The securitization of male immigrants:

A gender-based case study of the Netherlands in the period between 2012 and 2017

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Number of words: 24556

21-06-2019

Abstract

The 'refugee crisis' caused a lot of debate in Europe. In the Netherlands, people demonstrated with banners proclaiming that male refugees have the desire to rape the girls in town. Where did this fear for male refugees suddenly come from? And more importantly, was this a sign that male refugees were securitized in the Netherlands? The Copenhagen school of securitization is used to answer this question. Securitization means that every issue in essence can be turned into a security issue, which legitimizes the use of extraordinary measures. However, the Copenhagen school of securitization has been criticised for being gender blind. Therefore, the theoretical framework of this thesis has been amended and modified with gender theory. In the analysis, gender is used in an intersectional manner and the focus has been on gender roles and stereotypes. A frame analysis of two Dutch newspapers was conducted in order to see whether male migrants were securitized in the Netherlands. There was only a limited number of articles that did not present migrants as a homogenous group but distinguished them into sexes. Out of these articles, only a few made the connection between gender, migrants and securitization. Therefore, it could not be concluded that male migrants were securitized in the Netherlands. However, the securitization of male migrants might be an ongoing process. Future academic research is necessary in order to determine whether gender has an effect on the securitization process. The results show potential risks of discrimination, segregation, and polarisation for society, but also opportunities that come along with securitization. Furthermore, it identifies some new avenues for future research within security studies.

Keywords: Copenhagen School of Securitization, Gender, Migration, Refugee Crisis, Frame Analysis, The Netherlands.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

BSRI   Bem Sex-Role Inventory

CDA   Christian Democrats

EU   European Union

IFOP   Institut Français d'opinion publique

LPF   Lijst Pim Fortuyn

PvdA   Partij van de Arbeid

PVV   Partij voor de Vrijheid

VVD   Partij voor Vrijheid en Democratie

Acknowledgments

After an intensive period of going on a daily base to the library I have finished my thesis. The process of writing a thesis has been a remarkable learning curve both scientifically as well as personally. The conducted research for this master's thesis would not have been possible without all the guidance, advice and pep talks of my supervisor dr. Jutta Joachim. She helped me to stay positive and see the light at the end of the tunnel throughout the entire process. The comments and feedback you provided on my earlier versions were crucial for coming to this result. Furthermore, I would like to thank my study friends for the support and the relaxing coffee and lunchbreaks during our library days. Also, many thanks to my family who have always supported me in everything that I do. Finally, I would like to thank my boyfriend Kiedo Wienholts for his enduring support and the evenings spend on improving my thesis.

Marleen Nijenhuis

Nijmegen, 21 June 2019

1. Introduction

The 'refugee crisis' starting in 2013 caused a lot of debate in the European Union (EU) and has been a hot issue ever since. In 2015 and 2016, demonstrations against sheltering of refugees in several municipalities in the Netherlands found place (Stoker, 2016). People thought that their village would become overcrowded and feared the many young male refugees that could come to their village. According to a report of Institut français d'opinion publique (IFOP) 85% of the questioned people in the Netherlands in 2015 thought that there were also terrorists among the refugees that were coming to Europe (IFOP, 2015). People feared that women would no longer be able to walk alone in the dark, with the arrival of male refugees (Rosman, van Mersbergen, 2016). Banners were made with slogans about the desire of male immigrants to rape the girls in the village (ten Broeke, 2015). Some protests even turned violent and the police had to step in (AD, 2016). It became clear that in the Netherlands the fear for male refugees was very real. What were the underlying reasons that male refugees became seen as possible rapists and terrorists? And why was the fear for male refugees so strongly voiced in the Netherlands?

Looking for example at Germany, a different reaction towards the refugee flow can be observed. In 2015, Angela Merkel gave her famous statement: "Wir schaffen das" (we can do this). This was her way of saying that refugees were welcome in Germany (Connolly, 2017). She called it a 'national duty' to support those in danger (Baker, 2017). Most of the people in Germany were very optimistic about the financial capacity to welcome refugees especially when looking at the chances for the economy. They saw the young workforce as an opportunity to keep their export machinery running (IFOP, 2015). In 2015 and 2016 more than 1 million refugees arrived in Germany. Even though not everybody liked the coming of refugees to their villages, there were many initiatives from the public to help the refugees (Harding, Oltermann, Watt, 2015). At the same time in 2015, the public in the Netherlands demonstrated against the sheltering of refugees. The differences between the Netherlands and Germany are also significant when looking at the amount of people that are taking in, and the willingness to take these people in. Similarities can also be found between the two countries, with the fear of young male refugees. The sexual assaults in Cologne on New Year's Eve shocked the public. The assaults were immediately linked to male refugees when the police chief announced that the suspected perpetrators appeared to be Arab or North African (Brenner, Ohlendorf, 2016). This resulted in a shift in German policies towards refugees and a shift in attitude towards migrants in German society. In the follow up, a German town for example banned immigrants from the swimming pool (BBC, 2016) and the Carnival Parade in Rheinberg was cancelled (Hall, 2016). The shift of policy and presentation of immigrants in Germany can partly be traced back to the Cologne

attacks. In the Netherlands incidents such as the one in Cologne have not taken place. It remains unclear why people in the Netherlands demonstrated against the sheltering of male refugees with banners about the desire of these males to rape the girls in town. Therefore, this thesis examines the following research question:

Did male immigrants become securitized in the Netherlands in the period between 2012 and 2017, and what specific role played gender in this possible securitization?

To answer this research question, the theoretical framework is based on securitization theory which is amended and modified with other theories. Securitization is a concept that is used to describe the discursive construction of a particular issue as an existential threat (Mcdonald, 2008, p.563). Securitization is a form of a speech act according to the Copenhagen School (Stritzel, 2007, p.358). A speech act is successful when it is executed according to the accepted conventional procedures, the invocation of the particular procedure is being done by an appropriate person, and the audience has accepted the securitizing move (Buzan, Wæver, Wilde, 1998, p. 32). Internally, the speech act needs to have the grammar of security through which the issue is being framed as an existential threat that requires extraordinary measures (ibid.). Externally, the speech act needs to be perceived as legitimate by the audience. The securitizing actor(s) need to have authority and they must link the issue to objects that have always been threatening such as certain diseases or weaponry (ibid.). The security threat is constructed, which means that it is intersubjective.

This research builds upon already existing research related to the securitization of migration in Europe. In his book titled: Securitizing migration, Munster shows how migration changed from an economic issue, in the 1950s and 1960s during which countries such as the Netherlands recruited immigrants for economic reasons, to a security issue based upon which the immigrants are seen as a possible threat to national security (2009, p.1). This shows that the threat is constructed and that it has not always been securitized. He uses social constructivism for the explanation of the change. Social constructivism deals with the construction and change of the world and perceptions. Social constructivism sees the concept of immigrant as a social construct, the meaning of the concept and its connotation can change when shared ideas change (Biersteker, Weber, 1996). This is something that Munster already showed in his book. Social constructivism is therefore complementary to securitization theory in order to show how it has changed. What is still missing in the literature on the securitization of migration is a gender dimension. Gender has not been used as a variable in the Copenhagen school of securitization which does not concern itself with the question of how gender matters with respect to speech acts, even though it might be possible that gender has an influence. Critics such as Hansen, discussed and criticized this gap (2000). Securitization theory alone, cannot provide a sufficient answer to the research question, which is about male migrants. Therefore, a theory

that deals with gender-specific issues is included. Including gender is what makes this study different from Munster and the other ones that have used securitization with the issue of migration.

To bridge the gender gap, intersectionality is added to the theoretical framework. Intersectionality is defined by McCall as: "The relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations" (2005). These dimensions and modalities may include race, class and gender and are interacting with each other (Crenshaw, 1991: Cho, Crenshaw, McCall, 2013). Intersectionality has become an important concept within gender studies, specifically in the literature about gender and race. Intersectionality can show how gender interacts with securitization and migration. The effects that these dimensions as a combination have become part of the analysis.

In the last few decades research on migration that includes gender in their analysis has made a lot of progress. It went from a few studies that included the dichotomous variable gender in their analysis towards studies that really investigated the different experiences and problems for male and female migrants (Nawyn, 2010, pp. 749-751). These studies are related to gendered labor migration paths, the impact of migration on gender roles in families, and studies about sex trafficking (ibid.). However, a topic that has not yet been discussed in literature is the possible influence of gender in the securitization of migrants. A theoretical framework consisting of securitization theory which is amended and modified by gender and intersectionality should provide theoretical insights on the research question.

Examining the possible securitization of male migrants is relevant, because marginalization of groups must be prevented in society. Securitization of male migrants can cause isolation instead of integration. This can have a polarizing and disrupting effect in society, something that must be avoided. The risks that come along with securitization and the possible inclusion of a gender dimension can have negative effects on the existing power relations in society. It is therefore important to examine the effects of gender in securitization. There have been scholars that criticized the lack of gender, but gender has never been included into a study about the securitization of an issue. This study might come up with some new insights on the possible relationship between gender and the process of securitization.

Frame analysis is being used to study the presentation of male migrants in the Netherlands. Frame analysis is chosen, because the most important aspect for a successful securitization is the speech act. In essence, the whole speech act is a framing process and in the end the question is whether the frame is convincingly enough for the audience to believe it. A lot of policy issues are related to immigration. These issues also have multiple dimensions such as an economic, cultural and a security dimension. Why certain dimensions get more attention is a consequence of how the issue is framed. Using frame analysis makes it possible to get some insights on whether male migrants became seen as a security threat instead of for example potential enrichment for the economy. The process

model of framing from Scheufele is useful to identify the four steps in framing, before it becomes a settled frame in society. The model makes it possible to see how the securitization of migration has changed over the years and whether it incorporated gender into it. Framing analysis fills up the gap on how to study speech acts.

The Netherlands is picked as a case, because it has made a tremendous shift in migration policy. It went from a policy based on multiculturalism to a policy of integration. The upcoming of anti-immigrant/right wing parties has partly made this shift possible. The Netherlands is a deviant case because the outcome of the case is different than expected and it allows for hypothesis generating instead of testing. Gender might be a new variable that can complement securitization in explaining the success of securitization moves. The data selected for this analysis are newspaper articles. The media is chosen because frames play a dominant role in the media. Media produce and reproduce frames and discourse. Sometimes the media are even called the fifth pillar of the 'Trias Politica' of Montesquieu (Montesquieu institute, n.d.). It also has an incredible reach which makes this platform perfect for distributing a certain frame. The articles are collected through the data base Nexis Uni from two Dutch newspapers: the *Volkskrant* and the *Telegraaf.* The peak of the 'refugee crisis' (summer of 2015) and exactly two years after that are the selected periods for the analysis. For each period there are 35 articles randomly selected who are manually coded with the use of codebook.

The rest of this thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 discusses the theoretical and ontological considerations that will form the basis for the analysis in Chapter 4. The theoretical framework will be worked out into detail, starting with the evolvement of securitization. After that the securitization approach is being laid out into greater detail followed by a critical reflection. The last part of the theoretical chapter is about including gender to the securitization approach and the expectations for the analysis. Chapter 3 discusses the methodological decisions and operationalizes the key concepts that will be used in the frame analysis. The results of the frame analysis are presented in chapter 4. Starting with an illustration of the Dutch political landscape followed by the results of the presentation of migrants in the selected articles and ending with the results of the inclusion of gender. Finally, in chapter 5, a conclusion is drafted with the key findings of this study. It also addresses the limitations and has some suggestions for possible future research.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Introduction

This chapter consists of the theoretical base for the empirical research presented in chapter four. In this thesis the explanandum consists of how male immigrants might have become seen as a security threat in the Netherlands. This means that the chosen theoretical approach needs to be able to explain the change in connotation of the term: male immigrant. The approach that suits this research question best is securitization. It deals with how an issue moves from non- or low politics to high politics and becomes securitized. There are multiple strands within the securitization approach. Of the various strands, the works of Buzan and Wæver associated with the Copenhagen school of securitization, who conceive security as a social construct and not a priori given, are drawn upon. Because the securitization approach has been criticized for being gender-blind, gender literature is included to complement the securitization approach. The chapter is structured as follows. First, there is a section about how securitization came about and how its various strands evolved. Second, the securitization approach by Buzan and Wæver will be discussed in greater detail, with emphasis on relevant concepts including the speech act, securitizing actors, and the audience. After this in-depth section, the other two influential schools (Aberystwyth, Paris) are discussed with an accent on the differences between them and the Copenhagen school. Thereafter, a critical reflection of the Copenhagen school is presented. The concept of gender is discussed in the next section. Gender is included to amend and modify securitization. A presentation of the expectations of this research is presented in the last section.

2.2 Evolvement of the securitization approach

National security has always been the highest priority of states (Buzan, 1991, p.1). The exact meaning of 'security' is, however, highly contested. Wæver and Buzan developed their securitization approach during a time when security studies were undergoing change. In this section an overview of the roots and historical evolvement of their securitization approach is presented. Starting with the concept of 'security', this section continues with the two developments that gave rise and shaped their theoretical approach and concludes with a discussion of the actual founding of the securitization approach.

2.2.1 Security as a concept

For decades there were two approaches in literature who dominated thinking about national security. On the one hand, there were the realists dominated by the work of Morgenthau which was focused on the continuous battle over power between states, which resulted in the 'balance of power' (Morgenthau, 1948). According to Morgenthau, the maximization of power is the main aim of every state and individual (ibid.). On the other hand, there were the idealists. Their approach does not see

national security through power, but through peace (Buzan, 1991, p.2.). According to them, war is the major threat to national security and peace is the solution. For both approaches security is subordinate and not the main subject of analysis, because it is the result of power or peace (ibid.). Consequently, security as a concept was weakly developed in literature. Barry Buzan tried to conceptualize security in a more comprehensive manner in his book 'People, States and Fear'. He argues that security is analytically as important as peace and power are (ibid.).

2.2.2 Two developments

Buzan's critique was inspired by the end of the Cold War. During the Cold War security studies where mostly about military strategies and the possibility of a nuclear war (Buzan, Wæver, Wilde, 1998, p.2). There were two developments around that time that changed the field of security studies.

The first development was a debate about the concept of security. The critique of Buzan is part of this debate. The debate is known as the 'wide' versus 'narrow' debate, and is about the conceptualization of security (Wæver, 2004,). Advocates of the 'narrow' are often called traditionalists. Their concern is that widening the definition of security eventually leads to a meaningless concept (ibid.). Advocates of this narrow/traditional definition are Krause (2004), Mack (2004), Gray (1994), and Macfarlane (2004). Krause states that: 'Security is ultimately nothing more than a shopping list; it involves slapping the label of human security on a wide range of issues that have no necessary link' (Krause, 2004, p.367). Putting a security label on a wide range of issues, according to him, has disturbing political consequences and can have counterproductive effects for international relations (ibid.). The 'narrow' conceptualization was a danger to the existence of security studies after the Cold War. The main task of the strategic community to prevent a nuclear war between the superpowers was no longer necessary. They had to come up with something to make sure that the community would not become irrelevant or even lose its right to existence. Therefore, they began to reconsider the concept. Stephan Walt argued: 'security studies is about the phenomenon of war and that it can be defined as the study of the threat, use and control of military force' (Buzan, Wæver, Wilde, 1998, p3). This means a widening in a sense that also non-state actors can be studied in the light of military force. This widening was enough to make sure that the community of security studies remained relevant, but it remained a narrow definition that only looks at military threat, control and force.

