

Portraying the Other: the Use of Orientalist Discourse in the Representation of the Refugee Crisis in Dutch Newspapers

Thesis

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Table of Contents

Introduction	4
1. Constructing the Other	13
1.1 Edward Said	13
1.2 <i>Orientalism</i> contextualised	13
1.3 Discourse in <i>Orientalism</i>	16
1.4 Reception of <i>Orientalism</i>	21
2. Terminology and Numbers	24
2.1 General Questions	24
2.2 Terminology: Refugees, Asylum Seekers, Immigrants and <i>Allochtonen</i>	24
2.3 Crisis	30
3. Representation and News Framing	38
3.1 General Overview	38
3.2 Otherness in Media	38
3.3 News Framing	42
3.4 Stereotyping	45
4. Aylan	49
4.1 Introduction of the event	49
4.2 Methods	50
4.3 <i>De Volkskrant</i>	52
4.4 <i>De Telegraaf</i>	64
5. Cologne	71
5.1 Introduction of the event	71
5.2 Methods	72
5.3 <i>De Volkskrant</i>	73
5.4 <i>De Telegraaf</i>	81
Conclusion	88
Bibliography	93
Attachment 1: Rudyard Kipling – ‘The White Man’s Burden’	105

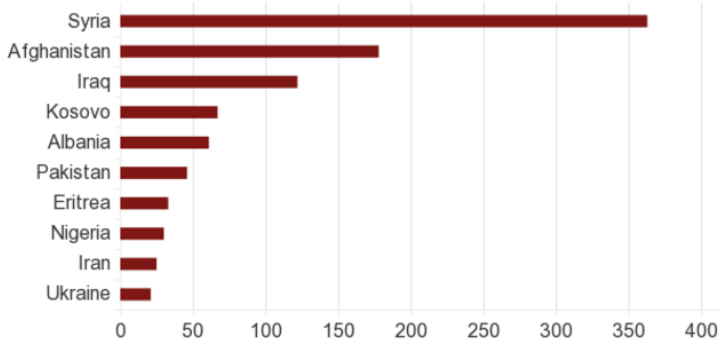
Introduction

After a period of nearly twenty years of relatively moderate refugee figures, in the year 2015 a sharp increase could be observed in the influx of refugees in the European Union according to Western European – and more specifically, Dutch – media. In the second half of the year barely a day passed without European media reporting on this topic. This is also true for the Netherlands, where Dutch newspapers and other media spent countless articles, debates and columns on how to deal with this phenomenon.

The ever increasing number of refugees is the result of turmoil in several – predominantly Muslim – countries. Whereas the revolts in Tunisia and Algeria (2010), Egypt and Libya (2011) are more or less stable now, in Syria the conflict between the government and the people (roughly divided) is still very much present in the form of what might be called a civil war. This has caused many Syrians to flee the country and, as a result, Syrian people account for a big part of the refugees who seek asylum in European countries (see Table 1). However, migrants and refugees of other descent also seize their opportunities and come to Europe in hope of a better future (Frontex, ‘FRAN Quarterly’, 2013: 6).

Top 10 origins of people applying for asylum in the EU

First-time applications in 2015, in thousands



Source: Eurostat

Figure 1: Top 10 origins of people applying for asylum in the EU in 2015 (Source: Eurostat).

During and as the result of the period of imperialism, many Western European countries came in contact with different cultures. For instance Egypt used to be under the influence of the crown of England; France conquered Algeria and Tunisia, while Italy dominated Somalia, Eritrea and Libya. As the result, society and therefore literature are influenced by imperial ideas. In colonial literature the differences between the colonisers and the colonised are emphasised, if not produced. See for instance the work of one of the writers that is most know

for his colonial writing and is often used as an example of the representation of this period, Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936). He was a British writer who wrote on the way the British empire – its colonies included – was experienced. In his poem ‘The White Man’s Burden’ (1899) he expressed the idea that the civilised Europeans (the ‘whites’, i.e. the colonisers) came to the ‘East’ (the ‘savages’, i.e. the colonised) to bring civilisation:

Take up the White Man's burden,
Send forth the best ye breed
Go bind your sons to exile,
to serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child.¹

The idea that people from other than European descent were different from the people in the West (i.e. Europe) defined the way in both cultures were depicted in Western literature. The first strophe of the poem clearly shows the opposition between the cultures. It is the so-called ‘burden’ of the white man, i.e. the West, to bring civilisation to the savages of the East. These savages are ‘wild’, and even portrayed as ‘half-devil and half-child’. The ‘other’ people are not only portrayed as children, indicating that they are unable to take care of themselves, that they are in need of education – which would be the white man’s burden – but they are also portrayed as being evil. As a result, the other people are inferior to the white and civilised people. One important aspect of this depiction was introduced by Edward Said in his famous work *Orientalism* (1978). Said argues that at the heart of all Western representation of the East lies the notion of Orientalism, “(...) a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between ‘the Orient’ and (most of the time) ‘the Occident’”. (Said 69). The distinction between the Orient and the Occident is an interdependent relation based on imperial past. In this, the emphasis is put on the contrast between the Orient and the Occident, between the Self and the Other:

[many European countries] have had a long tradition of what I shall be calling *Orientalism*, a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient’s special place in European Western experience. The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe’s greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and of its deepest and

¹ Presented here is only the first strophe of the poem. The full poem can be found in attachment 1.

most recurring images of the Other. In addition, the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience. (Said 68).

Thus, the Orient and Occident share a special relationship, which is based on the imperialistic (colonial) aspect of history. The Orient served to define Europe, to establish what it was (and still is) and not. In many cases, this is accompanied with a certain sense of a sexual, mysterious and exotic desire. For instance, indigenous women are often represented with a sexual and mysterious aura, and as a result of this mystery and focus on the earthly and vulgar aspects of men, as immoral beings. This opposition between the Western 'moralised Self' and the sexual mysterious 'Other' resulted in a common notion of 'the Other' versus the Self, viewed from a Western perspective. This theory will be further explored in the first chapter of this thesis.

Said limits the scope of his research to the Orient based on the Anglo-French-American experience (Said 83). As a reason for this, Said argues that this part has been considered 'the Orient' for over a millennium. However, as a result of this cutting down, a large part of the Orient, the Far East, is eliminated from his analysis, countries such as India, Japan and China. Said's cutting down is relevant for this thesis to the extent that in his theory, Said includes the areas which are relevant for my research. The 'Near Orient' as he calls it includes countries as Syria, Egypt and Arabia, with a special focus on the religion, the Islam. Especially Syria is relevant for my research, as most refugees fled from the war in Syria. However, the emphasis on countries in which the majority is formed by Muslims, makes Said all the more relevant for this thesis.

Although in Kipling's poem the colonial aspect becomes instantly clear, in the background of several other literary works colonial thinking is visible as well. One of the best examples is that of Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847), a novel that at first glance is about England and the moral values of its title character, but when one takes a closer look the novel also contains imperial aspects, as the description of Mr Rochester's first wife Bertha Mason, who was born in the Caribbean. The typification of her character is one of an insane woman, whose only solution is to be locked up in the attic, as Mr Rochester describes his history with his wife:

Bertha Mason is mad; and she came of a mad family; idiots and maniacs through three generations! Her mother, the Creole, was both a madwoman and a drunkard! — as I found out after I had wed the daughter: for they were silent on family secrets before.

Bertha, like a dutiful child, copied her parent in both points. I had a charming partner — pure, wise, modest: you can fancy I was a happy man. I went through rich scenes! Oh! my experience has been heavenly, if you only knew it! But I owe you no further explanation. Briggs, Wood, Mason, I invite you all to come up to the house and visit Mrs. Poole's patient, and my wife ! You shall see what sort of a being I was cheated into espousing, and judge whether or not I had a right to break the compact, and seek sympathy with something at least human. (*Jane Eyre* 157).

Something that is explicitly mentioned is her background: a Creole family in which insanity was inherited. It almost sounds like her Creole background is the reason for this insanity. However, even when the reader actually meets Bertha Mason through the eyes of the modest and 'pure' eyes of Jane, even in her description of Bertha something mysterious and exotic is apparent:

In the deep shade, at the farther end of the room, a figure ran backwards and forwards. What it was, whether beast or human being, one could not, at first sight, tell: it grovelled, seemingly, on all fours; it snatched and growled like some strange wild animal: but it was covered with clothing, and a quantity of dark, grizzled hair, wild as a mane, hid its head and face. (*Jane Eyre* 157).

Bertha is described as an animalistic figure, unable to speak in a civilised manner. She has wild features and behaviour. She is not seen as a woman, or as a human being, but rather as an animalistic savage, as a result of her family background. Throughout the novel her character remains a very vague one, mysterious and exotic. This type of characters and division between 'Western' and 'Other' characters is also present in other literary works, and, as is the case in the English classic novel *Jane Eyre*, even in works in which one would not immediately expect it:

Edward Saïd (1993) has shown how profoundly imperialism structures Western literary culture, to the point that many canonical works with no apparent interest in imperialism none the less assume and depend on the existence of empire for the life style of the characters, the assumptions they make, for plot reversals and resolutions.” (Dyer, 1997; 22).

Richard Dyer supports the idea that Orientalism can be omnipresent in literature, even when one would not expect so. He argues that the imperialistic ideas have structured the Western mind as they ‘depend on the existence of empire’. As one can see, Said’s theory is relatively easy to find in literary works. However, his theory can also be applied on other aspects of society as Said argues that the existence of empire has also greatly influenced our ways of thinking and expressing ourselves, i.e. the discourse. This discourse has not only influenced the way people are depicted in literature, but this also is the case in the representation of events and people in other kinds of texts, such as newspaper articles. As a result, this thesis will explore the use of Orientalist narratives in the representation of the refugee crisis in Dutch newspapers, because the media is a significant social agent, with the potential to influence community perceptions (Akbarzadeh & Smith, 2005). The aim is to gain an understanding of the ways in which media plays a role in shaping perceptions on the debate on the refugees in the Netherlands. In this thesis, I will argue that a modern form of ‘othering’ can be found in the reception of refugees and its representation in (Western) media. This representation is especially interesting to analyse in the case of the (mostly Arabic) refugees who flee to Europe, because the refugees are from the Orient. Newspapers, magazines, television programs and the broadcast of the news all have their own perspective on the crisis – because that is what it has become – and determine the way in which the news is presented to the audience. As these media are used to inform the public on what is happening all over the world, the representation of people is extremely important and influential.

For this research, I have decided to take a closer look at two specific events of which I believe they have had a huge influence on the debate on the refugee crisis both in the Netherlands and abroad. This narrowing down is not only due to time and space limitations, but also because it would be more fruitful to look at two different events profoundly, rather than viewing the crisis as a whole, as this would be an immense undertaking. As for the choice of the particular events, I have decided to analyse two events that have had a huge impact on the discussion in two completely different contexts. The first event will be the drowning and washing ashore of the young Kurdish boy Aylan on the coast of Bodrum, Turkey, in September 2015. I believe this formed the first visual personal encounter of the West – and in this particular case the Netherlands – with refugees and gave the Western (European) debate on what to do a more empathic character. The picture of a young, innocent boy who died when he was trying to escape the war and came to Europe with hope for a better life touched many (Western) hearts regarding the picture immediately went viral the same day and was picked up by most news media. However, as he died during his family’s attempt to

escape, he was unable to reach the European safety. It would be interesting to see how such an event – so close as the result of the picture that was taken which was on several newspaper's front pages, but yet so far as it is still in the 'other world', namely Turkey, in an international context – is represented in Dutch written media to see whether Orientalism is still present within society nowadays, after the imperial period.

The second event is one that is international but much closer to 'home', the Netherlands. It is the assault on women near the central station of Cologne, Germany, during new year's eve 2015-2016. Although Germany is a country very nearby the Netherlands and its culture lies relatively close to the Dutch culture, it is still an event that took place 'abroad'. Although in the first couple of days after the assaults the news was kept quiet, a few days later newspapers and news channels exploded with the news. Accusations of refugees who brutally harassed German women filled the news and the debate became much more grim. This event can be interpreted as an example of the dangers of the mass-integration of refugees 'from the Orient' within Western society. Whereas the death of Aylan is an event that made people aware of the humane aspect of the crisis, the assaults in Cologne were to many people proof that refugees are from a different place, with different (moral) values, which is very similar to the picture of the barbaric Orient versus the civilised Occident that was created in Kipling's poem.

