

The foundation of FRONTEX and its relation to Muslim terrorism

The theory of focusing events applied to the
foundation and growth of Europe's external
border institute.

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Summary

This thesis investigates the external border policy of the European Union. Due to the Schengen Agreement, the borders within the European Union are open, so there is free movement of people, goods, services and capital. The consequence of such open external borders is that the external borders policy has to be very strict. Spijkerboer (2006) shows that the external border policy of the European Union is, indirectly, causing hundreds of deaths every year.

FRONTEX is the European institution that is responsible for the external border controls. It was founded by the European Commission and the European Council in 2004. The timing of this founding raises interest: it was relatively short after the terrorist attacks in the United States. Shortly after the founding of this organization two terrorist attacks occurred, one in Madrid and one in London. In 2006, 2007, 2008 and 2009, after these attacks, the budget of FRONTEX grew enormously (see: http://www.frontex.eu.int/budget_and_finance/). This research will attempt to answer the question whether there is a relationship between these attacks and the founding of FRONTEX.

In order to answering this question the theory of focusing events, as described by Kingdon (1995, 2011) was used. In short, this theory describes the role of focusing events within the process of policy making. *'A focusing event is an event that is sudden; relatively uncommon; can be reasonably defined as harmful or revealing the possibility of potentially greater future harms; has harms that are concentrated in a particular geographical area or community of interest; and that is known to policy makers and the public simultaneously. (Birkland, 1997; Kingdon, 1995, p. 94-100).'* This study shows that the terrorist attacks can be regarded as focusing events.

Kingdon (1995, 2011) stated that policy making is usually made possible after, and due to, a focusing event. Such an event draws the attention of the public to a certain situation or problem. According to Kingdon, the politicians are used to react to the public agenda, and feel the need to create new laws, institutions or agreements. Helped by so-called policy entrepreneurs a new policy is shaped, re-shaped and re-shaped again until a certain solution is reached. This solution satisfies the public, and the 'policy window' closes, the topic is removed from the public agenda and gets little to no attention from the politicians anymore. At least until another focusing event starts the whole cycle again.

Applying this theory to this case study, the hypothesis can be formulated as follows: the terrorist attacks put immigration from the external borders of the EU on the top of the public agenda, politicians react to this agenda and eventually a policy is made and/or changed. Or in the case of this study: FRONTEX was founded and grew almost exponentially for four years in a row.

The fact that FRONTEX was founded after the first terrorist attacks is evident. The first study on the external border policy of the EU was presented in 2002, in 2003 the European Commission made a draft for a regulation and legislation to create a new external border policy (Commission of the European Union, 2003). In 2004 FRONTEX was officially founded. In the following years the budget grew fast. The question for this thesis is whether this foundation and growth are made possible by the terrorist attacks, as described by Kingdon (1995, 2011).

In order to answer the research question the public agenda was looked at first. The results of an analysis of three different European newspapers showed that both terrorism and the Islam stood high on the public agenda after the separate attacks. In contrast, immigration, the most important search term used, only peaked approximately one year after the attacks on 9/11 in all three investigated countries at the same time. The political agenda showed an entirely different situation. In 2002 the external borders became widely discussed in the European Parliament, judging by the amount of documentation found in the digital database. According to the theory of focusing events (Kingdon; 1995, 2011) this should mainly be caused by a changed 'national mood', caused by a focusing event which in this case was the terrorist attacks. However, this research shows a more nuanced picture, because the public in Belgium and the Netherlands showed little or no interest in immigration during the period that the European Parliament kept raising the budget.

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Project framework

‘I ate toothpaste and drank urine’, said Abu Kurke Kebato in De Volkskrant. He is a 23-year old Ethiopian man who tried to flee from Libya to Italy. His boat got lost at sea for 15 days. When they were rescued, 64 of the 72 refugees on board of the boat had died from starvation and dehydration. The shocking fact: NATO and the Italian coastguard knew where the boat was, but both institutions did not help them. This bachelor thesis is about the external border policy of the European Union and the founding of its responsible authority: FRONTEX.

As a result of the Schengen Agreement, there is free movement of people, goods, services and capital. When travelling from Italy to the Netherlands it is most likely that you will not need a passport or any other form of identification. However, this free movement stops at the external borders. Try to travel from Libya to Sicily (Italy), which are geographically seen closer to each other, there is no way you will be able to get there without a visa and/or a passport. The more open the internal borders become, the more Europe’s external borders become impregnable walls for non-Europeans. The price which is paid: countless deaths of refugees who try to reach the EU illegally.

The problems at the external borders are not to be underestimated. Spijkerboer (2006, p. 135-136) tried to determine how many deaths were reported at the external borders of the EU and the numbers are shocking. Some examples are: *“A Spanish human rights organization estimated that some 4.000 people drowned in the Straits of Gibraltar between 1990 and 2003 (...) Médicins Sans Frontières reported that the official number of fatalities in relation to border patrols was 284 in 2004 and gave an unofficial estimate of around 500. On the basis of press reports, United (NGO United – TvH) counted 641 deaths at the Spanish border in 2003, 280 during 2004 and 444 in 2005. (...) Cuttitta counted 411 and 280 casualties in 2003 and 2004, respectively, in the Sicily Channel alone.”* The latest estimate of the UNHCR, the United Nations refugee agency, is that no less than 1500 migrants died in the Mediterranean, in 2011 only, the highest number since the UN started counting in 2006! ¹

These facts raise questions regarding the how and what of the external border policy of the European Union. With this thesis an attempt will be made to find the answers to these questions. As it is practically impossible to investigate the entire external border policy of the EU, focus is placed on a relatively new institution of the EU, FRONTEX. FRONTEX is based in Warsaw, Poland

¹ <http://www.nu.nl/buitenland/2728957/1500-migranten-vergingen-middellandse-zee.html>

and was founded in the autumn of 2004. Its goal: 'Coordination of intelligence driven operational co-operation at EU level to strengthen security at the external borders'.

Van Houtum and Pijpers (2007) asked themselves (but found no answer) in what way the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington on 9/11 2001, the bombings in Madrid of 3/11 2004 and the attacks in London of 7/7 2005 contributed to the construction of the strict external border policy. This is exactly what this thesis focusses on. It will investigate whether there is a connection between the bombings and the founding and rapid growth of FRONTEX. Within the study of policy making it is widely acknowledged that certain disasters, crises or catastrophes have great influence in the making or changing of a policy. Famous examples or crises that led to policy changes are the Exxon Valdez oil spill in Alaska that changed numerous environmental laws (Birkland, 1998), the crash of the Challenger and Columbia shuttles and the drama in the Heysel stadium in Brussels in 1985 (Boin et al., 2009). This thesis will try to establish what the consequences of the terrorist attacks were for the external border policy of the EU. The research which will be used, is the approach of the so-called shock-events or 'focusing events' as described by Kingdon (1995, 2011). This theory describes if and how a certain disaster, accident or attack influence a certain policy. In short, it describes how a focusing event puts a certain problem or situation on top of the public and the political agenda. This creates a policy window whereby a new policy or law can be introduced relatively easy. Besides the work of Kingdon (1995, 2011), Klein (2007) and Birkland (1998, 2006), Baumgartner and Jones (1993) also wrote interesting ideas about agenda setting and policy making processes that either inspired Kingdon or were inspired by Kingdon.

This thesis intends to find a possible connection between the founding and growth of FRONTEX and the terrorist attacks in the United States, London and Madrid. The questions which arise from this statement are: What was the situation before the attacks?; How were these terrorist attacks framed in the media?; Was there an increase in media coverage regarding (problems with) Muslims in the EU? If so: what was the reaction of the policy makers?; Was there an increase in the number of policy documents from the EU about these topics?; Did the condition at the external borders, for instance, become a bigger problem in the eye of the policymakers?; Were there policy entrepreneurs who brought the problem stream, the political stream and the policy stream together in order to make a new policy? All the above mentioned questions can be summarized into the following: Is there a possible connection between the deaths caused by the external border policy and the terrorist attacks at the beginning of this century?

As there is no academic research which has investigated this connection this research can create more insight into how and the reasons why the European Parliament, the European Commission and the Council created FRONTEX. This thesis is also socially relevant because (as it will show) immigration has always been, to some extent, on the public agenda. For this reason it is significant to take a closer look at the founding of an important agency such as FRONTEX.

1.2 Research objective and questions

Considering the nature of this research, a theory-orientated method was chosen. This implies that the theory will be applied to a single case study. As a result of the time limitations and the extent of the resources which had to be investigated (i.e. the external border policy of the EU) , the emphasis of this thesis is placed on the subject literature and not the subject itself.

The objectives of this thesis are (1) to expose the role of the shock events – the terrorist attacks in this case – within the founding and growth of the external border institute of the EU, FRONTEX, while using the theoretical framework of ‘shock events and institutional dynamics’ and (2) to make a further contribution to the theoretical framework of ‘shock events and institutional dynamics’, using the terrorist attacks in the United States, London and Madrid as a single case study.

The central research question:

To what extent has the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, London and Madrid contributed to the growth and the development of the European external border institution FRONTEX?

The central research question will be answered by considering the following sub-questions:

What was the external border policy in the EU before the terrorist attacks and before the founding of FRONTEX, and what is it now?

To establish if and how the terrorist attacks changed the external border policy, it is crucial to know whether the policy has changed at all, otherwise a ‘before and after comparison’ will be of no use and virtually impossible. This can be established by answering the following questions: Who was in charge of arranging the external border patrols before FRONTEX was founded?; What was the budget before and after the attacks?; Has there been a significant increase of border patrols since the attacks in New York and Washington, London and Madrid?; Were there policy entrepreneurs who pushed a certain policy through the European parliament which is responsible for the founding and development of FRONTEX. These questions will be answered in this chapter.

How were the attacks framed by the media and did the media see a connection with the external border policy?

Finding differences in the policy before and after the attacks does not necessarily mean that the terrorist attacks led to a policy change. In order to examine this, it is necessary to study the way in which the attacks were framed in the media. According to Klein (2007), Birkland (2006) and Kingdon (1995, 2011) media coverage has, in the end, an important role in policy making / changing. This thesis concentrates on the media coverage in several Dutch newspapers as the problem stream described by Kingdon. The exact method and methodology will be discussed in the next chapter.

What was the response in Europe in terms of the external European border control and the founding and growth of FRONTEX?

At the start, the situation before the shock events will be looked at and then it will move on to the framing of this event. To conclude this a closer look at the situations after the event will be taken. This raises the following questions: How did the policy makers react?; Was this the result of the framing in the media?

Based on the answers of the sub-questions the main research question will be answered.

1.3 Used definitions

Some definitions and terms which are used in the thesis, are multi-interpretable. Therefore it is necessary to explain what is meant by these terms as used in the thesis.

The external border policy of the EU refers to the policy for the south of Europe where the Mediterranean sea separates Europe from Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Egypt. Naturally, there is a policy for controlling the external borders of Europe in the north, east and west, but since this thesis focuses on (the fear of) Muslim terrorism, the external border policy in the south of Europe will be the subject of research. The motivation for this is that the neighboring countries in this area (South) are Islamic and therefore it can be assumed that the threat of Muslim terrorism will be more likely to come from the migrants of this area.

