the revocation of the Dutch nationality in 2017. For the women this is not seen as the solution, or not yet: ‘four male IS fighters were got their Dutch nationality revoked. Are the women from the caliphate still welcome?’²⁶¹ The newspapers raise this question and use the human interest frame to portray their situation. Nevertheless, the newspapers still describe them as a threat and use a report of the secret intelligence services to strengthen this frame:

Female jihadists are hardly inferior to their male colleagues in their commitment to violent ideology. Thus, they pose a major safety risk. This is reported by the AIVD [secret service] in the report Jihadist women - A threat that should not be underestimated.²⁶²

Concluding, in 2017 there is a shift in the frame compared to 2016. There is more emphasis on the threat they pose and in addition they are described as actors in the newspapers. The victim part is still used, however the reasoning and framing device change to a greater focus on the actor and threat. What is interesting is that the revocation of the Dutch nationality is not used by the newspapers as a solution for the returning women. For the male foreign fighters this was the main focus in 2017.

Sub-conclusion

For 2017 the total number of newspapers articles analysed was 51. The table makes clear that for the terrorist frame there is not really a difference in 2015 and 2016 if you look at the percentage wherein the frame is used. In 2016 there was a peak in the usage of the frame, yet it stays relatively high. However, it becomes clear that over the years the recruiter, the martyr, the provider seeker frame were used less in the articles. The asylum seeker frame had a spark in 2016 compared to 2015, however in 2017 it is used less than in 2015. The women and children of IS frame is also in a decline.

²⁶¹ Ibidem.

²⁶² Hassan Bahara, “Vrouwelijke Jihadist even gevaarlijk als mannelijke”, in *De Volkskrant*, November 18, 2017, accessed May 20, 2018.

Frames	Total N=51	Percentage	% Difference with 2015	% Difference with 2016
Terrorist	48	94%	+0% (94%)	-6% (100%)
Recruiter	15	29%	-27% (56%)	-10% (39%)
Martyr	11	21%	-25% (46%)	-8% (29%)
Provider	7	13%	-17% (30%)	-7% (20%)
Asylum seeker	3	6%	-5% (11%)	-11% (17%)
Women and Children	11	21%	N/A	-7% (8%)

Table 6: The number of frames in 2017.

Naturally, this is not the whole story as there can be multiple reasons for why the numbers decline. However, the objective of this thesis was to look at the frames and it became clear that in 2017 there were changes in the reasoning and framing devices. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see how the number of frames used during the years change as well.

For 2017 there was a new problem situation for the terrorist frame wherein it was made clear that foreign fighters cannot be forced to deradicalise and reintegration is very difficult. In this year the new policy of the revocation of the Dutch nationality was implemented and the newspapers used this reasoning device as a solution to deal with the problem. Just as in 2015 there was an emphasis on the ethnicity of the foreign fighters, however this was significantly more stressed than in 2015. Secondly, within the recruiter frame a new solution to deal with IS propaganda or recruiters was found. The government uses anti-propaganda messages to counter the narrative of IS. In the 2017 frame video games were also used by IS to recruit new young Muslims. Next, within the martyr frame there was not really a significant change, except for the fact that the frame discussed that martyrs now find it acceptable to not immediately die as a martyr but could commit a second attack. For the provide frame there was also no significant change, nonetheless there was more attention on the fact that if IS's finances are under attack they will look for cheaper attacks such as the truck attack in Nice. For the asylum seeker frame the solution of stricter border control led to a new diagnosed problem in the frame, namely more homegrown terrorism. Deradicalisation is a difficult process as is made clear in the terrorist frame in 2017, there was not really a solution for this problem. The largest difference was found in the women and children of IS frame. The newspapers paid significantly more attention to the

agency of women as they were described in greater detail as foreign fighters, instead of just victims.

The most used master frame was still the threat frame and the administrative frame. This year the human interest frame was more used than the economic frame, as there was less focus on the provider frame and when it was used the economic costs were not always described by the newspapers. In the matrix below the reasoning and framing devices of 2017 can be found. The text in red are the added reasoning and framing devices of 2016, and the text in blue are the reasoning and framing devices of 2017. In the table below the total amount of frames over three years is seen.

Frames 2015-2017	Total N=151	Percentage
Terrorist	142	94%
Recruiter	59	39%
Martyr	46	29%
Provider	29	19%
Asylum seeker	15	10%
Women and Children	23	15%

Table 7: total frames over 2015-2017.

