
FLOODING OR SINKING: IMMIGRANT FRAMING AND DUTCH VISA- AND ADMISSION POLICIES

*A RESEARCH ABOUT THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL AND PUBLIC DEBATES CONCERNING
IMMIGRANTS ON VISA AND ADMISSION POLICIES IN THE NETHERLANDS FROM 1813
UNTIL 2016*



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SUMMARY

Immigration has always been an issue for states and the current migration crisis has placed this issue high on the Dutch and European agenda again. Policies are in the making to deal with the large number of immigrants that try to enter the Netherlands and the European Union. However many criticise and question the logic and fairness of these policies. These policies are seen as discursive constructs and thus are formed by debates concerning immigrants. However the role of debates on a state's admission policies have not yet been researched. This research therefore focusses on the influence of debates on visa and admission policies of the Netherlands throughout the history starting with the first admission policy in 1813. The main research question is: *How have the political and public debates concerning immigrants influenced the constructing of visa and admission policies of the Netherlands since 1813 until now?*

In order to answer this question a qualitative desk research study has been conducted. To research the relationship between the debates and the policies framing analysis has been used. Academic literature on the subjects of migration, visa and admission policies, critical geopolitics and framing has been used to provide the theoretical framework. Different migration regimes throughout the history of the Netherlands have been distinguished. Furthermore newspaper articles and existing literature on debates concerning different types of migrants have been analysed to distinguish the dominant debates and frames and the underlying (geo)political, social and economic context and events. Existing literature and law- and regulation documents have been used to obtain information about the visa and admission policies in the different migration regimes.

From 1813 there were four main migration regimes in the Netherlands. Those regimes are the World Wars refugee regime during and after World War One and World War Two, the post-colonial migration regime after the proclamation of independence in Indonesia and Surinam, the guest workers regime around 1950 and the asylum seekers regime at the end of the 20th century. A fifth regime is currently in the making.

The World Wars refugee regime has been characterised by the neutrality debate and the economic debate on the political level. There was a lack of public debate. The post-colonial migration regime had as main debates the spijtoptanten-debate, the Moluccan debate, the criminality debate and the overpopulation debate on both levels. The main debates during the guest workers regime were the economic debate, the multiculturalism debate, the guest debate and the overpopulation debate. The asylum seeker regime was dominated by the overpopulation debate, the humanitarian debate, the terrorism debate and the anti-Islam debate. The current migration regime is influenced by the previous regimes and the main debates are the black Pete/racism debate, fortune hunter debate, overpopulation debate, criminality debate, anti-Islam debate, terrorism debate and humanitarian debate.

From this research can be concluded that visa and admission policies have become even more state-focussed rather than human-focussed as they have shifted from individual assessment of the migrant towards the determining of risk groups on the basis of nationality. But it is not only

the persons nationality that has come to play a bigger role in the granting of entrance, but also the category this migrant belongs to. In general the admission policies have become stronger.

It has become clear that there are several recurring debates that did have an influence on these visa and admission policies. They seem to be less bounded to a specific geopolitical, social and economic context or events. Other discourses are more regime and context specific. There are also new debates emerging such as the terrorism debate that might determine the future of visa and admission policies. However there are also strong counter-debates like the humanitarian debate that become stronger due to the rise of civil society movements.

There's also a shift noticeable in importance from the political to the public level concerning the debates. More and more debates arise out of the public level due to the rise of platforms like social media. There's also more involvement from the international level like the European Union which leads to a tension between on the one hand the European focus in decision making and the political debate and on the other hand the demand for a local focus from the public debate.

In general there can be concluded that these debates do influence visa and admission policies through the use of framing. The most commonly used framing techniques were slogans, metaphors, stories and numbers. However the use of visual imaginary is emerging and might come to play a bigger role in future debates.

Based on these conclusions we can learn several lessons for future policies. Policy makers must be aware of the influence of framing in the constructing of visa and admission policies and they must ask themselves why a certain frame exists, by whom it is created and for what reasons. They must also be aware that frames and debates are recurrent which might imply that there is a bigger issue at stake than just the arrival of a certain group of migrants. The government should also be clear about the facts concerning immigration in order to prevent false frames from emerging. Furthermore the government and the media should be more precautionary in choosing their words as they contribute to framing and thus possibly push the policies in a certain direction. Lastly, as frames are always a simplification of reality, and thus portray a concept as either black or white, we might oversee the grey in-between. There are so much more choices than just let them flood the country or let them sink.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBS	Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (Statistics Netherlands)
CGM	Centrum voor de Geschiedenis van Migranten (Centre for the history of migrants)
COA	Centrale Opvang Asielzoekers (Central Reception of Asylum Seekers)
EC	European Community
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
MRP	Machine Readable Passport
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors without borders)
mvv	Machtiging tot voorlopig verblijf (temporary residence permit)
PVV	Partij Voor de Vrijheid (Freedom party)
SIS	Shengen Information System
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
VVD	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (Liberal Party)

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 PROJECT FRAMEWORK

Since 2013 one of the biggest humanitarian crisis of the century has dominated European Union's political and public stage: the migrant crisis. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) reported that last year more than a million irregular immigrants and refugees arrived in the EU (IOM, 2015). They often arrive by boat or through other illegal ways as they have no opportunity to enter the EU legally due to its closed border policies. This results in dangerous situations in which many already have lost their lives. In 2015, more than 3700 migrants died while trying to cross the sea (IOM, 2016). The European Union struggles to respond, as it is torn between protecting its own borders and protecting human rights. This conflict can be seen in the highly polarized political and public debates. On the one hand there's a plea for stronger border protection to keep the unwanted out and to protect the own citizens from possible risks like terrorism and fortune-hunters. Within the member states of the EU the number of and support for political parties who opt for closed borders has grown considerably in the last ten years. On the other hand there's a lot of criticism from a humanitarian point of view on the way the current situation is handled. Many internationally respected organisations like the IOM and Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) consider the EU's actions inhumane and have called for a change. MSF even announced that it will no longer take any funds from EU member states and institutions as long as the EU keeps holding on to their "deterrence policies and intensifying attempts to push people and their suffering away from European shores" (MSF, 2016).

However these debates do not stay limited to the European Union as they also determine the national political and public agenda. Within the Netherlands political parties like the PVV are calling for stronger border and migration policies while civil-society organisations like VluchtelingenWerk Nederland plea for more understanding and better treatment of migrants. Those debates are also not new, they exist as long as migration itself exists. Already in the early nineteenth century there were debates concerning the entrance of foreigners, which lead to the introduction of foreigners regulations.

Migration in itself is thus from all times, and so are the borders that are designed to control these flows. The structure of borders is a result of dealing with migration, more specifically with determining who is 'in' and who it 'out'. Borders were originally seen as the geopolitical inventions through which state powers turned space into territories, a process which is called the territorialisation of space (Balibar, 2009, p.192). They were a measure to be able to exert national policy and to keep people in and foreign military forces out. However that concept of borders now has changed. The new borders "are designed not to keep people in or militaries out, but to deter a perceived invasion of 'undesirables' – with unwanted immigrants leading the list of state concerns" (Andreas, 2000). They are used to create a distinction between 'us' and 'them'. Scholars believe that borders can take multiple forms (Rumford, 2006, p. 155). For example borders can also be seen as the boundaries of networks, in which people, ideas and goods can flow freely. The European Union is seen as the perfect example of this network state (Castells, 2010). Access to this network determines whether you are in or out and thus whether you can travel freely or not. Because of the emergence of the European Union new borders arise. Whole countries can now be borders, the so called 'buffer zones' or 'safe third countries' with which the European Union has made deals so that these countries serve as a buffer to hold back

migrants from the EU and thus serve as an extra 'border' (Collinson, 1996, p.76). Recently, the EU has made a deal with Turkey in which the country turns into such a safe third country in exchange for visa liberalization (Kingsley & Rankin, 2016). Even though new forms of borders are thus emerging, national borders still do matter as we see in the open/closed border debates that dominate both EUs and national political and public life. National, or sometimes also referred to as political borders, are those borders that mark a nation-state's territory, but also that of a higher political structure such as the European Union. Borders can be seen as the hard physical division between countries, such as the wired fences in Hungary, but in contemporary society the 'invisible' administrative boundary plays an even bigger role. This administrative boundary are the national and EU visa policies.

Visas and admission policies in general are perceived differently by different kinds of people. They are not equally closed or open to everyone. They are "designed to encourage various kinds of mobility, particularly for certain categories of immigrants" (Rumford, 2006, p.157). When we look at the visa world map we see that not everyone has the same possibilities to enter certain countries. Who is allowed to enter is based upon an assessment of certain characteristics, such as their nationality, their resources or whether they are an economic migrant or a refugee. The fairness of such visa policies and the selection criteria have been extensively researched. For example Neumayer (2006) has done research about why states impose visa restrictions on certain countries. Guild (2005) criticizes the fact that one's access to economic resources determines not only if he or she can leave his or her own country but also if that person will get a visa. Carens (1987) has plead for open borders, and thus the abolition of visa restrictions, by showing us why claims for closed borders are not justified. These academics agree that visa and border policies are selective and that they are not always based on a fair and rational process but are instead subject to different framings of immigrants and the accompanying problems. As Newman & Paasi put it: "state boundaries are equally social, political and discursive constructs, not just static naturalized categories located between states" (Newman & Paasi, 1998, p.187). Visas and admission policies are thus no rational problem solving measure, but a reaction to the ruling ideas or frames in the political and public debates concerning immigrants. Those frames are not only based upon a real threat that migration might entail, but they also arise because of the local and international context, such as the countries own culture or an international economic crisis. Globalisation has brought us new international threats like terrorism, embodied in the image of 9/11, which play a great role in these debates. But also the European Union as a political structure has brought new questions in national debates, like whether the Netherlands should exert a common visa policy together with the rest of the EU or not. And also the local context like a nation's history might have great influence on the way immigrants are perceived. This makes it important to look not only to the phenomenon of migration itself, but certainly also to the debates concerning this phenomenon and the contexts in which these debates arise as well as their influence on the Dutch visa- and admission policies.

1.2 RELEVANCE AND OBJECTIVE

The migration crisis is an ongoing problem that pressurizes the European project of free movement of goods and persons and the survival of the European Union in general. This is mainly due to tense debates about this migration crisis and the role of the EU within this crisis, which has given rise to strong anti-immigration and anti-EU feelings. These debates determine for a large part the future of the European Union and thus the future of the Netherlands because they question the current political system. But the effects of the debate are also noticeable on the national and local level. Within the Netherlands the debates create tensions in society, between citizens themselves and between citizens and the state. In December 2015 the municipality Geldermalsen was startled when protesters threw rocks and fireworks at the town council while they had a meeting about the arrival of a new asylum centre. This protest has been followed by similar incidents in other parts of the country ever since and is part of a growing discontent about the current state of affairs concerning immigration and the extent to which politicians listen to the voice of the citizen. Moreover the debates also determine the future for the many migrants that are on the move, in the quest for a better life or to escape war and repression. The debates that are held in the Netherlands have consequences that reach far beyond the borders of the nation state, as they restrict the movement of people from all around the world who don't have a say in these debates. It is thus socially relevant to dissect the debates, analyse their causes and effects and find out how the role of framing is reflected within policies as these policies determine the future of many different people.

This research does not only have a social relevance, but also a scientific relevance. Researching how the public and political debates concerning immigrants have had an influence on the development of Dutch visa and admission policies might contribute to the scientific knowledge about the role of framing in the constructing of policies in general and specifically visa policies. Framing analysis in policy-making is a common research field. For example Triandafyllidou and Fotiou (1998) have done research about the role of framing in the EU's environmental policy-making, and Koon et al. (2016) have analysed the relationship between framing and health policy. However the influence of framing on visa and admission policies has not been researched yet. The subject of visa and admission policies however has been a common research topic (see for example: Neumayer, 2006; Guild, 2005; Hobolt, 2014). Yet these researches do not focus on the underlying debates. Van Eijl (2012) has written a book about immigrants and the debates concerning these immigrants in the Netherlands since 1945. However she does not focus on visa and admission policies per se and her research does not include the developments of the last fifteen years, while a lot has happened since 2000 that has had a great influence in our present day policy. Nor does she mention the developments in visa or foreigners policies before 1945, which form the basis for visa policies in general. Laarman (2013) has given us a good overview of the political and public debate about postcolonial migrants, but she only focusses on this group of immigrants, while visa and admission policies are a set of measures towards different types of migrants. On the European Union level, Anderson (2000) has given us a good overview of the historical development of borders in Europe but it remains broad and does not focus primarily on the debates concerning immigrants. The scientific literature on visa policies and the role of debates and/or framing dates from before the start of the migration crisis in 2013, while a lot has happened since then that has pushed the subject of migration and visa back onto

the political and public agenda. What is missing is thus a complete overview of the development of Dutch visa and admission policies, from the beginning of foreigners policies till now, focussed on the underlying political and public debates and the role of framing.

By researching the development of Dutch visa policies and its underlying political and public debates one can learn a great deal about why our present-day visa policy is as it is and how framing of immigrants can have an influence on future policies. It also provides a framework to put the current debates about migration and illegality in perspective. Migration is certainly not a new phenomenon and as we will see some debates and frames are recurring. By looking at previous migration influxes and visa and admission policies and the accompanying debates we will be able to distinguish central themes which keep recurring in these debates and thus possibly influence previous and future visa and admission policies.

The described relevance shows that there's a lack in the knowledge about the role of debates and framing on visa and admission policies in the Netherlands. This provides a problem as these debates might have an considerable influence on policy-making and thus should not be taken lightly. The objective of this research is therefore is: *to contribute to the knowledge about the underlying influence of political and public debates concerning immigrants on Dutch visa and admission policies and what lessons can be learned for future policies.*

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Given the objective of this research, the main question is:

How have the political and public debates concerning immigrants influenced the constructing of visa and admission policies of the Netherlands since 1813 until now?

In order to be able to give an answer to this rather broad question, we have to divide it into smaller sub-questions. First we need to know how visa and admission policies in the Netherlands have developed in history in order to be able to say something about the actual influence of these debates. After that is known we can distinguish the central themes in the political and public debates that did have an influence on the constructing of visa and admission policies, as well as the relationship between the political and the public debates. Lastly we can use these central themes to reflect upon their influence in present day visa and admission policies and the lessons that can be learned for future policies.

The sub-questions are as follows:

- *How have visa and admission policies in the Netherlands developed since 1813?*
- *Which political debates have influenced the constructing of visa and admission policies?*
- *Which public debates have influenced the constructing of visa and admission policies?*
- *How do the political and public debates influence each other?*
- *To which extent do we see the influence of these debates in the constructing of present day visa and admission policies?*

For an elaboration of the concepts mentioned in these research questions as well as the choice for the Netherlands and the given time-frame, see §3.1. Research focus.

2. THEORY

2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are several theories that will help us to answer the research questions and provide an academic basis for the analysis. There are two central elements in this research, namely the constructing of visa and admission policies and the political and public debates concerning immigrants. In order to research the first element, we need to have an academic understanding of what visa and admission policies are. Theories about admission policies with a focus on visa policies thus will give us an insight in the nature of these policies. These theories are mainly about the meso level, as visa and admission policies are national policies or European policies. However visa policies and admission are not simply only subject to internal national factors, but also outside factors that play on the macro level. A theory is therefore needed, that places this development within a certain macro-level context. The theory of Critical Geopolitics provides such a macro level framework that combines geography and politics and explains the role of nation states within the world order. The 'critical' in critical geopolitics refers to the subjectivity of the geopolitical knowledge, which brings us to importance of looking at the influence of certain debates, the second element of this research. In order to analyse the relation between debates and policy the theory of framing has been used. But before we turn to these theories we first have to understand the concept of migration. Migration happens for different reasons, and within the political and public debates immigrants with different motives for their migration are treated differently, which explains why it is important to understand what those different groups of migrants are and what drives them.

2.1.1 MIGRATION THEORIES

Visa and admission policies would not exist if people would not migrate. But why do people even want to migrate in the first place? Therefore we have to turn to the theories about migration. King provides in his 'Theories and typologies of migration: an overview and a primer' a good overview of theories about migration. The scope of migration theories is broad, as there are many different theories about why people migrate. The reason why people migrate is one of the main factors to determine to what category this migrant belongs, next to personal characteristics such as income. Despite the broad range of theories, the basis of many of those migration theories lies in the neo-classical push-pull framework. Migration in this framework is seen as driven by push-factors from the country of origin, such as poverty, political repression and low social status, and pull-factors from the country of destination, such as job opportunities and political freedom (King, 2012, p.13). According to Lee there are also factors that do not necessarily belong to the 'pull-' or 'push-' factors, but could be described as 'intervening obstacles'. These factors might provide difficulties for certain migrants to reach the country of destination, such as distance, physical barriers and political barriers (Lee, 1966, p.51). Those intervening obstacles are not encountered by everyone to the same extend; for some people these factors provide huge difficulties while

others are barely affected by them, depending on the migrants' characteristics, such as their income and their country of origin (Lee, 1966, p.51).

However the neo-classical push- and pull theory is often seen as too simplistic (King, 2012, p.13). It does not explain why certain people do not migrate even though those push- and pull-factors are present. Furthermore it fails to explain why some countries have high rates of emigration while other countries with the same economic conditions have low rates (King, 2012, p.14). The more historical-structural based models such as the dual and segmented labour market theory, the dependency theory and the world systems theory argue that this is due to historical macro-structures that lead to the current world economy. The dual labour market theory argues that international (labour) migration is primarily driven by pull factors (Piore, 1979). Developed and developing countries have a so called 'dual labour market': a labour market that consists of decent jobs for the native workers and a undesired jobs that are left aside. This last set of jobs attracts immigrants and thus provides a pull-mechanism. But is also creates or reinforces an unequal global pattern. This is also key to the dependency theory that states that inequalities in development of states is created by the dependency of such underdeveloped states on advanced states (Ferraro, 2008, p. 59). Migration is seen as an outcome and at the same time as a part of this dependency structure. The world systems theory builds upon the dependency theory and argues that such a structure creates a world of core and peripheral areas, on the basis of an extensive division of labour and the introduction of a capitalistic economy (Wallerstein, 1976, p. 231). This new structure leads to migration, as traditional work structures are being undermined and people are forced to seek new forms of income (Kurekova, 2011, p.8).