The term terrorist attacks refers to the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, London and Madrid. On the 11th of September 2001, 2974 people were killed (another 24 are still officially 'missing') by what is assumed to be the most 'successful' terrorist attack of modern time. Al-Qaeda flew two airplanes into the World Trade Centre and one plane into the Pentagon. Another hijacked Boeing crashed in Shanksville, Pennsylvania. On the 11th of March 2004, Al-Qaeda

bombed several trains in and around Madrid. No less than 191 people died. More than a year later, on the 7th of July 2005, Al-Qaeda detonated four bombs in the city center of London, killing 52 innocent people. Therefore, when the term 'the terrorist attacks' are used, it refers specifically to these three attacks.

Chapter 2 – Theoretical framework

2.1 The terrorist attacks as focusing events

In this thesis, the theory of focusing events by Kingdon (1995, 2011) will be used as a support. He described the influence of focusing events on policy making. However, it was necessary to establish beforehand whether Kingdon also considered the terrorist attacks as focusing events.

According to Kingdon, a focusing event is a crisis or disaster that comes along and draws attention to a certain problem. Birkland (1998, p. 54) describes it as follows: *'A focusing event is an event that is sudden; relatively uncommon; can be reasonably defined as harmful or revealing the possibility of potentially greater future harms; has harms that are concentrated in a particular geographical area or community of interest; and that is known to policy makers and the public simultaneously. (Birkland, 1997; Kingdon, 1995, p. 94-100).'* Using this definition it is justifiable to describe terrorist attacks as a focusing event, since the bombings were sudden, highly uncommon, caused harm in a specific city, revealed the possibility of more attacks and became known to the public and policy makers at the exact same time. Furthermore, the fact that these attacks are often used as a clear example of focusing events (Kingdon, 2011); (Birkland, 2007) confirms this.

At first glance the terrorist attacks seem to be a good example of focusing events. Still, it is interesting to also consider other conditions that can contribute to a change in policy. Kingdon (2011) showed that a focusing event *'draws attention to some conditions more than to others. But such an event has only transient effects unless accompanied by a firmer indication of a problem, by a preexisting perception, or by a combination with other similar events'* (p. 197). This is certainly relevant to this case study, simply because there were three different focusing events (the attacks in the US, Madrid and London) that can be seen as one problem (Muslim terrorism). The conditions, for instance the situation of the external borders of the EU, are seen as normal or average before a focusing event. After the terrorist attacks these conditions are defined as problems. These problems have a better chance of topping the policy agendas when we – 'the people' – come to believe that something about it should be changed.

2.2 Other research

Many studies regarding the effect of terrorist attacks in policy making have been done. In fact, some research (Bertheley, 2002; Boswell, 2007; Neal, 2009) has been done about a possible connection between (the effects of) the terrorist attacks and the founding and development of FRONTEX or the migration policy in general. But there does not seem to be a complete academic

consensus about whether there is a clear relationship or not. Berthelet (2002) believes that the terrorist attacks on 9/11 were the cause of further securitization of the migrant policy in the EU. This means that policy makers 'abused' the attacks to claim that when a western population wants to be safe, borders has to be closed. As western populations were scared by the recent attacks, there was little critique. Boswell (2007) and Neal (2009), on the other hand, argue *'that political discourse and practice in Europe have remained surprisingly unaffected by the terrorism threat'* (Boswell, p. 589) and that *'FRONTEX is not the product of securitizing links between terrorism, security, migration and borders made by EU institutions in response to 9/11 (...)'* (Neal, p. 333). Boswell did not find any connection between the external border policy and recent terrorist attacks. *'There is no evidence that the government (of Spain- TvH) made any attempt to link the problem of irregular entry with the threat of terrorism: quite a remarkable fact, given the apparent incentives to do so after 11 March'* (p. 597). Neal (2009) stated that *'despite the apparent post-9/11 securitization of migration in the EU, the documents, political processes and rationales relating to the construction and remit of FRONTEX do not use overt securitizing language and do not follow the classic logic of securitization. Rather, the predominant conceptual language in the rationale, documentation and practices of FRONTEX is that of risk'* (p. 334).

This study differs from the studies described above, because the securitization theory has not been included. *Securitization theory (...) is commonly used to understand how 'security' is invoked to legitimize contentious legislation, policies or practices that would otherwise not have been deemed legitimate'* (Neal, p. 335). An example of the securitizations theory is the introduction of laws that violate the privacy of individuals or societies and the legitimization of these laws. The securitization theory focusses on policy makers and how they use or abuse societies' desire for security. When the Dutch government wanted to install full body scanners at Schiphol Airport, they knew this policy would evoke resistance. Therefore, to legitimize this policy, the former Minister of Justice stated that 'safety comes first'.² The approach used in this thesis is the so-called shock-events or 'focusing events' as described by Kingdon (1995). This theory is different because, in short, it looks at how policies are made as a result of the public opinion, while the securitization theory looks at policies that are made by policy makers and how they try to legitimize this policy. Also noteworthy is that both Boswell as well as Neal focused on the political statements of policy makers. This thesis, however, focuses on the media coverage on the terrorist

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http://www.rtl.nl/actueel/rtlnieuws/binnenland/components/actueel/rtlnieuws/2009/12_december/29/binnenland/minister-wil-bodyscan-snel-invoeren.xml

attacks. Furthermore, the policy documents which are kept in the digital archives of the European Parliament, will be explored .

Evidently, this thesis is not the first that uses the theory of taking a closer look at policy making after an event or crisis. Hence, inspiration was obtained through the reading of multiple articles by other scientists who successfully applied the theory of focusing events, as described by Kingdon (1995, 2011), or a similar one, to a certain case study. A good example is the study of Lodge and Hood (2002), who wrote that new and tight legislation about 'dangerous dogs' was introduced in the United Kingdom after a couple of fatal biting incidents. Another useful example comes from Klein (2007) and Wolf (2007); both looked at the consequences of one of the most famous shock events of the last century: 9/11. They found that the policies in various areas (immigration, criminal law, data protection, privacy) was changed as a direct consequence of 9/11. As these researches did similar studies, they serve as an example of how this study should be conducted.

2.3 Theory of focusing events

This section is divided into different parts. The whole policy changing cycle starts with a focusing event, in this case the already discussed terrorist attacks. This leads to media coverage, which leads to a higher place on the public agenda and then the subject or problem is put on the political agenda. Once a subject is on the political agenda, policy change is made possible. This section describes this process chronologically by using the available literature starting with the media coverage.

2.3.1 Media coverage and agenda setting

'Agenda setting is the process by which problems and alternative solutions gain or lose public and elite attention' (Birkland, 2005). This is where it all starts. Kingdon's theory (1995, 2011) states that Muslim terrorism should top the agenda shortly after terrorist attacks. To map the entire process of agenda setting is not only difficult but also virtually impossible. Therefore the focus will be on mass media only and the media coverage will be used as an indicator of the public agenda. 'Media are often portrayed as powerful agenda setters. Mass media clearly do affect the public opinion agenda. As other scholars have discovered, the mass public's attention to governmental issues tracks rather closely on media coverage of those issues (Kingdon, 2011, p. 57).'

A normal, everyday situation can become a problem in the view of 'the people', and this problem can reach the top of the agenda when several criteria are met, according to Kingdon (2011).

‘Problem recognition is critical to agenda setting. The changes of a given proposal or subject rising on an agenda are markedly enhanced if it is connected to an important problem. (...) The second family of explanations for high or low agenda prominence is in the political stream. Independently of problem recognition or the development of policy proposals, political events flow along according to their own dynamics and their own rules. (...) Developments in this political sphere are powerful agenda setters. A new administration, for instance, changes agendas all over town as it highlights its conceptions of problems and its proposals, and makes attention to subjects that are not among its high priorities less likely. (...) Third we make a distinction between visible and hidden participants. The visible cluster of actors, those who receive considerable press and public attention, include the president and his high-level appointees, prominent members of Congress, the media, and such elections-related actors as political parties and campaigners. The relatively hidden clusters includes academic specialists, career bureaucrats, and congressional staffers. We have discovered that the visible cluster affects the agenda and the hidden cluster affects the alternatives. (...) At least as far as agenda setting is concerned, elected officials and their appointees turn out to be more important than career civil servants or participants outside the government’ (p. 197-199).

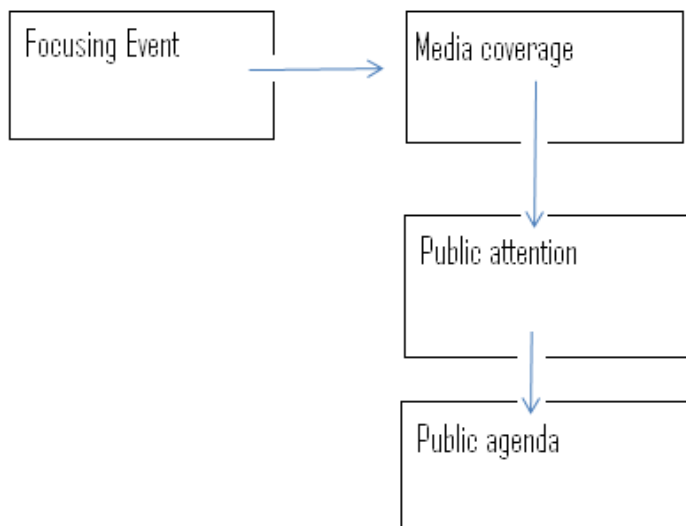


Figure 1 Basic assumptions of agenda setting. Authors own sketch.

This thesis will investigate whether this theoretical approach of agenda setting matches the situations during or shortly after the attacks. The hypothesis expects that, to a greater or lesser

extent, it does seem to match. For the media the undocumented immigration from (Muslim) countries to Europe can easily be linked to the terrorist attacks in Europe and the United States, and therefore the situation at the external border can be seen as a problem. This thesis will monitor if and how the media in The Netherlands framed the attacks. The hypothesis therefore states that the Dutch media reported more frequently and negatively about Muslims or the Islam after the three cases of Muslim terrorism. In order to test this hypothesis at least two newspapers before and after the attacks, will be consulted. The expectation is that there will be an increase in news coverage about Muslim terrorism and Muslims in general, a landslide in the tone of voice and a different choice of words in the articles. This would prove that the focusing events placed Muslims, the Islam and/or terrorism on top of the agenda and the media framed the issue in a negative way. As mentioned earlier: the media agenda is taken as an indicator of the public agenda. So, if the media sees a problem, it is assumed that the public will agree with this. The public agenda will be the indicator of what Kingdon (2011) calls the 'problem stream'.

Comparable studies in France and Germany showed that after the attacks in the US and Madrid the media reported intensively about the existence of possible 'terrorist sleeper cells' in Germany as well as *sans papiers* (illegal citizens) in France (Boswell, 2007). Both phenomena were sometimes linked to Muslim terrorism and the previous attacks, but sometimes not. It is therefore necessary to look at how several Dutch newspapers framed the situations at the borders and the consequences of it within the European mainland, before any further conclusions can be drafted. If an increase of media coverage is found and the assumed problems top the agenda, it can be concluded that the situation became a problem in the view of the media and the public.

It is also important to investigate how the media 'frame' their news coverage. A frame can determine the way the public looks at a subject. The interpretation of a subject by the media determines how the public interprets that topic (Scheufele, 1999). Figure 2 shows that there are two forms of media related framing. Firstly, the journalist has to make choices about how to report about a news subject. Every journalist has both internal factors (his beliefs and values) as external factors (lobbyists, interest groups, press officers) that influence the tone of voice, choice of words, and topic selection— consciously or unconsciously. Secondly, the subject gets framed 'in the news'. *'The way the media interpret a topic affects the way the public defines the topic. By paying extra attention to the offenders or the causes of a problem, it is possible that the public also aims its arrows at the cause of the problem (De Boer & Brennecke, 2004).* The framing by the journalist and the framing by the medium itself will eventually determine the way the public thinks and acts towards the subject described in the media (see Figure 2). This shows that the media coverage is an important indicator of how and what the public thinks.