Frames 2017	Reasoning devices					Framing devices	
	Definition of the problem/situation	Cause	Consequences	Possible solutions	Moral values	Archetypes/myths	Catchphrases
Terrorist	<p>Muslims join the ranks of al-Qaida or IS, fight for the radical Islam and the ideology of the Islamic State. The returning of terrorists is a perceived threat. Moroccans are often named as ethnicity that is associated with terrorism.</p> <p>More focus on the reintegration of foreign fighters when they return</p> <p>Foreign fighters cannot be reintegrated. Strong focus on the ethnicity.</p>	<p>The violent Islamic State is seen as a way out. Criminal backgrounds and/or isolation lead to violent radicalized Muslims. However, the opposite is also mentioned and states that everybody can be radicalized.</p> <p>Current rehabilitation programs are not suited for foreign fighters.</p> <p>You cannot force deradicalisation</p>	<p>The likelihood that a terrorist attack will occur in the Netherlands has substantially become greater than before. Killing of different-minded in Syria and/or Iraq.</p> <p>Returned foreign fighters will not deradicalise.</p> <p>Same as 2016.</p>	<p>Restrictive measure against radical Muslims, organisations and increased surveillance in Muslim communities to stop them from leaving/returning. Conviction/deradicalisation processes for returned fighters. Fighting IS in Syria and Iraq. Increased power for police and intelligence agencies.</p> <p>Setting up new programs for the rehabilitation foreign fighters and evaluation of this program.</p> <p>Revocation of the Dutch nationality</p>	<p>Out-group perspective: They are seen as a 'them' and not an 'us' They are 'Not Dutch' and are not seen as part of Dutch society, democracy and acquired freedom and values). Associated with IS ideology. Their atrocities are horrendous and they must be stopped and deradicalised.</p> <p>It is desirable that after their sentence they are reintegrated in society</p> <p>Is it morally acceptable to deal with it this way?</p>	<p>The terrorist</p>	<p>They form a danger to our society and we have to defend our freedom. It is questionable if they can function in our Western society. Labels: Polderjihadisten, Syriëganger, backward believer, adolescent-jihadi, lunatics</p> <p>They form a danger to our society if they are not deradicalised</p> <p>Deradicalisation programs do not work</p>
The Recruiter	<p>Recruiters try to radicalize young Muslims to join the ranks of al-Qaida or IS to fight for the radical Islam and Islamic State. IS affiliated fighters use (online) propaganda to recruit Muslims for their cause and urge for attacks.</p>	<p>Young Muslims have the perception that the West does not need them and they lose the connection to society. This combined with troubled backgrounds and alienation gives the last push for radicalisation, often used by recruiters.</p> <p>Less focus on the alienation.</p>	<p>Soldiers were instructed not to travel in uniform in public transport. Radicalized Muslims travel to Syria or Iraq through the efforts of the recruiter. IS propaganda can call for attacks and this is seen as a threat.</p> <p>Video games are no longer safe and are used by recruiters</p>	<p>Inclusive processes to make young Muslims feel wanted by society. Give them the same opportunities as non-Muslims so radicalisation comes to a halt. The removal of social media accounts of recruiters or other anti-propaganda measures such as convictions.</p> <p>More emphasis of the incarceration of recruiters'</p> <p>The use of anti-propaganda by the government. Less focus on inclusive processes.</p>	<p>True practice of the Islam, manipulation and brainwashing, radicalisation, demoralisation: The West does not need us.</p>	<p>The Recruiter and the Victim are loosely merged and both used, however the emphasis is on the recruiter.</p> <p>Only the recruiter</p> <p>Only the recruiter</p>	<p>The message of society is: we don't need you. They are radicalized on the internet or by recruiters. Labels: sharia, Syriëganger, ronselaar, propaganda, Mediajihad, brainwash, jihadi</p> <p>The government invests in anti-propaganda to</p>