However migration is not just a simple linear, economic push-pull movement but also a circular and multi-causal movement (King, 2012, p.20). There are many different factors that influence people's decisions to migrate and where to, such as political, social, economic and cultural factors. The network theory argues that networks are the most important factors in the movement of people (Arango, 2004, p.28). Networks, such as family ties, highly determine the decision of a person to migrate and to what place. This explains chain migration, a series of migration within one group or family, and return migration, when immigrants migrate back to their country of origin. It also gives an explanation for the continuation of smuggling and trafficking networks to transport migrants across the borders (King, 2011, p. 22). Because these networks are set up, and are successful in transporting people, they become an alternative route if the legal route is not accessible. The more migrants make use of this option, the more it becomes known and embedded within the migration community. These trafficking networks bring migrants into the country by avoiding the legal route and taking great risks. They are a result of the thickening of the legal political borders, such as stricter visa restrictions.

Political factors therefore influence the decisions to migrate and the choice of destination. Advanced states who are the main receivers of migrants have the political power to regulate the flows of migrants due to entry regulations etcetera, and by doing so retain the current world order (Morawska, 2007). However the fact that a country imposes strict migration policies does not stop people from migrating. They will search for other countries with less restrictive policies or they will try to enter the country illegally, as is the case with the trafficking networks. Whether and how migrations can reach a certain country is thus also depending upon those political factors.

Migration is thus a multi-causal concept which means there are many different types of migrants. There's no single international approved definition of migrant, but for this research the definition of the United Nations will be used: a migrant is "an individual who has resided in a foreign country for more than one year irrespective of the causes, voluntary or involuntary, and the means, regular or irregular, used to migrate" (IOM, 2015). Within this definition of a migrant, different types could be distinguished, according to their personal characteristics, such as their education level, and their reason for migration as well as the push- pull and intervening factors. According to Castles there are eight categorisations of contemporary migrants (Castles, 2000):

1. **Temporary labour migrants** (also known as **guest workers** or **overseas contract workers**): these are people who migrate for a limited period of time to work in a foreign country.
2. **Highly skilled and business migrants**: skilled workers who move within the internal or international labour markets. Receiving countries often try to attract these migrants through special programmes and campaigns.
3. **Irregular migrants** (also known as **undocumented migrants**): people who illegally try to enter the foreign country for several reasons, often in search of employment.
4. **Refugees**: any person who, according to the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, "*owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.*" (Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1954, p.14).
5. **Asylum-seekers**: people who travel to another country in search of protection from the above mentioned fears but who don't meet the criteria of the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. In this case it is often difficult to distinguish whether the fear for personal persecution is well founded or if there are factors that threaten their survival.
6. **Forced migrants**: people who are forced to migrate, not only refugees and asylum seekers but also people that are forced to move because of environmental catastrophes or development projects.
7. **Family members** (also known as **family reunion** or **family reunification migrants**): people who migrate to a foreign countries because of family ties.
8. **Return migrants**: people who migrate back to their country of origin after staying in a foreign country.

It is important to note that these categorisations of migrants are not always well-marked and that the categories can overlap. This makes it sometimes hard to determine to what category a migrant belongs as he or she might fit in different categorisations.

2.1.2 VISA AND ADMISSION POLICIES

Admission policies are those policies that focus on the question of entrance of migrants and thus determine who is allowed to enter and who is not. Admission policies are also often termed as border policies, as they form the borders the migrants have to pass, or termed as foreigners policies, as they deal with foreign travellers. Admission policies are part of the broader category of migration policies, that deals with process of migration, from admission to regulation to integration. Visa policies are the most common form of admission policies. Other forms of admission policies are residence permits, which allow someone to stay in the country for a longer period, and an asylum permit, that allows persons to stay in the country who are in need of protection.

A visa is “a document affixed to passports or travel documents which prima facie permits the holder to arrive at the border of the issuing state and, subject to further checks, to pass that border for a period of time” (Guild, 2001, p.31). This means that visas cannot be seen apart from passports. A passport is “an official document issued by the government of a country that identifies someone as a citizen of that country and that is usually necessary when entering or leaving a country” (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). As can be concluded from this definition a passport contains two central elements. First, it describes the relationship between the bearer and the state (Salter, 2003, p.4). It identifies the bearer as being the national of a certain state, including the rights and obligations of that state for that individual. Second, it is a necessary document for travel, to enter or to leave a country. With a passport, the bearer can always leave and return to his home-country. Yet to enter a country, a passport is needed but it is not sufficient, one often needs a visa to. Passports and visas are inextricably connected while both represent different sides of the travel spectrum. Under the reign of the French king Louis XIV a passport-system was set up to prevent people from leaving the country (Thorpey, 2000, p.21). Without the possession of a passport, one could not leave the country nor travel. On the contrary, the visa system was set up after WWI to prevent people from entering a country. So with a passport you can leave your country, but not necessarily enter a country.

The concept of visa policies centres around two questions: who is obliged to apply for a visa and who is to be granted a visa after he has applied. The first question has everything to do with the migrant’s nationality. States impose visa restrictions to protect themselves and in order to decide who is obliged to these restrictions they make a risk-assessment, as you can never know someone’s true intentions. Guilt is namely not written on someone’s face. Yet it is too costly and time consuming to make individual assessments, therefore risk-groups have been determined. These risk groups are usually determined on the basis of nationality by turning countries into ‘suspect countries’ (Mau et al., 2012, p.50). This list may include countries with a violent history, with nationals who have been perpetrators of terrorist acts, etc. (Neumayer, 2006, p.79). However a lot of these risk-assessments are made behind closed doors, and the reason why some countries are marked as suspect-countries is not always clear. This is where framing might play an important role. Beside risk-assessment the decision to make a visa obligatory for a certain country is also based upon the relationships between the different countries. Visa restrictions can be lifted or imposed based upon reciprocity, when one country lifts or imposes the restrictions on a certain country that country can do so to. It can also be based upon social, cultural or economic ties. Neumayer has conducted a research in which he found out that a high degree of bilateral trade, a high per capita income, a high degree of political freedom as well as regional, civilization and

commonwealth links have a strong influence on the lifting of visa restrictions (Neumayer, 2006, p. 81). All these factors lead to a list of countries from who the nationals have to apply for a visa and a list for those nationals who don't. This means that some are having a hard time trying to obtain a visa because they are being judged upon the image of the country they belong to, while others are exempted from this obligation to apply for a visa because their country is on the 'good' side of the list.

Once it is determined what country is on the visa-restrictions list, nationals from these countries have to apply for a visa at their home-country. The migrant has to go to the embassy or consulate of the country he wishes to go to in order to apply for a visa. The process of the separating of the unwanted from the wanted foreigners thus no longer happens at the gates of the country of destination, like in 18th century France, but in the home country of the migrant. Borders become 'delocalized' (Lyon, 2003). This is what Zolberg calls 'remote control' (Zolberg, 2006, p.443). From a distance the receiving country then has to make a judgement of the applications. This too happens on the basis of risk-assessment, through the use of certain stereotype profiles, and on the basis of data-exchange such as criminal records. Once the migrants obtain a visa and travel to the receiving country they are checked again at the border. This visa system is based upon a state-centred notion of protection. The state has to be protected against an influx of foreigners, whereby the state and its own citizens' lives are deemed more important than the lives of the 'foreigners'. This leads to the concept of state- versus human security. State-security, sometimes also referred to as national security, is a concept that emerged since the 'rise' of states and nationalism in the 17th century, even though it had not been named back then. It focuses on threats directed against the state, often in form of military attacks from another state, in which the state is seen as the legal embodiment of the society as a whole and thus should be protected above all. Internationally recognised boundaries are vital for the survival of a state and should thus be protected if necessary (Chinkin, 2005). However since the end of the Cold War, the notion of security had shifted, as state-security did not provide security for the people. The arms race between the USSR and the US that had nearly resulted in a humanitarian disaster by focussing only on the protection of the state. As a response, the United Nations introduced a new concept called human-security. This concept is defined by the Commission on Human Security as "to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment" (Ogata & Sen, 2003, p.4). It is important to point out that "all human lives" goes beyond only the lives of the states' citizens, but also encompasses the lives of people outside of this state. Human security is thus people-centred rather than state-centred, while visa and admission policies are a clear element of state-security. This makes visa and admission policies both a humanitarian and a political question.

2.1.3 CRITICAL GEOPOLITICS

Visa and admission policies are a political construct which is a result of and contributes to the moulding of space into place, into a territory with politically constructed boundaries. They are therefore inherently fixed to a geographical location and their development cannot be seen apart from this place. Geopolitics is a theory that combines these notions of politics and territory into a useful framework for understanding the relationship between the environment and foreign policy. There is no single internationally accepted definition of geopolitics, but the notions of power or politics and space or territory lie at the core of each definition. Cohen defines geopolitics as “the analysis of the interaction between, on the one hand, geographical settings and perspectives and, on the other hand, political processes. . . . Both geographical settings and political processes are dynamic, and each influences and is influenced by the other. Geopolitics addresses the consequences of this interaction.” (Cohen, 2003, p. 12). It is thus about the interplay between space and politics. In its original notion it was a framework for describing the competing over territory between different nation-states and the role of geography. In today's so called ‘new world order’ different versions of the ‘new-geopolitics’ are present, such as the geo-economic questions about globalisation and international trade, transnational problems like terrorism and eco-politics like global warming (Ó Tuathail et al., 1998, p.2). Migration too is part of this geopolitical list (Hyndman, 1997, p.243). Migration is being controlled through politics that are influenced by geography, and at the same time migration is the very part of geography that does influence politics . Hyndman uses the concept of ‘geopolitics of mobility’ to explain why borders are more open to financial humanitarian aid than to actual refugees (Hyndman, 1997). This means that not only migration, but also borders and thus visa are a product of geopolitics.

The problem with the conventional geopolitics is that it takes the political world order for granted. The knowledge that it generates is seen as the objective truth that can be used to unravel the secrets of the world. The North-South division is an example of this alleged objective structure that has been ‘discovered’, whereby the North is seen as the superior power. Every ‘discovery’ has been done by a person who has his or her own agenda, whether this is intentional or not. Knowledge is not objective, it's dependent on time, person and context. A new perspective thus came up that acknowledged the subjectivity of such knowledge and challenged the importance of the state. This perspective is called critical geopolitics and it “treats geopolitics as a discourse, as a culturally and politically varied way of describing, representing and writing about geography and international politics” (Ó Tuathail et al., 1998, p.3). Geopolitics thus creates its own truths but can never be equated with the truth. Visa policies are therefore not a result of geographical influences on political decision making, but rather the result of discourses or debates about these geographical influences. It is important to note that geography does not only refer to the physical environment, but also the human environment such as demographical elements.

2.1.4 FRAMING THEORIES

Whenever you try to grasp a concept, event or process by putting it into words, a selection has to take place, as spoken language is by definition a simplification of reality. This selection is subject to the individual person's perception of the world. In debates this selecting of reality takes place continuously, thus also in the debates concerning immigrants. In social and political theory, the concept of 'frames' has been developed to describe this process. Goffman was one of the first scholars who mentioned this concept, which he called 'primary frameworks'. He wrote that "Each primary framework allows its user to locate, perceive, identify and label a seemingly infinite number of occurrences defined in its terms" (Goffman, 1974, p.21). Frameworks thus allow us to make sense of the world. But how do frameworks work and why do they exist? According to Triandafyllidou and Fotiou already known patterns help us to order the world thus we tend to select those elements that are familiar to us (1998, par. 2.4). Previous events, the environment we grew up in, the concepts and norms that were thought us in our education, they all shape our own frameworks. Therefore the meaning of the world or a text is provided by the culture of the perceiver (Triandafyllidou & Fotiou, 1998, par. 2.4). The place where this person lives and the concepts and norms that are common to the society in the perceiver's surrounding thus do matter. It is also important to understand that framing, the projecting of a framework on a certain concept, does not take place in a vacuum. Instead there is a continuous interaction between frames and social, political and economic developments (Benford & Snow, 2000). This is why not only the micro (the person's surrounding), but also the meso (the country in which the person lives) and macro (the political structure of the European Union or even the world) level play a role.

Frames are the result of framing which happens through the projection of frameworks. They define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgements and suggest remedies to those problems (Kuypers et al., 2008, p.2). A frame is for example the portraying of immigrants as fortune hunters, as people who come here only to profit from the prosperity and thus should not be accepted in our society. But if frames result out of a person's view of the world, are frames then intentional or not? According to Goffman frames are unintentional, simply because they are a result of our culture that we cannot steer (van Hulst & Yanow, 2009, p.5). However other scholars, like Benford and Snow, argue that frames can be intentional. They say that because frames allow us to organise the world, they can also be deliberately used to guide action (Benford & Snow, 2000, p.614). This results in what they call 'collective action frameworks' and these frameworks are very important tactics for social movements. Frames can thus be both unintentional and intentional and may have a great influence on public life and perhaps even policies as frames can guide action.

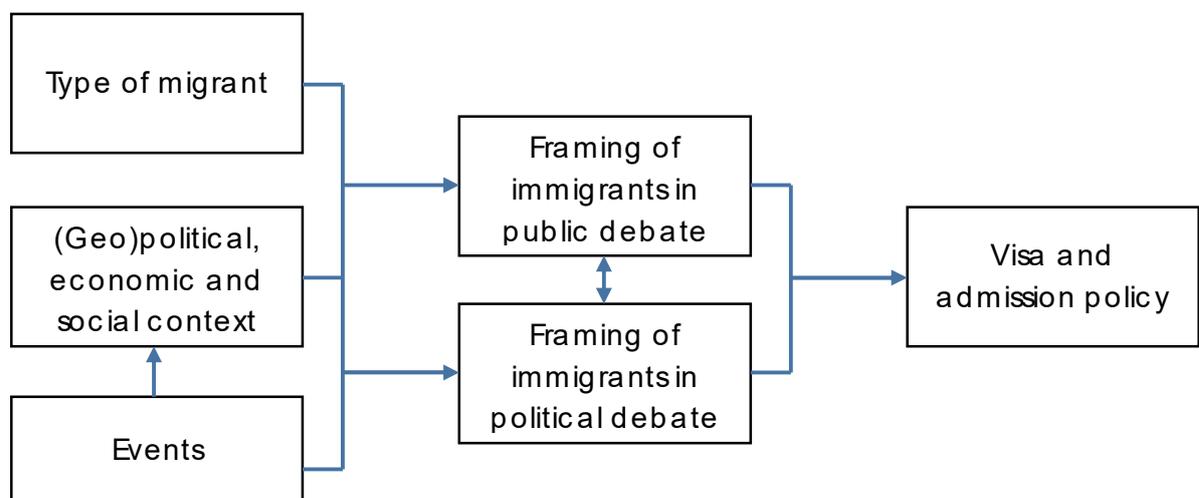
There are different framing techniques that can be used. Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) identify seven, namely the use of metaphors, stories, traditions, slogans, artefacts, contrasts and spins. Gamson & Modigliani (1989) add to this list the use of visual imaginary and Pedersen (2014) argues that the use of numbers can also be seen as a framing technique. But what do these framing techniques mean? Metaphors are very useful if you want to make a complex idea known to an audience by comparing it to something they can relate to and suggest they are similar. Stories are a technique to make a frame stick with the audience, by making it lively and memorable through repeatedly telling a personalised story. Traditions are rituals or ceremonies in which cultural habits give meaning to the concept. Slogans are catchy phrases that make the

frame memorable and repeatable. Artefacts are objects with an intrinsic symbolic value to symbolise the frame. Contrasts are used when the object or concept is described in terms of what it is not or placing it in direct opposition to another concept. The use of spins is the technique of deliberately placing the object or concept in a positive or negative light by distorting the facts while you know the opposite is true. People who do this are often called spin-doctors. Visual imagery are photographs, drawings or video images that gives the frame a 'face' and makes it thus more realistic and memorable. Lastly number rhetoric is used to amplify the significance of a certain point of view as it gives people an idea of the size of the concept. For a schematic overview of these techniques see table 1.

The analysing of frames is a particular useful tool within policy analysis. Triandafyllidou and Fotiou (1998) have used frame analysis to research the role of discourses of social movements and institutional actors in public policy making concerning the EU's environmental policy. According to them, frame analysis fills in the gap that the other analysis, such as the rational actor and pluralist paradigm, leave behind, namely they fail to explain why contradicting policies are often adopted (Triandafyllidou & Fotiou, 1998, par. 2.9). Frames, or the way certain types of immigrants are displayed in the public and political debates could provide a more conclusive answer than we would get if we would only look at the actual cost-benefit analysis, as the rational theorists would do, or the interplay and role of power between the different stakeholders, as the pluralists would do. As Triandafyllidou and Fotiou put it: "Frame analysis is concerned with the negotiation and (re)construction of reality by social/political actors through the use of symbolic tools." (Triandafyllidou & Fotiou, 1998, par. 1.1). This form of analysis could thus be used to research the influences of public and political debate concerning immigrants on visa and admission policies in the Netherlands and the EU.

2.2 CONCEPTUAL MODEL

Based upon the objective of this research, the above mentioned theoretical concepts and the research questions the following research-model can be conducted. This serves as a schematic view of the steps that need to be taken in order to reach the research objective (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007, p.19).



In this research the relationship between the political and public debates concerning immigrants and visa and admission policies is the key relationship. It is expected that visa and admission policies are, in a greater or lesser extent, influenced by the debates about immigrants. These debates take place both on the political level, thus the level of the Dutch parliament and senate and later the European parliament, and on the public level, meaning the debates that take place between the inhabitants of the Netherlands, civil society organisations and the immigrants themselves (see also §3.1). It is also likely that these levels of debates influence another, as the political level is influenced by the public debates through voting behaviour, and the public level is influenced by political debates through media attention.