Status quaestionis

On the topic of the representation of refugees in the Netherlands no research has been done yet. Although some research has been done on the representation of Muslims and refugees in media in other countries, such as Australia (Akbarzadeh & Smith, 2005) and England (Ameli et al., 2007; Baker et al., 2008), no specific research has been done yet on the use of Orientalist discourse. The abovementioned researches have concluded that Muslims are represented as a threat, and often described in negative terms, especially post 9/11.

Secondly, no recent research has been on the representation of refugees in the Dutch news. Therefore, since no comparative research has been done for the Netherlands, my research will not only fill the current gap in this field and provide information on the ways in which media represent the refugees as the Oriental Other, but will also provide a more recent research on the topic of refugees in general as this is now very much a current theme.

The 'Other' and 'Orientalism' (Bhabha, 1994; Said, 1978; Spivak, 1999) are concepts on which a lot has been written. Said argues that 'knowledge' about non-Europeans was part of the process of maintaining power over them. This knowledge then is part of the cultural

bias and is therefore tainted: “Said’s basic thesis is that Orientalism, or the ‘study’ of the Orient, was ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted a binary opposition between the familiar (Europe, the West, ‘us’) and the strange (the Orient, the East, ‘them’).” (Loomba 1998). Gayatri Spivak argues that the Other, the Subaltern, cannot speak for itself as it cannot escape the coloniser’s (Western) discourse. (Spivak, *Can the Subaltern Speak*, 1988). This will be further explored in the first chapter.

I will use the concept of Orientalism and apply it to the representation of the refugees in Dutch newspapers. Furthermore, as both representation and postcolonialism have a lot to do with discourse, I will use Aimé Césaire’s and Stuart Hall’s notion of discourse to explore the power of language in the analysis of newspaper articles. Both writers argue that the West has been and still is stuck in a perspective of hypocrisy, and, as a result, it uses a hypocrite discourse to justify their colonial endeavours in for instance the Orient. This entails a certain doctrine, a doctrine that is according to Césaire based on wrong premises.

Methodology

This question will be explored by analysing the articles of two Dutch newspapers. I decided to use *De Telegraaf*, a newspaper with the largest edition both printed and digital. Secondly, I will use *De Volkskrant* as it is the third-largest newspaper in print, but the largest in digital readership. I deliberately decided *not* to use the second largest newspaper, *Het Algemeen Dagblad*, as my analysis will rather focus on two ‘extremes’: *De Telegraaf* being the more populist newspaper, *De Volkskrant* as the ‘quality newspaper’ with background stories and in depth articles.

My thesis will be divided in two parts: the first part (first three chapters) consists of the necessary theoretical framework and will explore the theories of Orientalism and representation. It will also provide more information on the refugee crisis in the Netherlands. The second part (two chapters) will be concerned with the analysis of newspaper articles from Dutch newspapers *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf*. The analysis will be based on a qualitative method, namely discourse analysis / close reading the newspaper articles, to analyse the tone and framing of the articles.

This research will be divided into five chapters. The first chapter, ‘Constructing the Other’, will explore the idea of Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978). In addition to this, the use of discourse will be explored in terms of the theories of Aimé Césaire, Stuart Hall and Michel Foucault. The second chapter, titled ‘Terminology and Numbers’, will mostly be concerned with numbers and facts, answering questions as ‘is there really a crisis different from other

peaks in flows of refugees?’ to provide more context on the scale of the crisis. The second part is devoted to defining the terms that are used in the media regarding the refugee crisis, such as ‘refugees’, ‘migrants’, ‘asylum seekers’ and the Dutch concept of ‘*allochtonen*’. The third chapter, ‘Representation and News Framing’, will be centered around theories on media representation. I will consider the question of representation in media as it concerns the ways in which events are expressed in media and, more particularly, how people are represented in media. In this particular case, representation can show us the ways in which society thinks of refugees, as ‘others’, which will relate to what the thesis discusses in the analysis of the newspaper articles in chapters four and five.

These final two chapters will be devoted to the actual analysis of newspaper articles published by *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf*. Each chapter is devoted to the representation of one of the two particular events. This will be done in chronological order, which means that first the representation of Aylan will be explored in the fourth chapter, after which Cologne will be explored in the fifth and final chapter. The analysis will particularly focus on the tone of the articles, dominant themes that might come to light and, most importantly, the use of Orientalist discourse, while using a comparative analysis.

As principal methodological devices Said uses two different strategies. First of all, he uses what he calls ‘strategic location’ (Said 86). This method consists of analysing the relationship of the author with its topic. More specifically, it describes the author’s position in a text with regard to the Oriental material he/she writes about. When analysing writers and their books or novels, this would be a useful contribution to the research. However, as I will be drawing on the representation in newspaper articles, this is not a method that will be used in this thesis. It would simply be an enormous (and maybe even less relevant) task because the newspaper articles are written by many different journalists, and analysing their personal ‘location’ in regard to the topics of their articles is not as relevant as what comes out of my research has to answer to the question *how* it is represented instead of it is represented instead of *why* the author has represented it in a certain way.

Instead, I will be using Said’s second methodology, what he calls ‘strategic formation’ (Said 86). This is the way of analysing “the relationship between texts and the way in which groups of texts, types of texts, even textual genres, acquire mass, density, and referential power among themselves and thereafter in the culture at large” (Said 86). This strategy will form the basis of my thesis, as I will be analysing newspaper articles and comparing them to create the bigger picture, i.e. the way in which refugees are represented in two of the most important Dutch newspapers.

For the period the analysis of newspaper articles, I decided to start with the death of the Kurdish boy Aylan, as I believe the debate in the Netherlands changed afterwards. That means that I will start with texts written from September 2015 onwards. The assaults in Cologne were on New Year's Eve of this year (2016). However, this does not mean that articles have to be written at that specific time. Due to time limitations, I have decided to set the date for the publication date of the articles from the 1st of September 2015 till August 1st 2016. This means that my research is able to contain change of tones (if that is the case) and to form a more profound research over a longer period of time. However, instead of having to analyse a couple of months of articles, my research will focus on the two specific events that are mentioned earlier in this introduction (Aylan and Cologne) to examine if these events are represented differently due to geographical circumstances – Aylan still in the 'Other' world; while Cologne is very nearby and in 'the West'.

1. Constructing the Other

1.1 Edward Said

This chapter will focus on Edward Said and explore his work *Orientalism*. This theoretical focus will form the foundation of later chapters, in which Said's theory will be applied to the current refugee crisis in the Netherlands to see in what extent Orientalism is still present in the representation of the refugees in Dutch newspapers. After shortly introducing Said and his work, this chapter will give context to Said's theory of Orientalism and elaborate on this founding work of post-colonialism.

Edward Said (1935-2003) was a Palestinian-American literary theoretician. His work *Orientalism* mostly founded post-colonial theory.² As a result, his works influenced not only our worldview, but the very terms of public discourse. Or, as Andrew Rubin argued in his foreword of *Orientalism of The Edward Said Reader* (2000): "After *Orientalism*, scholars in the humanities and the social sciences could no longer ignore questions of difference and the politics of representation." (67). Said raised many questions and awareness among scholars on the way the West has been, and perhaps is still representing other cultures.

1.2 *Orientalism* contextualised

Both during and after the period of decolonisation, scholars as Edward Said, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Homi Bhabha reflected on the relationship between the West and the East during colonial times. These three scholars became the founders of post-colonial theory, which became and still is to the present day an important movement. For the first time, the former colonisers were actually interested in what the colonised people had to say. Postcolonial writers were trying to give the suppressed colonised people a voice by breaking through the silence. However, postcolonial theory focuses not only on the way the former colonised were freed of their oppressors. Said rather focused on the way the West has represented the East. Whereas Spivak also uses the concept of representation, she looks at it from a completely different point of view. She focuses on the voice of the colonised, and seizes the opportunity to give a voice to a different narrative than the Western has yet provided:

² 'Post-colonial' as meant in a temporal sense: the period *after* colonialism.

This is not to describe ‘the way things really were’ or to privilege the narrative of history as imperialism as the best version of history. It is, rather, to continue the account of how *one* explanation and narrative of reality was established as the normative one. (Gayatri Spivak, ‘Can the Subaltern Speak’ in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism* 2010; 2115).

Spivak means by ‘the normative one’ the Western perspective and the Western version of history. She sees an opportunity for the East to offer an alternative to the Western paradigm. She acknowledges how the rewriting of the Other can contribute in realising that (in this case Western) stories are always partially told and that the discourse is created by these same Westerners.

In direct opposition to Spivak’s argument, Said does not really seem to be concerned with offering an alternative to the Western perspective. Although he agrees with the importance of being aware of the Western Eurocentric interpretation of the former colonies and their inhabitants, Said is mainly interested in exactly this Western paradigm. By doing so, the emphasis continues to be on the West as the dominant force. In the introduction of *Orientalism* Said states that:

“(…) Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.” (Said 69).

This shows Said’s interest in studying the West by studying its Oriental stories that it produced. In this way, Said offers a negative perspective on the West in its attempt to define itself: by establishing what the Other or the East is, it defines itself by turning these traits around: by defining what the East is, at the same time negating what the West is not. By doing so, the West gained and maintained power over the East. There was no room for a different perspective, and as a result the Western perspective became dominant.

But how is the East then represented, according to this Western paradigm? In his follow-up book *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) Said attributes several traits to Europe’s ways of representing countries and cultures outside of Europe by explicitly stating them:

What are striking in these discourses are the rhetorical figures one keeps encountering in their descriptions of ‘the mysterious East’, as well as the stereotypes about ‘the African or Indian or Irish or Jamaican or Chinese) mind’, the notions about bringing civilization to primitive or barbaric peoples, the disturbingly familiar ideas about flogging or death or extended punishment being required when ‘they’ misbehaved or became rebellious, because ‘they’ mainly understood force or violence best; ‘they’ were not like ‘us’, and for that reason deserved to be ruled. (Said *Culture and Imperialism* xi).

The idea of the barbaric savage is an important aspect of colonialism, but also of Orientalism. It results in the so-called ‘making strange’ of other people. In many cases, this is accompanied with a certain sense of a sexual, mysterious and exotic desire. For instance, indigenous women are often represented with a sexual and mysterious aura, and as a result of this mystery and focus on the earthly and vulgar aspects of men, as immoral beings. These immoral beings are to be taught to behave as civilised people, and it was up to the West to bring them this civilisation. If they misbehaved according to Western standards, it was also permitted to use violence in order to punish them, as force was the only power they acknowledged.

As is shown above, this opposition between the Western ‘moralised Self’ and the sexual mysterious ‘Other’ resulted in a common notion of ‘the Other’ versus ‘the Self’, viewed from a Western perspective. In his work *Orientalism* Said states that “[t]he Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences.” (Said 67). This quote shows that Orientalising ‘the Other’ has had a long tradition, containing exoticism, both in people and nature. The experiences are remarkable because they take place in a completely different world, with different surroundings and nature, exotic animals, ‘other’ customs and traditions, and perhaps most importantly, ‘other’ people, maybe even with a different skin colour than white, who speak different languages. Altogether, the world and the people might look different in other corners of the world. Orientalism is the practice of emphasising these differences, while at the same time constantly comparing these differences to one’s own culture. These comparisons were not free of judgement, as the West was the colonial force who was in power. As a result, the West created and controlled the discourse, to which standards both cultures were measured.

1.3 Discourse in *Orientalism*

As is already indicated above, not only the way in which the East is depicted in the representations of Western people forms part of Said's theory. A substantial element is the notion of discourse. During the period of the Western expansion towards the East, Orientalism provided a certain framework, a discourse so to speak, to give justification to Western colonialism. This discourse was based on certain dichotomies. The opposition between the Self and the Other made it possible to look at other people in a completely different way, as inferior beings, while the Western Self was seen as superior towards the colonised population. It would be the so-called 'White Man's burden' to civilize the 'savages' of the East, as is already shown in the introduction of this thesis with Kipling's poem. During this period, the indigenous people were unable to speak for themselves, as the Western oppressor was the dominant force. The indigenous people were seen as the marginal population, who needed to be taught Western standards. Western thoughts and reasoning formed the dominant paradigm. This paradigm includes Orientalism and its contributing discourse.