							counter the narrative of IS.
The Martyr	Radical Muslims decide to travel to Syria to live there and/or help their brothers and sisters as a part of their religious duty.	They are motivated by the suffering of their brothers and sisters of the international Ummah and perceived disrespect, and threat from the west to the Islam. They lose faith in living in the secularised West as a rightful Muslim.	The fighters have the honour to fight for the Islamic State. They support the international Ummah and terrorist attacks in the West and get if they die they go to the Paradise. Dying as a martyr is perceived as great, but committing a second attack is even greater.	The solution for the radicalized Muslims is to travel to Syria and fight for the Ummah. If they have returned or did not go to Syria or Iraq, the solution is to carry out an attack in the West.	In-group perspective: Self-sacrifice, honour and pride, martyrdom, purity of the Islam, rejecting democracy and other Western values	The martyr	“He is with Allah” “My son is in paradise” Labels: infidels, Holy war/Jihad, ideologists/IS-ideology, sharia-state, Caliphate, martyrdom, paradise.
The provider	Radical Muslims use illegal acquired money or social benefits to finance terrorist organisations such as IS or use it to finance their stay in Syria or Iraq. They provide other radicals or criminals of weapons.	The providers do not have an option to go to Syria or they already returned to Europe and support the cause from here.	The financers are acquired through illegal activity such as robberies or the tax money meant for social benefits is used to finance terrorist organisations. Once they come back they keep providing money, or they provide weapons to other radicals. Due to the financial restrictions the	The termination of social benefits once a foreign fighter has travelled abroad. Freezing of bank accounts. For the providing of weapons no possible solution is stated. Strong emphasis on the incarceration of the providers No strong emphasis on the incarceration and no solution for the cheaper attacks.	It is not acceptable that illegal acquired money or tax resources go to terrorist organisations. This is also fighting against IS, making a statement that supporting terrorism is punished. We should protect our cities and people with concrete blocks vs. we should not be afraid and let terrorists dictate our daily life.	The provider	The money they sent to friends was used for the fight in the caliphate.

			provider switches to cheaper attack such as the truck in Nice				
The Asylum seeker	Returning foreign fighters are disguised as asylum seekers.	Syrian civil war leads to an increase in asylum seekers and IS wants to commit terror attacks in Europe.	An increased risk of possible terrorist attacks in Europe Extreme right wing groups are established, which can lead to violence. Extreme right wing groups not used in 2017. Due to the fact that there is strict border control there is a rise in home grown terrorism.	More border control and strict screening of asylum seekers, incarcerate asylum seekers who are not screened yet. No solution	Humanitarianism vs. (inter)national security	The asylum seeker	We do not know who we let in, there is not control.
Women and Children of IS	Women and children are treated horrible They can carry out attacks Women are foreign fighters and should be treated as one.	Foreign fighters treat them according to Sharia law. IS is coming under pressure and children are used to commit attacks The women are returning more often.	Women and children suffer health risks and become traumatized which can be problematic when they return. There is an increased risk of a terrorist attack	The health care system needs to change to adequately deal with it when they return Incarnation	Protect the children and women. Women foreign fighters should be treated equally like male foreign fighters.	The women and children of IS	These children are living a heavy and traumatized life. It is not safe for women, no sufficient healthcare Labels: jihadbruid
Frame	Definition of the problem/situation	Cause	Consequences	Possible solutions	Moral values	Archetypes/ myths	Catchphrases
	Reasoning devices					Framing devices	

Matrix 6: Framing and reasoning devices of 2017. The red text signifies the changes in the devices in comparison with 2015. The blue text signifies the changes compared to 2015 and 2016.

Conclusion

In this final chapter a conclusion wherein the main research question is answered is given. Moreover, it is important to look back at the theoretical framework since at the beginning of this thesis a knowledge gap was identified. It is essential to reflect if this thesis has filled that identified gap and to identify the shortcomings of this thesis. Lastly, there will be a short discussion on which opportunities there are for further research regarding discourse analysis and foreign fighters.

The central research question of this thesis was: to what extent are there different or similar frames in the selected Dutch newspapers about foreign fighters between December 2014 and November 2017? The selected Dutch newspapers were the Telegraaf, the Algemeen Dagblad, the Volkskrant and NRC Handelsblad because by combining them they provide a broad overview of the political spectrum and cover more than half of the total population of the Netherlands in their circulation. At the start of the research this thesis used the deductive approach and used the work of Berbers et al. and the five frames they discovered in Dutch and Flanders newspapers in 2013: the terrorist, the victim, the martyr, Don Quixote and the adventurer. During the research it became clear that although there was occasionally a vastly brief mention of one part or another of the Don Quixote and the adventurer frames that these frames were not used in 2015-2017. In 2015 the frames were the terrorist, the recruiter, the martyr, the provider and the asylum seeker frame. In 2016 and 2017 there was one difference in quantity, as the women and children of IS frame was used during this period. Concluding, in the three years there were five frames used in 2015 and one extra frame in 2016 and 2017. At a glance this seems as if there was no significant difference in the frames being used in the newspapers.