Within these debates the framing of immigrants plays a central role, which can happen through the different framing techniques mentioned in the previous chapter: the use of metaphors, stories, traditions, slogans, artefacts, contrasts spins, numbers and visual imaginary (See also table 1). The use of these frames and techniques are not completely random, they follow from the type of migrant, the context and from certain events.

The type of migrant has an influence on the framing in the debates because the origin and reason of migration determine how people think and speak about the immigrant. People are often more attracted to and think more positive about migrants who are culturally and in physical appearance more related (Walters, 2006, p.149). It is like Tobler's first law of Geography: "everything is related to everything else, but near things are more related than distant things" (Tobler, 1970). But also their reason for migration plays a role in the framing that is placed upon them. For example people tend to have more empathy for migrants who flee from war or natural disasters than migrants who come here for better economic opportunities. Moreover individual migrants are almost always treated as part of bigger group which means that the ideas about that bigger group determine how people think and speak about that individual migrant.

As Benford and Snow have argued framing takes place in certain social, (geo)political and economic contexts (Benford & Snow, 2000). Framing cannot be seen apart from these contexts. These contexts are both structures and institutions, such as the political institution of the European Union and the economical capitalism structure, but also developments, such as an economic crisis or overpopulation. Contexts stay the same for years or change quickly, they can emerge gradually or arise out of an event.

Events are sudden, single and startling events that mark a change of course within the debates on short notice, and of the context in long term. An event is, unlike a contextual structure or development, an external factor which happens outside the system. That does not mean they happen in a vacuum, as they are highly dependent on the context, but it does mean that an external stimulus, like the actions of an individual or a natural phenomena is needed to make it happen. Examples are the 9/11 attacks or devastating floods.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 RESEARCH FOCUS

In this research the focus lies on the debates that have shaped the development of Dutch visa and admission policies and the use of the different framing-techniques within these debates. This focus thus contains three elements: the debates, the framing-(techniques) and the (Dutch) visa and admission policies. It also focuses on one geographical entity or locus: the Netherlands.

The term 'debate' can have different meanings, such as a neutral discussion or consideration of an issue or a firm dispute about something. In this research debate means the body of ways of speaking and thinking about the issue of migration. This can include disputes between different sides, but that does not necessarily have to be the case. Sometimes the word 'discourse' is used as a synonym, but this should not be confused with the Foucauldian notion of this term which considers discourse as the constitution of knowledge and social practices rather than only as a way of thinking (Weedon, 1987, p. 108). These discourses or debates are centralised around the question of granting permission for passage for different types of migrants. These debates can be placed in two categories: the political debates and the public debates. Political debates are those debates that are held on the political stage. This includes the debates that take place in both the national as well as the European parliament and the statements from individual politicians. The debates are considered political if they come from officially elected persons or governmental bodies that are ought to represent the country and are involved in policy-making. They are considered to be different from public debates. Public debates are held on the societal, rather than a political level. They are often less official because they are not written down in official statements nor are they directly meant for policy-making. They can have an influence on policy making because of the relationship between the political and public debates, as public debates can be adopted into political debates and vice versa. The category of public debates is quite broad, as it ranges from debates between citizens or immigrants on a very local level to debates from civil society organisations on the national and international level. Both the political and public debates are formed by frames about migrants, thus how the migrants are portrayed within these debates. The dominant frame determines the course of the debate and eventually the admission policy. Special focus lies therefore on the framing-techniques that are used within these debates to set a frame and determine the course of the debate.

The third focus lies on the Dutch admission policies, in particular visa policies. As described in §2.1.2 visa policies deal with two questions: who is obliged to apply for a visa and who is to be granted a visa after he has applied. The question of obligation is based upon someone's nationality, while the question of granting is based upon many different factors and risk assessments and is therefore decided beyond closed doors. Information on the decision making of who is granted a visa is not publicly available and therefore doing research about this question is difficult. In order to be able to say something about admission policies other forms of these admission policies, like residence permits, have been included in the research.

The locus of this research is the Netherlands. This country provides an interesting research-case as it both has excreted its own national visa and admission policies in the past and is now exerting the European Unions' visa policies. In this way both local, national and international influences can be uncovered. The Netherlands also has a rich history of immigration and dealing with migration-issues as it is has been a trading country for centuries. In the 19th century the

Netherlands had already implemented some kind of foreigners policies, which can be seen as the precursors of present-day visa policies. The introduction of the first foreigners policy in 1813 marks the beginning of the time-frame that has been chosen for this research.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design has been set up using the guidelines of the book 'Het ontwerpen van een onderzoek' by Verschuren and Doorewaard (2007). In line with their guide this paragraph starts by determining the research strategy followed by determining the research material. This paragraph ends with describing how this material has been collected and analysed.

This thesis is a qualitative research. Its aim is to provide an analysis about the influence of framing in public and political debates concerning immigrants on a country's visa and admission policy. This research thus explores the relationship between two phenomena, on the one hand the framing of immigrants in debates and on the other hand visa and admission policies. Those relationships are not quantifiable as this research centres around the question 'how?' which implies a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach. This research is also broad-based rather than in-depth because it is focussed upon developments over a longer time period concerning different types of migrants. The use of a broad-based approach makes it possible to compare different time periods and different migration regimes with each other and to learn lessons from this for the future. This improves the external validity, the possibility to generalise, but it reduces the internal validity, as the lack of depth makes it hard to prove there is a cause-effect between the debates and the visa and admission policies. You can only establish the existing of a relationship but not its nature.

The research strategy of this thesis is desk-research. A desk-research is characterised by the use of existing material which means that the researcher itself does not go into the field to collect data. However the existing material must be used to produce new insights (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007, p.201). In this case desk-research is suitable because no new data is needed; existing pieces of information can be used to create a historical overview and by comparing different periods and migration regimes new knowledge can be generated. Desk-research consists of two variants which are both used in this research. On the one hand it uses literature research in order to produce the theoretical framework and to be able to explain how visa and admission policies and debates emerge. On the other hand secondary research is used whereby among other things news articles are analysed to distinguish debates, frames and framing-techniques.

In this research there are three research objects, namely the political debate concerning immigrants, the public debate concerning immigrants and the visa or admission policies. This research thus does not focus on persons or individuals but on processes of the forming of debates and the forming of visa and admission policies and their relationship. In order to analyse these processes, two types of information are needed. First existing knowledge is needed to learn more about the operation of these processes: what are visa and admission policies and how do they emerge? How do debates emerge? Etc. This form of knowledge is particularly useful for the theoretical framework but it will also be used in the analytical chapters to explain the processes. Second, data sources are needed to collect the desired information concerning the factors that lead to a certain debate, the debate itself, the framing and the framing-techniques used in the

debates, the visa and admission policies, etc. In order to collect both these types of information different sources have been used.

An important information-source for this research is the media. This is a broad concept that is subdivided in different types of research material (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007, p.221). In this research one of the primary sources has been (online accessible) news articles which have been used to distinguish the political and public debates as well as the framing-techniques used to shape these debates. News articles are one of the few sources that are able to provide information about the public debate, especially when we go back in time where other more personal media channels such as Facebook did not exist. However it is the question to what extent newspaper articles are a good reflection of the public as a whole. There are people who believe that the media or newspapers are actors on their own (see for example: Page, 1996; Cook, 2006). In order to understand the debates that are at stake within society, it would have been better to use surveys and polls. However this would be too time consuming given the broad-based approach and because this research covers multiple time periods it is not possible to conduct such a method. Newspaper articles provide the best alternative, especially because framing-techniques are most clearly visible in newspapers as they are meant to convey information to the public in an understandable way. However caution is needed as not every article is valid, the media is a mass channel that can be used by everybody with or without sufficient knowledge about the subject. If someone writes down his or her opinion it doesn't necessarily need to be shared by more people. Another disadvantage of this type of information-source is the fact that news articles do not go far back in time, at least not the available online databases. Complementing this source with documents and literature provides a solution to this problem.

Documents are similar to media but they differ in the fact that they have a clear addressing while the media is meant for the public as a whole (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007, p.224). The types of documents used in this thesis are research reports about migration in the Netherlands, statistics from databases like CBS about migration, asylum request and the population, laws and regulations in the field of visa and admission policies in the Netherlands and Europe and speech-texts of political parties. Documents like these are often publicly available (with the exception of documents on the decision-making of visa policies) and they have as extra advantage that they could date from further back in history than news articles can. Especially if we speak about laws and regulations as they are well preserved.

Lastly literature has been used to provide the theoretical framework of this research and as a knowledge source to be able to explain the relationships in the results chapters and to be able to place them within a context. However literature has also served as a data source. The book 'Tussenland: Illegaal in Nederland, 1945 – 2000' by Corrie van Eijl (2012) provided the basis for the structure of this research, to the extent that it gave the format of the different migration regimes. Next to this there is also other literature used as data sources, such as the book by Laarman (2013) which provides an excellent analysis of the debates and framing of post-colonial migrants. By using both literature, documents and media, source-triangulation is applied in order to improve the validity of this research.

Once the data sources were known two different ways of obtaining the information from these sources have been used, namely the use of search engines and content analysis. To find relevant literature the online search engines of the University Library and Google Scholar have

been used. This has been complemented with the so called snowball principle whereby new literature is found by looking at the bibliography of already collected literature. To find documents the search engine Google has been used as well as the search systems on the websites of relevant organisations like the COA. To find law and regulations the online database weten.overheid.nl has been used for Dutch law and eur-lex.europa.eu for European law. To find relevant numbers on migration and visa the online database Statistics Netherlands (CBS) has been used. Lastly the selecting of newspaper articles went via the online academic newspaper database LexisNexis or via the search engines on the websites of the big newspapers in the Netherlands like the Volkskrant. Once the relevant sources had been found content analysis has been applied to analyse them. This happened on the basis of a qualitative content analysis, in which the debates, frames, framing-techniques, the social, economic and political context and the events have been distinguished. For an overview per migration regime see the schemas in the appendix.

4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF VISA AND ADMISSION POLICIES

This chapter focuses on the development of the visa and admission policies since 1813 until the early 2000's and the framing of immigrants in political and public debates that have played a role. The development of visa and entrance policies will be described and analysed by distinguishing the geopolitical, economic and social context and events that have influenced the development of these policies. Next to this the debates that have shaped these policies will be analysed, including the techniques that have been used to frame immigration in both political and public debates, and the relationships between these debates. The context, debates and framing(techniques) per migration regime are summarised into schemas that can be found in the appendix.

It is set up more or less chronologically and starts with a general introduction in the first legislations concerning foreigners. After that four major immigration regimes are being distinguished that have formed the visa policies of the Netherlands: the World Wars refugee regime, the post-colonial migrant regime, the guest worker regime and the asylum seeker regime. Each of those four regimes is followed by an analysis of political and public debates including the role of framing. This chapter ends with a paragraph about the emergence of the European Union, and the standardization of the European Unions' visa policy, which has a great influence on present-day visa policies (see chapter 5).

4.1 THE FIRST LEGISLATIONS CONCERNING FOREIGNERS

The Netherlands has a rich history concerning immigrants. The Dutch have always been known for their intensive international trade, which led to arrival of many foreign traders. In the 17th century, it became a safe haven for many philosophers, artists and writers, who came to live here in order to practice their profession freely. However as the Netherlands never formed a unified political entity, every region exerted their own policies concerning the entrance of foreigners. Most of the time these policies were very tolerant, as the international trade and lively intellectual and cultural life due to the many foreigners brought prosperity to the regions and led to the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic. However when William I became Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands in 1813, he unified the Kingdom of the Netherlands, including current Belgium, and started to exert a national policy. This is what Balibar calls the 'territorialisation of space' whereby a monopolistic state power homogenises a space by determining its boundaries and policies (Balibar, 2009, p.192). This resulted in the introduction of the passport and the first official legislation concerning the entrance of foreigners by passports and visas from 1813. This legislation was called the 'Decision abolishing domestic passports and other regulatory provisions regarding domestic and foreign passports' and it states that:

“Foreigners, who arrive in this country, shall submit the passports which they own to the visa of the Secretary of State, and they will not be able to continue before it is ascertained in the same manner to where they wish to travel.”

So if one wishes to travel to the Netherlands, one had to show his or her passport which then would be checked through a 'visa' system executed by the Secretary of State. Unfortunately it is unclear what was exactly meant by this 'visa' thus which criteria were being applied by the Secretary of State, but it is clear that the traveller had to explain his or her final destination in order to be able to continue. This article still forms the basis for current visa policies.

Not just the contents of the article but also the introduction of the legislation tells us much about the origin of visa policies. This legislation starts by stating that it has been drafted in accordance with "the security of the state" and "what the good order demands". In this way, William I could control his territory, by highlighting the importance of border control for state-security. This focus on state-security rather than human-security has been at the core of visa policies ever since.

In 1849 another legislation was introduced, that complemented the previous one in terms of what criteria were being applied for the entrance of foreign travellers. This Foreigners law stated that foreigners could only enter if they carried a valid passport, could sustain themselves and did not pose a threat to the Dutch society. However a 'valid passport' seemed a quite broad concept. This law states that a passport is valid when (a) it is issued by government of the country to which the foreigner belongs, (b) it is countersigned by a Dutch diplomat or consular agent for the journey and when (c) it is not expired. But also other travel documents would suffice, and even when the foreigner did not have a travel document, he could still enter if he provided a proof of identity and made clear from where he came and where he wanted to go to (Vreemdelingenwet, 1849). The law was also not clear about what it meant to 'pose a threat to the Dutch society'. But more importantly, the law was mainly focussed upon the rights of the state to refuse the entrance or to evict a foreigner rather than the rights of the foreigner to enter and stay. This again shows the importance of state-security above human-security.

However this law was not strictly observed. There were not many border controls, and the border controls that existed did not prevent many foreigners from entering (CGM (a), n.d.). There was not enough manpower and the administrative control mechanisms fell short due to incompleteness of the population register. That did not mean everyone had the same opportunities to enter the Netherlands. While most people in the 19th century could cross the border without much difficulty there were two groups for whom the borders were much more closed, namely the poor and the gypsies (CGM (a), n.d.). The rejection of the first group seems like a logical step from an economic state perspective, even though it doesn't mean that it is justified. The second group is characterised by its own narrative in which religion also played a political role. In the beginning of the nineteenth century religion still remained central in society, and there was no strong division between state and church. The gypsies were associated with heathen practices and therefore the government wanted them to disappear. The Government thus created the narrative that they were parasites living off the rural population (Lucassen, 1991, p.82). In this way, they would 'pose a threat to Dutch society' and could therefore be rejected according to the Foreigners Law.

4.2 WORLD WARS REFUGEE REGIME

In the beginning of the 20th century the policies became stricter, especially after World War One. The Netherlands maintained a neutral position during this war and thus became a possible safe haven for many war refugees, especially for German Jews. The government enforced the civil service and the police forces and announced that foreigners had to have a valid passport and a visa, after years of flexible policies (CGM (a), n.d.). They also introduced a new legislation: The Foreigners Regulation of 1918. From then on, foreigners had to report themselves to the local police within twenty-four hours and they were issued an Identity card which they always had to carry with them (CGM (a), n.d.). Article six of the Foreigners Regulation states that the person has to give all information regarding not only his nationality or means of living, but also his previous military relationship with a foreign power (Vreemdelingenreglement, 1918, p.2). The latter marks the beginning of including questions about relationships as a criteria on which to issue a visa or not.

Not only in the Netherlands but in the whole of Europe visa systems were set up to control the large flow of refugees and return immigrants during and after the wars. These refugees were not only a direct result of the war itself, but also because of the new world order that arose after peace was signed. The concept of 'self-determination' became important, which meant the emergence of new states but also new groups of people that did not belong in these new states according to the governments and thus became refugees (Martin, 2014, p.48). Because of these transnational problems more international cooperation between countries all over the world, and this idea became embodied in the League of Nations. The League of Nations wanted, amongst other things, to establish a common passport and visa system, both for security and economic recovery reasons (Martin, 2014, p.46). It believed in free trade and enhanced relationships between the countries as a cure for the conflicts in the world. It set out a guideline for the use and form of passports, such as the use of a photograph and the layout of the document. The League also lay out the core structure of the world's visa system: in 1922 it was decided that visa agreements would be bilateral, rather than multilateral and that the receiving rather than the sending country had to make an evaluation of the traveller, through the use of visa policies (Salter & Mutlu, 2010, p.3). The reason for this decision was that travel was seen as an issue of low-politics (Bigo, 2016, p.116). However as the European Union shows this issue would later become one of high-politics whereby the agreements would be made multilateral rather than bilateral.

This visa system was meant to be a temporary measure that would be discarded as soon as things were settled down. Around 1920 that seemed to be the case, as most refugees had left the country and the number of countries that required visas declined. In 1926 Germany was removed from the list, but other East-European countries remained on the list, such as Poland and Chechnya (CGM (a), n.d.). However the political unrest in Germany during the interbellum and the second World War brought again many German-Jewish refugees along and strong admission policies revived again. Refugees were only allowed to enter if they had relatives in the Netherlands or if their situation was life-threatening, but that didn't include the concentration camps (Pauwels, 2015). The infamous Kristallnacht led to a reversal in the Dutch attitude because people were shocked by the violence that was exposed that night and as a result the

government decided to take on several thousand Jewish refugees (Pauwels, 2015). However this was short-lived and soon the borders were closed again.

The refusal of entrance for war refugees shows us that the Netherlands was more closed than ever. During the first World War the country too had dealt with an influx of refugees, mainly from Belgium, but it had not implemented such a strict and central border policy (Leenders, 1998, p.224). Refugees back then were admitted unconditionally, which is in sharp contrast with the German-Jewish refugees of the 1930s. It also marks the beginning of refusing visa applications on the basis of status, namely being a (Jewish) refugee. However even though the policies had become stricter on paper, the implementation did not live up to these new criteria. There were not enough guards to control the borders and once the refugees got in, often with the help of Dutch citizens that had set up whole networks of hiding places, the risk of being expelled from the country was quite small.