Those arguing for the 'wide' conceptualization of security wanted to include new, often non-military sources of threat. Among these scholars are Jahn, Lemaitre & Wæver (1987), Buzan (1991), and Winslow & Eriksen (2004). They advocated for the inclusion of for example economic and/or environmental threats into the field of security studies. According to these scholars, security means more than safety from violent conflict (Owen, 2004, p.375). The international environment is changing and calls for a broader definition of security. A notion of security bound to the state level is not

sufficient enough. Other threats also have major consequences for human beings and the urgency of these threats needs to be acknowledged and included in the field of security studies. There are two worrying things about broadening the concept of security. First, security urges the call for state mobilization (Buzan, Wæver, Wilde, 1998, p.4). Broadening the concept means that more issues can be framed as a security threat requiring state mobilization. Second, wideners tend to see security as a good thing, as an end station for all relationships (ibid.). However, security only stabilizes a relationship by the mobilization of the state. A state does not want to be in a constant state of mobilization, so security cannot be the best end station for a relationship. A better end station according to Wæver would be the desecuritization of the issue (Wæver, 1993, p.46). This means that the issue gets out of the security and emergency mode and into the political sphere, which leads to the demobilization of the state (ibid.). The critique of Buzan is based on the narrow and underdeveloped concept of security. He advocates for a more holistic concept which can serve as a framework in particular cases (Buzan, 1991, p.11).

The second development is the emergence of constructivism. Before constructivism, there were two mainstream theories in international relations: realism and liberalism. In the second half of the 20th century, some processes came into play indicating that realists and liberalists did not always have the proper answers (Fierke, 2016, p.162). Decolonization and the integration of Europe where two of these processes. Constructivism emerged as a reaction to these developments and looks at how norms, values and identities can shape the interests of a state (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.890: Barnett, 2017, p.145). This approach was contrary to the others, suited for explaining change. Within constructivism there are multiple variants, but they all agree that 'it is about human consciousness and its role in international life' (Ruggie, 1998, p.856). According to Wendt, the two core principles that belong to the focus on human consciousness are holism and idealism (1999). Taking seriously the impact of ideas in world politics, instead of only looking at material forces is what idealism entails (Barnett, 2017, p.147). Collective and personal ideas shape the meaning and construction of the material forces. The meaning of material reality is dependent on ideas and interpretation (ibid.). This means that there is no objective reality out there, instead individuals create their own reality. There are of course facts that would also exist without humans giving meaning to them, such as rocks or the ocean. Other facts can only exist when there is human agreement and need human institutions in order to exist. These facts are so-called social facts (Searle, 1995, p.2). Change is thus possible when humans agree to think differently about a certain (social) fact. The other core principle according to Wendt is holism. Holism means that the structure is more than the sum of its parts (Barnett, 2017, p.147). Structures are also social, cutting up the structure into parts is therefore not possible. The structure is important but 'Agents do have some autonomy and their interactions help to construct, reproduce, and transform those structures' (ibid., p.148). This means that international relations are a social

construct and cannot exist without human meaning. Mutual constitution between structure and agency is also the solution given by Alexander Wendt in his famous book 'Anarchy is What States Make of It' for the structure agency problem (Wendt, 1992).

A last central point for constructivism is that they do not talk about human behaviour, but about practices. Practices are: 'Socially meaningful patterns of action which, in being performed more or less competently serve to produce and reproduce background knowledge and discourse' (Adler, Pouliot, 2011, p. 4-5). Human activity is not seen as a lot of independent actions put together, but as part of a discourse. These practices imply that there is a proper way of doing things, and that there is some kind of routine (ibid.). This fits within the solution of Wendt for the structure agency problem and the holistic view of constructivism.

2.2.3 The founding of the securitization approach

These two developments with, on the one hand, the emergence of constructivism and, on the other hand, the 'wide' versus 'narrow' debate about the definition of security, have shaped the conditions for the development of the securitization approach. The founding fathers of this approach are Wæver and Buzan. Both were advocating for a widening of the definition of security by the inclusion of nonmilitary threats (Buzan, Wæver, Wilde, 1998, p.2). Wæver introduced the term securitization as a new kind of approach to look at security (Wæver, 1995). With this new approach, he hoped to get around the ongoing 'wide' versus 'narrow' debate and provide some new insights on security. He suggested to look at security as a speech act (ibid.). The central issue with the speech act is not whether there is an actual threat, but about how an issue can become socially constructed as a threat. The influence of constructivism is clearly visible in this approach. It is not about objectivity, but about perception. The speech act is the tool to transform a (non-) political issue to a security issue (ibid.). It is socially constructed and cannot exist without human agreement.

Wæver is a social constructivist himself and in his securitization approach he uses the related ontological and epistemological assumptions (Ejdus, 2009, p.13). Both approaches do not assume that there is already a world out there independent of our senses. Instead, one of their assumptions is that the social world is a changing human construction that cannot exist without human agreement. Individuals are born within the system and are produced and created by their cultural environment. Constructivists embrace an intersubjective/social ontology that stresses the importance of norms and looks at the interaction between structure and agents (Fierke, 2016, p.167). The epistemological roots of securitization are also rooted in constructivism. Knowledge and meaning are situated and culturally and historically constructed. Aim of the theories is to understand how certain things happen. According to Wæver the real world cannot be known, because language shapes reality (Ejdus, 2009, p.13).

Even though, both approaches share the same epistemological and ontological roots, Wæver

and Buzan used the securitization approach also as kind of critique. This critique is based on the way how constructivism conceives change. Scholars of social constructivism often equate change to progress in international relations (Adler, Crawford, 1991. P.4-5). Adamson calls this the 'liberal bias' of mainstream social constructivism (2005, p.547). Scholars concerned with normative change in world politics have limited themselves to a narrow range of cases (ibid.). This has resulted in a focus on the promotion by liberal actors on liberal norms in the international system. The constructivist research agenda on norms has therefore a particularly Western liberal democratic bias. Securitization is in principle also a change. An issue moves from non- or low politics to high politics and becomes securitized. However, it is not always a progressive change. Sometimes it might be better when the issue had stayed in the non- or low political sphere. The security discourse has a certain history and connotation. When an issue becomes securitized it automatically becomes part of this discourse in which the issue becomes seen as a possible threat to national security and calls for immediate action by the state (Wæver, 1995, p. 46). Some issues do not benefit from becoming part of this discourse. According to Wæver securitization in itself is not a progressive change, desecuritization is better (Buzan, Wæver, Wilde, 1998, p.4). Securitization is therefore also a critical reaction towards social constructivism about their view on change. Nowadays, the securitization approach is seen as one of the most influential approaches within security studies. In the next section, this approach is explained in greater detail.

2.3. The securitization approach

Securitization is the extreme version of politicization. The issue gets a special kind of status or even becomes seen as something that is above politics. In theory every issue can be securitized. There is no objective 'security', but instead securitization is an intersubjective process. To securitize an issue or to accept it is always a political choice (Buzan, Wæver, Wilde, 1998, p.29-30). How does this securitization work? Who are the securitizing actors? And how did it evolve over time? These and other questions are explained in the following paragraphs.

2.3.1 Copenhagen school of securitization

Wæver, Buzan and Wilde are considered to be the most influential scholars of the so-called Copenhagen school of securitization and their work is still widely used among scholars.

'The exact definition and criteria of securitization is constituted by the intersubjective establishment of an existential threat with a saliency sufficient to have substantial political effects' (Buzan, Wæver, Wilde, 1998, p.25). In the eyes of the authors no issue is a priori a threat, but it becomes one through discursive politics. To securitize an issue, one should be able to argue that the issue is more important than other issues and should take absolute priority; it is presented as an existential threat (Buzan, Wæver, Wilde, 1998, p.24). security is a self-referential practice, the act itself

changes the issue into a security issue. Wæver argues that in essence securitization is a speech act: By calling something a security threat, it becomes one (ibid., p.25-26). A Successful securitization is characterized by three steps. Firstly, the issue needs to be presented by the securitizing actor as an existential threat. Secondly, calling the issue an existential threat needs to gain enough resonance in order to legitimize emergency measures that otherwise would not have been approved. Lastly, emergency measures need to have an effect on the interunit relations. When these three steps are completed, the issue is successfully securitized (ibid.).

2.3.2 The core assumptions of the securitization approach

The three steps to have a successful securitization need some more elaboration, before it becomes clear what the process exactly entails. Questions about how the speech act works, who the securitizing actors are and what other facilitating conditions are necessary are addressed in the subsections below.

Speech act

Since securitization is in essence a speech act. The approach is different from other theories on security, because it can escape from the restrictive ties of traditional security studies (Buzan, Wæver, Wilde, 1998, p.26). It can escape, because it looks at a specific rhetorical structure which is about survival and making the issue a priority in order to decide whether something is a security matter. Common rhetoric is: 'if the problem is not handled now it will be too late, and we will not exist to remedy our failure' (ibid.). This rhetoric is not restricted to the military sector but can be applied to every issue. The speech act is the tool to lift an issue above politics and make it a security issue (ibid.).

A speech act is a self-referential practice. By saying the words, something is done. This sounds easy and straightforward, but there are some facilitating conditions needed for the speech act to succeed. These conditions can be divided into two categories: internal and external (ibid., p.32). The internal conditions are about linguistics and grammar, certain conventional rules and procedures need to be followed. Language is in this case essential. The speech act needs to consist of security language which includes calling the issue an existential threat, that ignoring the threat is no longer possible, and that there is a way out (ibid.). It is not necessary to use the word 'security' in a speech act (ibid., p.27). These are the basic language conventions which must be complemented with the dialect of the sector the issue belongs to. The complementation is crucial for giving the speech act more meaning, strength and a sense of urgency. For a political issue adding the general language with the concept of sovereignty which is a fundamental concept in politics shows how crucial the issue is. The external conditions are about the context and the social aspect (ibid.). The author of the speech act needs to have some form of authority; while this can be official in nature, it does not necessarily need to be. The relationship between the securitizing actor and his or her audience is crucial, because they must accept the securitizing move. To increase the likeability of success, the securitizing actor can refer to

objects that are already held to be threatening (ibid.). Linking these objects to the issue is another facilitating condition for the speech act in order for it to succeed.

Adding up, means that there are three facilitating conditions for the speech act. first, the internal condition about conventional procedures in language and grammar. Second, the authority that the securitizing actor has in order to let the audience accept the securitizing move and a last facilitating condition is the reference to objects or features that are already threatening. These three form the facilitating conditions for the speech act.

Who are the securitizing actors?

The securitizing actor plays an essential role in the likeliness of the speech act to succeed. The field of security is structured, which puts some actors into positions of power (ibid.) Having the power does not necessarily mean that the audience accept a securitizing move. 'The field is structured or biased, but no one conclusively 'holds' the power of securitization' (ibid., p.31). In the case of the Vietnam War, the United States failed to successfully securitize the issue, because the audience did not accept it (ibid., p.42). It shows that there is not a checklist for a securitizing actor in order to be successful. Analysts cannot predict whether a securitizing move will succeed or not, because security is not objective. It is about the future which means that it is hypothetical (Wæver, 2003, p.20). Securitizing actors decide which issue to conceptualize as a securitization issue, which makes it a political choice (ibid., p.32). Even though, the speech act might not succeed, a lot of power is in the hands of the securitizing actors. They decide whether to conceptualize something as a security issue in the first place.

But who are the securitizing actors? According to Buzan, Wæver and Wilde common securitizing actors are: '[…] political leaders, bureaucracies, Governments, lobbyists, and pressure groups' (1998., p.40). All these actors already have an established place in society with related authority. It is important to keep in mind that disaggregating everything into individuals, leads to a loss of social capital. An individual might be representing a whole organization such as a party or a pressure group. A holistic view on the securitizing actor is necessary to keep the social aspect in the analysis (ibid.). It is not about who performed the speech act, but about the logic behind the action. Did individual logic inform the action, or was it an organizational logic? Also, did the audience perceive it as an individual or an organizational speech act? These two questions will lead to the correct identification of the securitizing actor (ibid.).

The securitizing actor plays an essential role for the likelihood that the securitizing move will succeed. However, it is not possible to predict based on a checklist whether the securitizing actor will deliver a successful speech act. Other conditions have an influence on the process as well and can

cause the failure of a securitizing move. Whether the securitizing actor can 'do security' can only be determined afterwards and is solely valid for that particular speech act (Wæver et al. 1993, p.188).

Besides the securitizing actor, the audience also plays an essential role in securitization. Without acceptance of the audience, securitization cannot take place. it is an intersubjective process (ibid., p.30). There is mutual constitution of the threat by the securitizing actor and the audience. It is ultimately social and cannot happen within people's minds. But who is the audience? Is this a fixed group? According to Wæver: 'Audience is those who have to be convinced for the securitizing move to be successful' (2003., p.11). The audience is not a fixed group, but it can vary. Most of the times the audience is the population, because the issue is a matter of 'national security' according to the securitizing actor. The audience can differ when there is another political system or when the issue requires another audience (ibid.).

The audience needs to accept the securitization of an issue, but what does this mean and how can it be recognized? Acceptance does not mean that there is no discussion about the issue, acceptance only means that there is enough consent so that possible emergency measures can be legitimized (ibid., p.25). This implies that total acceptance is not necessary, but that an order cannot only rest on coercion. The consent is necessary in the intersubjective process in order to mutually construct the issue as a security issue. Only then, the securitization of an issue is a success. The Copenhagen School acknowledges the importance of the audience, since securitization is an intersubjective process, and that the audience is not a fixed group. However, they remain a bit vague about how to identify the audience in a case.

2.3.3 Other schools
The Copenhagen school of securitization is the dominant school, but not the only influential school within security studies. In Europe there are two other schools called: the Aberystwyth school and the Paris school (Wæver, 2004). The assumptions of these schools and the differences between them and the Copenhagen school of securitization are explained in the paragraphs below.

Aberystwyth school
The Aberystwyth school has its roots at the University of Wales. The founders of this school are Ken Booth and Richard Wyn Jones, but Keith Krause and Mike Williams have also played a central role in the development of the school. Aberystwyth has contributed to the development of the so called: *Critical Security Studies.* (Wæver, 2004).

The core aspect of the school is to focus on individual security in order to surpass the state and national security as the primary concerns of the contemporary global order (Wyn Jones, 1999). This is not only a shift in the level of analysis, but it shows a different understanding of security (Munster,

2007, p.237). Security is not about strategic action, which implies that it is a political choice. According to the Aberystwyth school security is based on communicative rationality (ibid.). They argue that the state is often the problem, but also the solution. Having the state as the level of analysis and national security as the central category, implies an analysis of security on an institutional level. The aim of the study is then defined in terms of the state when it should be defined in relation to human beings (Wæver, 2004). To solve this inconsistency, they use another concept of security, which defines security in terms of emancipation (ibid.). They believe that 'true' human security is more likely when there is an emancipation process (Booth, 1991, p.319). According to the Aberystwyth school the realist understanding of security in terms of 'power' and 'order' can never lead to 'true' security (Diskaya, 2013).