However, this does not do justice to the alterations within the aforementioned frames and the change of focus during the years in the master frames. Although the terrorist frame was in essence similar during the years there are some important distinctions in the reasoning and framing devices used. 2015 started with a sharp focus in the newspapers on the atrocities committed in Syria and Iraq and how they are a threat to Europe when they return. The overarching master frames were the threat frame and the administrative frame. In 2016 the terrorist frame in the newspapers combined a threat, a human interest and an administrative frame perspective. Foreign fighters were still described as a threat, yet there was also a focus on the reintegration and deradicalisation process when they return and how the fight affected them as a human. It became clear that the newspapers stated that the current deradicalisation

processes in the Netherlands were not suited for foreign fighters and there should be new programs that were tailor made for them because otherwise they would pose a threat. Yet in 2017 the frame changed to a less optimistic discourse in the newspapers. Foreign fighters cannot be reintegrated in society due to the fact that one cannot be forced to deradicalise. Moreover, in the frame it was likely that they had orders to disguise themselves as deradicalised and years later when the attention has worn off they would commit a terrorist attack. As a solution the frame used the revocation of the Dutch nationality, though this raised questions about the moral values of ‘dumping’ the Dutch foreign fighter in the country of origin of their parents or grandparents. Lastly, in 2015 the newspapers focused on the ethnicity of foreign fighters but not in great detail. During the years this changed and there was to a greater extent focus on the human interest. Who are these fighters and why are Moroccans more likely to become foreign fighters were questions that were raised in the newspapers. This was not as much the case in 2016, however in 2017 this was prominently evident. These changes show that during the years the terrorist frame did significantly change as there were different problems, causes, consequences, possible solutions, moral values and catchphrases.

For the recruiter frame there was less of a swing in direction. In 2015 the cause stated in the newspapers for the possible effectiveness of the recruitment of young Muslims was alienation and exclusion. In 2016 and 2017 there was significant less attention for this matter. A new consequence of recruiters trying to radicalize young Muslims was added in 2017, when the frame stated that videogames such as GTA V are unsafe because they were used by recruiters. In this year another solution was stated in the newspapers as it became clear that the government focuses on anti-propaganda messages. This is a shift to the administrative frame and away from the human interest frame in 2016 where the victim part of young Muslims was more emphasized. Furthermore, because there was less focus on the victim part there was also less focus on the inclusive processes for the Muslim community. At the same time this went hand in hand with a stronger focus on the ethnicity part of the foreign fighters. For this frame the causes, consequences, the archetype and the moral values changed over the years.

The frame that changed the least was the martyr frame. In 2015 all of the main elements of the reasoning and framing devices were laid out in the newspapers and these did not change significantly. In 2017 the frame focused more on the change within IS fighters as they became less willingly to die after one attack. The overall master frame was the threat frame and no other master frames were used.

-Next, the provider frame. In 2015 this frame was not used very extensively by the newspapers and there was little focus on the incarceration of providers. This changed

substantially in 2016 when there was a strong emphasis on the incarceration of providers of the Jihad in any way. The overarching moral value in the newspapers was that this was also fighting IS from home and that it is morally not acceptable that tax money is used by foreign fighters to finance IS. As a result – although the frame made clear that IS had important other ways of financing their organisation/state – in 2017 the focus was on the dwindling resources of IS and that is why foreign fighters shifted to cheaper attacks such as the Nice truck attack. The frame had no solution for these attacks and there was debate about the effectiveness of concrete blocks in European cities. The master frames were the economic and administrative frame for the providing of money and for the providing of weapons the threat frame was also used.

The following frame is the asylum seeker frame. For a matter concerning humanitarianism there was little focus on the human interest in this frame in the newspapers. The master frame was the threat frame and the administrative frame. In 2015 this frame was used to describe how foreign fighters used the influx of asylum seekers to travel to Europe and plan an attack. This led in 2016 to the consequence that extreme right wing groups were established which could lead to violence, hence the frame described the attack on a mosque in Enschede. The solution was the same of stricter border control and no solution was given for the extremist right wing groups. Next, in 2017 another consequence was added because of the stated solution in 2015 and 2016 of stricter border control. It had the result of more home grown terrorism, for which there was no stated solution in the newspapers.