But what exactly is this discourse then, when it is being applied on language and the colonial issue? Cultural theorist Stuart Hall elaborates on the definition of discourse in the colonial sense in his chapter 'The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power' of his edited book *Formations of Modernity* (1992), while drawing on Foucault:

In common-sense language, a discourse is simply a 'coherent or rational body of speech or writing; a speech, or a sermon'. But here the term is being used in a more specialized way (...). By 'discourse', we mean a particular way of *representing* 'the West', 'the Rest' and the relations between them. A discourse is a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – i.e. a way of representing – a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. When statements about a topic are made within a particular discourse, the discourse makes it possible to construct the topic in a certain way. It also limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed. (Hall 291).

As is shown, Hall argues that the discourse we use while representing knowledge shapes our understanding and interpretation of the subject. It also makes it more difficult for opposing discourses or opinions to be articulated, as there is no other specific language to express oneself than the already existing discourse. However, discourse does not simply consist of language, but it is also strongly connected to the power structures within society. Language

constitutes the way in which people can speak of objects, events and, in this case, each other. As a result, language holds a certain power over people (120).

In addition, Foucault argues that discourse is created by people. Foucault viewed discourse as language and behaviour based on and structured by power relations in society. In his work *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972) he argues that language, and therefore discourse, not only enables people to communicate with each other, but the way in which they interact is for a great deal influenced by discourse. Thus, the one who created the discourse, is also the one in power. If we take this back to Said, one realises that in this sense language becomes both a tool and a means to create domination over others. As the West has created the discourse, the East has to adapt to this same discourse, which is forced on them. The East is mostly limited by the discourse, as it does not have the ability (power) to form a constituting part of the discourse. Together with power comes authority, and according to Said the West has held, and perhaps still holds, the dominant discourse. Hence in this sense, discourse is closely related to power. The one in charge of the discourse, is the one in power as well, as it has the power to decide on the representation of both the Self and the Other. When applying this on the East versus West dichotomy, Hall states that:

[a] discourse is a way of talking about or representing something. It produces knowledge that shapes perceptions and practice. It is part of the way in which power operates. Therefore, it has consequences for both those who employ it and those who are 'subjected' to it. The West produced many different ways of talking about itself and 'the Others'. But what we have called the discourse of 'the West and the Rest' became one of the most powerful and formative of these discourses. It became the dominant way in which, for many decades, the West represented itself and its relation to 'the Other'. (Hall 318).

As a result, discourse shapes and determines the way we think about phenomena and people in the world. The Western discourse became the dominant one, making it more difficult as Hall argued for the other discourses to be heard. However, in the discourse several premises, assumptions and prejudices are present. Therefore, the representation of the East is not depicting the East and its oriental inhabitants as it 'truly is', thus representing 'reality', but rather offers us insights on the way in which the Western discourse worked. It tried to fit this new and Oriental world in already familiar conceptual frameworks, the ones that were already present in the Western world. By doing so, "(...) Europe brought its own cultural categories,

languages, images and ideas to the New World in order to describe and represent it” (Hall 293-294). As a result, it was impossible for the West to regard the East ‘innocently’ or ‘neutral’, that is, without preconceptions. As becomes clear, like Stuart Hall, Said also draws on Michel Foucault’s notion of discourse. Hall, Said and Foucault focused on the relationship between discourse and power and created awareness on the immense influence discourse has on people. Regarding this, Said states that:

[m]y contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period. Moreover, so authoritative a position did Orientalism have that I believe no one writing, thinking, or acting on the Orient could do so without taking account of the limitations on thought and action imposed by Orientalism. In brief, because of Orientalism the Orient was not (and is not) a free subject of thought or action. (Said 69-70).

The discourse that is created by the West resulted in a superior position of the West, while the East was pushed towards an inferior position as an immediate result. As Said already argued, the Orient was not a free subject. This negative view towards the influence of Western discourse is also explored in Aimé Césaire’s work *Discourse on Colonialism* (2000), in which he elaborates on the consequences of this domination. According to Césaire, “Europe is unable to justify itself either before the bar of ‘reason’ or before the bar of ‘conscience’ [regarding the colonial ‘problem’]; and that, increasingly, it takes refuge in a hypocrisy which is all the more odious because it is less and less likely to deceive.” (Césaire 31). As Césaire makes clear in this statement, the West has been and still is stuck in a perspective of hypocrisy, and, as a result, the West uses a hypocrite discourse as well in their attempt to justify their colonial endeavours. However, the colonial endeavour can not be justified because the discourse that is used is tainted. Important here is that this colonial discourse is the same discourse that has created Orientalism. By looking at the original inhabitants of the countries the West has invaded as being ‘others’ because they did not suit the Western conceptual frameworks (i.e. discourse), this discourse of what Said has called Orientalism provided the necessary justification not only to invade other countries to expand the wealth of the West, but also to treat the Orientals as ‘others’, as inferior beings.

Hence Orientalism is characterised by some kind of authority (Said 86). Western European writers and scholars are discussing the way in which the Orient is perceived. However, as this only shows one side, i.e. that of the oppressor, the perspective is very biased. Said argues that there is nothing mysterious or natural about authority: “[i]t is formed, irradiated, disseminated; it is instrumental, it is persuasive; it has status, it establishes canons of taste and value; it is virtually indistinguishable from certain ideas it dignifies as true, and from traditions, perceptions, and judgments it forms, transmits, reproduces.” (Said 86). This authority over the East is created as the result of discourse. Said does not agree on this authority and emphasises the unnatural process, but Césaire goes even further. He does not only see the West as a hypocrite society, he also states that at a very basic level of society something is wrong, or, to use Césaire’s words, that society has to be sick:

What am I driving at? At this idea: that no one colonizes innocently, that no one colonizes with impunity either; that a nation which colonizes, that a civilization which justifies colonization – and therefore force – is already a sick civilization, a civilization which is morally diseased, which irresistibly, progressing from one consequence to another, one denial to another, calls for its Hitler, I mean its punishment. (Césaire 39).

Césaire argues that the discourse has deliberately been created by the West, as a means to an end, namely the domination of countries that could provide the West with cheap labour and commodities. So, following this argumentation, no knowledge is and can be produced impartially. Said also agrees with this argument, although he phrases his view more nuanced. Instead of arguing that the West has deliberately created a dominating discourse, Said rather focuses on the positionality, the personal involvement, of all people by stating that:

[f]or if it is true that no production of knowledge in the human sciences can ever ignore or disclaim its author’s involvement as a human subject in his own circumstances, then it must also be true that for a European or American studying the Orient there can be no disclaiming the main circumstances of *his* actuality: that he comes up against the Orient as a European or American first, as an individual second. (...) It meant and means being aware, however dimly, that one belongs to a power with definite interests in the Orient, and more important, that one belongs to part of the earth with a definite history of involvement in the Orient almost since the time of Homer.” (Said 77).

Both in this sense as well as throughout his whole work, Said does not argue against the Western domination of the discourse. Said simply pleads for raising awareness of one's own personal position regarding the Western/Eastern dichotomy. In addition to this, Said does not seem to judge the West for its strive for power. Instead, Said turns things around by arguing that Orientalism should not be the study on the Orient, but on the Western representation of this Orient. Orientalism does not do justice to the East as a depiction of reality, but it provides scholars with an interesting framework to see how encounters with other cultures are received in Western society. Therefore, Orientalism is a theoretical framework that is particularly useful in the representation of the current refugee crisis.

In this regard, Said has one useful addition on how to analyse (Oriental) texts. He urges his reader to analyse Orientalism as premised upon the exteriority of texts. Rather than exploring the 'hidden meaning' of a text, Said focuses on what is on the surface, what is really expressed in the text itself:

(...) the fact that the Orientalist, poet or scholar, makes the Orient speak, describes the Orient, renders its mysteries plain for and to the West. He is never concerned with the Orient except as the first cause of what he says. What he says and writes, by virtue of the fact that it is said or written, is meant to indicate that the Orientalist is outside the Orient, both as an existential and as a moral fact. (Said 87).

The Orientalist can and will never be part of the 'culture' he is trying to describe. This closely relates to Said's second argument for exteriority. Said continuously emphasises the fact that Orientalism is not a 'true' description of the Orient, and that it merely is a representation. Orientalism is the way in which a culture from a different continent is *represented* by exterior (Western) authorities. This representation says more on the Western way of thinking and behaving towards other cultures than it does on the nature of 'Other' cultures, or as Said formulates it: "Orientalism is more particularly valuable as a sign of European-Atlantic power over the Orient than it is as a veridic discourse about the Orient (which is what, in its academic or scholarly form, it claims to be)." (Said 72). Hence, it means that difficulties could be expected as it comes to the representation of refugees in Western (Dutch) media.

On the way Others have been represented, Said also has a useful adjustment regarding the modern mass media. He argues that the typification of Others has resulted in a certain standardisation, thus creating stereotypes of the constructed Other:

One aspect of the electronic, postmodern world is that there has been a reinforcement of the stereotypes by which the Orient is viewed. Television, the films, and all the media's resources have forced information into more and more standardized molds. So far as the Orient is concerned, standardization and cultural stereotyping have intensified the hold of the nineteenth-century academic and imaginative demonology of 'the mysterious Orient'. This is nowhere more true than in the ways by which the Near East is grasped. (Said 91).

According to Said, three things have contributed to this standardisation, the first being the history of popular anti-Arab and anti-Islamic prejudice in the West, whereas the second is formed by the struggle between the Arabs and Israeli Zionism. The third contribution according to Said is the "almost total absence of any cultural position making it possible either to identify with or dispassionately to discuss the Arabs or Islam." (Said 91). Especially in the case of the current refugee crisis, stereotyping might be an important aspect of the representation. The Near East, the area on which Said is basing his research, is mostly formed by countries in which Islam is the dominant religion. In this case, this research is not only dealing with encounters with people who look different, but also who have completely different cultures, as well as beliefs.

1.4 Reception of *Orientalism*

As Said's *Orientalism* formed one of the founding texts of postcolonial theory, a lot has been written in response. However, the majority of the scholars holds a positive approach towards the theory. For instance Richard Dyer regards in his book *White* (1997) Said's theory as the means of the West to give itself identity, as opposed to a certain alterity. He grounds his own theory in Said's ideas by drawing on them and expanding it. Dyer relates the dichotomy between the East and not West not only to geographical and cultural differences, but also to race and, as a result, to skin colour:

(...) the West's construction of an 'Orient' by means of which to make sense of itself. This is more than saying than one can only really see the specificity of one's culture by realising that it could be otherwise, in itself an unobjectionable human process. (...) [W]hite discourse implacably reduces the non-white subject to being a function of the white subject, not allowing her/him space or autonomy, permitting neither the recognition of similarities nor the acceptance of differences except as a means for

knowing the white self. This cultural process justifies the emphasis, in work on the representation of white people, on the role of images of non-white people in it. (13).

This viewpoint might form a fruitful addition to and expansion of Said's theory, as he does not explicitly make statements about race or ethnicity, other than one's national and cultural background. However, the colour of one's skin might be one of the most important distinctions to identity either Eastern or Western people.

While Dyer and many others have based their own theories and Said's concept of Orientalism, some critical notes can be placed within his theory as well. One example of criticism is formulated by Fatima El-Tayeb, professor at the University College of San Diego (UCSD) and director of the Critical Gender Studies Program. In her book *European Others. Queering Ethnicity in Postnational Europe* (2001) she questions Said's idea that only the West has been imposing on others. She does not seem to agree that this so-called hegemony of the West evidently has to be seen as a dominant discourse and that the West has ever since been imposing on others:

This tone and this image of Europe as threatened by, on the one hand, cultural and intellectual 'Americanization' and political correctness, on the other by anti-Enlightenment migrant fundamentalism, places the continent in the position of victim, occupied with defending its values rather than imposing them on others. (El-Tayeb xvi).