There are several differences with the Copenhagen school. First, there is the difference in the conceptualization of security as discussed above. The Aberystwyth school defines security in terms of emancipation while the Copenhagen school argues that security is about survival (ibid.). A second difference between the two is the purpose of the theory itself. The Copenhagen school is a problem-solving theory. This means that the theory takes the world as it is and does not seek to change the prevailing systems and mechanisms behind the problems. Instead, it tries to solve the problems with the tools that are available. The Aberystwyth school belongs to the critical theory approaches and criticizes the prevailing social- and power relationships and institutions (Cox, 1981, p.128-129). A last significant difference between the two schools is about the political role of the security analyst. The Copenhagen school argues that there are no objective threats which means that classifying an issue as a security threat is always a political decision (Buzan, Wæver, Wilde, 1998, p.29-30). The analyst should distance him or herself from making political decisions. Therefore: 'The role of the analyst cannot be to observe threats, but to determine how, by whom, under what circumstances, and with what consequences some issues are classified as existential threats but not others' (Eriksson, 1999, p.315). Analysis of the Aberystwyth school are straightforward political and analysts have the aim to speak on behalf of the voiceless. They emphasize that major change in world politics is possible, since it is socially constructed. The Copenhagen school agrees with the Aberystwyth school that the world is socially constructed, but claims that even social constructions can sometimes feel as sediment and become very stable. Change becomes more difficult in such situations (Buzan, Wæver, Wilde, 1998, p.35)

The Aberystwyth school has in common that it also does not have a traditionalist view on security and that it uses a different concept. Differences are that it is a critical theory, instead of a problem-solving theory and the view on the role of the analyst in terms of politics is different for both schools.

Paris school

The Paris school has its roots in sociology and is therefore often called the sociological approach. It is inspired by the works of the socialists Bourdieu and Foucault (Wæver, 2004). It was first called Paris, because the approach was founded in this city just as Copenhagen and Aberystwyth. More recently, PARIS is the acronym for Political Anthropological Research for International Sociology (Bigo, McCluskey, 2018). The main figure of the approach is Didier Bigo, a French Professor at King's College London, and attached to several research centers for the study of conflict (Bigo, 2017).

Core aspect is that it takes a political-sociological approach to security (Munster, 2007). The approach emphasizes the relevance of other media and practices in addition to the speech act. To them it is a multilayered process which occurs over time and is context specific (Trombetta, 2014, p.137). Their research is always a precise detailed empirical investigation of practices within agencies. Security is constructed through these routine practices of defining and categorizing security by the different bureaucratic actors (Bigo, 1996). So, instead of looking at a speech act, scholars of the Paris school analyze daily routines and practices of bureaucratic actors. The process is marked by the embedding of an issue into specific domains of security. This embedding happens by the everyday decisions and practices of the actors. 'This is done by collecting information, categorizing people, associating them with more or less dangerous categories and evoking expert knowledge to do so' (Ibid, p.137). The process comes to an end when the threat is fully internalized and appears to be self-evident, instead of a social construction (Balzacq, 2010, p.4-5).

The differences with the Copenhagen school of securitization are substantial. The first difference is that they argue that security is not about survival as in the Copenhagen school, but it recognizes the diversity of how the term has been used in different practices within the different disciplines such as social security, human needs, and computer hacking (Bigo, McCluskey, 2018, p.120). Another difference is that the Copenhagen school defines securitization in terms of a conventional procedure (speech act). According to the Paris school this focus is too narrow, because other media and practices are also essential in the process of securitization. They investigate how actors involved in security decisions and security professionals use the privileged information to exaggerate already existing fears for their own institutional interest, while claiming to only identify threats (Bigo, 2002, p.63-64). They do not believe in the magical power of words, but see it as a strategic process (Balzacq, 2010, p.1-2). A last difference with the Copenhagen school of securitization is how the Paris school defines performatives. (ibid.). For the Copenhagen school the speech act is performative, by saying something is a security threat it becomes one (Buzan, Wæver, Wilde, 1998, p.24). The Paris school defines performatives as: 'situated actions that are mediated by agents' habitus' (Balzacq, 2010, p.2). According to them, securitization is a process that is the result of a power game between different agencies. They see the discourse of securitization as a result of all these power games.

The Paris school has in common that it is also critical of the traditionalist view of security and that securitization is only successful when the audience has accepted the issue as a threat. Differences can be found in the way how to analyze securitization and what the process of securitization exactly entails. The Paris school emphasizes the relevance of other media and practices and does not believe in de magic of words.

2.3.4 Critical reflection

Besides, the two other influential schools in security studies, there are also other critical reflections upon the Copenhagen school of securitization. In this section some of the general critiques are acknowledged before turning to the sections in which gender theory is introduced to amend and modify the theoretical framework.

One of the main criticisms is that the audience in the securitization process is undertheorized and specified (Léonard, Kaunert, 2010; Balzacq, 2005,2010; Stritzel 2007). Even though, the Copenhagen school talks about successful securitization only when the audience has accepted it, it is unclear how to decide who the audience is in a particular case. There are no boundaries or rules to decide who the audience is and the lack causes room for interpretation. Léonard & Kaunert note that clear rules regarding how to recognize the audience are necessary, because the audience is always case specific (2010, p.60). It remains also unclear what the Copenhagen school exactly means by the acceptance of the audience. It only states that a discussion about the threat is necessary in order to gain enough resonance for a kind of platform. This platform makes it possible to legitimize emergency measures and is necessary, because in a democracy securitization can never only be imposed (Buzan, Wæver, Wilde, 1998, p.25). However, there is no clear statement on how to recognize the platform or how to assess the signs of acceptance by the audience (Léonard, Kaunert, 2010, p.59).

According to McDonald, Balzacq, and Léonard & Kaunert (2008; 2010; 2010) extraordinary measures are also underspecified. They argue that it is not clear what exactly extraordinary measures are. The Copenhagen school has no clear definition, which leaves a lot of room for interpretation when analysts use securitization theory. In contrast to the audience, the securitizing actors are fully specified and defined. According to the approach securitizing actors are generally political leaders, bureaucracies, governments, lobbyists, and pressure groups (Buzan, Wæver, Wilde, 1998, p.40). This means that a lot of actors are already ruled out of being able to be a securitizing actor and choose the issues that need to be securitized. The actors that already have power and authority can use their power and be a securitizing actor. Existing power relations remain the same, and the voiceless do not have the opportunity to securitize their issues (Hansen, 2000).

According to Balzacq securitization is reduced to a performative speech act within a conventional procedure by the Copenhagen school. If all the rules are followed securitization of a

certain issue takes place (2010, p.1). This downplays the context and external conditions in which a speech act takes plays (McDonald, 2008, p.571). The performativity assumes that the speech act causes the changing of the context by making a formerly secure place insecure (Balzacq, 2005, p.180). The context is only taken into account at the moment of intervention. This means that there is no room for the possibility that security can be constructed over time through incremental processes and representations (McDonald, 2008, p.564).

A last point of critique is about the focus of the speech act and the performativity of words. This critique is twofold. On the one hand it is not defined how the message of the speech act becomes widespread. The media is the platform that can bring the speech act to the audience, but Wæver, Buzan and Wilde do not discuss this possible role of the media. According to Vultee the media is a key factor, because securitization is both an independent variable as well as a dependent variable in the media. This means that securitization is an effect in the media, but also an effect of the media (2010, p.78). The role that the media plays is therefore one to take into consideration when using securitization. On the other hand, there is the emphasis on the performativity of words. This focus is too narrow according to several scholars, because it excludes the power of visuals (Vultee, 2010; Kearns, 2017; Hansen, 2011; Williams, 2003). According to Williams, the question is whether the Copenhagen school is still capable of addressing the dynamics of security when images and videos are at the center of political communication (2003, p.524). Ignoring that images and televisual communication are part of modern communication can limit the amount of issues that can be analyzed by securitization theory. As a result of this linguistic focus, the effects of visuals on the likeability of a successful securitization are undertheorized.

To conclude there are multiple critical reactions of scholars on the Copenhagen school. According to them, the concept of security becomes meaningless, the audience and extraordinary measures are underspecified. According to others the context is not properly considered, and some argue that the definition of the securitizing actor does not consider actors that do not have a voice. Lastly, some say that it remains vague what the role of the media is and argue that the emphasis on words is outdated. Even though there is a lot of criticism on the Copenhagen school of securitization it is still the most commonly used school in securitization studies. This thesis therefore draws on the Copenhagen school of securitization. Since, the Copenhagen school of securitization has a gender gap, the approach is amended and modified with gender. The next section focusses on how to incorporate gender into the theoretical framework.

2.4. Bridging the gap: Including gender into the securitization approach

The Copenhagen school is gender blind. It does not mention gender in its theory and has not taken into consideration that gender can have an effect on the process of securitization. Questions such as:

Does gender have an effect on the facilitating conditions of securitization? Does it have an effect on who can be the securitizing actor? Or does gender influence the likeliness for a successful securitization? These and other questions cannot be properly answered by the Copenhagen school, because they have not thought about gender when developing the theory. To be able to give an answer to the research question, it is important to complement the securitization approach with gender theory. Adding a gender variable that only makes a distinction between the two sexes is not enough. The expectations, gender roles and stereotypes that are attached to the sexes must be included. In the following sections the history and meaning of gender in international relations is explained. Followed by a description of how gender is used in this analysis with an emphasis on gender as a construct, and intersectionality.

2.4.1 Gender in International Relations

The introduction of feminism into International Relations came in the period right after the end of the Cold War when also constructivism emerged (Kinsella, 2017; Locher, Prügl, 2001). These two developments led to a window of opportunity for feminist theory to introduce feminists' international relations theories into the discipline of International Relations (Kinsella, 2017, p.190). Constructivism and feminism share the same epistemological and ontological roots: There is no objective/real world out there and international relations are constructed through language, norms, rules, and practices (Locher, Prügl, 2001, p.114). Knowledge and meaning are situated and culturally and historically constructed. Rorty considers objective truth: 'as no more nor no less than the best idea we currently have about how to explain what is going on' (1979, p.385). In the post-Cold War era, the constitutive theory came up as a better choice for understanding the world, because it allows for the study of language and identity (Kinsella, 2017, p.190).

Feminist theory is a constitutive interdisciplinary theory that includes the subordination and oppression of women into the analysis. It promotes equality and justice for women, so that opportunities and expectations of these women are not unfairly curtailed solely on the basis of being a woman (Ibid., p.191). This means that feminism is also a theory that deals with power. All the insights that feminist theory provide are crucial for understanding international relations. Feminist theorizing of international relations started out with pointing at the literature on international relations and explaining how all these concepts and case studies are partially biased, because they only reflect upon the experiences and roles of men (ibid.). Introducing feminism also means that it is not some little alteration, but it demands for a critical reflection upon all assumptions in the international relations (ibid., p.194). One of the biggest theoretical contributions is the reconceptualization of the state by feminist scholars. History shows that the concept and practices of the state in its emergence and over time excluded women. When states emerged, women did not have full legal status and were not

allowed to vote. This has led to a low representation of women in positions of government, with the consequence that experiences and skills are not integrated into government (ibid.). The state cannot be called a neutral concept; it is one of the main organizers of power relations of gender in society (Peterson, 1992, p.9).

In the field of gender studies, there are multiple definitions of gender. These different definitions influence how scholars talk about the relation between gender and power and resulted in a variety of feminist international relations approaches. Among them are liberal, critical, post-colonial, and post structural feminists. They all have different interpretations of gender and power but have in common that they all understand gender as an analytical category (Tickner, Sjoberg, 2016, p.182). Feminist international relation approaches have managed to show the importance of gender in studying international relations. They particularly examine how gender is a relationship of power. Thereby showing that it effects institutions, but also all individuals (men and women). Feminist scholars were critical of the taken-for-granted assumptions of international relations and reconstructed some of its concepts such as power and the state. In the next section, there is a brief discussion about how gender is used in this analysis. Emphasis is put on gender as a social construct and intersectionality.

2.4.2 Gender in this analysis: feminist post structuralism

The concept of gender in feminist theory is a social construct which differs from how other scholars sometimes use gender. Besides, seeing gender as a social construct this analysis also sees gender in an intersectional manner. The approach used in this analysis can be associated with post-structural feminism with a leaning towards postcolonial feminism. Judith Butler is one of the main scholars that Post structural feminism draws upon. The performativity of sex made an end to the stable assumption that all women share the same biological sex (Butler, 1988; Kinsella, 2017). What it means to have a post structural feminist approach and what consequences this has for the analysis are explained in this section. Starting with a subsection about gender as a social construct followed by a section on intersectionality.

Gender as a social construct

Post structural feminists claim that people's understanding of reality comes from how language is used, because the meaning of reality is hidden in language. Specifically, the relationship between knowledge and power are part of their concern. Gender is being seen as a social construct; it is not the same as assigned sex. Instead, it is a socially constructed identity partly associated to real or perceived sex differences. This identity is culture and time specific and consists of a set of expectations from society on how to behave with regards to one's assigned sex. According to Judith Butler, gender is not something that we 'are', but something that we 'do'. It is performative and individuals are not a gender

from the start (Butler, 1988, p.520). Gender even leads to sex, instead of the other way around. Even though, humans cannot (easily) change their biological characteristics, they can value these characteristics differently. The structure makes this hard, but there is some agency possible to interpret gender differently than the presumed gender roles (ibid.).

The creation of knowledge and meaning can make a person or a group very powerful. According to post structural feminists, men are generally seen as the people who have the knowledge and are most of the time the subjects of knowledge. This unequal division of power leads to the marginalization of women (Kinsella, 2017, p.185). There are expectations about how men (masculine) and women (feminine) should behave. These expectations result in binary oppositions (Kinsella, 2017, p.190). Post structural feminism particularly looks at these binary constructions, such as order/anarchy, strong/weak, public/private, rational/emotional. These linguistic constructions lead to the empowerment of masculinity over femininity (Kinsella, 2017, p.185; Davies, Gannon, 2005, p. 318). This division is does not just make it easier to understand reality, the way people divide the world based on these binary constructions has real-world implications.

According to post structural feminists, these binary constructions include a judgement. There is always a superior and an inferior one. Most of the superior choices are linked to masculinity because we live in a patriarchal system. In this system men are dominant and define the norm. As a result, masculinity is the norm and superior to femininity. The inferior side of the binary construction is most of the times linked to femininity. The famous article of Iris Marian Young portrays the hierarchical structure by the expression: 'throwing like a girl' (1980, p.137). She shows that throwing like a girl is linked to the presumed sex characteristics of females. It is not a natural difference, that men can better throw a ball. Instead, it is based on social order and expectations (Kinsella, 2017, p.190). When a girl comes to understand that she is a girl, she learns a specific style of body comportment expected of a girl. She learns how to walk like a girl, act like a girl, talk like a girl, and also throw like a girl (Young, 1980, p.153). Women are expected to be nurturing, weak and polite, while boys are expected to be strong, athletic, and assertive (Prentice, Carranza, 2002, p.269; Kirby, 2017, p.270; Phillips, 2010, p.50). Throwing like a girl is seen by society as an insult, because it is associated to femininity which is inferior to masculinity (Kinsella, 2017, p.190). The hierarchical structure shapes society in political, economic, and social terms and is falsely presumed to be fixed and/ or natural. Feminists try to show that these binary oppositions are not natural or fixed, but that it is the result of social order and expectations.