The suffering of the Jewish refugees led to an international awareness that something needed to be done about their rights. Not only the Netherlands but also other neighbouring countries kept their borders closed and as a result the refugees had nowhere to go. A new international law had to be made to prevent this from happening again. In 1951 one of the most important international documents concerning the entrance of refugees was signed in Geneva: the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. This document was signed by the members from the United Nations including the Netherlands. From then on, the Dutch government could not reject refugees as defined in article 1a that applied for asylum. The convention (1951, p.14) defines a refugee as:

“any person who as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.”

A person thus had to be under immediate danger if he or she would return to his or her country. Therefore this person could not be sent back and had to be accepted by the country in which he or she applied for asylum. However this convention only applied to people who had become refugees due to events that had happened before 1 January 1951. Therefore a new agreement had been written in 1967 that included all events, regardless of the date. This agreement was called the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. These two documents mark a shift in the way refugees are being treated by states and it is the first time that countries made agreements about admission policies in a multilateral rather than unilateral way.

4.2.1 REFUGEES AS UNDESIRABLE FOREIGNERS

One of the main political debates that led to the strong admission policies was the neutrality-debate; the politicians feared that they would affront the Germans if they would welcome the refugees with open arms (Pauwels, 2015). The Dutch had managed to maintain a neutral position in the first World War and had seen the devastating effects of involvement in other countries. They feared that there would be spies amongst the Jewish refugees that could jeopardize the Dutch' neutral position. In political debate refugees were therefore framed as possible spies and a threat to public order (Huiskes, 1999, p.14).

The admmissive attitude towards the Jewish refugees was also determined by the socio-economic debate. As the government has begun to play a much larger role in the socio-economic sphere, it had started to shift from a night-watchman state, in which the state had little influence on socio-economic life, towards a welfare state, in which the state provides many services for its population (Lucassen, 2002, p.114). The Roman Catholic State Party and the Social Democratic Workers' Party were the two biggest parties in parliament and they were both strongly committed to providing welfare to every group in society. That meant they felt like they had to protect their newly found welfare system and war refugees were seen as a threat to that system. The economic recession that had started in 1934 had brought much unemployment and people had complained about migrants taking away jobs from the local community (van Eijl & Schrover, 2002, p.17). In May 1938 the Dutch government decided that refugees had to be seen as "an undesirable element for the Dutch society and are therefore to be considered as an undesirable foreigner" (Van Eijl & Schrover, 2002, p.17). By labelling refugees as undesirable it became easier for the guards to refuse them at the border, and they were even allowed to expel them.

If the migrants still did enter the Netherlands they were being termed as illegal by the politicians. However the tone of this illegality-debate changed. During the war more and more people sympathized with the illegal refugees, as the term illegal was being associated with the resistance against the German invader (van Eijl, 2012, p.24). Illegality thus had a positive connotation and so had the refugees there were being labelled as 'illegal'. The people that did not agree with the policies tried to provide help on their own, but it was mainly the Dutch Jewish community that provided a strong base on which refugees could rely and which provided the welcoming gesture of the Dutch society. The Dutch Jewish community also participated actively in the political debate inter alia through the founding of a committee that lobbied for more flexible admission policies (CGM (b), n.d.).

The contribution to the public debate from other groups in the society remained quite small for different reasons. Migration did not get that much attention, mainly because of the limited size of the media (van Eijl, 2012, p.47). The media that did exist fell in German hands later and became censored. In general information on topics like migration was only available in small numbers, especially if you lived outside the big cities and were not confronted with migration and the refugees itself. Migration was thus both in reality and in the debates limited to the areas where the migrants did actually come. This were often the border areas and cities like Amsterdam, but not the rural areas. The Dutch inhabitants were also too much occupied by other problems, like the economic recession and high numbers of unemployment. Next to this the threat of the German invasion made them long for a strong government. This government should focus foremost on protecting the country against the invaders. Its ideas about immigration were subordinate to its capacity to keep the country out of German hands (Langeveld, 2005).

4.3 POSTCOLONIAL MIGRATION REGIME

The aftermath of the World Wars did not only encompass the displacement of many refugees but also to the process of decolonization which is characterised by political and social unrest as different groups battled over power. This led to an influx of migrants from former colonial countries and made this period become known as the postcolonial migration regime. Within this regime there are two major immigrant groups: the Indonesians and the Surinamese.

4.3.1 INDONESIANS: SPIJTOPTANTEN AND MAATSCHAPPELIJKE NEDERLANDERS

The arrival of migrants from Indonesia started in 1945, when Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed the independence of Indonesia, after the capitulation of Japan. Many Indonesians left the country, because they feared or didn't agree with the new regime (Oostindie et al., 2011, p.255). There was much political unrest in the country, because the Dutch tried to maintain their influence and performed 'politieele acties'. It is estimated that around 300.000 Indonesians migrated to the Netherlands during the postcolonial period (Oostindie et al., 2011, p. 254). But why were these people more likely to be able to cross the border than other migrants? Because of the colonial relationship with the Netherlands they had a special position within the Dutch-judicial system. But this position did not count for every Indonesian resident. The majority of the immigrants was part of the juridical category 'European', which meant that they were either Dutch-born citizens or offspring of Eurasian-mixed families. This group was often termed 'returnees', even though some of them had never been in the Netherlands (Oostindie et al., 2011, p.255). A smaller part of the immigrants were Moluccan soldiers who had fought in the KNIL, the royal Dutch-Indonesian army. The third group were the Chinese-Indonesians who were often higher-educated and had the same rights as the 'Europeans'. Which meant that they had free access to the Netherlands. The last group was the Papuan people, who fled Papua New Guinea after the country was handed over to Indonesia (Oostindie et al., 2011, p.255). However, the majority of Indonesian residents was labelled as 'inlander' thus 'native' and wasn't able to get a visa for the Netherlands.

Even though the Dutch could not refuse the Indo-Europeans because they owned the Dutch nationality, they still tried to discourage the migration. And if the Indo-Europeans came to the Netherlands, they tried to encourage them to migrate to countries like Australia and South-Africa (Laarman, 2013, p.56). The Netherlands thus had to become a transit port for migrants. This is characteristic for the creed that prevailed throughout the twentieth century, and perhaps even into the twenty-first century: "The Netherlands is not an immigration country!" (Hoppe, 1993, p.88).

After the proclamation of independence the Dutch who lived in Indonesia could choose whether they wanted to hold the Dutch or Indonesian nationality. Some of them choose the Indonesian nationality but later regretted their or their parents' decision. These people were called 'spijtoptanten' and wanted to migrate to the Netherlands, alongside another group called the 'Maatschappelijke Nederlanders'. This last group were Indonesian people who had never been to the Netherlands but who had such strong connections with the former Dutch population that they were seen as a part of that group (van Eijl, 2012, p.39). Their connection made it easier for them to adapt to the Dutch culture, which was one of the criteria on which the government

issued visas and residence permits, but reality showed that they had less chance to get a visa because of their skin-colour (van Eijl, 2012, p.39).

4.3.1.1 FAMILY AND FRIENDS

The admission policies for the Indonesian migrants, was mainly influenced by the public 'spijtoptanten'-debate. Within this debate the family metaphor as framing technique has often been used. Laarman (2013, p.75 – 100) has done extensive research about the use of this metaphor and argues that it has been the legacy of the colonial period. Within the debates about the admission of Indonesian migrants it is used to emphasize the biological kinship from spijtoptanten and thus their claim for the Dutch citizenship and admission. Moreover it also functioned as a measure to form a unit within the Dutch nation but at the same time to apply hierarchy (Laarman, 2013, p.78). After all, the Netherlands had to be seen as the 'motherland', embodied in Queen Juliana, the government as the 'father' and the spijtoptanten as returning 'children' who were welcome but had to listen and adapt themselves to the wishes of the mother and the father. The use of the family metaphor didn't meant that the us-them thinking had subsided, the migrants were still seen as different and of a lesser sort. This was also the result of old colonial patterns of thought: everything that was considered Eastern, as opposed to Western, was seen as less (Laarman, 2013, p.100). It is remarkable that this metaphor was also used for Dutch-Indonesian migrants that had never been to the Netherlands before (Laarman, 2013, p. 80). The metaphor was thus being used for the spijtoptanten and the Maatschappelijke Nederlanders, but not for the other categories of Indonesians, as it was believed they had no relationship with the Dutch and the Dutch culture at all.

This metaphor was mainly used in the public debate and particularly by newspapers. Next to the metaphor in general, they used story telling as a specific framing technique. Their articles were filled with drama stories about Dutch-Indonesian families living in poor conditions and in social isolation but if they would be helped and welcomed by the Netherlands everything would be all right (Laarman, 2013, p.82). By using these stories they criticized the closed-door policies of the Dutch government and they hoped to mobilise the society to provide help and a welcoming hand towards these migrants. They pointed out that the Netherlands had a debt of honour to the spijtoptanten and that they had double standards, as they did allow guest workers to enter (Laarman, 2013, p.84). The political debate however still focussed on the perceived threat of these migrants. They feared that the arrival of these migrants would put too much pressure on the housing market and the carrying capacity of the society. In order to emphasize their point they used numbers about the size of the migrant group, both realistic and un-realistic (Laarman, 2013, p.83). In this way they could justify their policies that remained quite restrictive, despite the efforts from the public debate.

There was another political debate that has had a noteworthy influence in the general debates concerning colonial migrants in the second half of the 20th century; the duty of honour debate concerning the Moluccans. Moluccans were not described in the terms of the family-metaphor but they had another special relationship with the Netherlands. They were seen as strong and brave soldiers without whom the extension of the Kingdom would not have been possible. According to the opposition the Netherlands thus owed the Mollucans and they were therefore praised and considered as 'friends' (Laarman, 2013, p.107). But also their religion created a bond, as they were Christians in contrast to most Indonesians who were Islamic. This debate was thus mainly characterised by the use of the friend-metaphor. The government

however did not want them to come to the Netherlands, partly as they hoped that they could maintain some influence in the former colony through this group (Laarman, 2013, p.107). On the other hand the Moluccans were considered as Eastern and thus less able to adapt than spijtoptanten and Maatschappelijke Nederlanders. But as they were not welcome in the new independent Indonesia they came to the Netherlands anyway. In public debates they were therefore referred to as guests, like the guest-workers, which emphasized their temporary stay. But they were never welcomed with open arms, which resulted in conflicts with as nadir the train hijacking in 1977.

4.3.2 SURINAMESE: RETURN MIGRATION PROTOCOL AND THE DELAYED VISA SYSTEM

The post-colonial migration regime is not only marked by the immigration from the former Indonesian colony in the 1940s' and 1950s', but also later by the immigration from Surinam, which became independent in 1975. In the beginning, emigration to the Netherlands was the privilege of the elite, which were mostly Creole students and the higher-educated population (van Amersfoort & Bilderdijk, 1999, p.241). The Netherlands provided opportunities to proceed in study and career that were not available in Surinam. Later the rest of the Creole population migrated to the Netherlands, followed by the Hindustan population in the beginning of the 1970's, starting again as an elite-migration (van Amersfoort & Bilderdijk, 1999, p.241). However it was not until 1975 that the migration grew exponentially.

The Dutch parliament tried to prevent Surinamese from coming and encouraged them to return by saying that the Netherlands wasn't their home, that they would be better off in Surinam and that their country needed them (Jones, 2007, p. 251 – 253). The borders would be kept open as long as Surinam provided an active return migration policy. Surinam therefore developed the Return Migration Protocol of 1976 which stated that they were welcome in Suriname and that the Dutch government would pay for the expenses they had to make for travelling back (Bakker et al., 1998, p.165). Despite this policy not many Surinamese returned. In fact, the number of immigrants grew because many refugees came to the Netherlands between 1982 and 1988 as a result of the deteriorated political climate in the former colony (Jones, 2007, p.255-256). Another reason why not many people returned was because the Surinamese population regarded them as traitors and did not want them to come back (Mügge, 2010, p.131). They feared that if they would return, so would the Dutch influence over the country. If return migrants had political ambitions, they had to give up their Dutch nationality in order to claim a political position. Giving up their Dutch nationality also meant giving up their Dutch rights, including the right to travel freely to the Netherlands and many other countries. The Dutch passport provides an entrance to the rest of Europe and other parts of the world that remain closed to holders of the Surinamese passport.

The Dutch government wanted Surinam to become independent, partly as a result of the growing pressure both from within and from the international community, but mainly because the government wanted to control the migration (van Amersfoort & Bilderdijk, 1999, p.242). By making Surinam independent, it would be easier for the government to control their entrance by using the visa system. As long as Surinam was part of the kingdom, it was a lot more difficult to deny them access. However as both the Surinam and Dutch government didn't make any plans to facilitate the administrative transition, including plans for the nationality policy, the decision had a

reversed effect especially in the following years (van Amersfoort & Bilderdijk, 1999, p.242 - 243). Because everyone knew the independence would soon become reality, while the policies concerning the nationalities and visa restrictions would take longer, many Surinamese suddenly started to migrate before their travel could be restricted. After 1980 the nationality policy was completed, so the migration could be controlled through visa (van Amersfoort & Bilderdijk, 1999, p.243). However because so many Surinamese already migrated to the Netherlands, many Surinamese could still enter the Netherlands because of chain migration and family reunion. They provided a way in for many Surinamese, both legal and illegal. They are what Böcker calls “Bruggenhoofden”, meaning they are the stepping stones for new immigrants (Böcker, 1992).

4.3.2.1 THE FLOOD AND THE PROMISED LAND

But why did the Dutch government want to impose a visa requirement on Surinamese? There were two types of discourses that played a role; the negative discourses about the Surinamese population itself and the discourses about the migration of this group in general. Laarman (2013, p.149 - 157) has done research about the discourses regarding Surinamese in the Netherlands and says that both race, gender and class determined the way society thought about them. When lower-educated mostly black Afro-Surinamese people started to migrate to the Netherlands, they became the synonym for the ‘Surinamer’ in public debates, even though the migrants were not one homogeneous group. Because of the skin colour but also the socio-economic position they were often seen as inferior. Around the 1960s’ they became associated with criminality, mainly due to negative coverage in the newspapers about robberies and alleged pimp practices. Stories about girls being sexually assaulted were being told and repeated to reinforce this stereotype. This fed the general idea that they were a threat for society and were not able to adapt to the Dutch moral standard. It is important to note that this negative image was only ascribed to male Surinamese, while women often stayed out of the picture. The (male) Surinamer was framed as a hypersexual and violent person from whom Dutch women had to be kept away in both the public and the political criminality debate.

The debates about migration of Surinamese as a whole were mainly focused on the fear of overpopulation and was marked by the use of metaphors as a framing technique: the water metaphor and the exodus metaphor (Laarman, 2013, p. 170). The water metaphor finds its origin in the Netherlands’ oldest enemy; the so called ‘water wolf’. For centuries the Dutch had to prevent the country from flooding, by building dykes and using other flood defence strategies. In the 70’s media and politics started to use terms like ‘wave’, ‘stream’ and ‘flooding’ to describe the arrival of immigrants. By using such an image the ‘threat’ was being emphasized as it appealed strongly to the Dutch population. However even though the migration of Surinamese was sizable in absolute numbers, it was still small in relative numbers. Between 1970 and 1981 the Surinamese community in the Netherlands grew from 30.000 to 165.000 while the total population of the Netherlands counted more than 14 million people in 1981 (Statistics Netherlands, 2015). This means that only 1,2% of the Dutch population was from Surinamese origin and even in the largest cities the percentage of Surinamese immigrants stayed around or below 1%. The idea of a ‘flood of migrants’ thus seemed to exist mainly in the minds of people, rather than in reality. Seen from a Surinamese perspective the use of the water metaphor ‘draining’ did make more sense, as approximately one third of the total population lived in the Netherlands around 1981 (Oostindie, 2011, p.258).

The exodus metaphor was mainly used to emphasise the irreversible effect of non-restricted migration. Exodus is the title of second book of the old testament. It refers to the story of the Israeli people whom were repressed by the Egyptians, and their flight towards the promised land of Canaan, a land of prosperity. In the media and politics the Surinamese immigrants were the Israeli people and the Netherlands was portrayed as the 'promised land' (Laarman, 2013, p.171). Once the immigrants would come here, they would not return as they would not want to go back to repression. The migration of these colonial migrants was framed as irreversible which implied that migration restrictions had to be implemented soon.

4.4 GUEST WORKERS REGIME

Migrants from former colonies weren't the only group that came to the Netherlands in the post-war period. In fact there is one group of immigrants that provides a constant influx of immigrants to the country: migrants that come to the Netherlands for work. Labour migrants is a broad category, as it contains plumbers, maids, sailors and even top managers. Within this category there's one specific group that has had a great influence on Dutch immigration debates and policies in the second half of the 20th century, namely guest workers. They are immigrants that came to the Netherlands on invitation of companies or the state to work for them. In the beginning of the 20th century a couple of Poles, Germans, Italians and Slovenians were recruited to work in the coalmines of Limburg. However their numbers stayed relatively low and they only remained in the southern part of the Netherlands. Since 1948 guest workers were recruited in large numbers, in the beginning from South-European countries such as Spain and Italy, and later from Turkey and Morocco. After the war had ended there was a great economic uplifting, which was the result of fast industrialisation. This meant that many low skilled workers were needed, but these could not be found in the Netherlands for several reasons. First of all, young men had died during the war or had been sent away to defend the Dutch East Indies. Others had been encouraged by active emigration policies of the Dutch government to move Canada, the United States or Australia. Moreover the Dutch, of whom many were getting more and more educated, did not want to do such work against low wages (Trappenburg, 2003, p.5). As a result companies had to find their workers elsewhere.