Although El-Tayeb offers us an interesting angle on Western history by perceiving the West rather as a victim than as a perpetrator, one can not deny the influence the West has had during colonial times and in dealing its aftermath. Maybe times have changed, and maybe times have changed the position of the West as well, but it is evident that the West has created the existing discourse, and the constructed Others have to try to adapt to this discourse in order to be able to transform it from within. However, there are two arguments to present that might support El-Tayeb's idea. Firstly, there seems to be the idea in society nowadays that the Arabic (or Muslim) world is trying to conquer the West by imposing 'their' ideas on Western society. A big topic in this sense is Islamic State (IS), whose aim does not seem to be limited to creating a Muslim caliphate in the Middle East, but also to killing all people who think and believe differently from their beliefs and ideology, especially Western 'savages'. By doing so, IS also forces their ideology, beliefs and perhaps even discourse on Western society by

creating fear through terrorist attacks in Europe's biggest and most important cities. In this sense, the role of the perpetrator and victim might indeed be reversed.

The second argument would be that there is no doubt that living in a multicultural society changes the way in which people think and percept each other. The 'other' might even become more familiar, and is perhaps seen differently as Western society is faced by otherness in everyday lives. This approach is not as aggressive as the ways in which IS might be changing the discourse, but rather is changing the discourse from the inside. Although one might wonder to what extent this is a form of perpetrating instead of multiculturalism, there are people who perceive every change in their own culture and tradition from other cultures as a form of (unwanted) perpetration.

Not only other scholars were critical of his work, Edward Said himself was also critical about his own work. About five years after publishing *Orientalism*, Said wrote a second important work, inspired while writing his previous book and dealing with the critical responses he received. *Culture and Imperialism* was published in 1993 and dealt mostly with the general relationship between culture and empire (*Culture and Imperialism* xi). In this book, his aim is to expand his theory on Orientalism. However, Said not only expands his own theory of Orientalism, Nadjie Al-Ali notes in her article 'Up against Conceptual Frameworks: Post-Orientalism, Occidentalism, and Presentations of the Self' (2000) that Said constituted a shift from *Orientalism* in this work: "(...) Said stressed that relations between the 'West' and 'non-West' have been continuously characterized by conflict, divisiveness and dichotomies as the inevitable consequence of and reaction to colonialism." (19). After noticing this, Al-Ali expresses an almost positive approach to the difference between the 'former' dichotomy: "A sense of relief, almost comfort, arises: are we living in new times in which processes of decolonization within formerly colonized as well as colonizing countries allow reconciliation, liberation and the necessary steps to go beyond essentialisms, hierarchies and binary oppositions?" (19). In this, she questions whether the dichotomy and the hierarchical connection between the West and East is still relevant nowadays. It is interesting to take this view into account when analysing the newspaper articles, to see whether we have 'overcome' this dichotomy or that it still is very much alive in modern-day society.

Chapter 2: Terminology and Numbers

2.1 General questions

In addition to the theory discussed in the previous chapter, this chapter will provide several numbers and statistics on the scale of the refugee crisis. The first subchapter will start with determining the definitions of the concepts that will be used in this thesis. The second subchapter will create a bigger picture on the recent crisis in terms of numbers and statistics. Can one actually speak of a crisis, or is the idea of a crisis created by the media? Using statistics provided by Eurostat, the CBS (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek) and the IND (Immigratie- en Naturalisatiedienst) while at the same time critically analysing these numbers, this chapter will offer more insight on the scale and impact of this so-called crisis as well as elaborating on the terminology that is used.

2.2 Terminology: Refugees, Asylum Seekers, Immigrants and *Allochtonen*

Before using statistics to analyse the scale of the crisis in the Netherlands, it is important to make distinctions between different concepts. This subchapter will provide definitions and therefore shows the difference between the concepts of refugees and asylum seekers, immigrants and *allochtonen*.

The analysis of the four concepts will be discussed in chronological order in terms of historical events. The story begins with determining what being a refugee means. Leen d'Haenens and Mariëlle de Lange provide us with a general definition in their article 'Framing of Asylum Seekers in Dutch Regional Newspapers' (2001), proclaiming that each country bases its definition of 'refugee' on the definition provided in the Refugee Treaty (1951):

A refugee is someone who, on the grounds of a reasonable fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, belonging to a certain group or political convictions, finds himself outside the country of which he is a subject, and cannot or does not wish to enlist the aid of that country for reasons of the above-mentioned fear. (VluchtelingenWerk 1999).

In this sense, every person who is forced to flee his or her country based on a rational fear of being persecuted for being 'who they are', albeit gender, race, religion or convictions is

defined as a refugee. While the concepts of refugee and asylum seeker are often interchangeable in media discourse, there are differences in government policy. Whereas an asylum seeker is recognised as a person seeking for a permit to stay in a different country, a refugee is defined by the element of fear of persecution and as a result is applying for asylum out of necessity (IND). Therefore, the term asylum seeker is a less politically charged term than refugee as it emphasises the political process of becoming part of a different society. Asylum seeker refers to the 'new' country, whereas refugee refers to the country of departure, the nation the refugee is fleeing from.

However, the reception of both terms has become more tense and problematic over the years. Halleh Ghorashi, who entered as an asylum seeker herself in the Netherlands in the 1980's, writes in her article 'Agents of Change or Passive Victims: The Impact of Welfare States (the Case of the Netherlands) on Refugees' (2005) on the experience of Iranian women who fled from persecution during the 'years of suppression' in Iran and applied for asylum in the Netherlands. Her argument is that the Dutch system is for an important part to blame for the negative perception of refugees. The word 'refugee' is increasingly attached to negative connotations with prevailing negative images who picture refugees as helpless victims (Ghorashi 185). This is strongly connected to the Dutch government's policy of the last two decades of the twentieth century regarding refugees applying for asylum:

At the beginning of the 1980's there were no asylum seeker centres (*Azielzoekercentra*) in the Netherlands, so refugees could become part of the society as soon as they entered the country. This situation changed from 1987 when the concept of asylum seeker centres was introduced. Asylum seekers had to stay within the centres for a set period, initially limited to a few months but after 1990 increased to several years. The main reason for the introduction of asylum seeker centres was the growing negative public perception of asylum seekers as 'bogus' and a threat to the asylum system. (Ghorashi 182).

As the process of applying for asylum changed significantly, the assimilation of foreigners seeking asylum as well as their reception changed as well. Whereas at first the asylum seekers were placed within Dutch society and were able to get used to, assimilate and contribute to their new environment, the installation of asylum seeker centres prevented the asylum seekers of making contact with the Dutch population and its culture. Instead of creating unity, the Dutch government created a literal demarcation between the Dutch population and the

foreigners, as they were separated by a fence. By doing so, they might have contributed to the dichotomy between ‘us’ and ‘them’, between ‘the self’ and ‘the other’, a trend that would have politicised both the terms of ‘refugee’ and ‘asylum seeker’.

Moreover, according to Ghorashi such (lack of) interaction due to the fences creates a hierarchical relationship between the giver (broadly speaking: the Netherlands) and the receiver (the asylum seekers). It also develops a strong sense that the refugees should be grateful towards the Dutch population and government for providing shelter and safety, and more importantly, a chance to start a new life. However, during the first years of their application, the asylum seekers are not able to ‘show their gratitude’ as they are secluded from the Dutch society. Hence, what is striking in the case of the Netherlands is that the Dutch welfare system makes asylum seekers dependants of the state and then blames them for their dependency on the state (Ghorashi 186).

Not only the treatment of asylum seekers, but also their reception creates a feeling of otherness according to Ghorashi, which is created by three factors. The first factor is that migration in the Netherlands is generally perceived as temporary rather than permanent (Ghorashi 192). This is based on the influx of guest labourers in the 1960’s, who were mostly of Turkish or Moroccan descent and who came to the Netherlands as ‘guest workers’. The original idea was that the labourers would stay in the Netherlands temporarily to do the work and would afterwards return to their home country. However, as it turned out, many of the guest labourers brought their family with them and stayed in the Netherlands after ‘the work was done’. With the current influx of asylum seekers, it is not clear how long they will stay in the Netherlands. This depends on the safety in the homeland (often Syria, as will be shown in the next subchapter as the result of the current war) as well as the possibility to build up a new life. This is strongly connected to the notion of the *gelukzoeker*, the economical refugee, who wants to live in the West as there are more opportunities and better welfare. This idea will be discussed in the next chapter. In short, it is uncertain whether the stay of refugees in the Netherlands will be on a temporary or permanent basis.

Secondly, the process of exclusion is the manifestation of ethnicity in physical appearance that shapes the perception of migrants as ‘others’ (Ghorashi 192). By keeping the asylum seekers and the Dutch population separated, the difference in physical appearances is emphasised. The asylum seekers are recognized by their skin colour, different features and language. This point will be elaborated on when discussing the term *allochtoon*. The third and last factor contributing to a feeling of otherness lies in the construction of ‘the other’ in the mixed and often contradictory images of refugees in general. As is shown above, refugees are

often portrayed as helpless victims, while at the same time as “potential threads for the society based on the possibility that they are not ‘real refugees’” (Ghorashi 193). The fourth and fifth chapter will analyse whether these three factors are of importance in the case of the Dutch newspapers *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf*.

The next concept, immigrant, is relatively easily defined. When an asylum seeker is granted the legal status, he/she becomes an immigrant. This is more or less a legal term, without a strong connotation. However, the Dutch system also uses a different term, that was introduced in the 1970’s to replace the word immigrant. That word is *allochtoon*, a word derived from the Greek language that literally means ‘comes from elsewhere’ (Van Dale). The opposite word of *allochtoon* is *autochtoon*, which can be translated into something as ‘authentic inhabitant’. However, as the meaning of the word would suggest that only people who come from elsewhere themselves are considered *allochtonen*, the CBS expands this term by applying it also on people whose parents (or only one parent) were born elsewhere. Hence the concept of *allochtoon* does not only create differences between natives and first generation asylum seekers, but it enhances more. In extension of the concept, second generation immigrants are also considered *allochtonen*. In this sense, the terminology that is used in the Dutch system actually prevents the immigrants of becoming *autochtonen*. Although the second generation is born in the Netherlands, they are still considered outsiders, and different from ‘Dutch natives’. The concept of natives is ambiguous in this case, as it literally means that someone is born in a certain country and therefore is a native. However, as is shown above, the CBS does not consider people who were born in the Netherlands (who would be considered natives following the meaning of the word) as *autochtonen*, if at least one of their parents is born elsewhere. Interestingly enough, in the English version of the CBS website all terms (non-Western *allochtoon* and Western *allochtoon*, and even *allochtoon*) are absent. Although the word *allochtoon* does not exist in the English language, it is surprising that a word with such impact on the Dutch immigration system is not even mentioned let alone explained.

Moreover, the CBS does not only distinguish between *allochtonen* and *autochtonen*, a distinction is also made between different types of *allochtonen*, which is strongly connected to Ghorashi’s second factor in the process of exclusion: the manifestation of ethnicity. This is also traceable in the policy and presentation of statistics of the CBS. An example can be found below in Table 1. As we can see, the CBS employs two different types of *allochtonen*. The first group consists of non-Western *allochtonen*, whereas the second group is made up of Western *allochtonen*. This table is shown not because of its relevance in terms of content, but

rather shows how the CBS divides and analyses the *allochtonen* in the Netherlands. This division between *allochtonen* and *autochtonen* is creating a polarising image between different cultures, based on culture. As one has seen in the previous chapter, this is also an important aspect of Orientalism.

In addition, more can be said on this table. One can see that the CBS still includes second generation immigrants in tables with numbers of *allochtonen*, a trend that is explored in the previous paragraph. This is evidence that the Dutch political system prevents children of immigrants who were born in the Netherlands from being seen as native Dutch inhabitants.