In this analysis seeing gender as a social construct means that it is not a dichotomous variable, but it is an analytical category that is socially constructed and comes with expectations. Feminist post structuralists try to expose the hierarchies of these binary constructions by analysing text and their meaning. The implications that these binary constructions have and the power relations that are the results of these divisions in language need to be part of the analysis. Therefore, the analysis pays

particular attention to the effects that these expectations/ gender roles have for the process of securitization. Closing the gender gap in securitization by seeing gender as a social construct that can change over time can show what role gender might play in securitization.

Gender in an intersectional manner

Feminist post structuralists also pay a lot of attention to binary constructions that have gendered as well as racial implications (Kinsella, 2017, p.185). These racial implications are the result of imperialism and culture. The dominant relationships between former colonized countries and their colonizer are still present and captured in Western knowledge. This leads to the construction of 'self' and 'other' which empowers racial and cultural stereotypes (ibid.). Gender and race are not mutually exclusive, but they interact with each other. Kimberlé Crenshaw wrote in 1989 a paper for the University of Chicago Legal Forum in which she discussed black feminism. She introduced the term intersectionality into feminist theories.

Intersectionality means that different dimensions of one's social life interact and mutually constitute each other (Sigle-Rushton, 2013, p.131; Shields, 2008). Examples of these dimensions are race, gender, class, and sexuality (Cooper, 2015; Crenshaw, 1989). The paper written by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 was about the experiences of being a black woman. She argued that these experiences could not be understood in terms of being black and being a woman, as if these identities are mutually exclusive. Instead, these identities interact and strengthen each other (Crenshaw, 1989, p.139; Cho, Crenshaw, Mcall, 2013, p.787). The single-axis framework of only looking at gender or race is not sufficient for analyzing experiences and identities of people. The multidimensionality of identity must be included in the analysis. Besides, feminists argue that intersectionality is not just a way of describing one's individual identity, but it also shows the interlocking systems of power (Cooper, 2015). Intersectionality leads to both oppression and privilege (Shield, 2008, p.302). A white female is more advantaged than a black female, because even though she is oppressed as a woman she still has a racial privilege. The black female is disadvantaged/ oppressed twice, because she is not a male nor does she have a racial privilege. It is not only the case that being on the advantage side means that these people are not oppressed, it also gives them access to opportunities and rewards (Shields, 2008, p.302). So, people on the oppressed side are not only oppressed, but also do not get the same opportunities and rewards. The single-axis framework used by many scholars is therefore insufficient.

To take intersectionality into account, the interactions between the different dimensions of one's identity need to be included. Being aware of these interactions and taking them into account is the best possible way to deal with the multidimensionality of identity and the interlocking systems of power.

2.5 Expectations for the explanandum

This chapter has given an elaboration on the theoretical considerations for this analysis. It provided an overview of the historical developments that have led to the development of the securitization theory. The Copenhagen school of securitization is explained in further detail and critical reflections of the school are discussed. The Copenhagen school is chosen, despite the critique of scholars, because it is still the leading and most influential school on securitization. One of the critiques is that gender is not included in the Copenhagen school. This is a huge gap which is problematic for the explanandum of this thesis. To make sure that the Copenhagen school fits the research question and that some gaps are filled, the school is amended and modified by gender theory.

The expectations for the explanandum are in fourfold. The first expectation is that the securitization was top down. So, the securitizing actor belongs to the elite of the country. It can be suspected that it is someone for whom it is beneficial when male migrants are securitized. This is related to the second expectation that the national climate of the Netherlands has played a role in the securitization of male migrants. The male stereotypes lend itself better for calling something a threat to national security as the female stereotype. The media has acted as the platform and is a perfect tool in order to reach the audience of the Netherlands. The journalists also belong to the audience. They have written the news, accepted it in their role of the audience, and kept writing about it. Therefore, a third expectation is that the audience accepted the securitizing move and that male migrants became securitized in the Netherlands. A last expectation is that male migrants are even more disadvantaged and securitized as female migrants and their children. In this case the male stereotype is not the privileged one and is disadvantaged by prejudice and expectations.

3. Methods and case selection

3.1 Introduction

This thesis is an in-depth qualitative case study on the securitization of male immigrants in the Netherlands between the period of 2012 and 2017. To study this, a frame analysis is used to examine speech acts in the form of written language in newspapers. The analysis is both quantitative as well as qualitative. Codes are generated from the theory, and then used to analyze the newspaper articles in a systematic manner. The results of this analysis are interpreted qualitatively (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). This frame analysis aims to identify whether securitization emerged over time and what frames are used to do so. The chapter is structured as follows. First, there is a section about framing and how it is used in this analysis. This contains also a justification for why the media has been chosen as the unit of analysis. The second section talks more about the case selection for this thesis and the third section gives an overview of the data that is selected for this thesis. The final section presents a conceptualization and operationalization of the concepts that are derived from the theoretical framework. This chapter forms the bridge between the theoretical assumptions and the analysis.

3.2 Frame Analysis

In the critical reflection of the theoretical chapter it already became clear that there is a gap in the securitization literature in terms of the speech act. According to several scholars, it is unclear who can do the speech act, and what a speech act exactly entails. Frame analysis is introduced in this section as the way to study speech acts in the media. First, there is a short section about the concept of framing in general with an overview of the core assumptions. This is followed by a section about the media and framing. The media is seen as a useful platform to spread the message to the audience and convince them that a certain issue is a threat to national security.

3.2.1 Core assumptions of frame analysis

Framing theory emerged in the 1950s in the field of sociology (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015, p.423). Framing is an important factor within the communication process. It has a role in four elements of this process: the sender, the receiver, the message, and the culture (Entman, 1993; Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015). There are two different stages within the communication process. The first stage is about frame-building, so the emergence of a frame. The second is about frame-setting which is about the interaction between media frames and the audience (Vreese, 2005, p.51). Frames can best be described as sets of beliefs that organize politics and discourse (Van Dijk, 2001, p.360). This means that frames organize how we interpret reality. It shapes the world 'out there' through language (Goffman, 1974, p.21).

Framing indicates that an issue can be viewed from multiple perspectives. Each perspective has implications for the values that are connected to the issue (Chong, Druckman, 2007, p.104). Frames

are important, because they affect attitudes, but also the behavior of their audience (ibid., p. 109). Luntz argues, that the effect of a message is not dependent on the content, but on how it is presented (Scheufele, Tewksbury, 2006, p.9). Framing a certain issue in a specific way can have an important influence on the perception of the audience regarding the importance of certain aspects of the issue (ibid., p.15). This means that a lot of power lies within these frames. Therefore, frames are a useful tool in politics to influence citizens' frames and attitudes (Chong, Druckman, 2007.). They are settled in interactions between people. 'Frames help make clear what kind of a problem a problem is, what sort of tools are used for dealing with it, and which actors are protagonists and antagonists' (Entman, 2004). The issue is being described, talked, and act upon in a certain way that fits within the frame.

It can be concluded, that framing is a process in which some aspects of reality are pointed out more prominently, while others are not. The issue is thus defined in a certain way, with a suggested moral judgment, and provides possible solutions on how to deal with the issue for the audience (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015; Entman, 2004). Frames are socially constructed through language and behavior and the framing of an issue is not static, but subject to mutual social agreement.

3.2.2 Media and framing

Frames play a prominent role in the media, because news messages have a narrative structure that fits within a specific discourse. The message explains who is doing what, and why. It provides the reader/audience with a particular perspective, an interpretative framework for the issue (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015, p.424). The mass media also contributes to the (re-)production of discourse, which can lead to the marginalization of others (Riggins, 1997, p.25). This happens when certain groups are left out in the debate or when they are described differently than other groups. Individuals also construct their social identities based on the images, symbols and narratives in the media, they construct what it means to be for example a black male (Brooks, Hébert, 2006, p.297). The media is a tool with an incredible reach and is therefore perfect in distributing a certain frame, but it also creates frames. In this way the media is important throughout the complete communication process, because it plays a role in the process of frame-setting as well as in frame-building (ibid., p.425). This is important for the analysis because in the securitization approach an issue becomes securitized by speech acts and only when the audience accepts this securitization, it is successful. This means that there is both frame-building as well as frame-setting through the media with acceptance of the audience.

With respect to the media, one must keep in mind that there are certain rules about how to write a story that is attractive and newsworthy. There is already a selection about what they are going to write about and how they are going to write about a certain issue (McCombs, Shaw, 1972). This has to do with already existing narratives, the conventions and the style of the particular newspaper, the audience that reads that paper, and of course time and space. This already leads to a selection of what

is news and what is not considered as news (agenda-setting). It also leads to a selection of how certain issues are addressed in that newspaper. By addressing these issues in a particular way, some causes and associated solutions are more prominently present in the article, while other possible causes and solutions are ignored. The decisions taken by the journalist lead to the building of a media frame (ibid.).

In the second part of the communication process; frame setting, the media is not the only player. Although Tuchman (1978) argues that the mass media set the frames of reference, which are then used by the public to discuss the issues, it is actually an interaction between the media and the audience. The audience needs to accept the media frame that is offered to them. They must affirm and reaffirm it through their behavior. It is the interaction that sets the frame. Scheufele has developed a process model of framing (1999) which is displayed in figure 1 and which envisions four processes to take place (ibid., p.115).
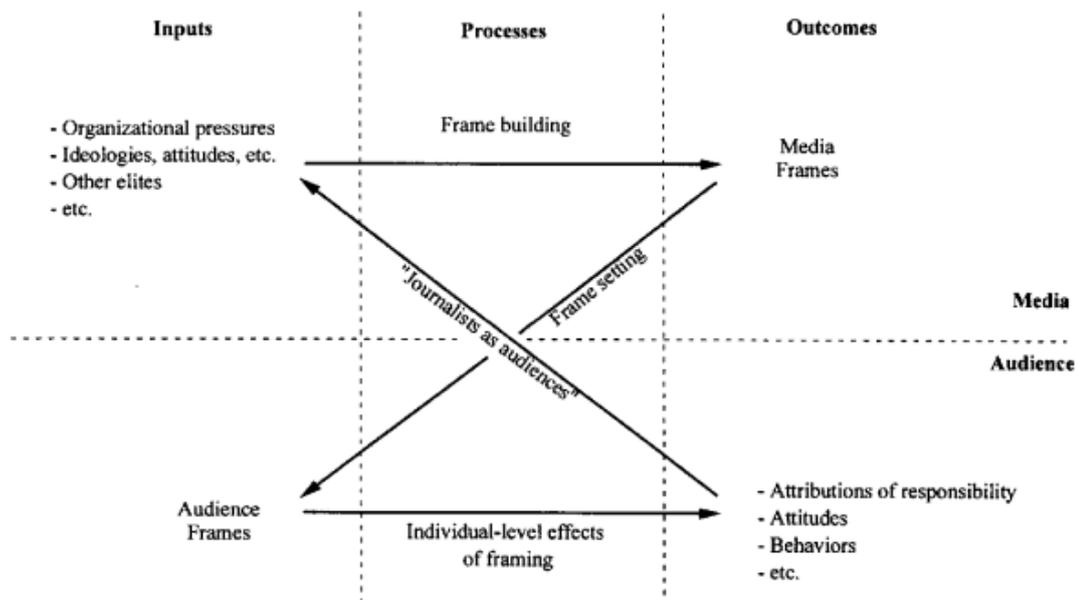
Figure 1: Process model of framing (Scheufele, 1999, p.115)

First, there is the processes of frame building which happens within the dimension of the media. Thereafter, the frame that has been build moves to the audience dimension and the second process; frame setting takes place. The setting of the frame developed by the media is not adopted immediately by the audience but is first subject to influences of the individual level (ibid., p.117). This process results in the behavior and attitude of the audience. Scheufele also has a fourth process, which makes that the process can be viewed as a loop. This fourth process is about the link between the audience to the journalists. Journalists as individuals are also part of the audience, because they also read the paper

and listen to the news. They do not only write about the news but watch and read it too. Since they also belong to the audience, they are also subject to the individual-level effects of framing. Their attitude and behavior are shaped by these effects. They take this with them when they are building the frames in the first process. It can be concluded that this is a feedback loop (ibid., p.118).

This model of how a frame is build, set, and evaluated is a valuable tool to use in this analysis. Since the speech act is not strongly further operationalized by the Copenhagen school the model of Scheufele is useful in order to look at speech acts in this analysis. The process is almost the same as with securitization. A specific issue is framed in a certain way by an actor and needs to be accepted by the audience for it to become an established frame. The only difference with securitization is how the issue gets framed and the consequences of this frame. With securitization the issue is framed as a possible threat to national security and allows for the use of extraordinary measures. In the model of Scheufele the issue can be framed in all possible ways that can be imagined, it is not bound to the security frame. Nevertheless, the rest of the process is the same. With securitization, there is also an actor that frames the issue through speech acts (securitizing move), and the issue can only become securitized when the audience accepts the securitizing move. The model of Scheufele can thus be used in order to look for securitization moves of male migrants in the articles of this thesis. The tool bridges the gap and makes it easier to look for the different stages of securitization in the content. Frame analysis makes it easier to operationalize securitization and is used to study the speech acts in the media.

3.3 Case selection: The Netherlands

In general case study analysis is used to generate insights into an assumed causal relationship that is present across a larger population (Gerring, 2007, p.86). Case selection is about the different types of cases, that can be selected to get insights in this causal relationship. These different types of cases have different consequences for the conclusions that can be drafted from the analysis. Some types of case studies, such as the typical and the diverse case are used to test hypothesis, while others such as an extreme or a deviant case are useful when the aim is to generate hypothesis (Gerring, 2007, p.86-150). A deviant case is chosen in this analysis. The core aspect of the deviant case is that the outcome of the case is different than expected beforehand. This can be both on a theoretical level as well as on the level of common sense (ibid., p.105). The deviantness of a case can change when additional variables are added to the model. The purpose of this case is to generate new hypothesis instead of testing them (ibid.). The case that exemplifies this for this thesis is the Netherlands. There are multiple reasons why the Netherlands has been selected.

First, there is a contradiction in how the Netherlands presents itself internationally and what has happened nationally. The Netherlands represents itself as a very tolerable country and as a great

defender of human rights in the world (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017). The national reality was in 2015 until 2017 somewhat different with respect to the debates about whether the Netherlands should welcome refugees or not. Dutch citizens feared the cultural differences of these people and the possible consequences that these differences would bring about for the national identity (Ridder, Mensink, Dekker, 2016). The population was more resistant and divided with regards to welcoming refugees than expected. Second, there was a special fear for male refugees as shown on the banners during demonstrations about the sheltering of refugees (Broeke, 2015). These banners proclaimed that male refugees wanted to grab 'native' girls/teenagers and rape them. This is a second contradiction to how the Netherlands represents itself internationally, but also regarding the theory. In the securitization literature gender is not seen as a variable that can have an effect on securitization. The Netherlands is therefore a deviant case with the potential to find new variables that can complement the model of securitization.