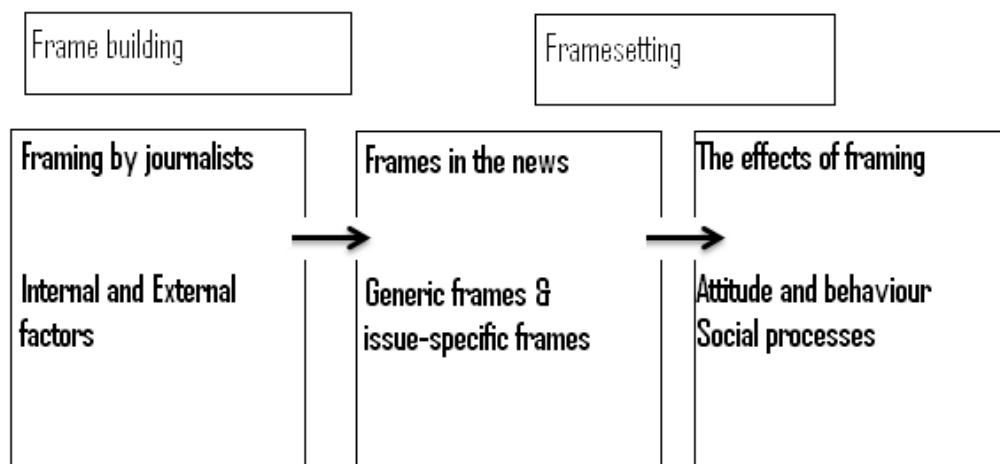


Figure 2 - process model of framing (De Vreese, 2003, p.42)

In conclusion, the agenda setting and the framing of the focusing event will eventually (partly) determine what and how the public thinks about a subject. This agrees with the 'problem stream' of Kingdon.

2.3.2 The political agenda

The EU is a democratic institution elected by its population. One could therefore assume that the political agenda matches the public agenda to a greater or lesser extent.

As shown above, a focusing event almost directly gains the attention of the media and the public. Birkland (1998) wrote that a focusing event also highlights a problem to which policy makers might respond. *'Focusing events can lead interest groups, government leaders, policy entrepreneurs, the news media, or members of the public to identify new problems, or to pay greater attention to existing but dormant problems, potentially leading to a search for solutions in the wake of apparent policy failure (p. 55).'* Baumgartner and Jones (1993) added a few interesting things to this. They claim that if more people think a certain problem, in this case Muslim terrorism in Europe, gets bigger, this will lead to a more negative assessment of the current policy about that topic. Birkland (2011) added that focusing events lead to widespread claims of policy failure. *'The event itself is evidence that policy failed to prevent a tragedy from occurring' (p. 49).* In addition Boswell (2007) showed that the *'issue of irregular migration has often proved to be an irresistible target for opposition and populist media claims about the state's loss of control' (p. 594).*

This thesis examines if and how the so-called political stream changed – in other words: was there a political reaction to the media coverage? Did the subject, Muslim terrorism, top the political agenda? As this thesis is about a European topic, the intention is to look at the European Parliament, because this institution is responsible for an assumed policy change. The methodology will be described in Chapter 3.

2.3.3. The policy stream and policy entrepreneurs

According to Kingdon (2011), a policy is changed (in this case the founding and developing of FRONTEX) when the problem stream, the political stream and the policy stream (the ‘solutions’) meet.

‘The generation of policy alternatives is best seen as a selection process, analogous to biological natural selection. In what we have called the policy primeval soup, many ideas float around, bumping into one another, encountering new ideas, and forming combinations and re-combinations. While the origins are somewhat haphazard, the selection is not. (...) The criteria include technical feasibility, congruence with the values of community members, and the anticipation of future constraints, including a budget constraint, public acceptability, and politicians receptivity’ (p. 200-201).

For this thesis it is also important to look at policy entrepreneurs. Policy entrepreneurs are people or institutions *‘who are willing to invest their resources – time, energy, reputation, money – to promote a position in return for anticipated future gain in the form of material, purposive, or solidary benefits’* (p. 179). Policy entrepreneurs bring the three streams together. Ideas, solutions and proposals are shaped and reshaped, and if everything works out fine, one solution is picked as the best and a policy is made or changed. When this solution/policy is introduced, the problem is supposed to be solved and the opportunity window closes, until another focusing event brings the three streams back together and opens the policy window again. If the statement made previously, that the founding and growth of FRONTEX was made possible due to the terrorist attacks, a changed policy should exist, caused by the problem stream (the public opinion) and the political stream (the political agenda), and made possible by one or more policy entrepreneurs. This would then be in line with the theory of focusing events according to Kingdon.

2.4 The conceptual model

The entire model fits into one model (see Figure 3). It all starts with a shock event, or focusing event. This event leads, in the best case scenario, to lots of media attention which will put the subject on top of the public agenda. This agenda will succeed in putting the subject on top of the political agenda as well because the politicians are supposed to listen to the people and to

represent them. Political discussions or meetings about the subject will then lead to more media attention and the whole cycle starts again.

This process will be strengthened by the influence of policy entrepreneurs, politicians, society figures, journalists, intellectuals etcetera. They will appear in the media time after time, trying to push for some kind of policy to be introduced, and influencing the media, the public and the politicians.

At the end of the process these policy entrepreneurs and the politicians come up with a solution, a new kind of policy, or at least a changed policy. Usually the public then considers the problem solved, the media attention will fade away and the policy window is closed. To open it up again, a new focusing event has to occur.

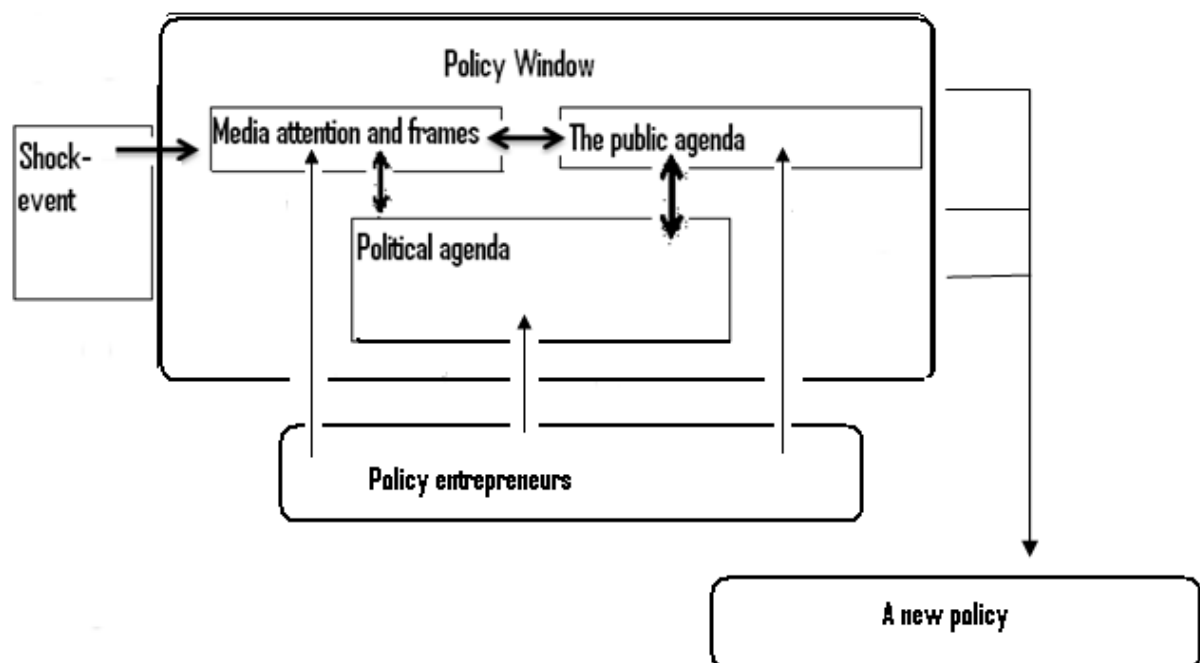


Figure 3 Conceptual model, authors own sketch

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Methodology

In this chapter five different methods by Verschuren & Doorewaard (2007) will be described and a decision is made as to which method is appropriate for this study.

The first option that Verschuren and Doorewaard mention, is the survey. Making a survey suggests that an empirical research is done independently. *'It is obvious that you (the scientist-TvH) will find your data yourself, in the field. This means you do not choose for literature research, but for an empirical approach. (p. 162).'* Even though this method can be considered as the purest form of science, it will unfortunately not be useful for this thesis. There are a couple of reasons for this. Firstly, the research object is not easy to investigate in the time frame set for this research. The external border patrols which are of interest, are in southern Europe, while FRONTEX is based in Warsaw, Poland. Therefore, the time limitations, resources and connections to visit these places create some difficulties. Secondly, part of the research subject happened in the past and it is difficult to measure data in the field when this data is history.

The second option from Verschuren and Doorewaard is the experiment. This implies that the scientist tries to duplicate the subject of research and then experiment with it. This method is not useful for this study as, put mildly, it is not possible to bomb trains and metros, or to fly planes into skyscrapers in the name of science. Therefore the best thing to do is to avoid this research method for this bachelor thesis

The third possibility is a case study. *'You (the scientist- TvH) do not choose for a broad research field – like with a survey – but for a more in-depth investigation. (...) Most of the times you will apply qualitative research methods. (...) Due to detailed observation on location or doing interviews combined with an intense study of all sorts of documentation. (p. 163).'* The very last point is exactly what will be done for this study.

Option number four is a thorough and detailed theoretical approach. Research conducted through a thorough theoretical approach is different because the scientist is not working with a hypothesis. This research method is characterized by its 'theoretical sensitivity' (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), which means that the scientist is constantly searching for a (new) theoretical framework. The scientist has to be open to new ideas while he is studying the literature and research data. This method cannot be used because in this research an existing theory has already been chosen, the previously mentioned theory of focusing events as described by Kingdon (1995, 2011). The

research goal is to apply this theory in a correct manner and it cannot be applied with this method.

The fifth and final method is the desk research. Verschuren and Doorewaard say that desk research requires that the researcher dives into indexes, databases, archives and existing literature. *'When the scientist conducts his research in this way, we speak of desk research'* (p. 164). As already mentioned in the theoretical framework, this will be an important part of this thesis.

In closing, the method used in this thesis will be a combination of a case study and desk research. A selection of the most useable aspects of every method will be combined into a perfectly shaped method for this research.

3.2 Operationalization

The basis of the thesis is the literature study. Firstly, the theory of focusing events will be studied and then applied to the subject. Books and articles by Kingdon will be read as well as different works by authors who were inspired by Kingdon.

The second part is a case study on the external border policy of the EU and FRONTEX, where an attempt will be made to answer the following questions: Why was it founded, where, by whom, and when?; What does FRONTEX do and how is it done?; What is its budget, and how does it grow?; And finally, who was responsible for the external border policy of the EU before the founding of FRONTEX?.