Allochtonen naar herkomstgroepering en jaar van laatste vestiging in Nederland, 1 januari 2016 (voorlopig cijfer)										
	Eerste generatie			Totaal eerste generatie	Tweede generatie			Totaal tweede generatie	Totaal Eerste + tweede generatie	
	2013 of eerder	2014	2015		Altijd in Nederland gewoond	2013 of eerder	2014			2015
	<i>aantal</i>									
Niet-westerse allochtonen	1015179	53387	79763	1148329	852594	77822	8523	10112	949051	2097380
<i>waarvan met herkomst</i>										
Syrië	9128	8492	20714	38334	5075	246	20	26	5367	43701
Ethiopië	7306	1256	2735	11297	4706	255	35	44	5040	16337
Eritrea	2005	2071	3213	7289	724	19	9	9	761	8050
Afghanistan	31008	941	1060	33009	10954	268	43	60	11325	44334
China	38547	3902	5347	47796	19276	1454	121	106	20957	68753
India	15046	3361	5550	23957	8017	565	50	70	8702	32659
Irak	37823	1427	1595	40845	14322	686	234	232	15474	56319
Iran	26992	1112	1334	29438	8517	406	54	44	9021	38459
Marokko	162759	2871	2695	168325	199180	14347	1909	2239	217675	386000
Somalië	23803	1856	1135	26794	11862	596	110	101	12669	39463
Suriname	172416	2507	2889	177812	149397	18098	1825	2118	171438	349250
Turkije	183126	3371	4094	190591	187806	15791	1509	1913	207019	397610
Voormalige Nederlandse Antillen	74421	3742	4449	82612	56925	9585	930	1182	68622	151234
Westerse allochtonen	622650	63592	81940	768182	781284	93251	4139	4591	883330	1651512
<i>waarvan met herkomst</i>										
België	36907	2533	3011	42451	66005	7209	290	292	73796	116247
Bulgarije	14376	3307	4157	21840	3370	226	55	72	3723	25563
Duitsland	90556	5718	7920	104194	230817	23409	692	762	255680	359874
Frankrijk	16644	2244	3435	22323	17566	1933	153	184	19836	42159
Indonesië	102178	1255	1745	105178	222659	36255	1311	1385	261610	366788
Italië	19109	3097	4487	26693	18778	2614	131	159	21682	48375
Polen	81048	16518	15930	113496	30617	1597	182	221	32617	146113
Spanje	18407	2645	3769	24821	14639	1921	117	136	16813	41634
Ver. Staten v. Amerika	16735	2747	4456	23938	12719	1628	127	127	14601	38539
Verenigd Koninkrijk	38243	3372	4830	46445	33172	4346	231	322	38071	84516
Voormalig Joegoslavië	49258	1477	1865	52600	28828	2393	197	230	31648	84248
Voormalige Sovjet-Unie	47684	4916	6269	58869	19659	1168	83	112	21022	79891
Totaal allochtonen	1637829	116979	161703	1916511	1633943	171073	12662	14703	1832381	3748892
Bron: CBS										

Table 1: *Allochtonen* divided by country of origin (Source: CBS).

Secondly, the distinction between Western and non-Western immigrants is immediately made visible. According to the CBS, a Western *allochtoon* is defined as an '*allochtoon* with as country of origin one of the countries in Europe (except for Turkey), North-America and

Oceania, or Indonesia or Japan'.³ Whereas the choice of considering European countries, countries from North-America and Oceania as Western seems reasonable by their Western oriented cultures (religion, ethnicity, economic orientation and language), considering Indonesia and Japan as Western countries raises more questions. The CBS explains the inclusion of both countries as being part of the Western world by arguing that 'on grounds of their socioeconomic and -cultural position immigrants from these countries are considered as Western *allochtonen*. It is mostly about people who were born in the former Dutch-Indies and employees of Japanese companies with their families' (translation mine).⁴ Although Indonesia is a former colony of the Netherlands, which only gained independence in the late 1960's, it is also the country that counts the highest absolute number of Muslims. Japan is also different from the West in terms of culture as it is part of Asia. Beside these evident differences, an important aspect is also that of ethnicity, which is another characteristic of Orientalism as it distinguishes people based on their looks (for example on skin colour). This is closely related to the second kind of *allochtonen*, namely the non-Western *allochtonen*. They are defined by the CBS as '*allochtonen* with as country of origin one of the countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia (except for Japan and Indonesia) or Turkey'.⁵ Reckoning these countries as 'non-Western' is not further explained, it is supposed to be evident to the reader that these cultures are different from the West. Philomena Essed, professor of Critical Race, Gender and Leadership Studies and affiliated researcher for Utrecht University's Graduate Gender program, argues in her article 'Gender, Migration and Cross-Ethnic Coalition Building' (1995) that the word *allochtoon* is particularly used in the Dutch discourse when speaking of non-Western immigrants:

The notion of *allochtoon* is not used for just any 'non-native', such as US, British, or German immigrants, but explicitly 'non-natives of colour' and for immigrants with real or attributed Muslim identity. The term *allochtoon* is functional in setting apart people from the South, both the newly arriving refugees and the established black and ethnic minority groups, from a constructed image in which 'genuine' Dutch or European identity is a white identity. (Essed 53).

³ Source: <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/onze-diensten/methoden/begrippen?tab=w#id=westerse-allochtoon>

⁴ Op grond van hun sociaaleconomische en sociaal-culturele positie worden allochtonen uit Indonesië en Japan tot de westerse allochtonen gerekend. Het gaat vooral om mensen die in het voormalig Nederlands-Indië zijn geboren en werknemers van Japanse bedrijven met hun gezin. (Source: website CBS).

⁵ Source: <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/onze-diensten/methoden/begrippen?tab=n#id=niet-westerse-allochtoon>.

By stating this, Essed argues that the word *allochtoon* is only used when speaking of non-natives from ‘the South’. This area is defined by immigrants with Muslim identity and who are different from the Western ‘white identity’. In short, this refers to Muslim immigrants who have a different skin colour. By using a specific word to refer to this particular group, a polarising picture is created. Not only do ‘they’ believe in different things, ‘they’ are also easy to recognise as ‘they’ look different from ‘us’. Ghorashi states on this “[w]hen whiteness is the norm, a dark-looking person is a deviance from the norm” (Ghorashi 193). If this is applied on the recent refugee crisis, refugees who seek asylum in the Netherlands are not only physically excluded from society by putting them in asylum seeker centres, but it also means that refugees stand out in Dutch society based on their looks, i.e. skin colour. The creation of otherness is therefore already visible in Dutch statistics, which one expects to be ‘objective numbers about facts’. However, as it turns out, divisions and categories are based on racial and cultural differences in the Dutch system with the division between Western and non-Western *allochtonen*. Not only is this division artificial, but also the countries that are considered Western and non-Western are not only artificially but also quite arbitrarily made. Moreover, by creating a division in statistics between people who are ‘like us’ and others who are not, the discourse is defined in terms of binary oppositions, in terms of ‘us’ and ‘them, the ‘self’ and the ‘other’ and is therefore polarising. Consequently, the identity of immigrants ‘of colour’ is constructed by the Dutch political system in a way that is creating differences between people based on their skin colour, culture and economic situation. By doing so, it foregrounds the dichotomy that might be experienced in the next chapters of this thesis.

2.3 Crisis

There are many ways to decide whether a phenomenon can be considered a crisis or not. A crisis can be defined in different terms, and can be looked at in different ways as well. The impact of the refugee crisis on Dutch society can be measured by several indicators, such as the economical and humanitarian aspects of the crisis. This subchapter will provide more details on both. However, the following figures and tables have some disadvantages. First of all, the data that is used in this subchapter are limited, since the numbers that are available are mostly dealing with the second half of 2015. More recent events are mostly left out of the analysis as they are too recent to be included. However, as the events that will be analysed in this thesis are not particularly recent either, this would not pose problems as the tables and charts are rendering the same period as the selected events.

Secondly, the figures only show the crisis in relation to first asylum applications. This means that it leaves out any of the (mostly) illegal refugees, who have not filed asylum yet. This means that in countries to which the refugees often flee as they form the gateway from the South to Europe – such as Italy and Greece – problems might be worse than is now suggested in the charts. Refugees in these European countries simply come to Italy and Greece to enter Europe due to their geographical location. They intend to travel further north, to popular countries such as Germany or Sweden. As a result, they do not apply for asylum in the more southern European countries, as they do not intend to stay there. These refugees are therefore not included in the tables. However, as the Netherlands is one of the countries ‘in the north’, it is reasonable to argue that most refugees who are currently staying in the Netherlands applied for asylum. The Netherlands is not a ‘travel-through’ country such as Greece or Italy, which are at the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Instead, the Netherlands is mostly a final destination for refugees. As one can presume that the Netherlands is the final destination for most refugees from Syria and neighbouring countries, it is therefore reasonable to argue that the numbers come close to the real amount of refugees who seek shelter in the country.

Lastly, the following tables are only dealing with countries that are member of the European Union. However, not all European countries are included in this Union. That means that there might be countries with even higher amounts of first asylum applications, but which are simply not represented in these data. An example might be Macedonia, a country that has been dealing with a massive refugee problem, but that is never mentioned in these statistics. The country even decided to close its borders and proclaim the emergency situation (‘Noodtoestand in Macedonië wegens migrantenstroom’ in *De Volkskrant*, 20 August 2015). However, as this thesis is only concerned with the Dutch representation of the refugee crisis, Macedonia is not really relevant. Instead, it is important to realise and acknowledge that the following numbers are incomplete as they show only EU members when comparing the situation in the Netherlands to other countries. This means that problems might be worse in for instance Macedonia, although the country is mainly dealing with refugees rather than asylum seekers.

In the following tables different indicators are used to relate the number of refugees per country to examine the impact of the amount on a nation. Three important indicators are the country’s area size, population and Gross Domestic Product (GDP). When looking at the

Rank	Country of asylum	Application per 1000 sq km	In relation to Total EU 28 = 1	Number of Applications	Country area (sq km)
1	Malta	3.101	16,4	980	316
2	Hungary	1.171	6,2	108,945	93.023
3	Belgium	1.001	5,3	30,550	30.526
4	Netherlands	826	4,4	34,295	41.542
5	Germany	784	4,1	279,850	357.134
6	Luxembourg	715	3,8	1,850	2.586
7	Austria	696	3,7	58,410	83.880
8	Denmark	393	2,1	16,840	42.895
9	Sweden	297	1,6	130,455	438.575
	TOTAL EU-28	193	1,0	849,005	4.481.908

Table 2: Number of first asylum applications related to country area size in the second half of 2015

(Source: IND, p.13).

first indicator, area size, the number of refugees per 1000 square kilometers is regarded. A high number in the table indicates a high refugee density. This means that more refugees are located on less surface. This also means that small countries tend to have higher numbers for this indicator, which explains the high ranking of Malta and Luxembourg. Only small absolute numbers of refugees are needed to hugely influence the relative amount of refugees on a small island as Malta and small country as Luxembourg.

Furthermore, the table shows that the Netherlands had a relatively high amount of asylum applications per 1.000 square kilometers when compared to other EU countries. In relation to the EU average, the number of first asylum applications in the Netherlands is 4,4 times as big as the average. This was more than in Germany (4,1x), Austria (3,7x), and Sweden (1,6x), but less than for instance Hungary (6,2x) and neighbouring country Belgium (5,3x). This means that although the Netherlands ranks relatively high in this indicator, other countries are more charged. Moreover, the small country area size of the Netherlands is also one explanation of the high ranking. Thus, this table shows that in terms of defining a crisis, one could argue that the density of the refugees in the country related to country area size poses a problem in the Netherlands when comparing to most other European Union countries.

The next indicator relates the number of refugees to the population size of the EU countries by measuring the amount of first asylum applications per million inhabitants. A high number in the table indicates that refugees make up a higher proportion of the population.

Rank	Country of asylum	Application per million inhabitants	In relation to Total EU 28 = 1	Number of Applications	Inhabitants (million)
1	Sweden	13,384	8,0	130,455	9,7
2	Hungary	11,054	6,6	108,945	9,9
3	Austria	6,811	4,1	58,410	8,6
4	Finland	5,407	3,2	29,585	5,5
5	Germany	3,447	2,1	279,850	81,2
6	Luxembourg	3,286	2,0	1,850	0,6
7	Denmark	2,975	1,8	16,840	5,7
8	Belgium	2,714	1,6	30,550	11,3
9	Malta	2,283	1,4	980	0,4
10	Netherlands	2,029	1,2	34,295	16,9
11	Bulgaria	1,795	1,1	12,930	7,2
	TOTAL EU-28	1,670	1,0	849,005	508,5

Table 3: Number of first asylum applications related to population size in the second half of 2015. (Source: IND, p.15).