A third reason for the selection of the Netherlands as a case, is not linked to the case selection of Gerring, but is of a more practical nature. The question in this thesis has a geographical boundary and limits itself to Europe. The cases that can be selected for this thesis are therefore limited to the European countries who host refugees that came to Europe during the 'refugee crisis'. Due to time, capacity and language boundaries this analysis therefore only focusses on the Netherlands.

3.4 Data selection

The data selected for this analysis consists of newspaper articles in the Netherlands. 'mass' Communication is chosen as a source, because it spreads prejudice knowledge among people that sometimes have not had personal experience regarding certain groups such as migrants (Dijk, 1987). Also, the discourses and frames used in 'mass' communication are reflections of the ideologies that play a role in Dutch society (Khosravinik, 2010, p.4). The articles are collected through the database Nexis Uni (used to be called Lexis Nexis). In this analysis one broadsheet (quality newspaper) and one tabloid (popular newspaper) are chosen. The difference between broadsheets and tabloids lies in the ratio between '(political) information' and 'entertainment' coverage. When the newspaper covers more (political) information than entertainment it is called a broadsheet. When the ratio is the other way around the newspaper can be called a tabloid (Bakker & Scholten, 2006). Another difference is that tabloids aim to reach as many people as possible and use more sensational aspects of hard news, while broadsheets aim to inform the public as good as possible (Scholten, Ruigrok, 2006). Tabloids and broadsheets also have different readerships especially with respect to age, education, and class (NOM, 2008). For this analysis it is important to make sure that the readership that comes with the newspapers is representative for the entire population. Therefore, the *Volkskrant* is chosen as one of the two papers. This newspaper has a Catholic background, but nowadays has a lot of readers with a

preference to the *Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA)* a left political party in the Netherlands (Eijk, 2000). The tabloid selected for this analysis is the *Telegraaf*. Its readers are more prone to political parties such as the *Partij Voor de Vrijheid (PVV)* and the *Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD)* that have a righter stance on the migration issue in the Netherlands (Trouw, 2015). This newspaper is also read by a less educated part of the Dutch society (Bakker, Scholten, 2003). By selecting these two newspapers the readership is representative for the population in the Netherlands, because it covers both left and right and the more educated as well as the less educated readers.

The search terms used for the selection of the articles are Migrant* OR Immigrant* OR Vluchteling* OR Statushouder* OR Vergunningshouder* OR Asielzoeker*. These terms are chosen because the media in the Netherlands are not consistent in how they describe the people who fled their country. The different terms used are also already part of framing, because these terms all have different connotations and evoke other emotions by the audience. Most of the news articles talk about refugees or migrants (Leijendekker, 2015). Nevertheless, when diving deeper in the articles about migration some also use the term 'asylum seeker', 'immigrant', 'status holder' or even 'license holder'. To make sure that all articles about migration within the specific time frame are selected, these other terms are included in the search. The selection is this broad, because the essence of the research is to investigate whether sex differences matter in the news coverage of migration. The expectations are that male refugees are more negatively described in the news and framed as possible threats to national security while female and child refugees are expected to be described as vulnerable, victims, and caretakers. To be able to see whether there is a difference all news coverage of migration needs to be analyzed instead of only the news coverage that talks about male refugees. Doing this would make the analysis positively biased, which must always be prevented.

The peak of the refugee crisis was in August and September of 2015, and therefore it is chosen to select a time period from 17 August 2015 until 13 September of 2015 for the analysis (vluchtelingenwerk, 2019). This results in a selection of 497 articles. After the removal of the doubles, the opinion articles, the columns and irrelevant articles, there are 271 articles left. Due to the capacity, time and length of this analysis it is not possible to code them all manually. Therefore, a random selection has selected 35 articles. Table 1 shows that 18 articles of the *Telegraaf* and 17 articles of the *Volkskrant* are selected for period 1.

Table 1: Divisions between the newspapers for period 1 in actual numbers and percentage

Newspaper	Number of articles	Percentage
Telegraaf	18 articles	48,57%
Volkskrant	17 articles	51,43%
Total:	35 articles	100%

To see how the frames of immigrants evolved over time, a second period is analyzed. This period is chosen because it is after the peak of the 'refugee crisis' in 2015. The influx of refugees has decreased since that summer. The second period analyzed is from 17 August until 13 September in 2017. This period is picked, because it is exact two years after the peak of the crisis. This makes it easier to compare the results. Another reason is that 2016 is probably too soon, because the country is still in the aftermath of the crisis. The huge number of refugees is only living for a year in the country. Shelters are not closed yet and there are huge challenges in assigning the refugees to houses. Therefore, 2017 is a better choice to see whether the frames that are used to describe refugees have changed. In This period there were 186 articles in the *Telegraaf* and the *Volkskrant* about refugees. After the removal of the doubles, the opinion articles, the columns and articles irrelevant for this analysis, there are 65 left. A random selection of 35 articles (same as in period 1) has been made. In table 2 the division between the two newspapers is presented. There are 18 articles of the *Telegraaf* and 17 of the *Volkskrant* selected for period 2.

Table 2: Divisions between the newspapers for period 2 in actual numbers and percentage

Newspaper	Number of articles	Percentage
Telegraaf	18 articles	48,57%
Volkskrant	17 articles	51,43%
Total:	35 articles	100%

The analysis in total consists of 70 articles of the *Volkskrant* and the *Telegraaf* divided over two periods in time. This selection is accurate, because the readership of the two newspapers and the selection of both a tabloid and a broadsheet are representative for the population.

3.5 Operationalization

A frame analysis is performed in this thesis. The frames are extracted from the literature about securitization and gender. The news articles in this thesis are analyzed with the use of a codebook (see Appendix 1). The codebook has two main dichotomous steps. First, the question whether migrants are presented as a threat will be answered. If the question is answered with yes, the threat perception will be further examined to determine as to what kind of threat migrants are presented (e.g., a threat to personal security, a threat to employment, or a threat to national culture). The second step consists of the question whether the articles regarding migrants are gender-neutral or not. If not, then it will be of interest how male and female migrants are represented. In this analysis both deductive as well as inductive coding is used. The two coding steps explained above will be applied first, before further

codes that emerge from this process will be added to the codebook. Proceeding with the coding in this way makes the results more reliable, which is necessary because the 70 articles are all coded manually by one coder due to the capacity of the thesis.

To code the articles in a proper way, the different categories in the codebook will need to be operationalized. The operationalization provides clarity about when something can be coded as a threat or not and when an article is gender-neutral or not. It is possible that in an article there is spoken about migrants as a threat as well as migrants as a victim. This means that the article is coded as both. The categories for threat/ nonthreat and gender-neutral/ gendered are not mutually exclusive. Sections of an article can be coded as presenting migrants as a threat when migrants are framed in a negative way. In this case, an 'us'- versus - 'them' frame for example needs to be observed, or for example a presentation of migrants as a threat to 'us' or to things that 'belong to us' (Buonfino, 2004, p.27). A possible statement could be: "They take our jobs". A second form of a threat is about personal security. Migrants are then presented as possible criminals or even rapists (ibid.). They are presented as aggressive males who cannot control their desires and just grab innocent females. A third type is the fear of losing the national identity. This fear is based on cultural differences and emphasis is put on the assumption that migrants are not able to integrate into our culture. These statements are often strengthened with references to the amount of people with headscarves or the existence of Islamic schools (Roggeband, Vliegenthart, 2007). Subsequent, to identifying whether migrants are described as a threat, it is determined if sections of the article are gender-neutral or not which, in turn will be based on the presence of gender roles. Gender roles are expectations about what the appropriate behavior is for each sex (Holt, Ellis, 1998, p.929). The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) is an instrument that is often used for the recognition of gender role perceptions (ibid.). It consists of twenty typical masculine and twenty typical feminine items identified by a scale. it includes items such as being dominant, aggressive or shy, but also items such as whether males or females should have leadership abilities. These 40 items are merged into 7 labels, four labels for the female items and three for the male items. Labels for the female presentation are: Character, Caretaker, Victim, and Personal abilities and Interaction. The labels for males consist of: Character, Appearance, and Personal abilities and Interaction. These labels are included in the codebook so that the gender roles can be identified in the newspaper articles. For this specific analysis, there is one element added in order to identify whether the articles are gender-neutral or not, because it is specific to the case of migrants in the Netherlands (Roggeband, Vliegenthart, 2007; Roggeband, Verloo, 2007). Whether the women are portrayed as a victim or as being dependent is examined in this extra element included in one of the four labels for females (Roggeband, Vliegenthart, 2007).

The two steps of deciding if the migrants are presented as a threat and whether the articles

are gender-neutral or not constitute the codebook. A more detailed operationalization of how to identify these two steps in the articles can be found in appendix 1: the codebook.

3.6 reliability and validity of the analysis

The reliability of a research describes to what extent the same results are found with repeated measurements. Due to the capacity and length of this analysis there is only one coder who has coded all 70 articles. This has consequences for the reliability. Ideally, two or more coders are coding the articles with an overlap, to make sure that the reliability is high. In this analysis it is not possible to have a second coder, therefore the quality of the codebook is essential. The codebook needs to be very clear with almost no space for interpretation of the coder, in order to make sure that it is reliable and replicable. The reliability is also improved by a pilot study of 10 articles. These articles are coded by the coder to check whether the codebook covered every important aspect that could be found in the articles and to remove flaws. With regards to the validity, the codebook is also a very important aspect. The coded data needs to be able to provide the main question of this thesis with an answer. The pilot study is therefore essential for the validity of this analysis. It makes it possible to amend and modify the codebook so that it is better suitable to measure what it needs to measure for the question of this thesis.

4. Empirical analysis

The previous chapters have laid down the bases for the empirical analysis of this research. The empirical analysis illustrates the extent to which male immigrants were securitized in the Netherlands between 2012 and 2017. It uses the theoretical framework to analyze whether the steps of the securitization process can be identified in the case of the Netherlands between 2015 and 2017. The chapter is as follows. The first section addresses the securitization of migrants in the Netherlands, more generally, including a description of the political landscape that enabled securitization. The second contains the data of the frame analysis, of how migrants were presented in the newspaper articles between 2015 and 2017 and what specific language was used to securitize them. Although, during that time the securitization of migrants was already well established and reinforced by political actors, it is still relevant to look at these articles. They offer insights into how migrants were described within the prevailing securitization frame. The third section looks specifically at gender and what role it plays in the securitization of migrants. The focus will be male migrants and how they are perceived, whether it is possible to detect a pattern as to how they are covered by the newspapers, and whether stereotypes play a role. Who were the securitizing actors, the referent object, and the audience if gender contributes to the securitization of migration? All these questions are answered in the third section.

4.1 Securitizing and the Dutch political climate

The Netherlands is reputed as one of the best promoters of multiculturalism, well-known for its tolerance (Entzinger, 2003), and has been a defender of difference. However, in the 21st century the attitude of the Netherlands towards 'newcomers' and diversity has shifted. Policies that embraced and respected diversity have been transformed into stricter policies that aim towards assimilation (Entzinger, 2003; Vasta, 2007), demanding conformity and more effort of the 'newcomers' to integrate in Dutch society. The conditions that were necessary for this policy change in the Netherlands are being addressed in this section.

Immigration has not always been an issue linked to security. In the 1950s and 1960s foreigners were recruited as so-called 'guest workers' to come work in the Netherlands, because the economy needed more working people. The dominant frame then was based upon the opportunities for economic growth and never linked to security (Munster, 2009, p.1). The employment of these 'guest workers' was seen as something temporary, so that their integration into Dutch society did not seem necessary. They were even encouraged to retain their own culture and identity, preventing any future difficulties when returning to their home countries. The immigration of these 'guest workers' wasn't even politicized, because it was seen as an economic issue in the Western European countries (Hollifield, Hunt, Tichenor, 2008; Entzinger, 2006).

The shift of policy started in the 1990s with the statement of Frits Bolkestein, leader of the

Liberal Party, who claimed that the "Islam was a threat to liberal democracy and an hindrance for integration of immigrants and that immigrant integration should be handled with more courage" (Penninx, Garcés-Mascareñas, Scholten, 2005, p.6). As a result of this statement a political debate about the integration of migrants emerged and made the issue highly politicized. Henceforward, national policies regarding migration emphasized Dutch culture and Language, aiming on equal participation of individuals and groups in society. Integration became less voluntary and more obligatory. The shifts in policy and the public debate about immigration and integration created space for political parties opposing migration.

In the 1990s, one in five persons in the Netherlands was defined as immigrant or a child of an immigrant (Entzinger, 2006; Vasta, 2007). Looking at the percentages, most of them were living in the big cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht), who accommodated 30 percent of the total number of refugees. Yet, the percentage of the people defined as immigrant in these cities is much higher than in the rest of the Netherlands (ibid.). In the political sphere no room for criticism on immigrants was given before the 1990s. The difficulties and problems were ignored by the major political parties in parliament, who kept promoting tolerance and multiculturalism. The fear to be called racists was so strong that the parties ignored growing problems for the welfare system caused by the high unemployment level of immigrants (Entzinger, 2006, p.5; Akkerman, Hagelund, 2007). Even though, these political parties were reluctant to speak in public about the growing problems for the welfare system, they shifted the migration policy towards a policy that was more about inclusion in Dutch society. This was possible, because in the 1994 parliamentary elections the Christian Democrats (CDA) lost their place in government. They were huge promoters of respecting cultural diversity, because they themselves valued religious freedom very high. The new coalition was more prone to promoting social participation of migrants (ibid.). These new policies focused more on integration into Dutch society and less on multiculturalism.

The shift in policy did not satisfy the Dutch population enough, because they remained concerned about the integration of immigrants and the growing Muslim population (ibid.). Anti-Muslim sentiment started already prior to the 1990s and got strengthened by the first Gulf War in 1990, the Salman Rushdie affair of 1989, and by the terrorist attacks in September 2001 (Ireland, 2004, p.126). The popularity for the anti-immigration/radical right party of Pim Fortuyn in the 2002 elections can partly be explained by these concerns of the population. Pim Fortuyn gained with his party: List Pim Fortuyn 17 percent of the votes which resulted in 26 seats in parliament of the 150 (Koopmans, Muis, 2009, p.642). For a new incoming party this was an impressive result, especially taken into account the fragmentation of the Dutch parliamentary system. The sudden rise of his anti-immigration/radical right party was seen as a sign of the dissatisfaction of the Dutch citizens regarding migration policies. The pressure that came from this radical-right party pushed the migration policies

in a more nationalistic direction and away from the multicultural position that it had.