Subsequently, three aspects will be analyzed: the problem stream, the political stream and the policy stream. The problem stream will be analyzed by looking at the media coverage using the software program LexisNexis as it has a huge database of newspaper articles. The databases of De Volkskrant, De Tijd and Le Figaro will be consulted via this software program. The reason why these three newspapers were chosen is because they all come from different countries, appear six days a week and they keep an orderly organized database on LexisNexis. Media coverage on Muslim related topics and terrorism will be researched. It is expected to find a peak shortly after each separate attack. According to Kingdon, it is safe to say that the topic topped the public agenda and that the problem stream moved. This research will look for articles with the keywords terrorism, Islam and immigration, for every quarter of a year in the period 2000-2010, in the three mentioned newspapers. A graph will show in what period the media reported intensively about these topics and – consequently – when and if it topped the public agenda.

In order to confirm that the attacks also topped the political agenda, it will be looked at closely. According to the hypothesis, the policy makers in Brussels (FRONTEX was founded by the European Council and the European Commission based in Brussels) discussed the topic more often after the attacks than before. This will be checked through an analysis of all the relevant documents which can be found in the well documented database of the European Parliament. In order to gain access to the relevant documents, the terms 'external borders' and 'FRONTEX' will function as the main keywords. With these keywords the documents which contain written questions, answers to these written questions, documents from other institutions addressed to Parliament, agendas, reports, press releases, studies, amendments to reports, plenary documents and reports of proceedings can be obtained. This will outline the position of the external border policy on the European agenda during the investigated period.

According to Kingdon, there should be an increase of legislation and actual policy about the subject. The theory suggests that policy is made after a shock event, after the media reports and after it reaches the political agenda. The next chapter will show that the budget of a European institution is one of the most important indicators of the organizations' strength and power. Therefore it is important to look at the budget of FRONTEX, in order to determine if the assumed increase in media coverage and the assumed high place on the political agenda lead to a new policy. Ideally this can be represented by three lines on one line chart, where the first line represents the media coverage, the second represents the political agenda and the third line indicates a possible increase in the budget. If the theory of Kingdon regarding focusing events and institutional dynamics is correct, it should become visible by three peaks, one after the other. The first peak will show the media coverage, or the public agenda. After this peak, one should be able to see a peak on the political agenda. This peak, and the presence of policy entrepreneurs, should lead to a third and final peak: the introduction of policy.

If the above mentioned is realized, it would be possible to draw a 'policy window' on the line chart. Usually a window closes after new policy is made and the public's attention fades away or they become interested in another topic. The last attack was approximately eight years ago, so the policy window, and therefore the amount of media coverage, policy documents and legislation have been relatively low in the last couple of years. Kingdon (1995, 2011) suggests that a policy window closes when new policy is made and the public believes that the problem is solved. The founding of FRONTEX could be the solution and it is possible that the policy window is closed by now.

Chapter 4 External border policy pre- and post-FRONTEX

The hypothesis states that the external border policy of the EU changed after, and because of the terrorist attacks. To verify or disprove this, it is necessary to establish if the policy changed at all. In this chapter the external border policy before and after the founding of FRONTEX is discussed.

4.1 The pre-FRONTEX external border policy of the EU

4.1.1. Schengen

Before the formation of the EU every country was responsible for its own border policy. Leonard (2009) stated that this changed with the signing of the Schengen Agreement on June the 14th 1984. This cooperation on internal and external border controls amongst EU Member States developed outside the EU framework. With the Schengen Agreement the Governments of the States of the Benelux Economic Union, the Federal Republic of Germany and the French Republic agreed on the '*gradual abolition of checks at their common borders*'³. The agreement had great influence on the border policy of the participating parties. It stated:

'Internal borders may be crossed at any point without any checks on persons being carried out. (...) External borders may in principle only be crossed at border crossing points and during the fixed opening hours. (...)'

Article 6 of the agreement states something interesting about the responsibility of the external border controls. '(...) Cross-border movement at external borders shall be subject to checks by the competent authorities. Checks shall be carried out for the Contracting Parties' territories, in accordance with uniform principles, within the scope of national powers and national law and taking account of the interests of all Contracting Parties. (...) The Contracting Parties shall assist each other and shall maintain constant, close cooperation with a view to the effective implementation of checks and surveillance. They shall, in particular, exchange all relevant, important information, with the exception of personal data, unless otherwise provided for in this Convention. They shall as far as possible harmonize the instructions given to the authorities responsible for checks and shall promote standard basic and further training of officers manning checkpoints. Such cooperation may take the form of an exchange of liaison officers.'

And about illegal immigrants: 'In view of the risks in the fields of security and illegal immigration, the Ministers and State Secretaries underline the need for effective external border controls in accordance with the uniform principles laid down in Article 6. With a view to implementing those uniform principles, the Contracting Parties must, in particular, promote the harmonization of

³ The Schengen Agreement, found on [http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:42000A0922\(02\):EN:HTML](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:42000A0922(02):EN:HTML)

working methods for border control and surveillance. Moreover, the Executive Committee will examine all relevant measures with a view to establishing uniform and effective external border controls and the practical implementation thereof. Such measures will include measures making it possible to ascertain the circumstances under which a third-country national has entered the territories of the Contracting Parties, application of the same procedures for refusing entry, the drafting of a common manual for the officials responsible for border surveillance and encouragement of an equivalent level of external border control by means of exchanges and joint working visits.'

This Schengen Agreement in its first form had, as described above, a very small group of contracting partners. This changed soon, especially in 1999 with the signing of the Treaty of Amsterdam (Peers & Rogers, 2006). The Schengen acquis was integrated into the European Union legal framework by the signing of this treaty. Over the years more and more countries joined 'Schengen'. This eventually led to the following situation:

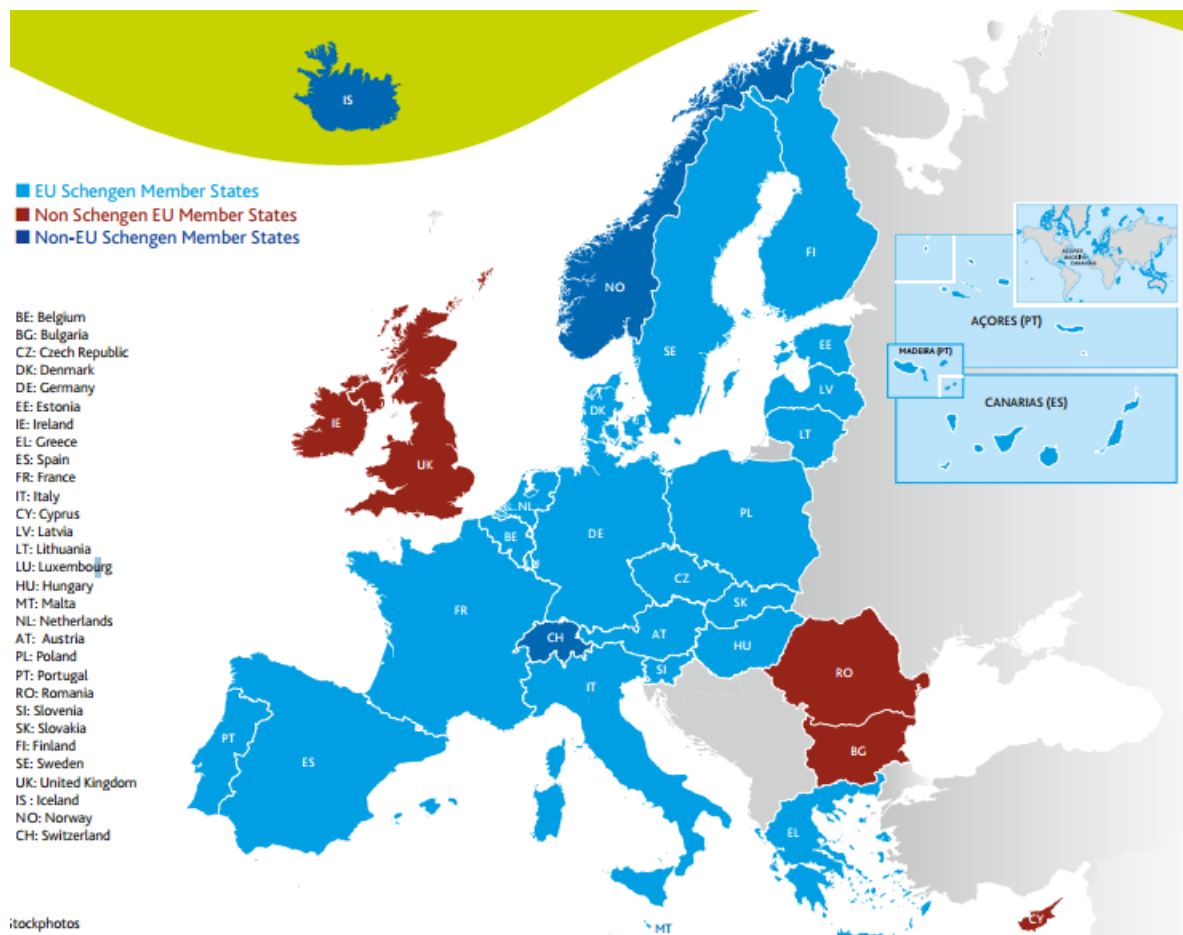


Figure 4 - The EU Schengen Member States. Source: European Commission, The Schengen Area. Found on http://biblio.ucv.ro/bib_web/bib_pdf/EU_books/0056.pdf

'Schengen' makes the internal borders for EU citizens virtually disappear. Of course this made the urge to guard the external borders much bigger. Although 'Brussels' set out some guidelines, the national governments of the countries remained responsible for the execution of the policy.

In the first months of 2001, six months before the first terrorist attacks, Germany and Italy presented an initiative to the Council trying to establish a 'European Border Police'. Leonard (2009, p. 376) wrote. *'This was followed by the launch of a feasibility study regarding the creation of a European Border Guard, organized by a group led by Italy and comprising, in addition to this country, Belgium, France, Germany and Spain. These countries were in favor of setting up such a body in order to share the burden of external border controls and increase the efficiency of such controls, notably through the development of technical expertise on the matter. (...) However, it is important to note that some Member States were not as enthusiastic about this idea. In particular, the British government favored increased cooperation on external border controls, but was reluctant to see any centralization in that policy area.'* Even though the European Council agreed that individual countries had to cooperate closely regarding the border controls, no official institute such as a European Border Police was founded.

4.1.2. The first steps towards FRONTEX

In 2002, after the attacks in the United States, a first real step towards FRONTEX was taken. Italy presented a study on the external border subject. Monar (2006, p. 77) wrote that the main point of the study was that *'EU Member States should cooperate through a "polycentric" network, which would be based on a common training curriculum, common risk assessment and various ad hoc centers specializing in different issues relating to border controls'*. Shortly after that the European Commission tabled a Communication entitled *"Towards Integrated Management of the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union"*. The goal was to investigate whether one central command post regarding the external border policy would be necessary, or at least desirable. That was the case and the Commission made several proposals to create a 'European Corps of Border Guards.' However, it also acknowledged that such an institution would most likely not be founded in the short-term. The Commission aimed to start the External Borders Practitioners Common Unit first. Its main tasks would be (Commission of the European Communities 2002: 14):

'1. acting as a 'head' of the common policy on management of external borders to carry out common integrated risk analysis;

2. acting as 'leader' coordinating and controlling operational projects on the ground, in

particular in crisis situations;

3. acting as manager and strategist to ensure greater convergence between the

national policies in the field of personnel and equipment;

4. exercising a form of power of inspection, in particular in the event of crisis or if risk

analysis demands it’.