The table shows that the Netherlands ranks just slightly above the EU average. In the EU were 1.670 applications per million inhabitants in the second half of 2015, whereas in the Netherlands this were 2.029 (1,2 x the EU average). Other – mostly Western and Northern European – countries had remarkably higher figures. In Sweden, for instance, there were as many as 13.384 applications per million inhabitants (8x the EU average) and also in Hungary (6,6x), Germany (2,1x) and Belgium (1,6x) there were more applications for asylum when related to inhabitants than in the Netherlands. A country such as Sweden, which is big in country area size but has quite a small number of inhabitants – hence a low population density – ranks low (9th) when refugee numbers are related to the country area size, but high (1st) when related to population size. In the case of the Netherlands, this formula is the opposite because of its relatively high population density on a small area size. Therefore, the effect of the amount of refugees in the Netherlands, considering that it is only 1,2 times the EU average, can be called moderate. This table shows less of a crisis when compared to country area size, as for its ranking and compared to the EU average.

In the next table, the first asylum applications have been related to the countries' Gross Domestic Product (GDP) figures. This is referring to the size of the economy in different EU countries. One could argue that countries with a higher GDP could accommodate more asylum seekers because these countries have more financial options to anticipate to the influx of asylum seekers. The table shows the number of applications per billion Euros GDP. This basically means that Hungary, who ranks first, has to provide for 640,7 refugees per one billion Euros of the country's national income. Small economies (low GDP) tend to have higher numbers for this indicator.

Rank	Country of asylum	Application per billion PPS	In relation to Total EU 28 = 1	Number of Applications	GDP
1	Hungary	640,7	9,9	108,945	170
2	Sweden	416,0	6,4	130,455	314
3	Austria	207,9	3,2	58,410	281
4	Finland	189,3	2,9	29,585	156
5	Bulgaria	148,7	2,3	12,930	87
6	Germany	106,7	1,6	279,850	2,624
7	Malta	102,0	1,6	980	10
8	Denmark	93,4	1,4	16,840	180
9	Belgium	90,1	1,4	30,550	339
10	Cyprus	66,7	1,0	1,280	19
	TOTAL EU-28	65,0	1,0	849,005	13,069
11	Netherlands	62,6	1,0	34,295	548

Table 4: Number of first asylum applications related to GDP size in the second half of 2015.

(Source: IND, p.16).

For this indicator, the Netherlands ranks just below the EU average with 62,6 applications per billion Euro's of the national income. Ten EU countries had more applications than the Netherlands when compared to their national income. Hungary (9,9x) and Sweden (6,4x) are the most extreme examples, but also Germany (1,6x) and Belgium (1,4x) had more applications in relation to their GDP. The refugees in the Netherlands are not as much a burden financially speaking, as the Netherlands has to provide for 62,6 refugees per billion Euros of their GDP, which is even below the EU average. When comparing this table to the previous two, the crisis regarding the Netherlands is not as apparent. The first table (related to country area size) contained a number of 4,4 times the EU average, while the second table (related to population) is only 1,2 times the EU average. The Dutch numbers in the third table score even below the EU average.

Finally, an artificial ranking has been made out of the three earlier described and analysed indicators. In the final score, both country area size, population size and GDP have been included. When related to all three indicators at once, it becomes clear that Hungary, Malta and Sweden had the relatively highest amount of first asylum applications in the second half of 2015. These countries all score more than five times the EU average. The Netherlands ranks eight on this final list, below Austria, Belgium, Germany and Finland, but still with more than twice the number of applications related to the EU average. In this sense, the situation in the Netherlands can be described in terms of a crisis as it is twice as high as the EU average. However, as there are not real criteria to measure whether something can be considered a crisis or not, calling something a crisis will always be based on (subjective) interpretation. Moreover, it is important to keep in mind that the situation in other EU countries is far worse than in the Netherlands.

Rank	Country of asylum	Average	Index figure area In relation to Total EU 28 = 1	Index figure population In relation to Total EU 28 = 1	Index figure GDP In relation to Total EU 28 = 1
1	Hungary	7,6	6,2	6,6	9,9
2	Malta	6,4	16,4	1,4	1,6
3	Sweden	5,3	1,6	8,0	6,4
4	Austria	3,7	3,7	4,1	3,2
5	Belgium	2,8	5,3	1,6	1,4
6	Germany	2,6	4,1	2,1	1,6
7	Finland	2,2	0,5	3,2	2,9
8	Netherlands	2,2	4,4	1,2	1,0
9	Luxembourg	2,2	3,8	2,0	0,8
10	Denmark	1,8	2,1	1,8	1,4
11	Bulgaria	1,3	0,6	1,1	2,3

Table 5: Overview of all indicators of country size, related to number of first asylum applications in the second half of 2015. (Source: IND, p.17).

The second aspect of the situation that is important to take into account is the humanitarian factor. Whereas the tables above refer to the number of refugees who actually made it to Europe, a lot of the so-called ‘boat refugees’ fail to reach the safe havens of Europe. Part of the tragedy of the crisis is showed in the figure below, which indicates the number of refugees who died in the Mediterranean Sea in their attempt to cross it. Evidently, ever person who dies during an attempt to flee a world of war and bombings is horrific. These numbers show that every month people drown at sea. One of the most famous refugees who died is the Syrian boy Aylan, whose family tried to go to Europe. However, their boat capsized and

Aylan drowned, together with his mother. When considering something a crisis, one ought not to simply look at numbers, figures and tables, but also has to realise that crises can be viewed from a humanitarian perspective.

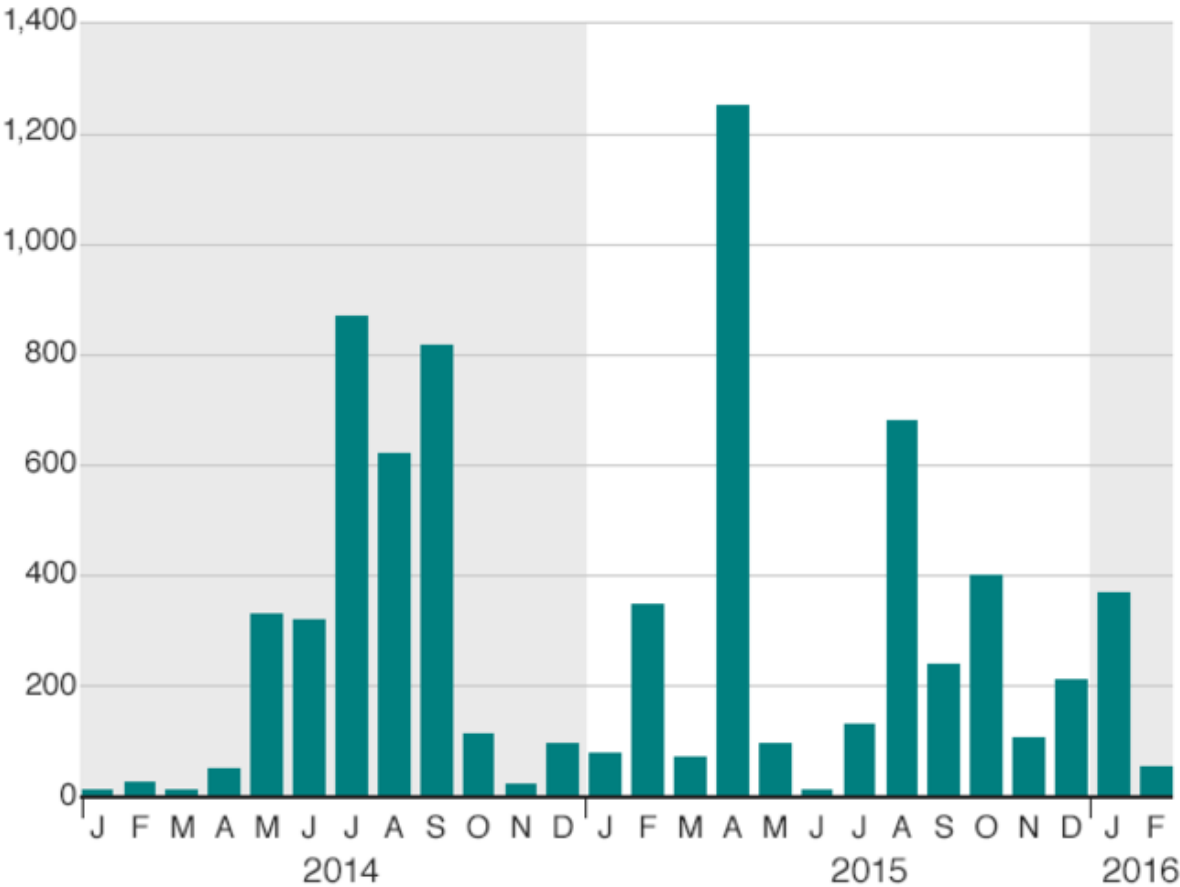


Figure 2: Migrant deaths in the Mediterranean per month January 2014 – February 2016 (Source: IOM).

Numbers are always impartial, incomplete and open to different interpretations. In the figure above, the number of people who actually made it to Europe is evidently not included as its topic is the number of people who did *not* make it. However, this means that since the chart only shows absolute numbers, relatively speaking no conclusions can be drawn. One could only say something about the number of deaths, which add up to thousands in total. However, this forms a critical note to the use of data and statistics in general. By placing the numbers in perspective, from the same numbers different conclusions can be drawn.

In an article written by Lisa van der Velden in *De Volkskrant* about the Dutch retired government official Flip van Dyke, who dedicates his life to examining and checking governmental statistics produced by the IND, the importance of contextualising the numbers is emphasised (‘De IND shopt selectief uit de asielcijfers’. Drie misverstanden over de asielinstroom’, posted online by *De Volkskrant* on 12 May 2016). Van Dyke argues that the

IND often publishes numbers on the refugee influx, without placing it in context. For instance, IND reports show that the influx has increased. However, the IND has compared the numbers to the week or month before, without taking external factors in consideration. An example of such an external factor, that is also relevant in the analysis of Figure 1, is the weather. This has a huge impact on the amount of refugees who are attempting to come to Europe. During the winter time, the sea is rough and it becomes more dangerous to cross. The amount of attempts then is presumably lower than during the summer time, when the sea is calmer. According to Van Dyke, comparing numbers in order to say if numbers are increasing or decreasing is only relevant when comparing to the same month in previous year(s). Hence some awareness and critical reflections about context and completeness of data have to be taken into account when coming across numbers about refugees and, in addition, before calling something a crisis.

As a result, the numbers as shown in Figure 1 cannot provide in giving information whether the amount of refugees is significantly increasing or decreasing in the past year(s), as data are simply not available of previous years. An analysis of only two numbers cannot present significant conclusions. However, the fact that there are victims in this situation, who are trying to escape the war in Syria but die in their attempt, would give reason to argue that the situation, at least as seen from a humanitarian perspective, can be called a crisis. However, it is difficult to say whether something is a humanitarian crisis or not, since the scale is difficult to define. How many people have to be homeless, dead and fleeing their country in order for it to be called a crisis? The figure above shows the number of deaths at sea, adding up to thousands of people.

As is shown above, there are many things to consider before calling something a crisis. In addition to this, the decision of calling something a crisis is artificially made, most of the times there is no 'objective truth'. Even when using numbers and statistics as are analysed previously in this chapter, there are many ways to look at the same phenomena. It depends upon your own perspective how to interpret them and decide whether something can be called a crisis or not. In this process, one considers different things of different value. As one has seen, considering something a crisis – or not – cannot completely be based on numbers. It is based on subjective judgments, and relative numbers which might even misrepresent the situation, as they only show the impact relating to other countries.

The next chapter is dedicated to the concept of representation, as this forms the basis of this thesis together with Said's idea of Orientalism. This is closely related to the way the news is framed, as the next chapter will show.