Another important development during this time was the rise of new issues which appeared problematic for a multicultural society such as the Netherlands. These were clustered around feminism and familial relations (Akkerman, Hagelund, 2007). The culture and religion of some immigrants suppress the rights of women, in contrast to the Dutch culture in which these rights are accepted, protected and even promoted (ibid.). Pim Fortuyn used this contradiction and presented his party as a liberal democratic party that wanted to have electoral success and political influence in order to do deal with this contradiction. The anti-immigration position and the presentation of the Islam as a threat is strengthened and substantiated by the defense and promotion of liberal values such as a division between church and state, the freedom of expression, and gender equality (ibid.). This fitted within the fears of the ordinary Dutch citizens who saw the suppression of these migrant women, experienced small crime, and were witnesses of segregation in certain neighborhoods and schools (Koopmans, Muis, 2009). These people felt ignored by the mainstream parties and had the feeling that Fortuyn and his party did understand their fears and issues, and more importantly wanted to find solutions to solve them (Penninx, 2006, p.249). Discussing the difficulties of immigration and integration became possible with the rise of Pim Fortuyn's party. Beforehand, discussing these issues was not possible, because the mainstream parties would rather not talk about it in public. The discontent that had been growing for years among the citizens about the failure of multicultural policies finally got acknowledged by Pim Fortuyn, which resulted in the impressive result in the 2002 elections.

Pim Fortuyn got assassinated on 6 May 2002 just before the parliamentary elections by a Lawyer with strong connections to the ecological movement (ibid.). Two years later on 2 November 2004 filmmaker Theo van Gogh was murdered by a radicalized Muslim for political and religious reasons. Van Gogh had made strong statements about the Islam on television and in a film, he made about the submission of women in the Islamic culture (ibid.). These two murders have had a significant impact on the policies for immigration and integration in the Netherlands.

In the wake of the murders the other political parties, including the mainstream parties adopted populist thinking on how to deal with immigration and integration. This resulted in the introduction of a special Minister for immigration and integration together with a new integration policy (ibid., p.250). These murders made for the public as well as for the politicians clear that integration policies had failed. Islam as a religion became suspect and some even called it a 'backward culture' (ibid.). The government got accused of enabling the Muslims to segregate by for example allowing Islamic schools. The distance to the labor market remained too far and migrants were still marginalized in society which indicated a risk for the social cohesion of the Netherlands (Akkerman, Hagelund, 2007, p.201). The frame that migrants formed a threat to the social cohesion and the liberal values provided a justification for the Minister of migration and integration to come up with more

obligatory and stricter integration policies, together with the possibility of losing Dutch citizenship (Penninx, 2006, p.251). After the elections of 2006, The List Pim Fortuyn (LPF) was not present in parliament anymore and got dissolved in 2008. It did not mean the end of the radical right/ anti-immigration parties in the Netherlands. In the elections of 2006, a new party: 'De partij voor de vrijheid' (PVV) tried to win parliamentary seats. Geert Wilders the leader of the party won with the PVV 9 seats in the elections of 2006 (Vossen, 2010, p.23). The PVV filled up the political vacuum that had emerged with the disappearance of the LPF and took over several elements of its program. Wilders perceives migration as a threat to the liberal values of the Dutch culture and particularly argues that the Islam is a 'backward culture'. He calls the Islam a totalitarian ideology instead of a religion and argues that it should be placed on the same level as communism and fascism. According to him, the threat is so real that he even invented the term Islamofascism (ibid., p.26). Nowadays, the PVV is an established party and it won 20 seats in parliament during the last parliamentary elections in 2017, which is very high considering that there are 13 parties in parliament and 150 seats (Kiesraad, 2017). The party has not been in the coalition since 2012 but has quite some political influence. An example of this political influence is that immigrants are solely responsible for their own integration since 2013. They must find and finance an integration course themselves (European Commission, 2017). In the Dutch coalition agreement presented in October 2017 the difficulties of integration are also presented as a threat to trust and social cohesion within the Dutch society (Dutch Coalition agreement, 2017, p.55)

To sum up, the attitude and policies towards migrants have made a tremendous shift that started in the 1990's and had its breakthrough with the new coming party of Pim Fortuyn. The policies first focused on cultural diversity and multiculturalism, but this focus shifted into a focus on integration and adaptation to the Dutch culture and its liberal values. In the Copenhagen school of securitization there are three important conditions before securitization can take place. These three conditions are the speech act, the securitizing actors and the audience. These three conditions all act within the political climate. The political climate is therefore the overarching sphere that needs to enable the right facilitating conditions necessary for a successful securitization of an issue. The political climate in the Netherlands has enabled the facilitating conditions necessary for a successful speech act and eventually the securitization of migration with the upcoming of the anti-immigration/radical right parties and the difficulties that emerged in the 1990s for the multicultural society. A speech act always needs to be done by a securitizing actor. The securitizing actors in the case of migration are the anti-migration/radical right parties led by Pim Fortuyn, and Geert Wilders. Other securitizing actors are Frits Bolkestein with his statement that can be defined as a securitizing move, and the media, because they have ratified and reaffirmed the messages of the other securitizing actors. Since it was a political elite that did the securitizing move, the securitization was top down. The last condition is about the

audience. They always must accept the securitization move before it can be called a success; an issue is only securitized when the audience has accepted it. The audience in this case are the Dutch citizens. The general opinion of politicians and the public in the Netherlands is that integration policies have failed and that migrants pose a threat to the social cohesion and the liberal values of the Dutch society. It shows that the securitization of migration was successful in the Netherlands and that the audience accepts and reaffirms the securitization frame. The next section is about the identification of the securitization of migrants in the articles generated from the *Volkskrant* and the *Telegraaf* for this analysis. The language used for the securitization frame as well as the tone of the articles form the basis for this part of the analysis.

4.2 Representation of migrants in the Dutch media

Sparked by the Arabic spring refugees from the war zones in Africa and the Middle East fled to neighboring countries, but some tried to flee to Europe. This was the starting point of the so-called 'refugee crisis', in which thousands of refugees tried to flee to Europe. Two years later in 2017 the influx of refugees had drastically decreased, and integration of these immigrants became the next challenge for policymakers. Given these developments, 2015-2017 have been chosen for the frame analysis of newspaper articles concerning migrants in the Netherlands of the *Telegraaf* and the *Volkskrant*. The results regarding the presentation of migrants are presented in this section.

The first period from 17 August until 13 September 2015 consisted of a total of 497 articles about migration in the *Telegraaf* and the *Volkskrant* of which subsequent to the elimination of duplicates, opinion pieces and irrelevant articles, an overall sample of 271 articles remained. 35 articles were randomly selected for period 1 which consisted of 18 articles from the *Telegraaf* and 17 articles from the *Volkskrant*. Period 2 is from 17 August until 13 September 2017 and consisted of a total of 186 articles about migration in the *Telegraaf* and the *Volkskrant* of which subsequent to the elimination of duplicates, opinion pieces and irrelevant articles, an overall sample of 65 articles remained. Also, from this sample 35 articles were randomly selected for period 2 consisting of 18 articles of the *Telegraaf* and 17 of the *Volkskrant.*

The coding of these articles shows that most of the articles use the words 'refugee' or 'asylum seeker' when referring to the migrants in period 1. The different words to refer to migrants do not influence the presentation of migrants as a threat or not. Table 3 shows that 19 out of 35 articles or 48,72 percent of all examined articles presented the migrants as a threat during the first period. By comparison, 20 articles presented migrants as, for example an opportunity for economic growth, an enrichment for society, or as a victim of the ongoing civil wars in their home countries.

Table 3: Percentages of newspaper articles that framed migrants as no threat or as a threat in the periods 1 & 2

	Period 1		Period 2	
Framing	**Articles**	**Percentage**	**Articles**	**Percentage**
Threat	19 articles	48,72%	26 articles	72,22%
No threat	20 articles	51,28%	10 articles	27,78%
Total:	39 articles	100%	36 articles	100%

Note: In period 1 & 2 there are 35 articles coded. There were some articles that presented migrants both as a treat as well as a non-threat. These articles received both codes which explains why in the table the total number of articles is higher than 35.

In period 2, the words most commonly used to refer to migrants were 'migrant', 'refugee', and 'asylum seeker'. The word 'migrant' was not often used in the first period, however in the second period it became a commonly used word to refer to migrants. In the second period, 'migrant' is a little more used by the *Telegraaf*, though not significantly more. Table 3 shows that during the second period, the percentage of articles that presented migrants as a threat increased from around 50 percent in 2015 up to around 72 percent in 2017.

In period 1, there were four articles that presented migrants both as a threat and as a non-threat. They, for example described migrants as a victim and talked about the horrible conditions they had to endure to get to Europe with human traffickers and the long-distance walks. In an article of the *Telegraaf* that was coded for this analysis, the horrible circumstances of the people that got stuck in Hungary are described, including families who had walked for days to get there and who upon their arrival had to live on the street and were dependent of volunteers who provided them and their children with water and food. The initiatives from the Hungarian citizens are described, but also the hatred towards the migrants. One unemployed road worker calls them dirty and wants them to leave. These articles use both the threat frame as well as the non-threat frame to present migrants and are therefore coded as an article that has a threat frame and as an article that does not use the threat frame in the presentation of migrants.

The differences between the two newspapers and their presentation of migrants as a threat or not were as Table 4 shows negligible in period 1. Both newspapers described migrants in around 50 percent of the cases as a threat.

Table 4: Percentage that migration is framed as a threat in the different newspapers in period 1

Framing	Volkskrant		Telegraaf	
	Articles	Percentage	Articles	percentage
Threat	10 articles	50%	9 articles	47,37%
No threat	10 articles	50%	10 articles	52,63%
Total:	20 articles	100%	19 articles	100%

Table 4 shows that at the height of the crisis, migrants were not presented that often as a threat. Instead, the victim frame is much more prevalent. This might be explained by the fact that at that time, the problems that would come with the influx of refugees were not yet clear. People argued that these people were also human and needed to be treated as such. Humanitarian arguments together with the presentation of migrants as victims were a better fit to the images and the videos of migrants that were packed in little rubber boats or living on the streets in European cities.

Also, there were two events during the height of the crisis that shocked everybody and made people realize that refugees are also human beings that want the best for the well-being of their children and themselves. One of the two events is the three-year old Syrian boy called Aylan that came to be washed up dead on a beach in Turkey. The picture is being called iconic for the refugee crisis and shocked the world. The discovery of 71 decomposing bodies in an abandoned truck in Austria in August 2015 is the other event. 71 Migrants including women and children were packed in a little truck and suffocated to death because there wasn't enough oxygen. They had paid the smugglers for a better life, but never knew that it would be a payment for their own death. These two events may have contributed to the prevalence of the victim frame. However, this did not mean that migrants were not perceived as a threat albeit less frequently than in period two.

Table 3 shows that during the second period 72 percent of the articles presented migrants as a threat. In that period the number of refugees that tried to reach European soil decreased together with the refugee influx in the Netherlands. Questions about integration and housing started to emerge in the political sphere. Also, the link to previous refugee flows and the perceived failed integration of them might partly explain why the refugees in period 2 are more often presented as a threat. When the influx decreased, questions of integration started to emerge. This is also the time, when differences between the two newspapers regarding their coverage of migrants become more visible. Table 5 shows, that compared to the *Volkskrant* the *Telegraaf* presented the migrants more often as a threat. The differences are still rather minor, but nonetheless more visible than in period 1.

Table 5: Percentage that migration is framed as a threat in the different newspapers in period 2

Framing	Volkskrant		Telegraaf	
	Articles	Percentage	Articles	Percentage
Threat	11 articles	64,71	15 articles	78,95
No Threat	6 articles	35,29	4 articles	21,05
Total:	17 articles	100%	19 articles	100%

When migrants are viewed as a threat in the newspapers, this can happen in multiple ways. Sometimes, the threat may be related to economic insecurity (economic frame) (Buonfino, 2004), including competition for jobs and houses, the costs that migrants cause for taxpayers, and the scarcity of resources which now needs to be shared with more people. Other times, the threat relates to national security (social frame) and emphasis is placed on crime rates of migrants, sexual crimes such as rapes, and terrorism. Migrants are in this frame portrayed as criminals and a threat to the national security. This threat to national security consists not only of crimes that can be committed by migrants, but the migrants also form a possible threat to the health of the native citizens (ibid.). There is a fear for epidemics and deceases that the migrants might bring with them. Lastly, there is the cultural frame. This frame is about the fear of losing one's national identity (Roggeband, Vliegenthart, 2007). It is based on the different cultural backgrounds of the migrants and emphasizes that integration has failed, and multiculturalism is a utopia. Often, this frame comes with a negative attitude towards the Islam and the fear of losing liberal values that belong to the Dutch society such as a division between church and state, gender equality, and freedom of expression. Table 6 shows in percentages how often de different frames are used in the articles in period 1 & 2 divided by the different newspapers.

Table 6: Division of the different threat frames for the newspapers in period 1 & 2 in percentages

Framing	Period 1			Period 2		
	Volkskrant	Telegraaf	Total:	Volkskrant	Telegraaf	Total:
Economical threat	40%	28,57%	35,56%	26,32%	39,13%	33,33%
Social threat	20%	9,52%	15,56%	10,53%	17,39%	14,29%
Cultural threat	16%	9,52%	13,33%	10,53%	17,39%	14,92%
Threat not defined	24%	52,38%	35,56%	52,63%	26,09%	38,10%
Total:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As shown in table 6, a lot of the times the migrants are presented as threat, but the threat is not further defined into one of the three categories. Very often in these cases, an extensive use of metaphors

about water in order to describe migrants can be identified. Water is often linked to security. The articles present the coming of refugees as a 'refugee flow'. The newspapers also used sentences that contained: 'The Netherlands is flooded by refugees' and some articles even used the word 'dam' as a verb to speak about the containment of refugees. The association with water immediately reminds the Dutch citizens of the struggles they have in order to make sure that the country does not become flooded. In 1953 half of the Netherlands came underwater, which is also known as the 'watersnoodramp' in Dutch history. After that, the Dutch specialized in the management of water and became experts on how to make sure that such a disaster would never happen again. Using these words that are associated with water and have a certain connotation to talk about the refugees that are coming to the Netherlands shows that migrants are being presented as a threat to national security.

From the three different frames that can be used when the threat is further defined, the economic frame is most often used in both periods as shown in table 6. In period 1 this frame is often used when the articles describe the refugee flow and the number of refugees that have fled to Europe. An example that uses the economic frame of the articles coded for period 1 is called 'not knowing' from the *Volkskrant*. The article describes two types of not knowing, one is about the fact that it is impossible to know what will happen with the refugee flow. Questions about duration, the number of, and how to deal with them are part of this first type of not knowing. During the height of the crisis when this article was written, it remained unclear how long it would last and what the consequences of the refugee flow would be for the Netherlands in the future. The other type of not knowing is that Dutch citizens had no idea how many migrants had applied for asylum in the Netherlands in 2014. The respondents thought that 286.879 people had applied when the actual number was 24.515 in 2014 (Smeets, 2015). During the height of the crisis people feared the number of refugees, even though they had no idea how many refugees were actually coming to the Netherlands. An explanation might be that there has been a lot of media attention for the 'crisis'. In the first period there were prior to the selection 497 articles whom referred to migrants in the *Volkskrant* and the *Telegraaf*. Comparing this to the second period in when there were 186 articles, it shows that there is a notable difference in attention. These articles together with all the pictures and videos that were shown on television and in the newspapers about the continual arrival of refugees by rubber boats and the tent camps in for example Greece, might explain why people thought that the actual number of refugees that came to the Netherlands was much higher.