In the long-term the Commission wanted a European Corps of Border Guards that would support national services in border control. In June 2002 this desire was followed by an action plan, which was called:

‘[The] Action Plan for the Management of the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union’ (Council of the European Union 2002a). ‘This document emphasized the issue of operational cooperation and coordination and endorsed the establishment of a common unit in the framework of the SCIFA (Strategic Committee for Immigration, Frontiers and Asylum – TvH). The idea of establishing of a common unit in the framework was also mentioned (...). A few days later, this Action Plan was endorsed by the Seville European Council, which took place in an atmosphere of intense politicization of asylum and migration matters. The Heads of State or Government “applauded” the approval of the Action Plan and “urged the introduction without delay” of the External Borders Practitioners Common Unit within the framework of the Council’ (Council of the European Union 2002b, p. 9), (Leonard (2009), p. 378).

According to Leonard this unit was created under the SCIFA, with the heads of the national border guards as an addition. It coordinated several operations and projects around the external borders of the EU. This SCIFA-team started in 2002, and coordinated several projects in the south of Europe. It did not take long before this team was criticized by ‘Brussels’. There were question marks about the legal basis of the newly found institutions, and the Commission asked for a new, permanent structure that would be in charge of the daily management. This institution would be known as FRONTEX.

4.2 The post-Frontex external border policy of the EU

4.2.1. The founding of FRONTEX

The European Commission made a draft for the regulation and legislation to create a new external border institute at the end of 2003 (Commission of the European Communities, 2003). Apart from

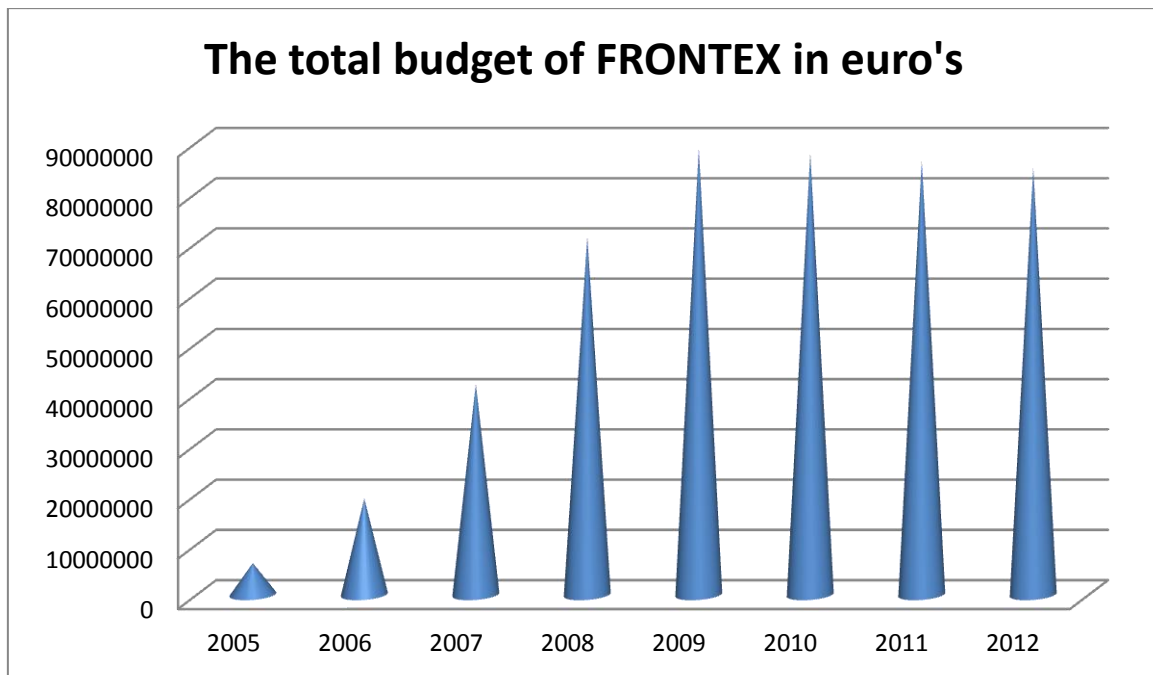
some minor points, the Council agreed to this draft. Leonard (2009, p. 380-381) wrote that both the Commission and the Council accelerated the attainment of an agreement amongst member states because of multiple reasons. The enlargement of the EU was about to take place (in May, 2004), this event led to growing fear of mass migration from the East. However, the other explanation given by Leonard is more interesting for this thesis. *'It is also argued that the establishment of FRONTEX would increase the visibility of EU action in the field of border controls, which was significant given the importance of migration issues on the political agenda of many European governments.'* Leonard argued this *'on the basis that (1) migration has been at the heart of electoral campaigns in many European states and (2) many European states have reformed their legislation on asylum and migration in the last few years, some of them on several occasions (meaning that migration and asylum are consistently on the political agenda).'*⁴

4.2.2. The growth of FRONTEX

Eventually FRONTEX was officially founded by the Council of the European Union on October 26, 2004 as the new external borders agency of the EU. The purpose of FRONTEX, according to the legislation: *'Coordination of intelligence driven operational co-operation at EU level to strengthen security at the external borders'*, (Council of the European Union, 2004). After it was founded the institute grew almost exponentially. The growth of this institution was measured by looking at the budget. The budget contains information about the number of personnel working at FRONTEX, the number of operations and activities and the amount of equipment (helicopters, radar installations, etcetera), in other words everything which has to do with the budget.

According to Leonard (2009, p. 383) *'one of the most powerful ways of controlling an agency is to adopt measures relative to its budget. For the European Parliament (...) budgetary control is the main instrument at its disposal to exercise some control over FRONTEX activities. (...) the Community subsidy is by far the most important income strand for FRONTEX, which gives the European Parliament a substantial amount of leverage on the Agency.'* In other words: the budget of FRONTEX shows, to some extent, what importance FRONTEX has for the Parliament. And in Kingdon's words: the budget of FRONTEX could be an excellent indicator for the so-called policy stream.

⁴ S. Leonard, Personal communication, 6th of August, 2012.



Graph 1, The growth of the budget of FRONTEX, in Euro's. Authors own Sketch. Source: http://www.frontex.eu.int/budget_and_finance/

This graph shows that the budget of FRONTEX grew rapidly in 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008. This is very interesting because it is the period shortly after the terrorist attacks. This corresponds with the hypotheses that the development and growth is made possible by the public and political climate after the attacks. Whether this is true will be investigated in the following chapter. Noteworthy is the slight decrease in budget in the last three years. A possible explanation is that the topic of immigration is no longer on the political agenda, and that the so-called policy window is closed. The following chapter will show whether this assumption is right.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter illustrated several interesting aspects important for this thesis. It described how FRONTEX was founded and the process leading up to its founding. An external border policy was placed on the agenda because the Schengen Treaty almost made the internal borders disappear. Noteworthy is that the very first initiative for a European external border agency dates from before the first terrorist attack. At first there was little enthusiasm for an European external border institution, but Leonard (2009) showed how that changed. After 2001 (and the attacks in the United States) the Council of Europe and the European Commission both agreed on founding FRONTEX. Leonard suggested that one of the reasons for the fast implementation was that migration issues stood high on the public agenda of the member states of the European Union. It

would however, be too easy to state that this was the only reason as the fear for migration floods from Eastern Europe also could have played a role.

This chapter also indicates that policy changed after the attacks. Undoubtedly, the initial founding of FRONTEX is an important change in policy. But there is more: the first years after its founding the budget increased rapidly. Furthermore, as shown in this chapter, according to Leonard (2009) this is one of the most important indicators of strength and power of an organization. So in conclusion it can be stated that the policy regarding the external border issue was made after the attacks. The challenge for the rest of this thesis is to investigate whether this change was, directly or indirectly, caused by the aftermath of the attacks.

Chapter 5 The public agenda and an analysis of media coverage

In this chapter the public agenda will be scrutinized. As already mentioned the media coverage will be used as an indicator of the public agenda. It is assumed that when the media coverage on a certain subject rises, this subject also reaches a higher position on the public agenda. By examining the media coverage on the terrorist attacks in three newspapers in Europe, it is expected that terrorism, the Islam and immigration topped the public agenda in the period after the terrorist attacks.

5.1 The public agenda

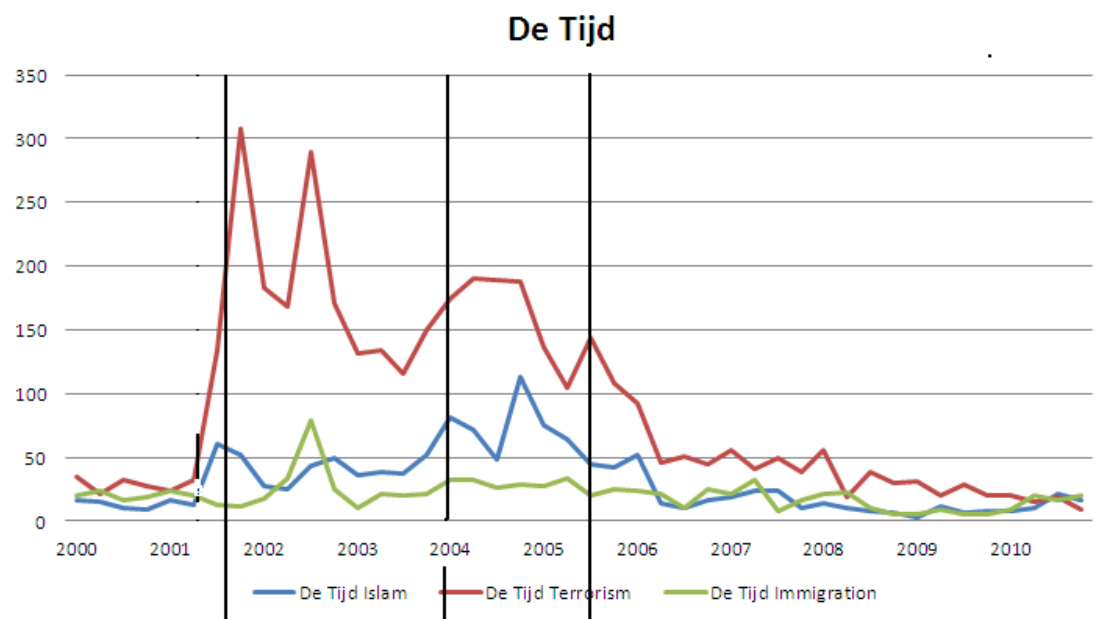
'Media are often portrayed as powerful agenda setters. Mass media clearly do affect the public opinion agenda. As other scholars have discovered, the mass public's attention to governmental issues tracks rather closely on media coverage of those issues' (Kingdon, 2011, p. 57). It is widely acknowledged that the mass media have great influence on the public agenda. Therefore it is interesting, and necessary, for this thesis to look at the media coverage. In this way an idea of the public agenda at the time of and after the terrorist attacks can be perceived. Kingdon in his theory of focusing events began with the problem stream and that is also the starting point of this chapter.