The politics concerning these guest workers was not unambiguously, inter alia as a result of the supposed temporary character of this type of migration (van der Brug et al., 2009, p.6). Therefore the Dutch government conducted a dual-track policy, they focussed on integration but while maintaining the identity of the immigrants in order to make sure that they would and could return soon (Trappenburg, 2003, p.6). This fits with the idea of the Netherlands as a multicultural and tolerant society, while still making sure that the Netherlands was not an immigration country. This could be seen as a form of denial, which explains why the government did not impose strict visa policies in the first period of this regime. Another explanation for the lack of policies is that the Netherlands probably felt no need, as the start of new European partnerships in that period of time enlarged the labour pool (see §4.6). From the 1960s and onwards the Dutch government changed their policies and started to regulate the recruitment of labour migrants by making bilateral agreements with countries (Zorlu & Hartog, 2002, p.121). These countries were Italy, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Greece, Morocco, Yugoslavia and Tunisia. In 1967 the Netherlands also renewed the Foreigners Law, 120 years after the previous one. This new law stated that

immigrants could be refused a residence permit 'in the public interest' even if there were no objections towards the migrant himself (van Eijl, 2012, p.50-51). This meant that the argument of 'overpopulation' could now be used to prevent immigrants from settling. However this was not the only change that was made in the law, they also introduced different categories of residence permits. There were temporary permits, for people who did stay up until six months and permits with limited duration which depended on the goal of immigration, thus for example if a guest migrant had a work contract for a year he got a residence permit for a year as well. Next to this there were also residence permits for unlimited time, residence permits especially for migrants and residence permits for special groups, such as the family members of immigrants (van Eijl, 2012, p.51). The Foreigners Law however did not state that immigrants who did not have a residence permit had to be deported. It was not until 1966 that an addition to this Law, the Foreigners Decree, made this possible. This decree stated that foreigners who wanted to reside in the Netherlands for more than three months had to apply for a visa, a so called 'machtiging tot voorlopig verblijf' (mvv). Without this mvv they could not enter the Netherlands (van Eijl, 2012, p.51). The migrants who came from countries with which the Netherlands already had a visa agreement did not need this mvv, such as Turkey and Morocco, but in 1968 this visa became also obligatory for these recruitment countries under the pressure of the Benelux (van Eijl, 2012, p.52).

The recruitment policy of the government stopped during the oil crisis in 1973 due to economic downturn and the accompanying loss of jobs. The guest workers were no longer needed and became a burden in the eyes of the government, as the unemployment rates among this group grew. However immigration from the former recruitment countries did not stop as it was featured by follow-up immigration especially family reunification and formation (Bijwaard, 2010, p.1216). Six years later the government imposed a prohibition on the recruitment of guest workers outside the EEC, with the implementation of the Law on Foreign Workers from 1979. From then on, labour migrants could only enter the Netherlands if they had a partner that could provide a decent income, if they were student from a country with which there were bilateral agreements, or if they belonged to the top managers or top athletes according to the Law on Foreign Workers (Zorlu & Hartog, 2002, p.124). Reality showed that as the policies became stricter immigration did not necessarily stop, but the number of undocumented economic migrants grew (Zorlu & Hartog, 2002, p.11).

4.4.1 GUESTS AND RACISM

The label "guest worker" itself implies that these migrants are temporarily and on invitation. In that way the politicians made clear from the beginning that those migrants would only stay for a couple of years and could easily be sent back home; a guest is expected to leave when the host asks him to. As soon as the prohibition on the recruitment of guest workers was imposed the politicians stopped using this term, they were no longer invited guests after all.

In the early years there were thus no strong negative political and public debates about the arrival of guest workers, as they were seen as a solution to a problem and as a temporary measure. After the oil crisis and the economic recession the mood changed and the slogan "The Netherlands is not and should not be an immigration country" appeared in official policy statements and documents, such as the 'Memorandum Foreign Workers' (1969 - 1970). This slogan has been adopted into the public debate as well. People felt that they were stealing their

jobs (“banenpikkers”) and living off their backs. From then on, guest workers were being framed as “benefit recipients” rather than a valuable workforce. Therefore restrictive immigration criteria could be implemented without much resistance (Bruquetas-Callejo et al, 2007).

Even though the Netherlands took such a strong stand concerning the entrance of immigrants it could not at the same time surrender itself to nationalism. Multiculturalism had been at the heart of the society ever since the beginning of the 20th century with the development of ‘verzuiling’ (pillarization) in which the society was divided into different religious groups, the figurative pillars that together supported the roof, representing the society as a whole. One had to respect the different religions and groups for if he would not the roof would collapse. The same could be said for ethnic groups. With the arrival of guest workers many new ethnicities came along and the multicultural debate became more important than ever. The adopting of a national identity, including a closed border policy, was regarded with suspicion as it would not fit the Dutch tolerant culture but also because the guilt concerning the treatment of different ethnicities in the former colonies had not been washed away. There was a political taboo on political statements that had anything to do with racism (Fennema, 2009, p.7-8). However there was one politician, Hans Janmaat, who did not abide by this taboo and he used slogans like “vol is vol!” (there is no more place!) and “eigen volk eerst!” (own people first!) against immigrants as part of the overpopulation debate. Even though many agreed with him, his comments were seen as inappropriate given his public function and it led to a conviction for incitement to racial hatred (Fennema, 2009, p.8).

4.5 ASYLUM SEEKERS REGIME

From 1985 there was a new group that dominated the visa application process: the asylum seekers (van Eijl, 2012, p.125). The 80s and the 90s of the last century were characterised by regime changes and political unrest in for example Southern- and Eastern European countries, such as the collapse of former Yugoslavia but also in West-Asia such as Iraq and Iran. Because of this political instability many people fled from these countries. Of course this political unrest is not new, but the difference with the previous decennials is that the admitting rules for migrants were less strict back then which meant that they could enter the Netherlands as a labour migrant instead of as political migrant (van Eijl, 2012, p.126). But why did the visa policy become so strict? The fall from the Iron Curtain around 1990 enlarged the number of former Yugoslavian asylum seekers. In 1994 more than 13.000 former Yugoslavians applied for asylum in contrast to a mere 100 in 1988 (Statistics Netherlands, 2016c). Because of the large number of applicants the ‘ordinary’ admission policy also became much stricter, as the Netherlands felt it could only take in a limited number of migrants (van Eijl, 2012, p.126). This meant that the grounds on which somebody would be allowed to enter changed. In contrast to the guest workers regime having a job and income was no longer the criteria but the level of suffering that person experienced (van Eijl, 2012, p.127).

The Netherlands had not dealt with such large numbers of asylum migrants before, in 1994 there were more than 52.000 asylum requests in contrast to twenty years earlier, when there were less than 400 asylum requests per year (Statistics Netherlands, 2016b; see also figure 1). Therefore the policies that were implemented until 1977 were often ad hoc. New rules were created once new groups of asylum seekers stood at the gates. This happened for Ugandans,

Chileans, Argentineans, Uruguayans, Brazilians and Vietnamese (van Selm, 2000, p.76). In 1977 the government decided that quotas were needed to limit the amount of refugees that could enter the Netherlands in general and these quotas were being applied until 1987 (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2007, p.9). But also the migrants who had succeeded in getting a visa were treated less welcoming as they had been before. The Dutch government wanted to make the Netherlands less attractive for migrants and therefore pursued a 'austere but humane' policy: migrants were cut off from free access to the housing market and public facilities (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2007, p.9). This was among other things a result of the housing-shortage and growing fear for overpopulation.

Not only the Dutch government itself decided these new directions but, as happened with the previous mentioned guest workers policies, the international political community started to gain more and more influence on Dutch admission policies. In 1990 a number of countries in Europe signed the Dublin convention in which was enacted which state was responsible for the treatment of asylum applications that were filed according to the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees from 1951. In this way they could prevent that refugees would be sent back and forth from one state to another with their asylum applications, without anyone taking responsibility. This meant that migrants who had already applied for asylum elsewhere could be refused (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2007, p.10). In 1994 the Netherlands introduced new procedures that made it possible to refuse certain asylum applications, the so called 'manifestly unfounded applications' (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2007, p.10). These were applications that had been submitted by people who came from safe countries, countries in which the situation had not been marked as life-threatening, or if they had passed these countries in which they could have applied as well. However these measures did not seem enough in the eyes of the Dutch government. They decided a bigger legal framework was needed to cut down the long asylum procedures and the number of people that tried to enter the country. They therefore changed the Foreigners Law in 2000. This law did count for every kind of migrant but, in contrast to its precursors, it was especially focused on asylum migrants and was therefore often called the 'asylum law' (van Eijl, 2012, p.129). Even though shorter procedures are a profit to applicants this law certainly was not beneficial to the migrants itself. Applicants could no longer go in appeal after their request was rejected and neither were they allowed any longer to stay in the Netherlands in awaiting of appeals. The law also resulted in more competence for the police to check migrants as they no longer needed concrete evidence for illegality.

The control on migrants, and on the movement of people and goods in general, increased extraordinarily after the September 11 attacks in 2001. The American government responded by starting a 'war on terror' and imposing a stricter border control. People who wanted to cross the border had to be double checked and intelligence gathering became the most important measure. The Netherlands and the EU too did increase their border controls (van Munster, 2006).

4.5.1 FORTRESS EUROPE AND THE MULTICULTURAL DRAMA

But how have political and public debates then shaped these policies? In political debate the arrival of these new groups of immigrants lead to the use of a novel vocabulary. The term 'asylum seeker' had not been used in parliamentary and political documents before 1973 (van Eijl, 2012, p.126). From then on this term was used as a rest term for all the migrants that did not meet the

strict Geneva convention criteria that had to be met in order to be called a 'refugee' (van Eijl, 2012, p.126). They thus made a distinction between a refugee, whom was more likely to obtain a visa, and an asylum seeker who was often seen as an immigrant with less valid reasons for a refugee-based visa status.

In this migration regime the humanitarian debate made its appearance. When the first measures were being implemented there was very little political debate and the effect from public debates and civil society was small (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2007, p.10). However, after the asylum seekers were denied the right to access to housing market and public facilities the resistance grew. The most important actors within this debate became the local authorities, as they had to deal with the asylum seekers in person, and civil society organisations such as the Central Reception of Asylum Seekers (COA) and Christian organisations like the Dutch Refugee Council that criticized the government for the way it treated the migrants (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2007, p.11). The new Foreigners Law from 2000 triggered even more reactions. The Dutch Council for Refugees called it a 'derailed law' which had made the application process quicker but not careful and had stripped the migrants from their rights (VluchtelingenWerk Nederland, 2006). They particular warned for the risk on refoulement, the risk that refugees would be sent back to their country in which they are in danger. Within the Dutch society protests were being organised to express their discontent and fear about the new law. In March 2001 several asylum seekers and civil society movements performed a protest action by driving rejected asylum seekers around the Netherlands for one week in order to call attention to the effects of the new law (Wildeman, 2001). But also other actors in the public debate and political debate brought up criticism about the non-humanitarian treatment of the asylum-seekers. One story played a particular role in the framing in these debates; in 1993 images of asylum-seekers who had to sleep in a corn field were shown on television. This corn field became the main image in the debate but it had a double meaning: it was used as an argument for better treatment of asylum-seekers but at the same time it served also as a proof that the Netherlands indeed did not had any space left. Despite the double meaning, it did trigger the rapid building of new asylum centres in the years after (Veenkamp, 1997).

These developments did not only trigger reactions from the national society, but also from the international community. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Human Rights Watch (HRW) criticized this "routine infringement of asylum seekers" and argued that it violated the European Court of Human Rights case law (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2007, p.10). Sadako Ogata, the High Commissioner for Refugees stressed that "Europe must not become a fortress" (NRC, 2000). This metaphor of Europe as a fortress dates back to the Second World War when it was used in a different context. "Fortress Europe" was a propaganda slogan used by the Nazi's to show the world that no one would pass its defence mechanisms (Englehart, 2014). After the Nazi's had been defeated this phrase got a negative connotation, just like everything that had anything to do with the Nazis. It is therefore no surprise that this metaphor was being used to criticize the European Unions' protective measures.

On the national political level the asylum issue has become known as a 'political headache file' (van Leeuwen & Vink, 2003, p.38). As the migration and entrance policies of the Netherlands became more and more entangled within international laws and interests but also with conflicting public ideas and opinions it became a burden for politicians to deal with it as it seemed that no solution was the right one. The sentence "Wie het weet mag het zeggen" (The one who knows the

answer may speak) became the slogan for the problems the government faced (van Selm, 2000, p.84). On the one hand people criticized the government for treating the migrants badly and on the other hand people feared the entrance of foreigners. On the public level the overpopulation debate continued and the flood-metaphor re-emerged again (see for example: de Ruyter van Steveninck, 2002; Heijmans, 2003). One politician that did use this fear to his advantage, and even fed these feelings, was again Hans Janmaat. He argued that the Dutch government and citizen had to spend a lot of money on asylum-seekers (Elbers & Fennema, 1993, p.105). Asylum seekers were thus again being framed as an economic loss to society rather than an economic gain. While he had been prosecuted before for discrimination and incitement to racial hatred his statements now were being supported by many people. His party therefore gained a lot of votes (van der Brug et al., 2009, p.205). But it was not only his political party that was against the influx of immigrants. Van Leeuwen and Vink conclude that in 2002 there had been a development in which the last 20 years all parties had shifted towards more restrictive positions (van Leeuwen & van Vink, 2003, p.42). Especially the Dutch Liberal Party (VVD) had taken a strong restrictive position concerning immigrants and made it a big item in its 1994 campaign (van Selm, 2000, p. 75). And it did so with success, as it had won 20 percent of the votes against less than 15 percent in the previous election (Statistics Netherlands, 2001).

Both the political and public discourse concerning immigrants over the last 50 years been dominated by the multiculturalism discourse but at the turn of the century this came under pressure. Paul Scheffer wrote in his article 'the multicultural drama' (Scheffer, 2000) that multiculturalism lead to the creation of an ethnic underclass as people closed their eyes to these problems in fear of being called a racists. But there were also people that went even further in their criticism and accused different cultural groups of immigrants of trying to take down Dutch society. Prominent figures like Pim Fortuyn and Theo van Gogh openly criticized the prohibition of discrimination and they spoke negatively about the Islam. Fortuyn stated that the "Islam is a retarded culture" and we should therefore close our borders (Poorthuis & Wansink, 2002). The Islam is being put in contrast to the Dutch culture by figures like Fortuyn by highlighting those elements that seem to be the opposite of Dutch traditions and values, like the veiling of women, and therefore this religion and its supporters are inherently bad. They argue that the presence of Muslim migrants would pose a threat to the Dutch way of living thus their access should be denied.

Fortuyn spoke those words in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks in the United States, which has triggered a global debate about terrorism and the role of the Islam. Immigrants, in particular Muslim immigrants became more and more framed as possible terrorists (Wegener.NV, 2006). A reader from the newspaper De Telegraaf writes "We spent billions to prevent terroristic attacks from happening, while we receive the perpetrators, disguised as asylum-seekers, with open arms" (Schmitz, 2005). The terrorist frame is thus both being used in the public and political debate. This frame becomes even more frequently used after the assassination of Theo van Gogh. Van Gogh was murdered by Mohammed B., a Muslim and son of a Moroccan immigrant for his criticism on the Islam.

4.6 THE EU VISA REGIME

One of the most important developments in the area of visa or admission policies has been the unification of the European Union and with it the common border- and visa policy. After World War I and World War II had ended some intellectuals, in particular Spinelli and Monnet, felt that cooperation between the countries in Europe was needed to prevent hegemonic wars from happening again. They were hereby supported by Winston Churchill, who opted for a 'United States of Europe'. The foundation for the cooperation was laid halfway the 20th century, when in 1951 the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the precursor of the European Union, was founded. The ECSC which contained the Netherlands, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy and Luxembourg, was among other things a first step towards the free movement of people, which meant that migrants from these countries could easily travel to the countries within the ECSC. This collaboration was further expanded in 1957 with the Treaty of Rome, that led to the merging of the ECSC into the European Economic Community (EEC). This community would later become the European Community (EC) once the European Union was founded in 1993 with the Treaty of Maastricht.

The real turn towards freedom of movement within the European Union has been made by the famous Schengen Treaties. In 1985 the first Schengen Treaty was signed by Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Germany and France which resulted in the abolition of the internal borders which meant that people from these countries were free to move within this block but also that these countries executed a common visa policy for the outer borders. In 1993 the European Union was founded with the Treaty of Maastricht and had gained a considerable amount of member-states, of which the citizens now obtained the EU-citizenship and its rights. In 1997 free movement of people applied to all the member-states of the EU when the second Schengen Treaty, the Treaty of Amsterdam, was signed. From then on the Netherlands could not refuse any EU citizen entrance and its visa policy was no longer determined nationally. For an overview of the current Schengen-states, see figure 2.

When the checks at the inner borders of the EU disappeared, they introduced the Schengen Information System (SIS) to be able to quickly exchange information about persons between the member states. This system was complemented with the introduction of the machine readable passport (MRP) in order to be able to digitalise and speed up this information exchange and control process. SIS was being succeeded in 2013 by SIS II which made it possible to exchange crime data and data about missing persons and objects. Freedom of movement thus did not come at no cost; you had to give some of your privacy in return. Everyone is subject to this information-exchange, not just already known criminals. As Bigo argues, there has been a shift from "the control of and hunt for individual criminals (...) to the surveillance of so-called risk groups, defined by using criminology and statistics" (Bigo, 1999, p.70). There is much criticism on this process, as it violates privacy and is possibly used for the wrong reasons. Some say that more security measures lead to a larger bureaucratic apparatus that lives off these measures and wants to grow even more (Salter, 2004, p.86). Others say that the surrender of privacy does not outweigh the possible benefits. You can introduce as many intelligence measures as you want, like the inclusion of biometric data on the passport, but you will never be fully able to detect every unwanted visitor because "guilt is not written on the skin or in the passport" (Salter, 2004, p.87).