The economic frame is also frequently used in the second period. This time it was less about the refugee flow and the number of refugees, but more about the capacity of the Netherlands to assign them to for examples houses, and the fear for one's own well-being. In an article of the *Volkskrant* people were interviewed who were on vacation to a holiday resort that had also partly been used as a

shelter for refugees. One couple argued that the refugees were fortune hunters that abused the war in order to come to the Netherlands and that a holiday resort was not a good place to shelter refugees. They did not understand why the refugees were sheltered in the holiday resort, when there are also people in the Netherlands that cannot afford to go on a holiday. This is a typical example of the economic threat frame. They have the feeling that the 'native' Dutch citizens were disadvantaged in their well-being by the coming of the refugees.

References to migrants as a social threat or a cultural threat are not as frequent as references to migrants as an economic threat. However, there is a difference between the *Volkskrant* and the *Telegraaf* in how often they use these two frames. In period 1, the *Volkskrant* used the social and cultural threat frame more often than the *Telegraaf*. Table 6 shows that it is exactly the other way around in period 2; the social and cultural threat frame are now more often used by the *Telegraaf*. The threat is also much more often defined into one of the three frames in period 2 by the *Telegraaf* than the *Volkskrant*. The *Telegraaf* for example published an article in period 2 in which the results of a research about the attitude towards Muslim people in the Netherlands were presented. It showed a growing unease of Dutch citizens towards Muslims together with a growing pessimism towards the integration of migrants (Telegraaf, 2017). This is a typical example of the cultural frame.

To sum up, in the first period the threat frame competes against the humanitarian frame, which results in a presentation of migrants as a threat in 48,72 percent of the articles. The case of the drowned Syrian boy, and the 71 migrants that suffocated in the back of a truck were important for how the 'migration crisis' was being perceived in the summer of 2015. Articles focussed on the horrific circumstances these people had been trough in order to reach the European border, but also the circumstances when they finally arrived in Europa. The humanitarian frame gained popularity during the first period, but the popularity decreased in the second period with the emergence of issues about housing and the integration of migrants. The threat frame regained its popularity for the presentation of migrants in both the *Volkskrant* and the *Telegraaf* and becomes the prevalent frame again. The fluctuation in the popularity of the threat frame shows that securitization of migration is not static in the Netherlands. The humanitarian frame competed against the security frame but did not gain enough support in order to become the dominant frame. The data also showed that migrants were frequently presented as a threat, but the threat was not further defined into one of the three categories. Instead, these articles often used metaphors that were connected to water in order to present the migrants. In the Copenhagen school of securitization, they talk about how a securitizing actor can increase his or her change of making a successful securitizing move by linking the issue to something that is already framed as threatened. In the Netherlands the water has always been framed as a threat to national security. Connecting it to the issue of migration shows how the securitization is operationalized in the Netherlands. The most often used frame when the threat is further defined is

the economic threat frame. The fear of a possible decline in the well-being of the native citizens caused by the coming of migrants is presented in these articles. Securitization of migration had a little backlash in the first period but becomes the dominant frame again in the second period. The question that remains is whether gender influences the securitization of migrants. In the next section gender is included into the analysis. The presentation of men and women in the articles is addressed, together with the possible effects that the different presentations might have on the securitization of migrants.

4.3 The inclusion of gender

In securitization theory gender is not one of the variables considered to have an effect on the securitization move and is criticised for being genderblind. However, one could expect that gender with the existing stereotypes and gender roles could have an effect. The binary expectations that exist for both men and women lead to certain expectations about how to behave for both sexes. The expected character and behaviour for men is that they are strong, decisive and aggressive. These characteristics fit more within a securitization frame, than the expected behaviour of women who are expected to be nurturing, vulnerable and dependent. The combination of gender and migration in the securitization frame might lead to different outcomes for men and women.

For every article in the analysis, it was determined whether migrants were presented in a gender neutral and homogeneous manner, or whether the representation of migrants in the articles was gendered. When, for example, migrants were being referred to by their names or when only male and not female migrants were mentioned, the article would be coded as gendered. Table 7 shows that there was only limited number of articles that relied on a gendered framing of migrants and that there was hardly any difference between the *Volkskrant* and the *Telegraaf* in this respect. In period 1 the *Volkskrant* and the *Telegraaf* both had three articles that were not gender neutral. The second period exhibits a minor difference between the two papers. The *Telegraaf* has three articles that are not gender neutral and the *Volkskrant* two. This minor difference can be neglected because a difference of 1 article in a total of 35 is not substantial enough to be significant.

Table 7: Gender presentation for period 1 & 2 in the articles in numbers and percentage

	Period 1		Period 2	
Framing	**Articles**	**Percentage**	**Articles**	**Percentage**
Not gender neutral	6	17,14%	5	14,29%
Gender neutral	29	82,86%	30	85,71%
Total:	35	100%	35	100%

The other articles talked about 'migrants', 'asylum seekers' or another name that refers to migrants, but the group is not further defined into sexes. They are presented as a homogenous group with certain characteristics and expected behaviour instead of distinguished into sexes and preferred gender roles. If there is a gender distinction in the article the different roles for males and females are further defined. The distinction for the different gender roles is based on the BSRI (Bem Sex-Role Inventory). The twenty items that can be called feminine are merged into four categories: Character, Caretaker, Victim, and Personal abilities and interaction. The twenty items for males are merged into three items: character, appearance, and personal abilities and interaction.

Table 7 shows that only 6 articles in period 1 did not describe migrants as a homogenous group. One article in period 1 of the *Telegraaf* describes vulnerable mothers and their children sitting in the streets with their belongings in Ikea bags (Telegraaf, 2015). In the same article there is also a reference to two Syrian boys in Budapest who want to go to Germany. If there is no transport to bring them from Hungary to Germany, they have the plan to walk. The expected gender roles are very clear in this example. The article describes the woman as a mother; a caretaker who is sitting in the streets with her children and their belongings. she is presented as a victim of the wars in northern Africa instead of as a person with agency. The two Syrian boys are presented as being strong, ambitious and willing to walk to Germany if transport is not possible (ibid.) Table 8 shows the different presentations for males and females and how often they are used.

Table 8: Presentation of gender in the articles in number and percentage for period 1 & 2

		Period 1		Period 2	
Gender	Presentation	Articles	Percentage	Articles	Percentage
Female	Character	0	0%	1	11,11%
	Caretaker	3	33,33%	3	33,33%
	Victim	3	33,33%	3	33,33%
	Personal abilities and interaction	1	11,11%	1	11,11%
	Female gender role not present	2	22,22%	1	11,11%
	Total:	9	100%	9	100%
Male	Character	3	25%	1	12,50%
	Appearance	3	25%	3	37,5%
	Personal abilities and interaction	6	50%	2	25%
	Male gender role not present	0	0%	2	25%
	Total:	12	100%	8	100%

Note: The total numbers are higher than the actual number of articles that were not gender neutral, because the presentations are not mutually exclusive.

In the example described earlier, the migrant woman is described as a caretaker and a victim of the whole situation. The migrant males are presented in the article as agents who know what they are doing. They are presented as strong and as if they have deliberately chosen to flee their home country.

Another example is an article in the *Volkskrant* from the first period (Hunin, 2015). The article is about a woman who had to flee her country because else she would become a victim of an honour killing. She was spotted with her boyfriend by one of her nephews in the park. Her boyfriend was not approved by her father and belonged to another ethnic group. In this case the woman is presented as a caring person that just wants to be happy with her boyfriend, get married and start a family. Her male family members are being described as aggressive angry men, who attach a lot of value to their religion and the reputation of the family. They decide what the women in the family must do and arrange a husband for them. The women are described in a very dependent way as if they have no rights and do not decide anything on their own. The girl in this article is presented as an exception, she is brave and has agency over her own life. She decided herself to date this guy and deliberately chose to flee the country after the family discovered her secret relation. The males on the other hand are described as a cultural threat to the western values and are presented as a homogenous group that holds on to religion and the reputation of the family. In this case the link is not established between these males and the refugees in words, but the connotation and presentation of them establishes the link without presenting it in actual words. These males also come to Europe and presenting them in this way makes it easy to securitize them and frame the migrant women as victims. The stereotypical gender roles of a male are used to securitize this group more than the other sex in this example.

This fits within the political climate in which the anti-immigrant/ right wing parties in the Netherlands use gender equality as one of the arguments for not wanting migrants to come to the Netherlands. According to these parties they have outdated ideas about gender equality and are a threat to western values. Especially the males form a threat to the national security, because the women do not have agency over their own life. This example shows what gender can do in the securitization of an issue. Another example that shows the effect of gender in securitization is an article from period 2 of the *Telegraaf.* The article discusses a research that has been done about the attitude towards Muslims (Dam, Joolen, 2017). People answered questions about whether they were afraid that Dutch women could no longer freely behave in public and about the integration of Muslims (ibid.). The results of these questions showed that people have become sceptical about the integration of Muslims compared to previous years. The connection of gender and securitization is clearly made in the question about the Dutch women in public.

Although, these two articles seem to show an effect of gender on the securitization of migration there are also articles that do exactly the opposite. In period 1 an article of the *Volkskrant* discusses the us-them distinction and the importance of not letting this distinction become reality

(Huisman, 2015). The article is about a shelter in Nijmegen that is only for male refugees between the age of 18 and 23. Some people living close to the shelter were afraid of the fact that their blond daughters would have to bicycle past this shelter with only young males who have nothing to do during the day. The overall tone of the article is that other neighbours do not see the male refugees as a threat, but as an enrichment and that they want to help these young males in order to integrate as soon as possible. It is emphasized in the interviews of the males living in the shelter that they are very grateful for everything. Another article that has been published in the *Volkskrant* in period 2 is about the Arab man (Vreeken, 2017) and presents him as a person that does not have an easy life. These men still need to fulfil the traditional role in times when it is hard to get a job and women become more and more independent. The vulnerabilities of the Arab man are described, and explanations are given for why the traditional roles are still dominant for males and females (ibid.). This is an example of an article that tries to show the other side of the securitization frame for the Arab man.

In the small number of articles in this analysis that distinguishes migrants into sexes instead of presenting them as a homogenous group, a dominant frame is not yet present. Males are not significantly more often described in their stereotypical gender roles than women. Besides, there are also articles that include gender in their presentation of migrants, but do not securitize them. Literature showed that the gender expectations of males lend itself better for securitization than the gender expectations of women, but this is not often used in the articles selected for this analysis. A dominant frame for male migrants cannot be extracted from the selected articles. Some articles have made the connection between gender roles, migrants and securitization, but this is limited to a very small number within the selected data. The popularity of anti-migration/radical right parties in the Netherlands and their presentation of migrants as a threat to the liberal values such as gender equality would expect that more articles in the selected data would securitize male refugees. However, this expectation together with the expectation that male migrants are securitized and disadvantaged more than female migrants and their children cannot be made with the selected articles for this analysis.

5. Conclusion

The final chapter provides an answer to the research question and recapitalizes the findings of the analysis. Besides the recapitulation, this chapter also discusses the limitations of this research and the possible opportunities for further improvement. Furthermore, it discusses the implications of the findings for the securitization of migration and for securitization theory in general. Lastly, some possibilities for future research on the inclusion of gender into the securitization framework are proposed. The research question of this analysis is:

'Did male immigrants become securitized in the Netherlands in the period between 2012 and 2017, and what specific role played gender in this possible securitization?'

5.1. Recapitulation and discussion of the empirical evidence

The 'refugee crisis' has been a hot issue in the European Union and in the Netherlands. Demonstrations were held against the sheltering of immigrants in different municipalities in the Netherlands. Especially young male migrants were feared by Dutch citizens (Rosman, van Mersbergen, 2016). This led to the question whether there is a gender dimension in the securitization of migration in the Netherlands.

The theoretical framework has laid down the basis for the empirical analysis. The most important part of the theoretical framework was the elaboration of what securitization exactly entails and what conditions are necessary for a securitizing move to succeed. To enable and improve the likability of success for a securitization move, facilitation conditions need to be present. The securitizing move can be split up into three important aspects and/or processes: the speech act, the securitizing actor(s), and the audience (Buzan, Wæver, Wilde, 1998). The research question of this thesis specifically examines the effect of gender on securitization. Since securitization theory has been criticized for being gender blind, gender is included into the theoretical framework with a main focus on binary oppositions in gender roles and the expected behavior for men and women. In this thesis gender is being seen in an intersectional manner meaning that gender interacts with other characteristics of a person and that these interactions should not be neglected.

In order to provide an answer to the research question, a frame analysis was conducted to examine speech acts in the form of written language in newspapers. Two periods were selected: the first one during the height of the crisis from 17 August until 13 September 2015 and the other one exactly two years later from 17 August until 13 September 2017. For each period 35 articles were randomly selected from the *Volkskrant* and the *Telegraaf* and coded according to the drafted codebook.

The results derived from the frame analysis were presented in chapter 4. The facilitating conditions that enabled the securitization of migration were presented in the chapter about the

political climate in the Netherlands. It became clear that there were two developments in the Netherlands that had an impact on the securitization of migration. Firstly, the upcoming of the anti-migration/radical right parties. Secondly, the emerging problems for multicultural societies. These two developments shaped the political climate resulting in favorable facilitating conditions for the securitization of migration.

The next step is the speech act; by saying that an issue is a threat to national security it becomes one. A speech act is always carried out by a securitizing actor for a specific audience. A very clear example of a speech act in the 1990s is the statement of Frits Bolkestein, but he was not the only securitizing actor. The leaders of the anti-immigrant/radical right parties and the media can also be defined as securitizing actors. Securitization of migration was top down, because it was an established political elite together with the media who executed the securitizing move. This move also has been accepted by the audience, because they believed that the integration policies failed, and that multiculturalism is a utopia.

However, data generated from the frame analysis shows a little backlash for the securitization frame and an uprising of the humanitarian frame during the height of the crisis in the summer of 2015. A possible explanation of this finding might be the overload of images and videos of the 'refugee crisis', together with the cases of the drowned Syrian boy and the 71 migrants that suffocated in the back of a truck. In the second period, the securitization frame has gained back its popularity, because issues about the integration and housing of these refugees started to emerge. Another important aspect about the securitization of migration derived from the data is the use of metaphors. The migration issue is linked to water, which is already framed as a threat to national security in the Netherlands. The most often used frame in both periods is the economic frame which is about the fear of a possible decline in the well-being of native citizens with the coming of migrants.The only question remained was whether gender had an effect on the securitization of migration. The expectation was that male migrants are securitized, because there were signs such as demonstrations, banners, and results of public research, all indicating that people especially feared the coming of young male refugees. Also, the expected behavior and gender roles for males fit better within the securitization frame than they do for women. In the frame analysis, only 11 out of the 70 articles used a gender distinction when talking about migrants. All other articles presented migrants as a homogenous group, which made it impossible to extract a dominant frame from the findings. The eleven articles that made a gender distinction did not all use the securitization frame for migrants. Only a very limited number of articles made the connection between gender roles, migrants, and securitization. This was not expected, considering the political climate in the Netherlands with the anti-migration/radical right political parties that present migrants as a threat to liberal values such as gender equality. Despite this political

climate, the expectations that male refugees are securitized and that male refugees are disadvantaged compared to migrant women and children do not match with the findings of this analysis.