Three newspapers were studied: the Belgium paper *De Tijd*, the French paper *Le Figaro* and the Dutch paper *de Volkskrant*. All three sources are daily newspapers (although they do not appear on Sundays) and are considered to be quality newspapers. As the founding of FRONTEX was a European decision it is necessary to look at the European public agenda (although it is very difficult, if not impossible, to determine this entirely). The newspapers were chosen from three different countries in order to establish if a certain peak in media coverage is caused by a national event (and therefore less important for the founding of FRONTEX) or by international or European trends or events such as the terrorist attacks. National events, for example, the assassination of Theo van Gogh by a Muslim extremist in The Netherlands in 2004 or the riots in the French *banlieues* in 2005 could also have had an effect. Newspapers from Spain and the United Kingdom were not used because these countries were the 'objects' of terrorist attacks and therefore the British and Spanish people cannot be considered a good representation of 'the average' European citizen and their agenda towards the external border policy, (Muslim) terrorism and immigration. Italian or German newspaper were also going to be consulted, but unfortunately the databases of these newspapers are not accessible via Academic LexisNexis, the database software program which was used for this research.

5.2 The data

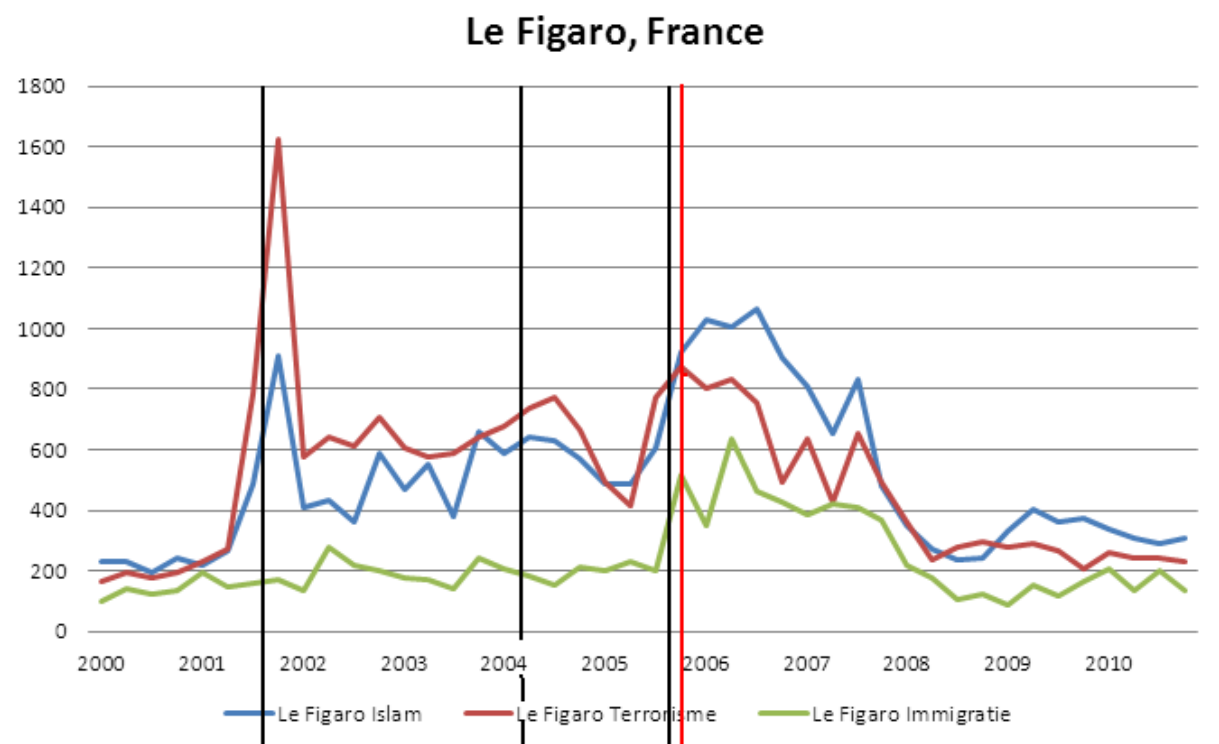
The three newspapers were searched for three different terms: terrorism, Islam and immigration. The first term would show whether, and to what extent, the attacks were an issue in Europe. The second term had to show to what extent the terrorism was linked to the Islam. The last term, immigration, is the most important for this thesis. An increase of immigration coverage in the newspapers would show that immigration reached the public agenda. For this thesis the amount of articles in the three newspapers that had the words immigration, Islam or terrorism in it was counted (Dutch and French translations were used as an aid in the search).

The time period which was investigated was the first decade of the 21st century, from January 2000 until December 2010. Even though the beginning is well before the first attacks it allows for a good before and after comparison. This period also covers the founding and the explosive growth of FRONTEX. To get a clear view on the data, each year was divided into four quarters, in order for certain time bound events - like the 9/11 attacks - to be clearly visible in the data. *(Some interesting dates to keep in mind: 11th September 2001; attacks in the United States. 11th of March 2004; attacks in Madrid. 7th of July 2005; attacks in London. 2nd of November 2004; assassination of Theo van Gogh, by the Muslim extremist Mohammed B, in the Netherlands . October/November 2005; riots in the outskirts of Paris (and other French cities). Spring of 2008, the release of the anti-Islam movie Fitna, directed by the Dutch politician Geert Wilders.) (The terrorist attacks are – in the following graphs – displayed with black vertical lines. Other possible relevant events, as described above, are displayed with a red vertical line.*



Graph 1 De Tijd, Belgium

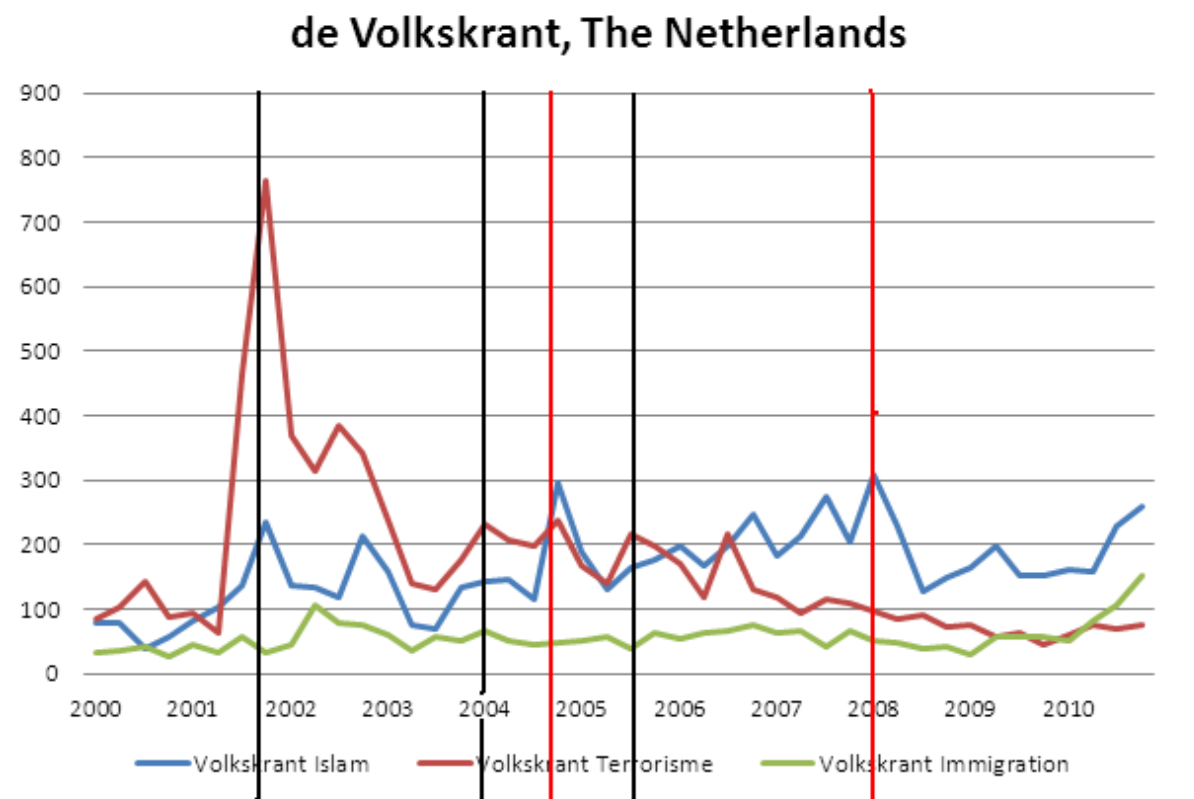
Graph 1 shows the results found from the Belgian newspaper De Tijd. The enormous peak in 'terrorism', represented by the red line, after 9/11 2001 is remarkably. This figure also shows that the focusing event was quite intensively discussed exactly one year after the first attacks. Interesting to note, is that a clear link with the Islam (represented by the blue line) was made in 2001, although 'immigration' (represented by the green line) peaked at the same time as 'terrorism' a year later. The periods after the attacks in London and Madrid jalso show a serious peak in media coverage on terrorism and Islam, and to a lesser extent immigration. After2006, terrorism, Islam and immigration were no longer widely discussed topics in De Tijd. In 2010 the amount of coverage is not considerably higher than during the period before the first terrorist attacks in the United States.



Graph 2 Le Figaro, France

Graph 2 corresponds with the media coverage in the French newspaper Le Figaro and it shows a slightly different pattern. The peaks on 'terrorism' (red line) and 'Islam' (blue line) after 9/11 are comparable with those in De Tijd. However, the 'memorial peak' one year later is much smaller. The bombings in Madrid resulted in a small peak, but the period after the attacks in London, on the other hand, not only caused an increase in all three lines but also for a longer period of time. A first glance at the articles found, suggested that both the riots in the *banlieus* and the attack in London were the cause of this. It also took longer (until 2008) before those lines started to

decrease. Later that year (2008?) the three lines reached a level that is only slightly higher than the level before the first attacks on 9/11.



Graph 3 de Volkskrant, The Netherlands

Graph 3 also shows a difference when compared to the graphs illustrating the information for Belgium and France. 9/11 caused a peak in 'terrorism' (red line) and 'Islam' (blue line) in 2001 and in 2002. Somewhere in the middle of these two dates 'immigration' (green line) has a zenith. The attacks in London and Madrid only seemed to have a slight effect on 'terrorism' but a greater effect on 'Islam'. This difference, when compared to the previous two graphs, could be due to a couple of reasons. Although this fact was not investigated in more depth one can assume that several Islam related events in the Netherlands caused curves different from the ones we saw in Belgium and France. Examples are the rise of Geert Wilders, the release of his Fitna-movie and the assassination of Theo van Gogh. These were all rather local, national events, and therefore only reached Dutch media coverage and not European coverage.