As said before, not just the inner-border policies changed drastically, but also the outer-border policies. The EU decided a common visa policy should be implemented, in order to protect the freedom of movement within the European Union. Namely, if a person could enter one country, it had access to all the other countries due to the freedom of movement, even though other countries would have refused this person the entrance if they would have applied at their borders. In 2001 the first list with countries that had to apply for a visa in order to enter the EU had been published (Council Regulation (EC) No 539/2001). After that this list has been regularly updated. In 2009 an EU Visa Code was added, in which the procedures and conditions for the issuance of visas for short stay and airport transits were laid out (Regulation (EC) No 810/2009). Next to this a common format for the EU visa sticker was set (see figure 3) (Council Regulation (EC) No 1683/95). The EU also introduced a visa reciprocity mechanism used to strive for free movement in both directions, thus if the EU allows citizens of one country to travel without restriction it tries to arrange this freedom of movement for EU citizens to that country as well. This mechanism however is mainly focussed on securing the freedom of movement for EU-citizens. Whenever a country imposes a visa restriction on EU countries it will automatically face a visa restriction from the European Union as well. But if a country removes the visa restrictions for EU citizens, the EU will not automatically remove its own restrictions for members of that country (Regulation (EU) no. 1289).

To control the outer borders of the European Union FRONTEX has been created in 2005. Frontex is an agency meant for the management of operational coordination at the external borders of the EU (Council Regulation (EC) No 2007/2004, 2004). It is meant to stimulate and coordinate cooperation between the different member states at the outer borders of the EU. The Netherlands does not operate at the border itself, but it assists by sending marine ships, seacoast airplanes and military police personnel (Ministerie van Defensie, n.d.).

5. PRESENT-DAY VISA AND ADMISSION POLICIES

The previous chapter has given an overview of the development of visa and admission policies and the role of the debates and framing within these debates that played a role in this process. In this chapter the present-day visa policies will be analysed and the previous distinguished debates and frames will be used to reflect upon current visa policies to discover the extent to which these still play a role in the development of visa policies.

Like the previous chapter, this chapter too starts with an overview of the visa policy changes from 2005 and onwards and then continues with an analysis of the political and public debates and frames by looking at how the different migration groups are framed in public and political debates nowadays and how this does influence visa policies.

5.1 CLOSED EU BORDERS AND MIGRATION QUOTA

As the end of the previous chapter has shown the constructing of visa policies has shifted from the hands of the Dutch government towards the European Union. Individual member-states of the EU, like the Netherlands, are not able to decide their own visa policies anymore and this brings a whole new dynamic to the table. The EU's philosophy is that in order to protect freedom of movement within the union the outer borders have to be protected. This results in even more closed outer-borders. The concept of borders also changes. Borders are no longer only the states' or union's physical divisions, but also airports and other transit-ports.

Since there has been a sharp increase in refugees that try to reach the EU from 2013 and onwards, new policies and implementations have been introduced in order to try to manage these flows. In 2014 a resolution has been adopted that states that the EU has to do more to prevent migrants from dying at the sea. Therefore they introduced mobility partnerships to provide safe passages for migrants. These mobility partnerships include inter alia simplified visa procedures. The EU has mobility partnerships with Moldavia (2008), Cape Verde (2008), Georgia (2009), Armenia (2011), Morocco (2013), Azerbaijan (2013) and Tunisia (2014) (European Commission, 2014). However the effectiveness of these regulations is doubtful as many still die and the question is whether the simplifying of visa procedures is sufficient or if the strictness of the visa restrictions provides the real problem.

The human suffering of the migrant itself is not the only problem the EU faces. As a result of the large number of migrants that try to enter the EU through the Mediterranean sea, the countries on the South border receive the most migrants while they often have less capacity to take care of the migrants than the Western and Northern European countries. In order to tackle this issue, the EU introduced a migration quota, which states the number of migrants each country has to take in. In 2016 and 2017 the Netherlands will have to take in 2047 immigrants who would otherwise stay in Greece or Italy (Council of the European Union, 2015). This decision encounters much resistance from the different member states (Peeperkorn, 2015). It is remarkable that while the EU struggles to deal with the refugee crisis and reluctance of the member-states, it still opens the door to high-skilled migrants. In 2011 the European Blue Card was introduced in the Netherlands (Council Directive 2009/50/EC, 2009). The Blue card is a work permit that allows high-skilled migrants to live and work in the European Union and travel freely.

5.2 POLITICAL AND PUBLIC DEBATES

5.2.1 POSTCOLONIAL MIGRANTS: SILENCE AND ZWARTE PIETEN

How are postcolonial migrants framed in political and public debates nowadays? The shortest answer is they are barely being framed. As shown in chapter two, framing does not take place in a vacuum but rather happens due to the geopolitical, economic and social context and events. Back in the 1950's and later the 1980's the political changes in Indonesia and Surinam lead to the movement of many people towards the Netherlands. Because of the great numbers a lot of media attention was given to these migrants and therefore different framings arose. In present day society the number of postcolonial migrants is smaller and less attention is given to this group. The number of Surinamese that settle in the Netherlands is far below the level in the seventies and eighties. In 2014 and 2015 there were respectively 1.609 and 1.698 Surinamese that settled in the Netherlands, against more than 17.000 that came each year at the end of the 20th century (Statistics Netherlands, 2016a). Moreover there were more Surinamese that emigrated the last four years which resulted in a negative migration balance. The number of Indonesian immigrants stays also below 2.000 (Statistics Netherlands, 2016a). Migration from this group is neither an issue in the political nor in the public debates, as the lack of political discussions and news articles on this group shows. It rather seems like they have been included in the society (van Veen, 2000). That does not mean they are seen as equals by everyone, racism is still a problem within the Netherlands but it is often limited to the skin-colour rather than the country of origin. In that sense the Afro-American Surinamese is being framed as a part of the black population. They are part of a bigger racism debate such as the black-lives-matter movement, a civil society movement that started in America as a protests against black racism within society, government and police. In the Netherlands this issue has recently gained attention, due to ethnic profiling when the police carries out checks. However more attention concerning the concept of racism has been given when criticism was voiced by an action group against the Dutch national feast Sinterklaas. This is a yearly tradition whereby a white old man on a horse brings presents to children together with his black-African assistants, the 'Zwarte Pieten' (Black Pete). According to the action group there is a direct link between this feast and the colonial history of slavery. This resulted in a heated Black Pete debate, both within the political and public sphere and it even got international attention when the United Nations deemed this tradition as racism (de Volkskrant, 2015). The Dutch society became divided over this issue and several action groups have been started to hold on to the Dutch tradition, such as the Facebook group 'Black Pete should stay'. Some even argued that if black people had a problem with this tradition they should "go back to their own country!" (Overmeer, 2015). However the Afro-American Surinamese does not represent the Surinamese population as a whole anymore. The Surinamese and Indonesians are also more accepted because many of them are so called 'second-generation immigrant' which means they are born in the Netherlands, they might have a Dutch parent, and are often better adapted to the Dutch culture. Lastly less media attention is given to this group because other migrant groups provide a more pressing issue and are therefore higher on the political and public agenda.

Yet despite this rather positive image of former colonial migrants, or in any case the lack of negative frames and debates, the visa restrictions on Indonesia and Surinam still remain. This could be explained by the lack of successful lobby groups, but it is the question to what extent the Dutch could have an influence on the visa policies, as these policies are now in the hands of the

European Union. Why the EU does not take Indonesia and Surinam off its lists can only be guessed. The EU probably has no interest in any (economic) relationship with these countries, or they fear for drug trafficking as especially Surinam is known for its drug corruption. It could also have political reasons, as the European Union disapproves Bouterse's policy in Surinam and the execution of the death penalty in Indonesia. Finally it could also be the fear from both the EU and the Netherlands that the lifting of visa restrictions would lead towards a new big influx of migrants. However it may be, it doesn't seem like the restrictions will be lifted anytime soon.

5.2.2 GUEST-WORKERS: FORTUNE HUNTERS AND POLISH MIGRANTS

Not only the debates concerning the postcolonial migrants have changed, but also the debates concerning the guest workers. The low-skilled guest workers from the 1950s are no longer welcome, but a new form of economic migrants, the skilled migrant, is being welcomed with open arms through the Blue Card. This card was introduced by the European Union with as main reason to provide a solution to the aging of the population (Europa Nu, n.d.). New fresh blood was needed and preferably economically and socially wealthy people that would also provide an incentive to the European market. They are the new guest workers as they are being invited by the member-states in contrast to the low-skilled migrants. The introduction of this card did not bring up much debates in the Netherlands, and it thus was implemented easily.

The low-skilled migrant is not welcome, despite the fact that they could to provide a solution to the aging problem, and is now often being framed as a 'fortune-hunter'. This term is originally used to describe someone who tries to marry a person who has a lot of money (Cambridge Dictionary, 2016) and it has a negative connotation as it implies that someone exploits the situation for their own interests. The term fortune hunter thus becomes a metaphor for the migrants of whom (a part of) the society thinks they only come to make their lives better. This term is often used in combination with the label of 'job-stealer' which implies they do not only come here to make their lives better but also at the cost of the Dutch' lives. Politicians like Geert Wilders equate the fortune hunter with migrants and with refugees, turning every migrant into a fortune hunter (Westra, 2015). His ideas are being copied into the public debates as well and vice versa. There is a reason for the mixing-up of these terms, as the lines between these groups are not always clear. It is therefore sometimes difficult to determine whether the reason for migration is economic, social or political. Nora Stel (2015) describes for example the story of a Nidal, a young Palestinian men who wants to come to Europe because he doesn't earn enough for a living in Lebanon. He used to have a job, but the influx of refugees into Lebanon drove down the wages. He also has an inherited refugee status because of Palestinian roots and he is faced with discrimination and suppression. The question is whether he is an economic migrant or a refugee (Stel, 2015). The category in which he is being placed heavily determines his chances of entering.

In the debates concerning economic migrants special attention has to be given to the Polish immigrants that came to work in the Netherlands since 2004, after the country became a member-state of the European Union. In that period companies started to attract Polish because they were known for working hard against low wages and since the migration restrictions were lifted they could move easy and cheap. However unlike the 50s the society did not welcome them, as people felt threatened in their livelihoods. Vink (2014) has done research about media representations of Polish Immigrants in the Netherlands and has found out that a certain

'discourse strands' or general way of speaking about polish migrants has been dominant: the fear discourse strand (Vink, 2014, p.44). This discourse focuses on the fear that polish immigrants will take the jobs of Dutch nationals, that polish immigrants will not integrate and that they will benefit from the Dutch welfare state while not working to support it (Vink, 2014, p.21). Metaphors like 'flooding' and 'coming in a polonaise' to emphasize the large number of polish immigrants have often been used within this public debate (Vink, 2014, p.22). The public debate also frames the Polish as job-takers or fortune-hunters by using contrasts: our good actions are set against their bad actions (Vink, 2014, p.21). They are framed as taking advantage of the Dutch welfare system without working for it, like the Dutch do. This fits with the general image of polish and economic migrants as fortune-hunters. This framing has also found its way into the political debate. The Party For Freedom with Geert Wilders as figure head has even opened a hotline in 2012 whereby Dutch citizens can state their complaints about Polish immigrants. Yet as Poland is a part of the European Union and thus has access to the network of free movement within the union the Dutch cannot close their borders to the Polish and they cannot impose a visa restriction. This has been one of the reasons why there is a lot of criticism on the European Union (see § 5.2.4).

5.2.3 REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS: TSUNAMIS, ISLAMISATION, TERRORISM AND BOATS

The present-day influx of refugees and asylum-seekers shows strong similarities with the refugees that came after the two world wars and especially with the asylum-seekers that came from former Yugoslavia at the end of the 20th century. All three groups fled because of war and oppression and they encountered closed borders, at least on paper, because the World War refugees could enter the country relatively easy as the borders lacked control in practice. The former Yugoslavian asylum-seekers have even more in common with the current refugee/asylum-seeker group as they are both characterized by a relatively high number of migrants. In comparison, the total number of WWI and WWII refugees was around 50.000 in total while the other two groups have had such numbers per year (Fennema, 2015). Yet despite the large number and the high amount of protest against the arrival of the World Wars refugees and the former Yugoslavians they have now integrated quite well. The former Yugoslavians are often well-educated and their unemployment rate is relatively low (Hessels, 2005). They have also not been the subject of any major debate, both on the political and public level. It seems like the attention for these groups have faded and that they no longer present a problem to Dutch' society. The same cannot be said for the current influx of refugees and asylum-seekers as they are subject to many debates that are held on the local, national and international stage. Concerning this group of migrants there is a continuation of several discourses, frames and framing-techniques. One of these recurring framing-techniques is the use of the water metaphor. This metaphor has gained even more significance as the migrants are literally arriving via the sea. The influx of migrants is often framed as a 'tsunami' or a 'flood' (see for example: Keulemans, 2015). The refugees itself are also often termed as 'boat refugees' which relates to the extensive use of images in the media which portrays migrants who arrive per boat. These images have become the symbol for the current migrant crisis.

In the Netherlands the most common refugee/asylum-seeker group are those that come from Syria, a Muslim country in Asia that is ravaged by civil war and terrorism since the Arabic Spring in 2011. Fights and bombings have destroyed social and economic life and several ethnic groups are being pressurized. As a result many Syrians have fled their country and try to reach Europe. Last year more than 27.000 Syrians applied for asylum in the Netherlands. The arrival of those migrants evokes many reactions, both positive and negative. The negative ones are about the fear of overpopulation and fear for the bad intentions of the migrants. These debates frame the Syrian migrants as unthankful people who only want more and more (see for example LvH, 2016), or as rapists and troublemakers. We see here a similarity with the framing of the post-colonial Surinamese migrant as being hypersexual and violent. On the political level this framing has been applied most commonly by Geert Wilders, the leader of the political party PVV. He uses different framing-techniques, like slogans such as "Eigen volk eerst!" (own people first!) which has been used by Hans Janmaat before, as well as number rhetoric. Wilders also often uses the technique of storytelling, whereby he takes stories from everyday people who tell about their negative experiences with refugees to reinforce his arguments against open borders for migrants. He most famously did so during his contribution to the refugee debate in the parliament of October 2015, in which he used for example the following story from a man in Nijmegen: "Recently I have been threatened by a group of asylum seekers nearby Nijmegen. They wanted to harass my girlfriend. Luckily bystanders helped us, but we are very shocked." (PVV, 2015). Stories like these are copied into the public debate and contribute to a negative attitude towards migrants. More and more people support Wilders and his party and this shows that anti-immigrant comments are more accepted nowadays than they were when Hans Janmaat voiced them.

Asylum-seekers and refugees from countries like Syria are also perceived negatively due to their Islamic background and the association with terrorist organisations. There is a continuation of the anti-Islam sentiment and the terrorism discourse that has emerged since the turn of the century. With the arrival of Muslim migrants Fortuyn and later Wilders felt like the Dutch culture contained more and more Islamic elements, a process which they called 'Islamisation'. The last few years this has become more associated with terrorism especially after the recent terrorist attacks that have afflicted Europe. One of the first questions that arise when a terrorist attack happens is whether the perpetrator is a Muslim and a migrant. This happens not only on the political, but also on the public level. The citizens' movement Pegida, which originates from Germany and protests against this Islamisation and immigration has recently gained ground in the Netherlands. There are also many news articles about a possible relationship between terrorism and Muslim immigrants (see for example Groen, 2016; Naaijer & Rutenfrans, 2016). Recently the National Coordinator Counterterrorism and Security, Dick Schoof, has said that IS has used the European refugees route frequently which has fed the framing of (Muslim) refugees and asylum seekers as terrorists even more (NOS, 2016).

However the debates are not always against the arrival of these refugees and asylum-seekers. Counter reactions have always emerged but while these voiced by churches or by the own communities, like in the case of the Jewish refugees, they are now coming from different groups within society. Examples are the 'welcome refugees' actions by small groups and individuals through cooking meals for refugees and making them feel welcome, and actions from larger organisations such as the foundation Welcome Refugees that encourages people to take a refugee into their homes. These people try to raise a different voice that puts refugees and

asylum seekers in a more positive light, and frame them as non-violent, friendly people who try to make the best of their lives. They do so by telling stories about refugees who help fellow residents by doing chores in and around the house (see for example: RTL nieuws, 2015).

Yet one of the most dominant debate is the humanitarian one whereby refugees are framed as in desperate need of help, as people who have lost everything and need to be allowed to enter the Netherlands in order to survive. They use number rhetoric by showing how many people have died trying to cross the sea. Most striking is the photograph of the drowned Syrian boy at the beach which has come to symbolise the refugees' suffering. People were in shock after seeing the photograph and it marked a change in the way people thought about the refugees (Koolhof, 2015). The term 'migration crisis' got even more significance in the humanitarian sense of the word 'crisis'. Other images like pictures of overcrowded small rubber boats in which refugees try to cross the Mediterranean Sea did too contribute to this frame. However this frame stays limited to Syrian refugees, the refugees and asylum-seekers from other countries are often less associated with these images. It seems like this frame has had its influence on the Dutch' admission policies, as there are relatively more Syrians allowed to enter the Netherlands than other nationals (VluchtelingenWerk Nederland, 2015). The Dutch government and the European Union try to stop many migrants from entering, and all the countries from who the refugees and asylum-seekers originate are obliged to apply for a visa, but we see that when it comes to granting a visa some nationals such as the Syrians are being favoured over others.

5.2.4 EU BORDER POLICIES: NEXIT AND FORTRESS EUROPE

Visa and border policies do not only have an influence on the migrants but also on the executors of these policies itself. Partly due to the way the European Union is handling the migration crisis there's a lot of criticism on the effectivity and durability of this political construct. The European Union's ideals of unity, solidarity and harmony are under pressure. Within the past couple of years there has been a rise of anti-European parties, like the Dutch PVV, the French Front National, the British UKIP and the German Alternative für Deutschland. In many member states there are debates about leaving the European Union and this has recently become reality when the United Kingdom decided to leave the EU which has come to be known as the 'Brexit'. Also within the Netherlands there have been calls for a 'Nexit'. One of the main reason for these feelings is the dissatisfaction of many countries that they are not allowed to determine their own visa and border policies. The European Union decides who is allowed to enter and which countries should take in these migrants. Many member states are unhappy about the migration quota and the distribution of migrants and they feel like they would be better off if they could determine such things for themselves. It was no surprise that the leave-campaign in the United Kingdom had "take back control" as its slogan. Yet there's not only criticism because people feel like the border controls should be stricter. Others feel like Europe is becoming too much of a fortress, with migrants dying at its gates, a metaphor that has already been used in 2000 and which seems to have become reality.