3. Representation and News Framing

3.1 General Overview

When analysing the media coverage of a crisis, the concept of representation becomes a substantial part of the research. Representation is, simply said, the way in which events are represented, or depicted. This representation is the form in which the message is delivered, and therefore it has a big influence on the perception and reception of the message on the audience. This chapter will deal with the concept of representation and the ways in which news coverage can be 'framed'. Before doing so, it is important to explore which relevant researches have been done on this topic of media representation. This will be the aim of the second subchapter, to elaborate on previous studies to see how this Orientalist research fits in the field of media representation. The third subchapter will deal with the theory of news framing. This is the idea that within the concept of representation, media often choose one out of five frames to represent the story. The fourth and final subchapter will elaborate on Stuart Hall's idea of stereotyping, and how this might be created by the media in their representation of 'others'.

3.2 Otherness in Media

Especially in the field of media studies some research has been done on the portrayal of migrant groups by the media. This resembles the nature of this thesis, that also examines the depiction of migrants in media. However, the focus of most previous studies is often not the nationality of the migrants and their endeavours, but rather their religion. The previous chapter has shown that the majority of recent migrants are coming from the Middle East, where Islam is the dominant religion. Therefore, the migrants are often not depicted as common people, but reduced to being Arabs, and therefore Muslims.

A second interesting aspect is that most researches are dealing with the representation of migrants in Australia. Akbarzadeh & Smith (2005) for instance, focused on the representation of Islam and Muslims in Australia from 2001 till 2004. They did so for two newspapers from the state Victoria. They open their article with emphasising the important role media can play in interaction within a society: "The media is a significant social agent, with the potential to influence community perceptions. Its influence can seriously impact on minority groups by subjecting them to exclusionary pressures by implying that they hold 'alien' characteristics which do not correspond with the values and ethos of mainstream

Australia.” (p.1). They show that the role media play in society is of great importance, and has to be considered a substantial factor. In their article, the authors focus on the types of language used in the newspapers to describe both Muslims and Islam. On top of that, they analyse if this language changes in response or in relation to major events. Although the authors focus on the representation of Muslims instead of migrants, this research is relevant as most refugees are Muslim.

The authors conclude that although the two Australian newspapers they investigated in their research cannot be considered Islamophobic, the representation of Muslims can be called problematic. Firstly, this is due to degrees of ignorance among Australian society and reporters of the newspaper, as it “reflects the level of journalist’s familiarity with Islam and professionalism” (Akbarzadeh & Smith 36). Due to this lack of familiarity, the articles often leave the reader with a feeling of ‘unease’. This contributes to the dichotomy of ‘us’ versus ‘them’ as the ‘other’ is unknown and remains unfamiliar. Secondly, while the representation is mixed in its positive or negative tone, the stories are often presented with racial undertones, resulting in recurrent stereotyping and negative reporting on Muslims (36), such as Muslims as being bad, primitive, or strange and exotic. I will come back to the aspect of stereotyping later on in this chapter. Their general, and perhaps most important, conclusion is that news coverage should be balanced and careful reports to inform the people. Otherwise, it only reconfirms “bias against a community that has become a subject of intense public scrutiny” (37).

What is often mentioned in articles regarding the representation of Muslims and/or refugees in several national media is that depicting these people as Others is very much apparent. Sulaiman-Hill, Thompson, Asfar & Hodliffe (2011) argue in their article ‘Changing Images of Refugees: A Comparative Analysis of Australian and New Zealand Print Media 1998-2008’ that “[w]hile there are positive effects of media coverage of ethnic affairs, encouraging inclusion and raising awareness of diversity, the potential to reflect difference and promote ‘otherness’ is potentially more marketable as conflict is considered more newsworthy” (1). Especially post 9/11 the depiction of Muslims is that of a threat of terrorism. According to Jack Shaheen, Muslims in America are frequently depicted as Arabs and Arabs as terrorists:

Analysis of US presidential speeches in the wake of terrorist attacks identified a clear model of enemy construction employing highly negative images of violence and danger, framed as dichotomies of ‘good versus evil’ and ‘us versus them’, which

served to dehumanize ‘out group’ members. The dominance of American influence in the global media means few people would have been immune from this insidious bias, with distinctions between refugees, asylum seekers and terrorists becoming increasingly blurred over time. (Shaheen in Sulaiman-Hill et al. 1).

As seen in the previous chapter, the Dutch government contributes to the polarising discourse by their policies regarding refugees and asylum seekers. As Shaheen argues, the American government also seems to contribute to this discourse. This shows a general tendency of polarisation, creating dichotomies between the West and East and – at least in the case of America – the depiction of Muslims as terrorists. Shaheen also mentions that distinctions between the different terms often are mixed and as a result, the terminology often becomes blurred. Lately, these dichotomies have all become even more relevant for Western European media and the people as the result of the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels both last and this year. It is supposed to be all Muslims’ intentions to conquer Europe, and therefore they are seen as a threat to the Western way of living:

In the West, Muslims are considered particularly challenging, having been likened by some to ‘a new ideological virus’ (Kampmark 2006), with xenophobic political discourse around immigration and asylum policies seen to foster an environment in which the term ‘Muslim’ has become more synonymous with ‘demonized’, ‘threatening’, unassimilated ‘others’ (Sulaiman-Hill et al. 2).

Recent refugees, who are mostly Muslims, are therefore seen as Arabs, which in Western society seems to equal terrorists. The question that will be explored in the next two chapters is to what extent Dutch media in the form of newspapers confirm or invalidate this idea. However, it becomes clear that in foreign Western media the representation of refugees is not without prejudices.

As is shown above, most researches are concerned with Australian, British or American media. However, also in the Netherlands a similar study has been done by Van Dijk in 1983 (d’Haenens & De Lange 2001; 849). After collecting samples from Dutch national and regional newspapers, Van Dijk used discourse analysis to examine the portrayal of minority groups, such as refugees. He concluded that:

(...) news coverage is a reflection of the viewpoints of the majority group and its

institutions such as government, police and the justice department. Minority groups are given very little opportunity if any to express their ideas. Moreover, with regard to minority groups, news coverage focuses on conspicuous incidents and sensational conflicts, thereby creating a generally negative image. Aspects of their everyday lives are barely mentioned, if at all. Finally, very few members of a minority group are journalists. They are rarely if ever involved in news coverage on the subject (d'Haenens & De Lange 849).

Although this research may seem a bit outdated considering that this study was done in the early 1980's, its conclusions may be very similar to present-day news coverage. Although I have not extensively examined the samples from the different (foreign) newspapers, the conclusions from the studies seem to indicate that the orientalised of minority groups (cf. Van Dijk) and refugees and Muslims in particular (cf. Shaheen, Sulaiman-Hill et al.) is very much apparent.

Adding to the idea that all people from the Middle East are seen as Arabs and Muslims are the experiences of the Dutch journalist Joris Luyendijk, who was a correspondent for the Dutch newspaper *De Volkskrant* for five years. Afterwards he published his book *Het zijn net Mensen* (2006) with his personal accounts and take on news reporting during this period. His book is particularly interesting as he is a reporter from the Occident, who lived for several years in the Orient, and critiques the Western system of news reporting based on his own experiences. His view is unique, as he can be seen as an expert on both news reporting, representation and the Occident. He argues that people in the West often mistake Arab countries as one Arab world, thereby forgetting that Arabic refers to the language instead of religion (Luyendijk 43). Not only are the countries in the Middle East completely different from each other, not all of the population is Muslim. There are millions of Christians and Jews living in the Middle East as well. However, the differences are completely erased in news reporting. There are no nuances, something that is supported by the fact that Luyendijk was the reporter of the Middle East, reporting on events in Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Israel and Palestine, and several other countries.

Moreover, Luyendijk describes in his book how the Western media are only interested in the conflict aspect of reporting on the Middle East. He uses the example of taking down the statue of Saddam Hussein by American soldiers. In Western media, one sees how a cheering crowd is gathered around the statue to take it down, while thanking America for the liberation from their dictator. The Western audience gets the impression that all Iraqi people are happy

that the dictator is gone, and thankful to the American for their liberation. Al-Jazira, however, portrayed the event in a different way. With camera shots taken from further away, one can see that there are not that many people gathered on the square, implicating that the joy is not shared by all inhabitants. Luyendijk's argument is that the Western portrayal of the East is limited as it shows only a little peak of the situation. To this argument he adds that it is extremely problematic since the Western audience is not familiar with the Eastern world. News reporting on the Netherlands needs less background information, since the audience (the Dutch public) is already familiar with the context. Therefore, if in the Netherlands a news item is shown in which some Dutch inhabitants flush a Koran, the audience knows how to place this in context. We know that this forms the exception, not the norm. This provides us with a much more nuanced image of the particular event. However, when it is shown in the news that Iraqi's are burning an American flag, the necessary framework is not there. The suggestion is created both in and by the West that all Iraqi's hate America.

Lastly, Luyendijk argues that news reporting in the West and East is fundamentally different due to the different political system (62). It simply cannot be compared to the way in which news is approached in the West. Western news items are based on several instruments. Information can be based on opinion polls, ratings, results from elections and press agencies. This is part of a democracy, people have the right to speak their minds and do not have to be afraid to do so. In a nation that is ruled based on dictatorship, on the contrary, Luyendijk states that people are not able to give air to their opinions (74-75). Secret services are everywhere, and inhabitants are not protected by the state, but rather afraid of it. This means that news reporting cannot and should not be measured and understood in terms of Western paradigms. This does not imply that Eastern people are different from Western people, but instead acknowledges that the systems that are in power in the East are significantly different from Western democracies. Acknowledging the differences is an important step in news reporting, as it shows the need for background stories, in depth articles that will not only create more insight in Eastern culture, but also an understanding for a world that is different from the Western paradigms.

3.3 News Framing

d'Haenens and De Lange (2001) argue that within the centre of paradigms of Westerns media representation lies the concept of framing (850). Framing can be seen as the way(s) in which the news is reported, which is an important factor in this research because it forms the

framework of the news reporting itself. In addition to this, Entman (1993) defined framing as follows:

To frame is to select some aspect of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular definition of a problem, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman 52).

Framing, then, contains several aspects. It defines problems, evaluates them and then offers a recommendation on how to solve the problem. According to d'Haenens and De Lange, this framing can take place in different ways. They argue that the concept of framing in practice consists of five different frames that are frequently used in news reporting. First of all, there is the conflict frame, which is related to strategy news reporting. It is the frame in which the emphasis is put on the differences between two camps, and the strategies they use to compete with (or even attack or fight) each other. This frame is strongly connected to the idea of winning or losing. This closely resembles what Sulaiman-Hill, Thompson, Asfar & Hodliffe state in the article mentioned earlier, who argue that conflict is much more newsworthy than other ways of reporting.

In the current debate, several Dutch scholars seem to agree that this is the basis of most reporting on the refugee crisis. Last February, Spui25, the academic-cultural centre of the University of Amsterdam (UvA), organised an evening on the refugee crisis in the Netherlands with several speakers. One of them was Yolande Jansen, senior researcher and lecturer at the Amsterdam Centre for Globalization Studies at the UvA, who argued that the crisis also exists in the *representation* of the refugees by and in media. The immense increase of more and faster news calls for screaming headlines and articles in which the differences are emphasised, in order to be reach a wide audience. In her speech, she argues that this causes fear for migration among the population, as well as the rise and success of right wing political parties.

The second is the human interest frame. Articles written accordingly to this frame put the emphasis on “the personal, emotional side of an event, issue or problem” (d'Haenens & De Lange 850). When applying this frame to this specific case, this could mean interviews with refugees, an account of the travel to Europe, or their impressions of the asylum seeker centres. This is closely related to the aspect of a humanitarian crisis as discussed in the previous chapter. The humanitarian aspect would not be the conflict in Syria, where people

are fighting and which strategic decisions they make, but is rather indicated by the number of refugees who flee Syria but fail to reach the safe havens of Europe. The numbers of deaths at the Mediterranean Sea would be an example of this frame. On the other side, this frame also contains stories of protesters against asylum seeker centres while focussing on their personal objections, or the experiences of volunteers in asylum seeker centres.