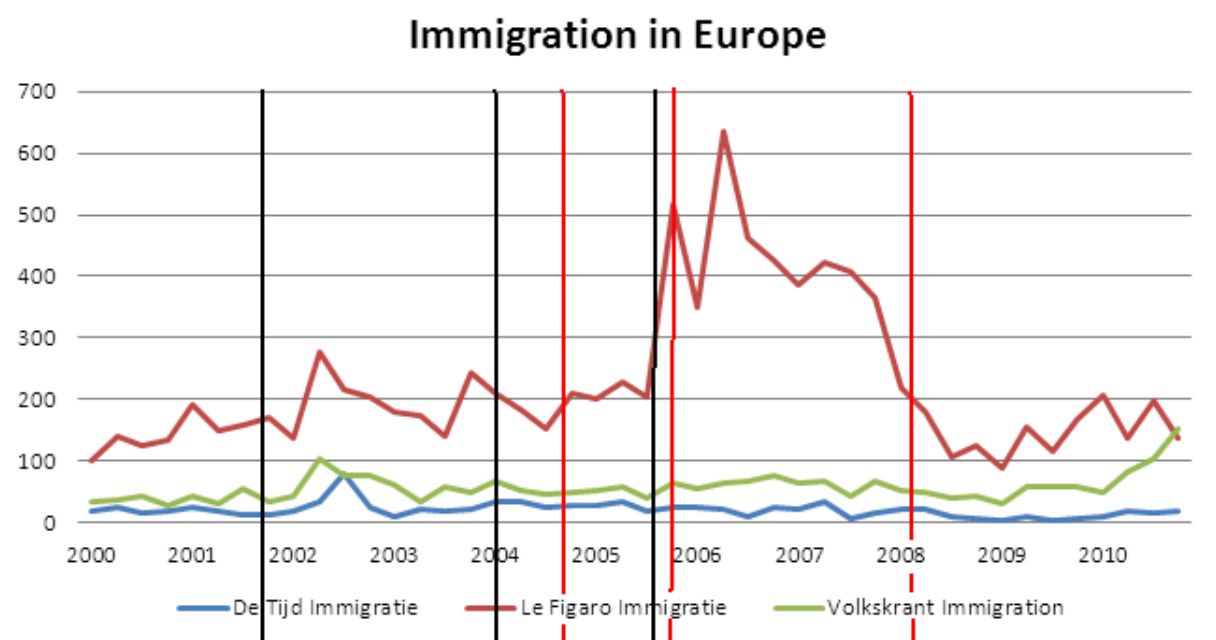
5.3 Conclusion

As discussed above, the media coverage of the terrorist attacks gives a good representation of the public agenda or the problem stream. This thesis focuses on the founding of FRONTEX, and keeping that in mind the data shown are interesting for a couple of reasons. Firstly, it shows that

the terrorist attacks (especially those in the United States) were a very important issue in Europe. Not only was the actual event important but also the first 'anniversary' as it received a lot of media attention. This indicates, and that is no surprise, that the terrorist attacks stood high on the public agenda in Europe.

Furthermore, the attacks were, to some extent, linked to the Islam. All three the graphs show a peak after the attacks in the United States, Madrid and London. Noteworthy is that the graphs also show other peaks most likely caused by other, national, events. The fact that these events are national, proves that those events had little or no effect on the European founding of FRONTEX. The fact that 'Islam' peaked in more than one country in Europe justifies the idea that the terrorist attacks in Europe were linked to the Islam and, because of this, it is possible that a fear of Muslim immigrants arose.

The third term which was investigated, was immigration. If the hypothesis is right, the fear of immigrants from Muslim countries will peak after the terrorist attacks. An attempt was made to prove this by investigating whether 'immigration' would be a much discussed topic in the European media.



Graph 4, Immigration in European media

Graph 4 shows that the hypothesis mentioned above is only partly true. Immigration did not become a hot item directly after the first attacks in 2001. It took until 2002 before immigration peaked for the first time in all three the countries. Interesting are the huge peaks in France (red

line) after the attacks in Madrid and especially London. This shows that immigration was definitely a much talked about topic in France after the two attacks by Muslim terrorists in Europe, but the greatest part of this media coverage can be linked to the riots in the outskirts of some French cities and not to the terrorist attacks. This cannot be said about The Netherlands (green line) and Belgium (blue line) where 'immigration' only peaked shortly after 9/11. In the Netherlands it also peaked in the last six months of 2010, but since FRONTEX was already founded and the budget already exploded, this is not really relevant for this thesis.

In conclusion: after interpreting the data it is acceptable to conclude that immigration topped the public agenda in different European countries at the same time only once - in 2002. After this short period, this research showed that immigration was much discussed in France, but not in The Netherlands and Belgium. The assumption that immigration topped the Dutch and Belgium agenda after the attack cannot be proved by this study. During the investigated period the Dutch Islam and immigration critics Pim Fortuyn (from the party Lijst Pim Fortuyn), Geert Wilders (Partij voor de Vrijheid) arrived on the political scene, and in Belgium a similar political party (Vlaams Belang) was popular, so a peak in immigration related media coverage was expected. This study found no explanation for the unexpected low place on the public agenda. Other immigration related search terms (asylum seeker(s), immigrant(s)) showed similar results, and the archives of other newspapers (Algemeen Dagblad) also did not show a different pattern than outlined above.

Although it was not investigated in-depth it is fair to presume that the intensity of the immigration debate was higher in Spain and the United Kingdom, because those were the scenes of Muslim terrorism in the first place. What can be learned from this chapter? It is clear that immigration did top the public agenda in some European countries while it did not do so in others. In addition, if the topic ever stood on top (or at least high) on the public agenda in more European countries, this was in 2002; approximately one year after the first attacks in the United States. The other noteworthy peaks were not (mainly) caused by the terrorist attacks, but by other immigration related topics, such as the riots in the French outskirts.

Chapter 6 - The European political agenda

The previous chapter showed that immigration topped the agenda in France especially after the third attack (in London), but the media coverage in Belgium and the Netherlands hardly changed. There was a short peak in 2002, but the rest of the investigated period showed no interesting dips or peaks. In this chapter the political stream is discussed and also how 'Brussels' dealt with these terrorist attacks.

6.1 The political stream in relationship to the public and the media

According to Kingdon (2011, p. 146-147) the political stream is influenced by the public agenda, or 'the national mood', as he calls it.

'People in and around government sense a national mood. They are comfortable discussing its content, and believe that they know when the mood shifts. The idea goes by different names – the national mood, the climate in the country, changes in public opinion, or broad social movements. But common to all of these labels is the notion that a rather large number of people out in the country are thinking along certain common lines, that this national mood changes from one time to another in discernible ways, and that these changes in mood or climate have important impacts on policy agendas and policy outcomes. (...) [The] sense of national mood is one thing that creates the "fertile ground" (...) The seed can come from anywhere, but the key to understanding its germination and growth is whether there is fertile ground or an initial receptivity to the ideas.'

Kingdon believes that the 'national mood' or the public agenda determine, to some extent, what the political agenda looks like. For the purpose of this study the analysis of mass media as a reflection of the public agenda was chosen whereby one could conclude that media coverage has an indirect effect on policy making. The direct effect of media coverage on politicians is, according to Kingdon (2011, p. 56) not as big as one would expect. *'Despite good reasons for believing that media should have a substantial impact on the governmental agenda, our standard indicator turns out disappointing.'*

Kingdon interviewed American policy makers about their decision making and looked at multiple case studies in American political history. *'Mass media were discussed as being important in only 26 percent of the interviews, far fewer than interest groups (84 percent) or researchers (66 percent). Media were very important in only 4 percent of the interviews. The picture with the case studies is no better. Media are somewhat important in 4 of the 23 cases, and never very*

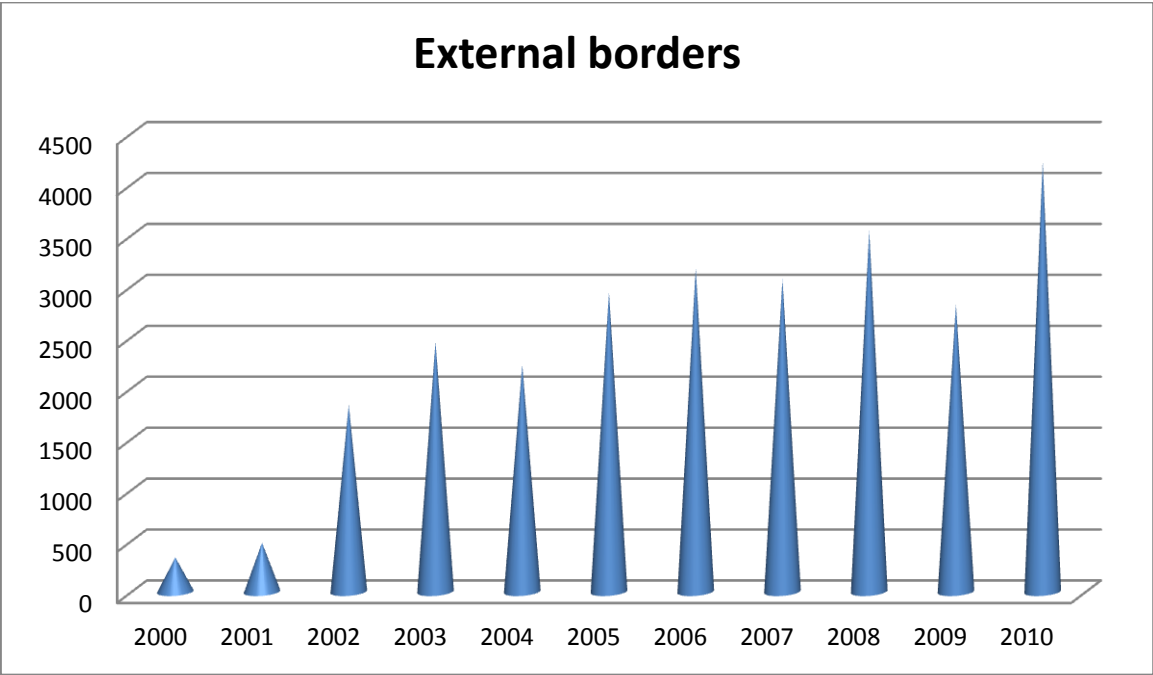
important, p. 60'. Although Kingdon does give other ways in which mass media effect politicians, the bottom line of Kingdon's theory is that the mass media effect the public (and vice versa), and that politicians react to the public agenda. That is the relation on which this chapter is based. If the political stream was indeed influenced by the media directly, that can be considered as 'collateral catch', and based on Kingdon's opinion about the relationship between media and politicians, the direct influence will be negligible.

6.2 The political stream

In order to prevent misunderstandings it must be clear that when the word political or politicians are used, it refers to the European Parliament based in Brussels. FRONTEX falls under the jurisdiction of the European Parliament and the European Parliament is responsible for the determination of the annual budget of FRONTEX. As every member state of the European Union has representatives in the European Parliament, the political agenda of the European Parliament is the best agenda that can represent the European political agenda in this thesis.