6. CONCLUSION, LESSONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We've seen how visa and admission policies have developed over the last two centuries and what debates have played a role in this development. At least four different migration regimes have been distinguished, and a new one is still in the making. We've also seen how different debates have revived and how new debates have entered the stage in the current migration regime. In order to be able to answer the main question of this research, the answers to the sub questions will be summarized and concluded. This chapter ends with the lessons that can be learned for future policies as well as recommendations for further research.

6.1 CONCLUSION

The development of admission policies shows the strengthening of the state-security approach rather than a shift towards the human-security approach. The first foreigners policy in 1813 was already a state-centric measure meant to create a uniform society that had to be distinguished from the world outside. However the decision on who was allowed to enter that society was based on individual assessment of the migrant and did thus still have a human element. This changed with the introduction of the visa system after World War I which marked a shift from individual assessment towards determining risk groups, on the basis of nationality. However we've seen not only an increase in the number of countries that have to apply for a visa, not in the least because decision making has moved up from the national towards the European level, but also a growing importance of the type of migrant in the granting of entry. The combination of belonging to the 'wrong' country and 'wrong' type of migrant eliminates your chances of entering the Netherlands. At first visa-obliged migrants could still enter because of their cultural or social relations, like the migrants from the former colonies, or if they filled in an open labour spot, like the guest-workers. But now you are only allowed if you are a wealthy high-skilled business migrant or if you are in real fear of prosecution, like Syrian refugees. But even in the last case these migrants are sparsely admitted.

To which category a migrant belongs and how these categories are treated in admission policies is dependent on the debates that are held, which brings us to the sub questions about which political and which public debates have influenced these policies, how the political and public debates relate to one another and the impact of these debates on current visa and admission policies. The different debates that have influenced visa and admission policies in the previous and current migration regimes have already been analysed in the previous chapters. In general there can be concluded that some debates are highly specific and bounded to one migration regime, such as the political neutrality-debate during the World Wars refugee regime and the public kinship debate during the postcolonial migration regime. These debates are specific for a certain (geo)political, social or economic context or event, such as the World Wars or colonial- and family ties. Other debates are recurrent and thus less bounded to specific contexts. Examples are the overpopulation debate and the criminality debate that thus not focus on one specific migration group but that are used against migrants and migration as a whole. These are relatively old debates while there are also new debates on the rise, such as the terrorism-debate, marked by events like 9/11 and recent terrorist attacks in Europe. Sometimes the debates also become fused, like the anti-Islam and terrorism debates. In general most debates imply a negative

attitude against migrants however are also positive counter-debates such as the humanitarian-debate that have always played a role but are now becoming even stronger through the rise of civil society movements.

Most debates are used in both political and public debates, as politicians wish to represent the public and gain votes by taking the position of the public to the political level, and as the public becomes convinced by the arguments from the politicians and copy their points of view into public life. However the public has become to play a much larger role over the last century. In the beginning the debates mainly arose on the political level but through the developments of the media, and especially the rise of social media, it has become easier for the public to express its opinions and to start debates. This is because there are more platforms, people have better access to these platforms, opinions can be vented anonymously which results in people dare to say more and the reach of the message has been enlarged even beyond the borders of the nation state. This also means that international involvement has increased, as the case with the Black Pete debate has shown. International involvement has also increased due to the construction of the European Union which creates a tension between on the one hand the European focus in decision making and the political debate and on the other hand the demand for a local focus from the public debate.

The only question that remains to be answered is *how* these debates have influenced Dutch visa and admission policies since 1813 until now. The answer is through framing. The framing of immigrants in both political and public debates has led to the perceiving of groups of migrants as positive or negative, and thus as persons who should or should not be allowed to enter. The choice of frame is just like the debate dependent upon the (geo)political, social and economic context. The use of the water metaphor provides the most clear example for the influence of the socio-historical culture of a country. Different framing techniques have been used to frame migrants and the process of immigration. The most commonly used techniques were slogans, metaphors, stories and numbers. It seems like these techniques are most popular as they create a frame that is clear enough for everyone to understand and they can easily be copied from the political into the public debate and vice versa. Slogans and metaphors are short and easy to remember and they quickly become part of our language. Most people know what is meant by terms like 'fortune-hunter' and 'fortress Europe' and many remember slogans like "own people first!". Individual stories are less likely to enter our long-term memory because they are less concise, however they are very important to reinforce the frame as they add a personalised and realistic element to the frame that increases credibility. Numbers are less personalised and less easier to remember but they provide a way to put things in perspective and they appeal to someone's sense of urgency and importance. In the debates concerning migrants they often use number rhetoric to amplify the threat of immigration or the amount of suffering. Yet there's one other framing technique that is emerging, namely the use of visual imaginary. In the last couple of years there's little been so powerful in the debates as that picture of the boy on the beach. It is likely that visual imaginary will play a bigger role in this digitalised age, whereby nothing is shared so easily on social media as pictures are.

6.2 LESSONS FOR FUTURE POLICIES

The objective of this research was to contribute to the knowledge about the underlying influence of political and public debates concerning immigrants on Dutch visa and admission policies and what lessons can be learned for future policies. What lessons can thus be learned for future policies? Apparently framing does seem to play a big role in the constructing of visa and admission policies. Policy makers must be aware of this influence, and they must ask themselves why a certain frame exists, by whom it is created and for what reasons. They must also be aware that frames and debates are recurrent which might imply that there is a bigger issue at stake than just the arrival of a certain group of migrants. The government should also be clear about the facts concerning immigration, by providing public information like the numbers of immigrants that arrive in the Netherlands, in order to prevent false frames from emerging. Furthermore both the government and the media should be more precautionary in choosing their words. Terms like 'tsunami' have such a strong connotation and they contribute to treating migrants as a homogenous group, while this 'group' consists of many different nationalities, types and persons. Lastly, as frames are always a simplification of reality, and thus portray a concept as either black or white, policy makers might oversee the grey in-between. There are so much more choices than just let them flood the country or let them sink.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Further research about the role of framing and debates in visa and admission policies is needed to be able to give more specific recommendations for policy making. This research has been broad-based, and in order to fully grasp the relationship in-depth studies about the separate migration regimes or even about the individual nationalities is needed. In that way the meaning, causing factors and significance of the different debates and frames become more clear. The role of debates in some migration regimes have already been researched, like the post-colonial migration regime, but other regimes are underexposed. There's also more research needed about the role of the social media in framing and the starting of new debates in relationship to migration and migration policies and the influence of visual imaginary within this new stage. As said before, these platforms and visuals are on the rise and they provide a relatively new research area. Lastly research is missing about the role the migrants might themselves might play in the process of constructing visa policies, as we see that migrants are taking more and more actions themselves. They are not only to be seen as a passive subject, but also as an active actor within the debates.

7. REFLECTION

The process of writing this thesis did have its ups and downs and it learned me a lot about what it means to work on such an extensive research. I started off quite good, as I had started on time with the critical literature discussion and I soon had a number of ideas I could work with. However I was overwhelmed by the amount of time that was given for this research and the size of the thesis itself. As I had never done a project of that size and time-scope on my own before I found it difficult to choose a specific topic, theory and research-question so soon in the process. This resulted in not having a clear defined subject for a long time. Despite several attempts to improve this and even some subject changes it didn't work out. I wasn't self-assertive enough and therefore sounded the alarm bell late in the process. This is definitely something I have to work on for future projects. I also have the tendency to think too much and too long before I start to actually write things down. If I would have started to write earlier I would have possibly sooner found out what was missing and how I could fix this along the way.

The writing itself was never really a problem for me, although writing this thesis in English was more difficult than I anticipated in advance and it did slow down the process. It has been a challenge but I think it was a good one, as learning to write in proper English is a valuable academic skill. I could still learn a lot on this area though, as my vocabulary is still too small to be able to vary in word usage and sentence structure. Moreover, there's a difference between writing down a story in English and writing a thesis in academic English. This is an area in which I need to improve.

I had planned from the beginning to do a desk-research. However looking back at my research I think it would have been better to also include interviews in this thesis. This would not only have improved the validity of this research, as I would have been able to check the information collected, but it might also have provided me with information that is not publicly accessible. Besides, it is also a good variety instead of doing only research from behind my desk which would have been fun and instructive to do.

Concerning the content of this research several comments have to be made. First of all, it is impossible to state indefinitely that debates and frames do influence the visa and admission policies. I can only confirm I see a relationship between these elements. In order to be more sure about the actual influence, it would have been better to analyse the documents about the decision-making of visa and admission policies and see whether the debates and framings are found in these documents as well. However these documents are not publicly available and it is the question to what extent decision-making processes are recorded on the level of frames. Secondly several elements within this research have been generalised. There is no such thing as the political or the public debate. The political or the public are not homogenous groups that all share the same opinions. Within both levels there are many different debates at stake and even within these debates there are differences between individuals. In this research the most common debates are distinguished and portrayed as uniform, in order to be able to compare the different migration regimes and the different dominant debates within these regimes. Furthermore actors like the European union or the government are also portrayed as one single actor while it in fact consists of many different member states, political parties and governing bodies. Lastly, the debates which have been treated focus foremost upon male migrants leaving the role of women underexposed.

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APPENDIX

A. FIGURES

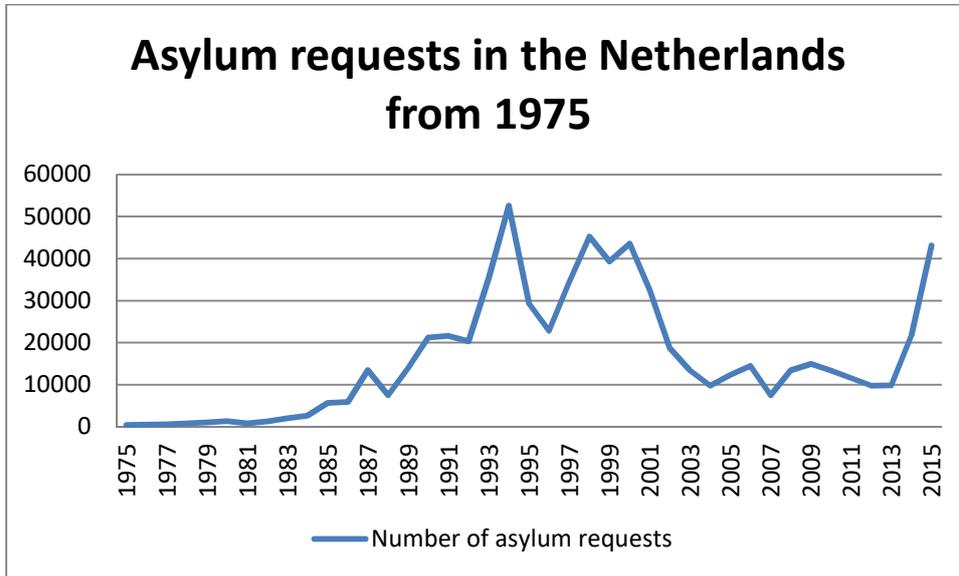


Figure 1 Asylum requests in the Netherlands from 1975. Source: Statistics Netherlands, 2016b

Schengen Area as of 1/7/2013

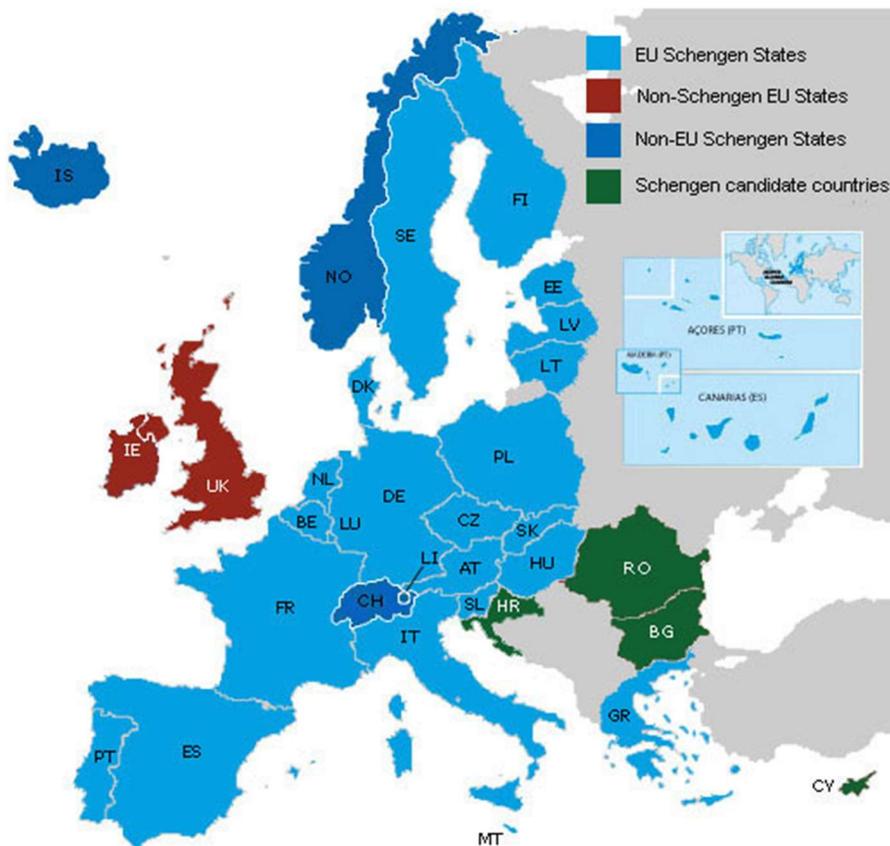


Figure 2 Schengen Area. Source: Europa.nu

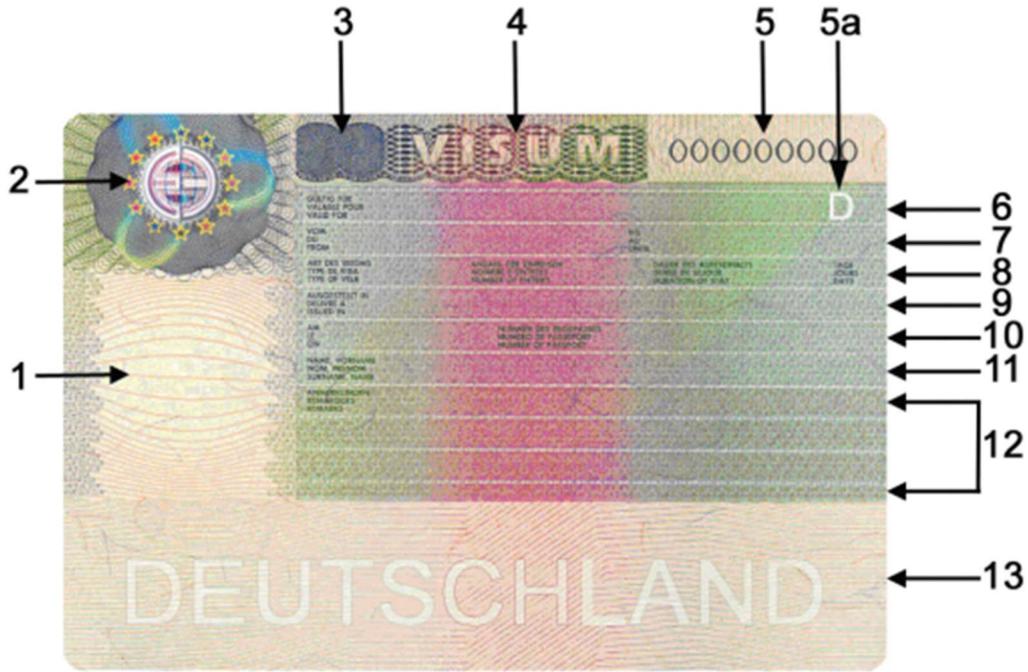


Figure 3 EU visa sticker. Source: Council Regulation (EC) No 856/2008

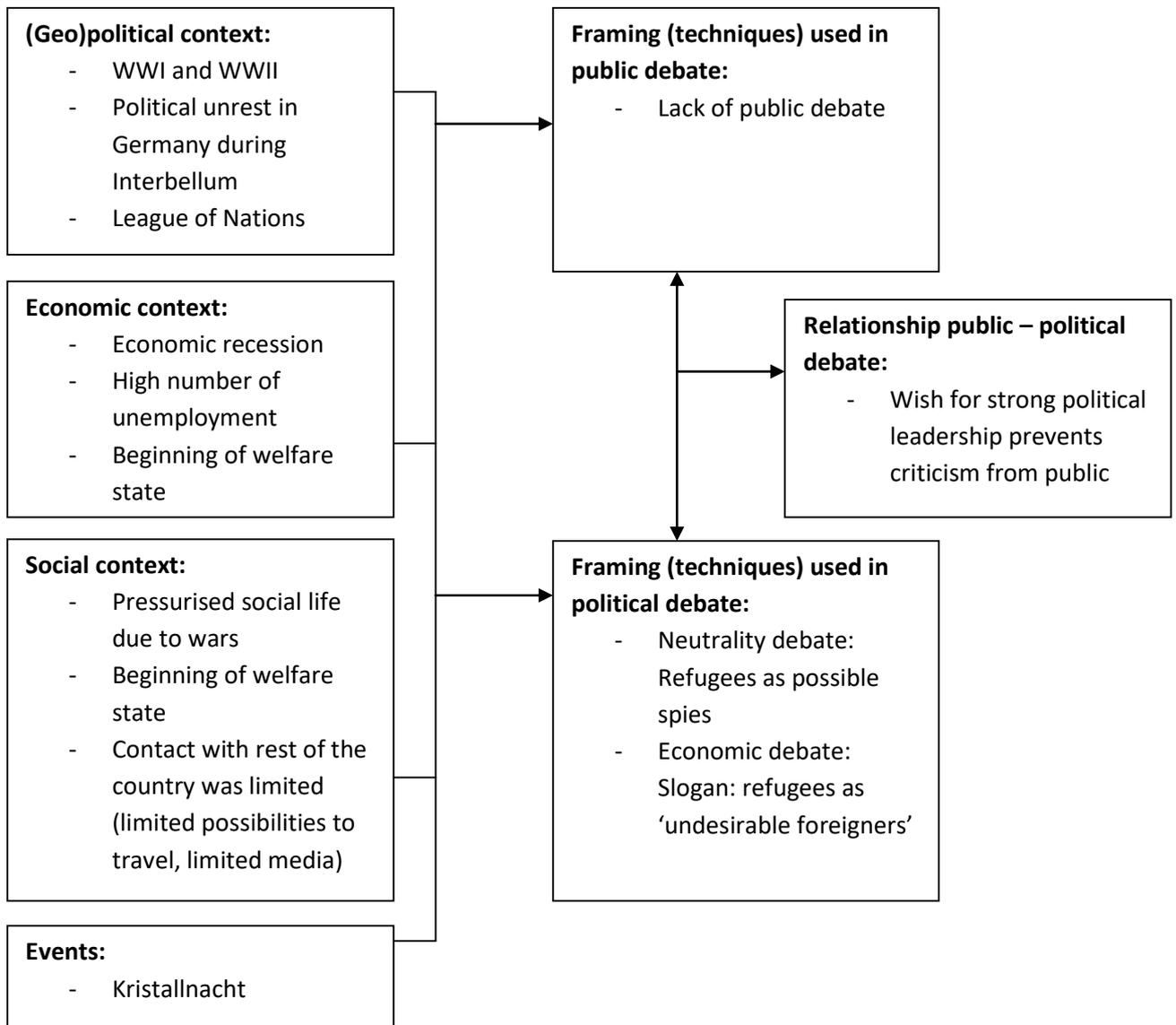
B. TABLES

Framing technique	Meaning
Metaphor	make an frame known to an audience by comparing the concept to something they can relate to and suggest they are similar
Story	Make an frame stick with the audience by making it lively and memorable through repeatedly telling a personalised story
Traditions	Rituals or ceremonies in which cultural habits give meaning to the frame
Slogan	Catchy phrases that make the frame memorable and repeatable
Artefact	Objects with an intrinsic symbolic value to symbolise the frame
Contrast	Describing the concept in terms of what it is not; placing it in direct opposition to another concept
Spin	Deliberately placing the concept in a positive or negative light while you know the opposite is true
Visual imaginary	Make a frame realistic and memorable by using photographs, drawings or video images that give the frame a 'face'
Number rhetoric	The use of numbers to amplify the importance of a certain point of view