5.2 Limitations and opportunities for further improvement

The research conducted has several limitations. Some of them are consistent with already existing criticism on securitization literature, others are related to the time and capacity coming with this thesis. The most important limitations and opportunities for further improvements are discussed in this section.

First, it is very hard to determine whether something is securitized because some aspects that are part of the securitization theory of the Copenhagen school are not clearly defined. More specific, the acceptance of the audience is not operationalized by the Copenhagen school, which leaves room for interpretation whether the audience has accepted the securitization of an issue. They only state that a discussion about the threat is necessary in order to gain enough resonance for a kind of platform, which makes it possible to legitimize extraordinary measures (Buzan, Wæver, Wilde, 1998, p.25). What the exact threshold for this platform is in order to legitimize the extraordinary measures is still vague. In the analysis it remains unclear whether the few articles that made the connection between migrants, gender and securitization are enough to form a platform. This could be improved in similar future research by deciding beforehand what the threshold for the platform is and how this can be recognized.

Another limitation is that newspaper articles only provide a description of the news. It can happen that certain proposals for extraordinary measures are not covered in the news, because they are not out in public. In that case, it becomes very complicated to distinguish whether an issue is politicized or securitized. This can be improved by performing a triangular analysis, consisting of both a frame analysis of newspaper articles and an analysis on policy documents and speeches held by securitizing actors. A problem that also remains by executing a triangular analysis is that securitization can also be an ongoing process. Using the performativity of the speech act assumes that it happens overnight which leaves no room for the possibility that securitization can be constructed over time through incremental processes and representations, as McDonald criticizes (2008, p.564). It might be possible that the securitization of male migrants is still in process and has yet to reach complete securitization. The conclusions drafted from this analysis are therefore only applicable to the period selected for this analysis. It is possible that in the meantime male migrants have become securitized in the Netherlands, or that certain actors have tried to prevent further securitization of male migrants by desecuritizing the issue.

Furthermore, the frame analysis is limited due to time, capacity, and the length of this thesis. The *Volkskrant* and the *Telegraaf* are already representative for the Dutch people, but it would be

better if the selection included other Dutch newspapers as well to get a more comprehensive study. The study can also be improved by selecting a larger number of articles from the newspapers and by selecting other periods within the time frame. More periods, the inclusion of other Dutch newspapers, and a higher number of selected articles within the time frame of this analysis can provide better insights on the process of male migrant securitization in the Netherlands. Due to capacity, there was only one coder to code all articles which means that the reliability could be improved by having multiple coders who code all the articles in order to create intercoder reliability.

This analysis eliminated opinion articles about migration to make sure that the results were not based upon opinions of a few people writing pieces for the paper, which would not be a good representation of reality. However, it might be interesting perform an analysis on the opinion articles in order to examine whether there is a difference between the coverage of male immigrants by the journalists and the people who write opinion articles. Writers of opinion articles often have less rules to adhere to then journalists who must adhere to the rules of neutrality and objectivity.

A last possible improvement is to compare the results of the Netherlands to other European countries. This will provide insights on how important the facilitating conditions are in a country and whether there are other countries that already included gender in the securitization of migration. For example, a comparison with the case of Germany can provide some insights on the process of securitization since the political climate is different. In Germany the policy of Merkel was based on her statement: "Wir schaffen das" (we can do this) but was also shocked by the sexual assaults in Cologne on New Year's Eve. Examining the gender dimension over time in the case of Germany might provide some useful insights on the facilitating conditions necessary for successful securitization and on the possible role of gender in the process of securitization.

5.3 implications of the empirical evidence and future research possibilities

As Buzan, Wæver and Wilde argued in their Copenhagen School of securitization, every issue in essence can be turned into a security issue by a speech act (1998). Securitization means that it becomes legitimate to use extraordinary measures in order to tackle the issue. Securitizing an issue can have positive effects for society, because the issue gets high priority and extraordinary measures can be used. However, the possibility that every issue can become securitized can also have some negative implications for society. Buzan, Wæver and Wilde, make a connection between people in power and securitizing actors. According to them, securitizing actors are generally political leaders, bureaucracies, governments, lobbyists, and pressure groups (1998, p.40). This means that people that already are in power execute the securitizing moves and therefore decide what issues are to be securitized. Existing power relations remain the same and the voiceless do not have an opportunity to securitize an issue or have the power to prevent an issue from becoming securitized. This leads to a high risk of

segregation, discrimination and polarization in society. With the already existing power relations in society, the inclusion of a gender dimension in the securitization of issues might only lead to a worsening of the already existing power relations.

The scientific implications of this research are related to the inclusion of gender. The conducted research was not able to conclude that there is a gender dimension in the securitization of migration in the Netherlands, but it was also not able to exclude its presence. Since the dimension of gender in securitization could lead to a worsening of the existing power relations in society, it is crucial to further examine the role of gender in the securitization process. Do gender roles and stereotypes, for example, have an influence on what issues can be securitized and who is able to securitize an issue? Or does gender influences whether certain issues become accepted as security issues by the audience? The possible influence of gender should be examined in all steps of the securitization approach and the results need to be included into the existing theory.

Another important new avenue for research is to look whether an expansion of the speech act is possible within the existing framework. Images and videos are nowadays central to the media and the distribution of news. During the 'refugee crisis' video's and photos were often used to visualize what was going on in Europe and in the countries the refugees were fleeing from. Also, visuals that display people are always gendered and very often show the dominant gender roles. Including the visuals in future research about gender and securitization could possibly provide the theory with some useful insights. Especially images and videos used during the 'refugee crisis' might offer good insights on the differences between the presentation of male and female migrants.

The gender blindness of securitization theory offers a lot of new research possibilities in order to examine the possible effects of gender on the securitization process. Also, focusing only on written language for the speech act is too narrow in general, especially in the case of gender and securitization where stereotypes can often be recognized in images and videos. The inclusion of gender, the power of visuals, and how to incorporate these in the study of securitization are new avenues for future research in the field of securitization.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Codebook

The aim of the analysis is to find an answer to the question of this research: *Did male immigrants become securitized in the Netherlands in the period between 2012 and 2017, and what specific role played gender in this possible securitization?* In order to get an answer to this question a frame analysis of newspaper articles is carried out for the period between 2012 and 2017.

The codebook constitutes two steps. First there is the question about whether the migrants are presented as a threat in the article. This is a binary question and needs to be coded with yes or no. If coded yes, the threat needs to be defined further. Is it an economic, social or cultural threat that is being described in the article? After this first step the second step is about gender. Is the article gender neutral? In order to be able to decide about the neutrality, gender roles need to be identified or not in the articles. The instrument used is made by Bem and is called the Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI). This instrument consists of forty items of which twenty belong to the perception of how a female should behave and the other twenty belong to the perception of how a male should behave in society (Holt, Ellis, 1998, p.929). In this analysis these 40 items for males and females are merged into four labels: Character, Caretaker, Victim, and Personal Abilities and Interaction for females and three labels: Character, Appearance, and Personal Abilities and Interaction for males.

The articles are collected from one broadsheet paper (Volkskrant) and one tabloid paper (Telegraaf) in order to have a representative readership that covers the entire population. The articles are collected through Nexis Uni. The search terms used for the selection are Migrant* OR Immigrant* OR Vluchteling* OR Statushouder* OR Vergunningshouder* OR Asielzoeker*. There were two time periods selected. The first was during the peak of the refugee crisis from 17 August 2015 until 13 September of 2015. This results in a selection of 497 articles. The doubles, opinion articles, columns and articles that were irrelevant were removed from the selection. 271 articles remained in the selection, a random selection has selected 35 articles for the analysis of the first period. The second period is chosen exact two years after the peak because one year is probably a bit too early. The second period is from 17 August until 13 September 2017. In total there were for that period 186 articles selected from the *Telegraaf* and the *Volkskrant*. 65 Articles are left after the removal of the doubles, the opinion articles, the columns and the irrelevant articles. The random selection has also selected 35 articles in this period. This brings the total amount of articles that is coded for the analysis to 70. To make sure that the codebook is complete a pilot study of ten articles is carried out. When the literature speaks up this is added to the codebook. The analysis is thus a combination of deductive as well as

inductive coding. This combination has a positive effect on the reliability of the analysis. There was one coder to code all articles manually.

The codebook is structured as follows. First, there is the question about whether the migrant is presented as a threat. If they are presented as a threat this threat is further categorised into economic, social, or cultural. The second step looks at whether the article is gender neutral or not. The decision is based on the 7 labels that merged from the BSRI instrument that identifies gender roles in society.

Column A: ID number

The ID number is the number that has been given to the articles. This makes it possible to change the order of the articles. Numbers are from 1 until 70.

Column B: Date

The date of the article. Day/month/year.

Column C: Newspaper

The newspaper in which the article was presented.

Code	Label
1	Volkskrant
2	Telegraaf

Column D: Title

The title of the newspaper article.

Column E: Actor

Code	Label
1	Migrant
2	Immigrant
3	Vluchteling
4	Statushouder
5	Vergunningshouder
6	Asielzoeker

Column F: Presentation of migrants

The presentation of migrants in the article.

Code	Label	Operationalization	Examples of words/sentences that make recognition in the article easier

0	Threat	Migrants are presented as a threat in the article. They are described in a negative manner, and the 'us' versus 'them' distinction is clearly present in the article.	'threat', 'us versus them', 'national security', 'cultural differences', 'integration not possible', 'problem'
1	No Threat	Migrants are not presented in the article as a threat. They are presented in a positive manner and seen as an enrichment for the society. There can even be a call for cultural diversity, respect or a reference to human rights. Another possibility is that they are referred to as victims. Victims of the political situation in their home country.	'Multiculturalism being described positively', 'Promotion of respect for cultural diversity', 'Call for dialogue in order to get mutual understanding', 'multiculturalism', 'respect', 'enrichment', 'cultural diversity', 'victim',

<u>Colum G: nature of the threat</u>

The different types of threats that are linked to migration. Buonfino argues that migrants can be presented as economic threats or as social threats (2004, p32-37). Roggeband and Vliegenthart talk about an Islam-as-Threat frame. In this thesis this frame is broadened a little and called the cultural frame, so that it is not only the fear of the Islam, but the fear for all other cultures that do not look like the culture of the native citizens.

Code	Label	Operationalization	Examples of Words/ sentences that make recognition of the frame easier.
0	Economic	Fear is based on economic insecurity. They fear the	'they took our jobs', 'benefits', 'scarce resources',

		competition for jobs, and access to housing benefits or even education. The scarcity of these resources is what fears them the most. They are afraid that benefits will be cut or lowered by the hosting of so many refugees or that they must compete against the refugees for these resources (Buonfino, 2004, p.33). They are afraid that the share of money from taxpayers that is spend on the livelihoods of the refugees becomes so large that there isn't any more money left for them. There is a fear for a decline of one owns well-being (ibid.). The number of refugees is presented in a negative way.	'competition for jobs', 'taxpayers', 'well-being', 'number of refugees'
1	Social	The fear is based on national security and criminality. Emphasis is laid on the criminality rates of migrants, the fear of rapes committed by them, and terrorism. Migrants are portrayed as criminals and seen as a threat to national security. There is also a fear for the health of the native citizens. Immigrants bring deceases	'crime rates', 'aggressive', 'sexual assaults', 'rapes', 'terrorism', 'health', 'deceases', 'epidemics', 'criminals', 'HIV', 'tuberculosis'.

Code	Label		
		and epidemics with them. Examples are HIV and tuberculosis (ibid., p.35).	
2	Cultural	The fear of losing the national identity. That the immigrants must integrate and respect our culture. References to headscarves and multiculturalism in a negative way are expressions of this fear (Roggeband, Vliegenthart, 2007).	'national identity', 'headscarves', 'Islam is a threat to Dutch society and western values', 'reinforcing segregation' 'islamisation', 'freedom of speech', 'division between church and state', 'tolerance to sexuality preferences', 'gender equality', 'Islamic schools', 'cultural differences', 'failing of integration', 'multiculturalism is not the way to go'.

Column H: Gender presentation

Code	Label	Operationalization	Examples of words/sentences that make recognition in the article easier
0	Not gender neutral	Gender roles are clearly present in the text. Examples given in the article are not gender neutral.	'male', 'female', 'masculine', 'feminine', 'agressive', 'caretaker', 'victim',
1	Gender neutral	Gender is not present in the article. The migrants are presented in a homogeneous way. The examples are not gendered	'migrants', no reference to stereotypes or gender roles

		and men and women are not treated differently.	

<u>Column I: How are females presented</u>

Females can be presented in multiple ways according to the BSRI there are 20 items that can be called feminine. These twenty items are seen as desirable for women. In this analysis these 20 items are merged into four labels: Character, Caretaker, Victim, and Personal Abilities and Interaction. It is possible to have multiple codes, because they are not mutually exclusive.

Code	Label	Operationalization	Examples of words/sentences that make recognition in the article easier
0	Character	The character of the woman is described and presented in the texts in a very typical gendered way.	'Affectionate', 'cheerful', 'compassionate', 'feminine', 'flatter able', 'gentle', 'gullible', 'loyal', 'shy', 'sympathetic', 'tender', 'warm'
1	Care taker	The woman is described as being a caretaker.	'Loves children', 'eager to sooth hurt feelings', 'sensitive to the needs of others'
2	Victim	The woman is being described as a victim. She is not seen as an agent but described in a more dependent way.	'Victim', 'dependent', 'no choice'
3	Personal Abilities and Interaction	The personal abilities of a woman and how a woman interacts is being presented in a stereotypical/gendered way.	'Childlike', 'does not use harsh language', 'soft spoken', 'understanding', 'yielding'

Column J: How are males presented

These codes are the expectations and perceptions that people have about how a male should behave in society according to the BSRI. The 20 items of the BSRI are merged into three labels: Character, Appearance, and Personal Abilities and Interaction. Multiple labels can be found in the articles, the codes are not mutually exclusive.

Code	Label	Operationalization	Words/ sentences that make recognition in the article easier
0	character	The character of the man is described and presented in the texts in a very typical gendered way.	'ambitious', 'assertive', 'competitive', 'forceful', 'individualistic', 'strong personality',
1	appearance	How the man is being presented with regards to his appearance.	'aggressive', 'athletic', 'dominant', 'independent', 'masculine', 'self-reliant', 'self-sufficient',
2	Personal Abilities and Interaction	The personal abilities of a man and how a man interacts is being presented in a stereotypical/ gendered way.	'acts as a leader', 'analytical', 'defends own beliefs', 'has leadership abilities', 'makes decisions easily', 'willing to take a stand', 'willing to take risks'