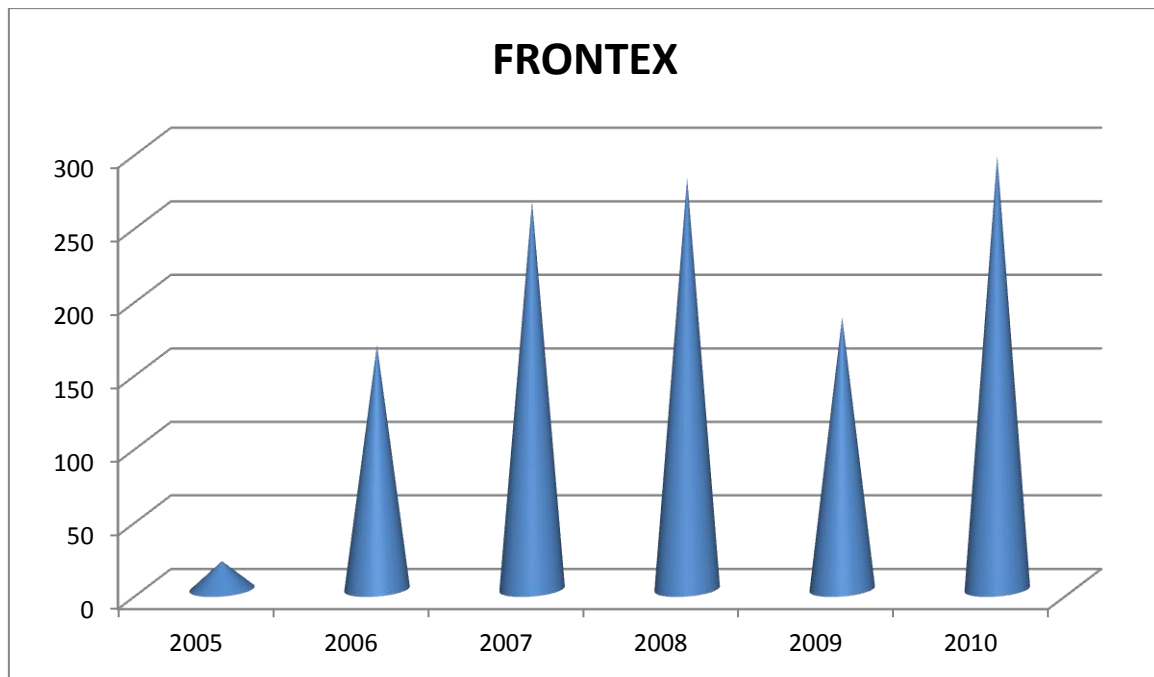
The political stream is an abstract concept and hard to measure or to determine entirely. In order to try to get parameters about what Brussels had on its mind, their database on their website will be studied in the hope to find different but reliable documents such as: written questions, the answers to these written questions, documents from other institutions addressed to the Parliament, agendas, reports, press releases, studies, amendments to reports, plenary documents and reports of proceedings. These documents should represent the period 2000-2010. It will then be divided into two tables: one pre-FRONTEX table, and one post-FRONTEX-table. The pre-FRONTEX timeline will be represented by the time from 01-01-2000 until 31-12-2010, and the different documents for the term 'external borders' will be searched for. Because FRONTEX only became operational in October 2005, it is not expected that the term FRONTEX will generate a lot of response from the database in the first years of the 21st century. The disadvantage is that not all documents found will be relevant for this thesis, so the numbers found is expected to be too high. Nevertheless, a search for the term 'external borders' will definitely be useful to determine whether the topic was on the political agenda at that time.

The second timeline, with the search term FRONTEX, covers the period from 01-01-2005 until 31-12-2010. FRONTEX was operational by that time, so the search term will be 'FRONTEX'. The period after 31-12-2010 is less relevant for this study, because the fourth chapter showed that the policy mostly changed before 2011. All documents with the word 'FRONTEX' will be relevant for this thesis. The disadvantage of this search term is that there will be no data from before the founding, because the word was not in use at that time. By combining these two tables, it should be possible to establish if FRONTEX (or the external border issues) was on the political agenda of the European Parliament.



Graph 5 The number of documents with the words 'External borders'

Graph 5 shows that the number of times a document from the European Parliament mentioned the term 'external borders' increased enormously after 2001. In 2001, 337 documents were found with these terms, one year later this increased to 1837 documents. As mentioned before: not all documents would be completely relevant, nevertheless this table shows that the external border issue was placed on the agenda after 2001, the year of the terrorist attacks on 9/11.



Graph 6, The number of documents with the word 'FRONTEX'

Graph 6 is less transparent. FRONTEX was discussed only 19 times in the Parliament documents in 2005. This is extremely low, but given that FRONTEX became operational in October 2005 (and the fact that the Parliament was not responsible for the foundation of FRONTEX, only for the continuation of the institute) it is understandable. In 2006 (166) and 2009 (185) there was relatively few documentation about FRONTEX. In 2007 (264), 2008 (280) and 2010 (295) there was a relatively large number of documents found on this subject.

6.3 Conclusion

In this chapter it was determined if, and to what extent, the external border policy stood on the agenda of the European Parliament in the period 2000 – 2010. Although the research method does have some disadvantages, it still gives a good view of how important the external border policy and/or FRONTEX was for the European Parliament in the first decade of this century.

Graphs 5 and 6 show that the subject was placed on the agenda after the 9/11 attacks, with a tremendous peak in 2002. The attacks in London and Madrid had little or no visible effects according to this research. After 2001 (and the first attacks) the subject was never taken off the political agenda. It is possible that the attacks in London and Madrid ensured that the subject stayed on the agenda, but this research does not necessarily prove this.

The first part of this chapter showed that politicians often feel the urge to react to the 'national mood', which was investigated in Chapter 5. The media coverage, an indicator of the public

agenda, showed a clear peak in 'terrorism' and 'Islam', and a smaller peak in 'immigration' at the same time that the political agenda peaked on 'external borders'. Interesting is that the public agenda did not see immigration as a big issue (according to this study), while politicians seem to link the attacks to their external border policy in a more extensive way.

As the theory of Kingdon (1995, 2011) applies to this case study, the attacks in New York put terrorism on the agenda of the public which created 'fertile ground', or a 'policy window', in which policy change was made possible. When we study the political agenda, which is (partly) determined by the public agenda, this agenda also shows a significant increase of documentation regarding the external border policy, directly after the first attacks in the United States. It has already been concluded that policy change had occurred (FRONTEX was founded and the budget increased explosively), that terrorism and Islam were public concern and that media coverage on immigration increased only slightly after 9/11. These factors lead to the conclusion that the amount of documentation about external border policy also increased after the first attacks. This suggests that Kingdon's theory of focusing events can be applied to the policy making regarding the founding and growth of FRONTEX. There is however one anomaly. Immigration never really reached the public agenda in The Netherlands and Belgium. Although it was an issue in France, but not before 2005, part of this media attention were caused by riots and not by terrorists.

Further research needs to be done in order to determine if politicians link terrorism and Islam to the external border policy. If they do then the theory of Kingdon matches this case study. If they do not, something else caused the enormous peak in documentation about the external border policy in the European Union.

Conclusions

The research objective of this thesis was (1) to expose the role of the shock events, the terrorist attacks in this case, within the founding and growth of the external border institute of the EU, FRONTEX, while using the theoretical framework of 'shock events and institutional dynamics' and (2) to make a further contribution to the theoretical framework of 'shock events and institutional dynamics', using the terrorist attacks in the United States, London and Madrid as a single case study. The thesis was introduced with the research question: ***To what extent did the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, London and Madrid contribute to the growth of the development of the European external border institution FRONTEX?***

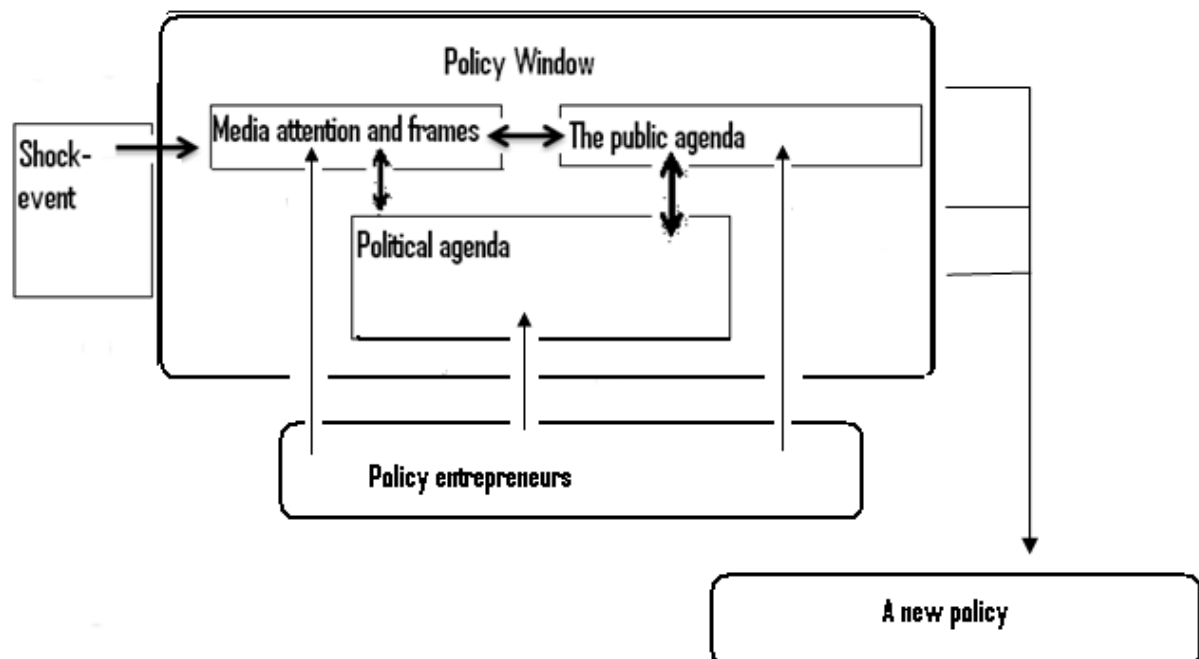
The research began with the ascertainment that FRONTEX was founded in 2004 and became fully operational in 2005. The first steps toward the founding were made just before the first terrorist attacks. Within four years there was a newly found institute and four years later the annual budget grew to almost 90 Million Euros. The purpose of this thesis was to investigate if this process of policy making was made possible by 'fertile ground' which possibly arose after the three terrorist attacks.

In order to answer the research question the public agenda was looked at first. The results of an analysis of three different European newspapers showed that both terrorism and the Islam stood high on the public agenda after the separate attacks. In contrast, immigration, the most important search term used, only peaked approximately one year after the attacks on 9/11 in all three investigated countries at the same time. This peak only lasted for a quarter of a year and never reached enormous heights. The conclusion of this chapter was that terrorism and Islam became 'hot issues' in the three countries more or less at the same time and for a relatively long period of time. However, the public did not seem to link these issues with immigration or the external border policy.

While immigration or the external border policy did not seem to top the public agenda for a long time, the political agenda showed an entirely different situation. In 2002 the external borders became widely discussed in the European Parliament, judging by the amount of documentation found in the digital database. According to the theory of Kingdon (1995, 2011) this should mainly be caused by a changed 'national mood', caused by a focusing event which in this case was the terrorist attacks. However, this research shows a more nuanced picture, because the public in Belgium and the Netherlands showed little or no interest in immigration during the period that the European Parliament kept raising the budget.

This remarkable discovery could be due to various reasons. Firstly, the countries which were taken up in the study were not good indicators and it might be possible that the public in Spain and the United Kingdom (who were direct victims of terrorist attacks) were more interested in this subject. This could have also influenced that fact that the politicians from these countries placed the subject on the European political agenda. It could also be possible that the European politicians linked terrorism and Islam to immigration and the external border policy of the European Union, while the public did not see this connection. Furthermore, a broader scope of newspapers should have been consulted and not just quality newspapers, but also less nuanced, tabloid newspapers, which could have raised some more sentiment among their readers. All these statements are assumptions and can thus not be proved.

Using the conceptual model of focusing events, as displayed below, it is safe to conclude that the relationship between the public agenda and the political agenda is disturbed. One should expect that the political agenda would match the public agenda, but this study found that the public was bothered about terrorism and Islam, and the politicians about immigration and external borders.



Finally, it is concluded that there is not enough convincing evidence to show a direct connection between the founding and development of FRONTEX and the terrorist attacks in the United States, London and Madrid, by using the theory of focusing events as described by Kingdon (1995,

2011). There are however, certain matters that could show a connection at a later stadium, but further research will have to be done in order to prove this.

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