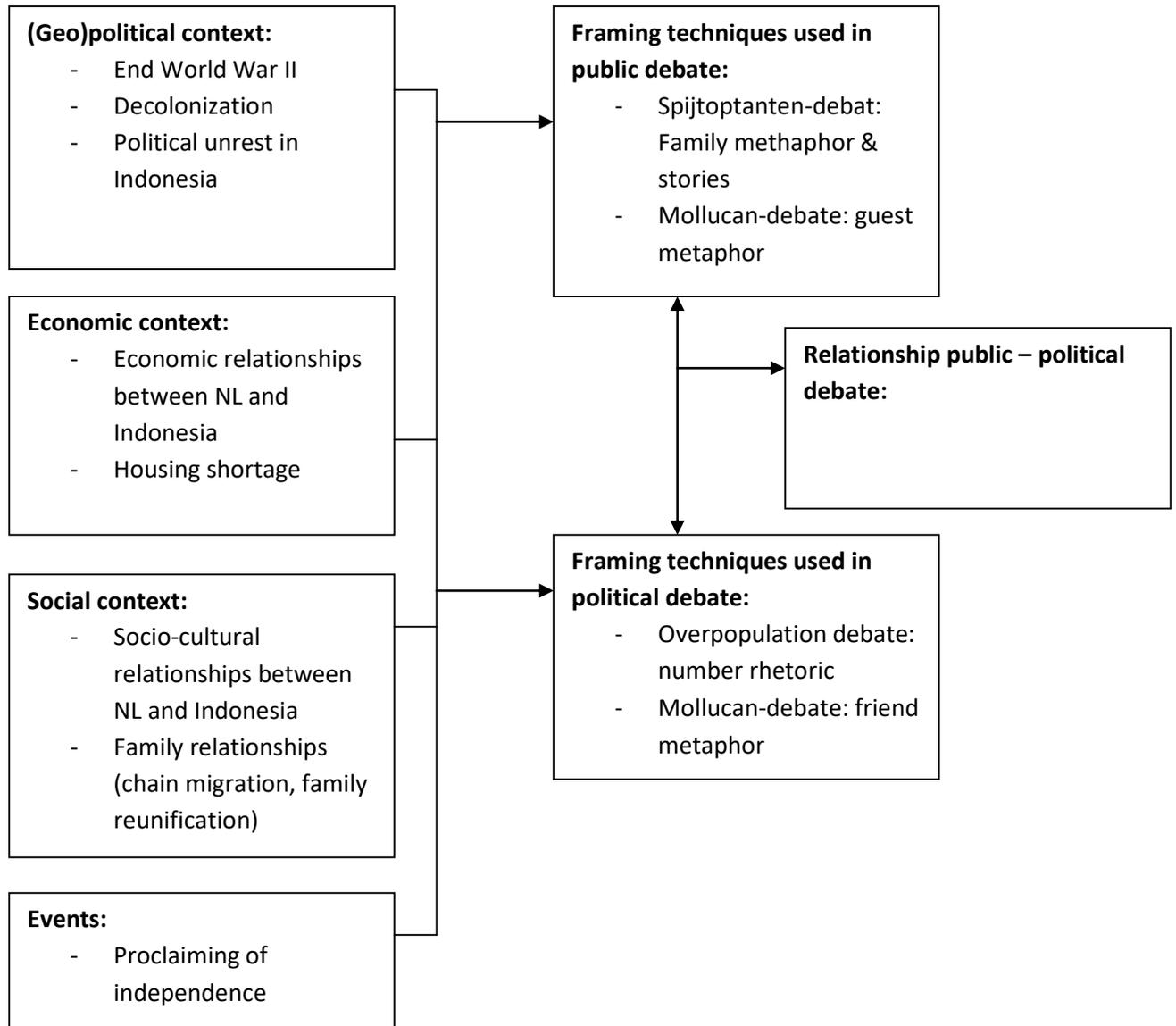
Table 1 Framing techniques

C. SCHEMAS CONTEXT, DEBATES AND FRAMING (TECHNIQUES) PER REGIME

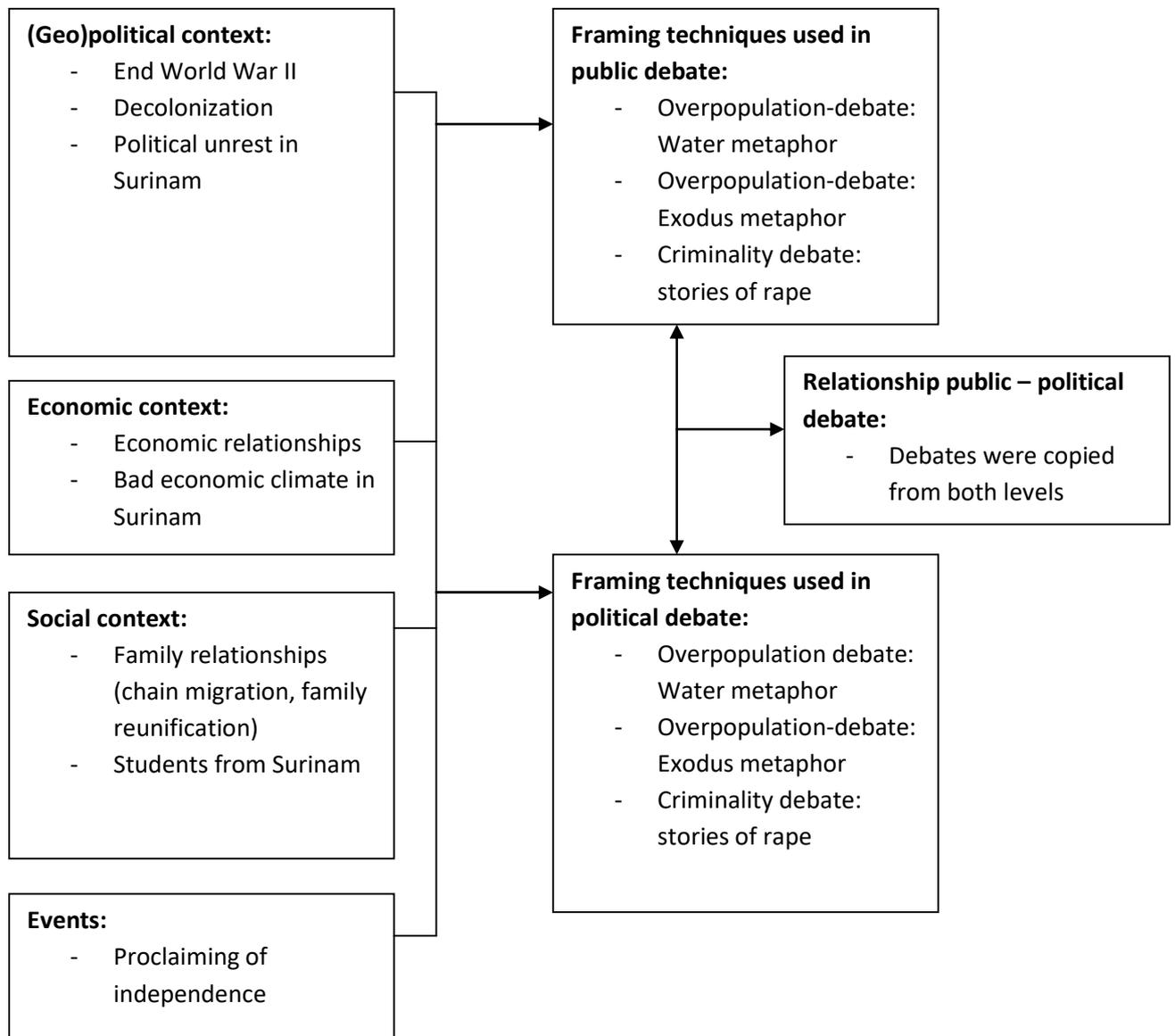
Schema 1: World Wars Refugee regime



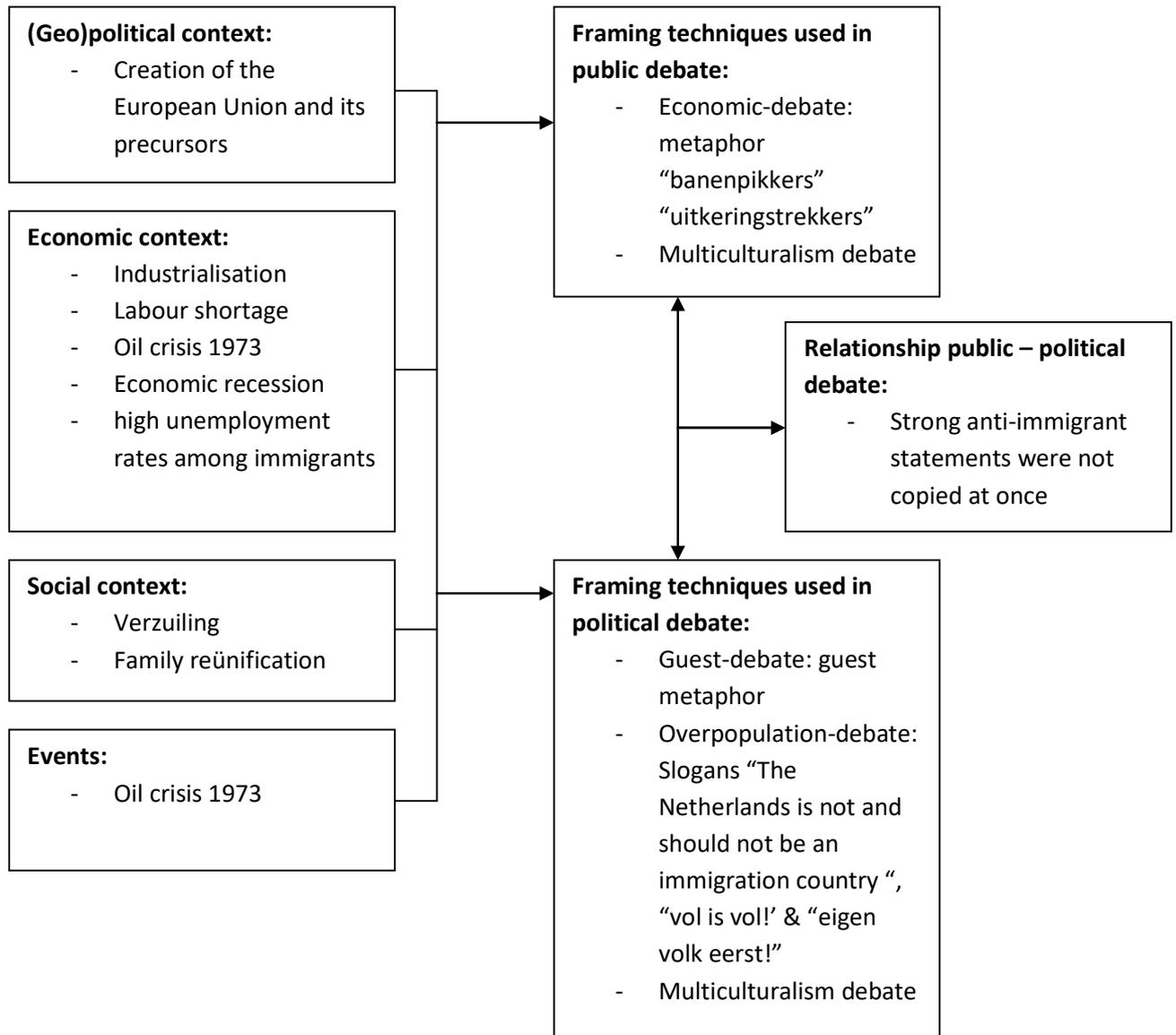
Schema 2a: Post-colonial migration regime: Indonesians



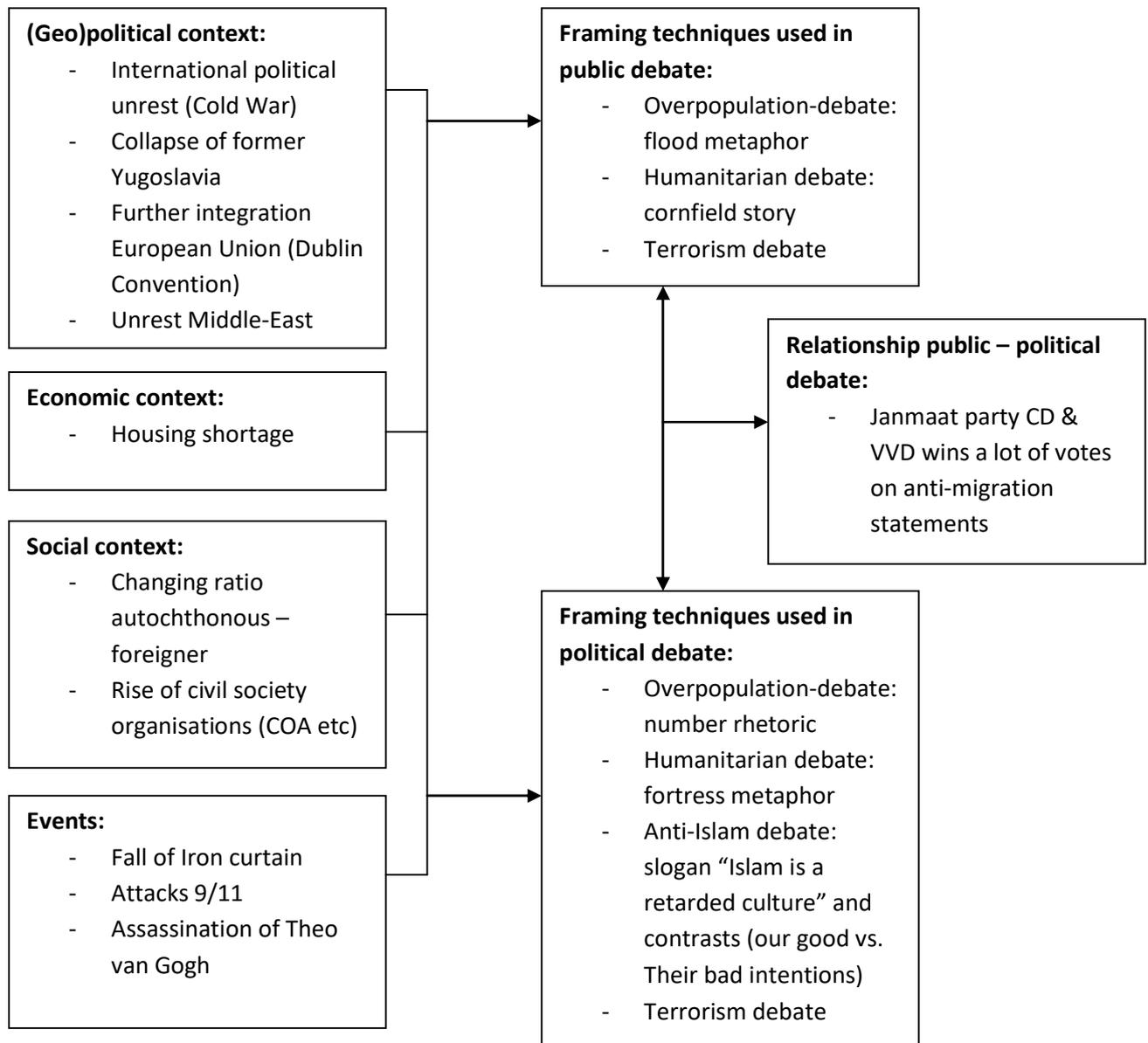
Schema 2b: Post-colonial migration regime: Surinamese



Schema 3: Guest workers regime



Schema 4: Asylum seekers regime



Schema 5: Present-day