Lastly, the women and children of IS frame. In 2015 this was frame was absent in the newspapers, however in 2016 it was used often and very extensively in the newspapers. The main focus was on the human interest and the administrative frame. Their hardships were described and it was made clear that the government should add health care programs to adequately deal with their traumatization. The threat frame was used to a significantly lesser extent by the newspapers and it was used to state that IS used women and children to commit terror attacks. What was striking that in 2016 this was a frame that stood out and focused significantly more on the human interest part, and in 2017 this frame had a turn around and had a strong focus on the threat frame. The women were described in the newspapers as foreign fighters and they were no longer described as only victims. With this change in the discourse there were also new reasoning and framing devices added.

Based on the research it can be concluded that although the frames had similarities during the years they also differed by quite a bit. All the frames had some kind of difference in their problem situation, cause, consequence, solution, moral value, myth or archetype, and the extent of these changes has been analysed above. The overall master frames differed per year

and per frame as well. The interesting part was that the human interest frame in most frames became more common. In 2015 all frames were predominantly overarched with the threat and the administrative frame. This was difference in 2016 and 2017 was that the focus of the newspapers shifted more to the human interest frame, however the threat frame and the administrative frame were still the two most dominant master frames. The economic frame was used in 2015 and 2016, however in 2017 it was barely used.

Lastly, next to these differences in the discourse there were also changes in the use of the frames. The terrorist frames was the most stable as it was the most dominant frame throughout the research and was used in almost every article. The second most used frame was the recruiter frame, next the martyr frame, then the provider, then the women and children of IS and lastly the asylum seeker frame. The woman and children of IS cached up to the asylum seeker frame and almost the provider frame, even though it was not used in 2015. All of the frames, except for the terrorist frame were used less often throughout the years. Concluding, the frames changed per year and the reasoning and framing devices changed with it. These changes have been explained above and in the matrixes.

How does this fit into the current research?

In this thesis there was an identified gap in the literature as there were no studies bar Berbers et al. that focused on the framing of foreign fighters in the Dutch newspapers. This gap has been filled in this study. This study fits into the research on foreign fighters and how our perception of foreign fighters is constructed in the media. It is a social phenomenon and the media influences our perception and this has an effect on everybody, also on policy makers. Therefore this thesis argued it was vital to understand how a society is influenced by the several frames within the media. It sharpens our understanding and could lead to more effective policy.

This thesis focused on showing the several frames that were used and by doing so enhanced the knowledge on foreign fighters. As stated in the introduction readers are often unaware of the frames that are used, and by becoming aware of the frames used the reader can spot potential biases. Moreover, this research is a reflection of the Dutch identity on foreign fighters. Lastly, the study is an addition to terrorism studies and specifically to the phenomenon on foreign fighters.

Future research, limitations and practical recommendations

For further research the role of the journalist can be explained more extensively. The frames in the newspapers have been discussed; however the role of the journalist in the origin of the frame

is something that is an interesting topic for discussion. Do they make their own frames, or are they heavily influenced by other actors? Moreover, in the theoretical framework three flows have been described. This thesis focused on the first flow: the frame construction flow. The second flow is an interesting topic, as this flow researches the effect of the frame on the public. This research did not fill that gap and this is a limitation. Moreover, this research and the research of Berbers et al. were focused on Western newspapers. A study on Arabic media would be interesting to compare to the other research so far on Western media. Lastly, we are living in a digital age. Newspapers are still a source of information, However new media actors on only websites or social media are an interesting topic to study. Does the nature of the media have an influence on the frames they use is for instance a question that could be raised.

The combination of the colour coding and the matrix of Berbers et al. which used the concepts from the theoretical framework proved useful in keeping a clear structure. However, a limitation is that the coding was done by the researcher and it is possible that there is some faulty coding. The bias of the researcher and the influence of the frames on the researcher could have influenced the research. Moreover, the results cannot be generalized as has been explained in the limitation subchapter. Although the use of case studies was useful, it was quite an extensive research project even with the demarcation of the timeframe. For a master thesis focused on qualitative analysis on framing with a timeframe of three years might be a bit lengthy. The last recommendation is that an inductive approach works probably more effective as one is not influenced by the frames found by other researchers. Moreover, the articles have to be studied thoroughly and it naturally leads to an inductive approach.

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