The third frame is concerned with the economic consequences of an event. As the title already implies, it deals with the economic consequences for an individual or group (a nation) of certain events. In the middle of the debate about refugees one can find the economical aspect. The previous chapter, and most specifically the table with the amount of refugees compared to a nation's GDP, is an example of this. Refugees in the Netherlands are often seen as *gelukzoekers*, as economic refugees. They do not come to Europe because their lives are in danger and they have to flee from the war, but they rather seize the opportunity to come to Europe as a means to create a better life, to gain more money. This might be a second example of the economic frame.

The fourth frame d'Haenens and De Lange call the morality frame. In this frame, "a religious or moral charge to an event, problem or subject" is added (850). This can be interpreted in two different ways. As is shown above, most media connect the notion of the refugee from the Middle East to Arab people, who are considered Muslims. This is one type of adding religion to the discussion. An example is Leo Lucassen, Professor of Global Labour and Migration History at Leiden University, who described in his lecture on the refugee crisis organised by Spui25 the refugee crisis as 'an apocalyptic story based on prejudices' (translation mine). The notion of an apocalyptic story is based on biblical ideas about the end of the world. Although Lucassen does not believe in an actual end of the world, he argues that the way in which the crisis is represented in media this end of the world seems to be implicitly apparent. Therefore, for instance the use of biblical metaphors is part of this frame. The second use would be an implicit moral message, something that seems to be supported by d'Haenens and De Lange themselves. They argue that "[b]ecause the professional journalistic norm advocates objectivity, journalists often refer indirectly to this morality frame" (850). This part of the morality frame can be found in the discourse that is used in articles. This is closely related to the use of discourse that is discussed in Orientalism in the first chapter. It is argued that Orientalism is created by the Western dominant discourse, and consists of binary oppositions. The morality frame also consists of a discourse that is created and dominated by the West, and presumes a binary opposition between good and bad. In this sense, the frame can indeed implicitly be present, by the use of discourse.

The last frame can be seen as an extension of the morality frame. Whereas this frame ‘judges’, this final frame, the responsibility frame, actually points the finger to the ‘guilty party’, who ought to be responsible for solving the problem. It is reporting in such a way that “the responsibility for causing or solving a problem lies with the government, an individual or a group. News reporting in such frames influences the way the public thinks about subjects and how these subjects are remembered” (850). It can create a feeling of discomfort against not only refugees, but also against one’s own government or political party. Furthermore, it can actually create tension between civilians and the representatives of the government, as the next chapters will show. These chapters will test the theory of news framing by applying it to the articles from *De Telegraaf* and *De Volkskrant*.

3.4 Stereotyping

As is shown above in the conflict frame, otherness in media seems to be promoted as it sells to the public. However, it also seems to be a tendency of the inhabitants of a country employed towards foreigners. As we have seen with the use of the word *allochtoon*, the notion of otherness is also strongly connected to race and ethnicity. One’s appearance is the first indication of, in this case, someone being other from the Western norm as he physically looks different. Richard Dyer argued on Europe’s tendency of dealing with otherness that:

[i]n the process of the development of Europe by leaders dominating terrain and putting boundaries around it, “population come to be identified as those within and those without the boundaries, populations that it can then seem logical to represent in terms of body and/or temperamental characteristics. It is with the incursion of the European nations into territories outside Europe, whose populations are more markedly physically different, that the conflation of body and temperament – a full concept of race – comes into being (...) (Dyer 18-19).

Dyer argues here that the inclusion or exclusion from Western societies is based on one’s physical appearance. If this does not match the Western norm, suddenly race comes into being. This view is also supported by the statistics provided by the CBS on the amount of immigrants in the Netherlands. The distinction between Western, which are included in Dutch society, and non-Western *allochtonen* which are excluded from Dutch society, is almost completely based on racial differences. Suddenly, when an immigrant – or, in this specific case, a refugee or asylum seeker – arrives in the Netherlands, the white West sees itself

confronted with a different ethnicity, different physical characteristics, and race becomes an issue. It becomes something on which one can judge the other, as is shown earlier, by attributing someone the Muslim identity and by holding prejudices against the other. This is the exact moment when Orientalism comes into play: based on visible differences, oppositions suddenly play a role in order for the Western Self to identify oneself in direct opposition to the Eastern, Oriental Other. At that moment, the prejudices against the other become simplified and exaggerated, and stereotypes are formed: “[w]ith only limited interaction between host societies and refugee groups, derogatory stereotypes become familiar and may subtly encourage racism, through fear of a common threat” (Sulaiman-Hill et al. 1). The limited interaction is caused by the exclusion of Others. Hence the mingling of different groups is very restricted, with as result that the prejudices will not be disproved. This means the continuation of the feeling of otherness, with the Other seen as the mysterious threat. Sulaiman-Hill et al. argued that the prejudices become stereotypes. This idea of typing versus stereotyping is further explored by Stuart Hall in his chapter ‘The Spectacle of the Other’ of his book *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices* (1997). According to Hall, people understand the world by placing objects and persons in categories by referring

individual objects, people, or events in our heads to the general classificatory schemes into which – according to our culture – they fit. Thus we ‘decode’ a flat object on legs on which we place things as a ‘table’. We may never have seen that kind of ‘table’ before, but we have a general concept or category of ‘table’ in our heads, into which we ‘fit’ the particular objects we perceive or encounter. In other words, we understand ‘the particular’ in terms of its ‘type’ (Hall 257).

Hall’s notion of type is based on the platonic idea of forms and their representation in the world. In our minds, we already have an Idea, a general form. When we see the object, we recognise it by its characteristics and define the object as, in this case, a table. A type, therefore, is “any simple, vivid, memorable, easily grasped and widely recognized characterization in which a few traits are foregrounded and change or ‘development’ is kept to a minimum” (Hall 257). In order for us to be able to recognise the object, the traits must be static rather than dynamic. Therefore, change or development is not something that is desired. Hall states that in addition to types, there are also stereotypes. According to Hall, stereotyping consists of three elements. First of all, “stereotypes get hold of the few ‘simple, vivid, memorable, easily grasped and widely recognized’ characteristics about a person, *reduce*

everything about the person to those traits, *exaggerate* and *simplify them*, and *fix* them without change or development to eternity” (Hall 258). This means that the traits are reduced to simplified characteristics of an object or person, which are not changed. The second element of stereotyping is that it “*deploys a strategy of ‘splitting’*. It divides the normal and the acceptable from the abnormal and the unacceptable. It then *excludes* or *expels* everything which does not fit, which is different” (Hall 258). Here the binary opposition between the Self and the Other, between East and West comes into play. The other does not fit in the category of types, as it is too unfamiliar. Instead, the few traits that are attributed are exaggerated and simplified. These stereotypes cannot be changed, so it is a concept that is not open for development.

The third point is that “*stereotyping tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power*. Power is usually directed against the subordinate or excluded group. One aspect of this power, according to Dyer, is *ethnocentrism* – ‘the application of the norms of one’s culture to that of others’” (Hall 258). This also resembles Said’s notion of Orientalism, as the inequality of power is to be found in the domination of the discourse by the West. The West is the norm, the standard, according to which all other things are measured. In this process, the East is strange and unfamiliar, and the Other is reduced to simplified stereotypes, without any attention to the personal aspect of the story and the diversity that exists in the Arab world, as Joris Luyendijk already mentioned. This could not be done without the Western domination of the discourse: “Said’s discussion of Orientalism closely parallels Foucault’s power/knowledge argument: a *discourse* produces, through different practices of *representation* (scholarship, exhibition, literature, painting, etc.), a form of *racialized knowledge of the Other* (Orientalism) deeply implicated in the operations of *power* (imperialism)” (Hall 260). This shows how closely related the concepts of Orientalism, discourse, representation and Othering are, which ties together the first chapters of this thesis, in which these concepts are explored.

However, to which stereotypes are the Others then reduced? Hall also draws on Said when describing the stereotypes. The representation in terms of binary oppositions forms the core of his idea as well:

People who are in any way significantly different from the majority – ‘them’ rather than ‘us’- are frequently exposed to this *binary* form of representation. They seem to be represented through sharply opposed, polarized, binary extremes – good/bad, civilized/primitive, ugly/excessively attractive, repelling-because-different/compelling

-because-strange-and-exotic. And they are often required to be *both things at the same time*. (Hall 229).

Thus, the Oriental Other is narrowed down to simplistic stereotypes, in binary opposition to how the West perceives itself. Therefore, Hall's theory of stereotyping forms an interesting and fruitful contribution to Said's concept of Orientalism. The abovementioned stereotypes will be explored further in the next chapters in the analysis of Dutch newspaper articles.

4. Aylan

4.1 Introduction of the event

On Wednesday 2 September 2015 and the days after, an image of a drowned boy became an internationally trending topic in both conventional and social media (see for news reports in several countries for instance Helena Smith, ‘Shocking images of drowned Syrian boy show tragic plight of refugees’ (website *The Guardian*, 2 September 2015); Robert Mackey, ‘Brutal images of Syrian boy drowned off Turkey must be seen, activists say’ (website *The New York Times*, 2 September 2015); Lucía Abellán, ‘El drama migratorio sacude a Europa’ (website *El País*, 2 September 2015); Unknown, ‘Die traurige Geschichte des Aylan Kurdi’ (website *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 3 September 2015); Frank Posen, Sylvie van Ginneken and Guy Stevens, ‘Het verhaal van Aylan, het jongetje dat op weg naar Europa verdronk’ (website *De Standaard*, 3 September 2015); Peter Vandermeersch, ‘Het hele verhaal van het vluchtelingendrama in één verschrikkelijke foto’ (website *NRC*, 2 September 2015); Unknown, ‘Geschokte reacties op foto aangespoeld jongetje voor Turkse kust’ (website *NOS*, 2 September 2015)).

The picture, taken by the Turkish photographer Nilüfer Demir, showed a drowned young boy, wearing a red T-shirt and shorts, lying face down on its stomach at the shores of the Mediterranean Sea on a beach near Bodrum, Turkey. Within a few hours the picture became Twitter’s top trending topic under the hashtag #KiyiyaVuranInsanlik, #HumanityWashedAshore, or the Dutch hashtag #MenselijkheidAangespoeld (Helena Smith, 2 September 2015). The boy turned out to be Aylan Kurdi, a three-year old child, that had embarked a rubber raft in the middle of the night alongside his mom, dad and five-year old brother. Only the father, Abdullah Kurdi, a Syrian Kurdish barber from the town of Kobani, survived after the raft flipped in high waves. He could not protect his wife and children from drowning during the season of the Meltemi winds, when waves can be up to 15 feet high. The family’s journey that was supposed to end in Vancouver, where Abdullah’s sister Tima lives, thus ended in the waves of the Mediterranean Sea (Anne Barnard and Karam Shoumali, ‘Image of drowned Syrian, Aylan Kurdi, 3, brings migrant crisis into focus’ (website *The New York Times*, 3 September 2015)).

4.2 Methods

Both this and the next chapter form the analysis of this thesis. Whereas this chapter reflects on the representation of refugees in news reporting around Aylan (and the spread of his picture), the next chapter is concerned with the assaults on women in Cologne during New Year's Eve. The chapters themselves are also divided. Two subchapters are devoted to the analysis of the different newspapers, *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf*, since the analysis is based on a comparative method. Per newspaper, the arguments are based on several traits of Said's theory of Orientalism, such as portraying the refugees as 'the Other', as a sexual threat or as criminals, and sometimes even as terrorists.

The articles are gathered via LexisNexis, the online archive in which all articles from Dutch (and foreign) newspapers from 1980 onwards are uploaded. In order to collect the articles, I have used several search words. Regarding Aylan, firstly I used his name 'Aylan' as a search term. However, in some media his name is spelled differently, as 'Alan'. As Alan is a more common name and had hits in many articles, I had to narrow down the search by adding newspaper articles published from 1 September 2015 onwards. I decided to use this date because Aylan drowned on 2 September 2015. A disadvantage might be that the results only show articles in which the boy's name was already known. However, several articles have pointed out that Aylan's name was known within hours of the spread of the picture throughout the world (see for instance Jean-Pierre Geelen, 'Aylan' (published in *De Volkskrant* on 4 September 2015)). This means that the first possible (printed) publication on Aylan could be the day after he was found and photographed, when his name was already known.

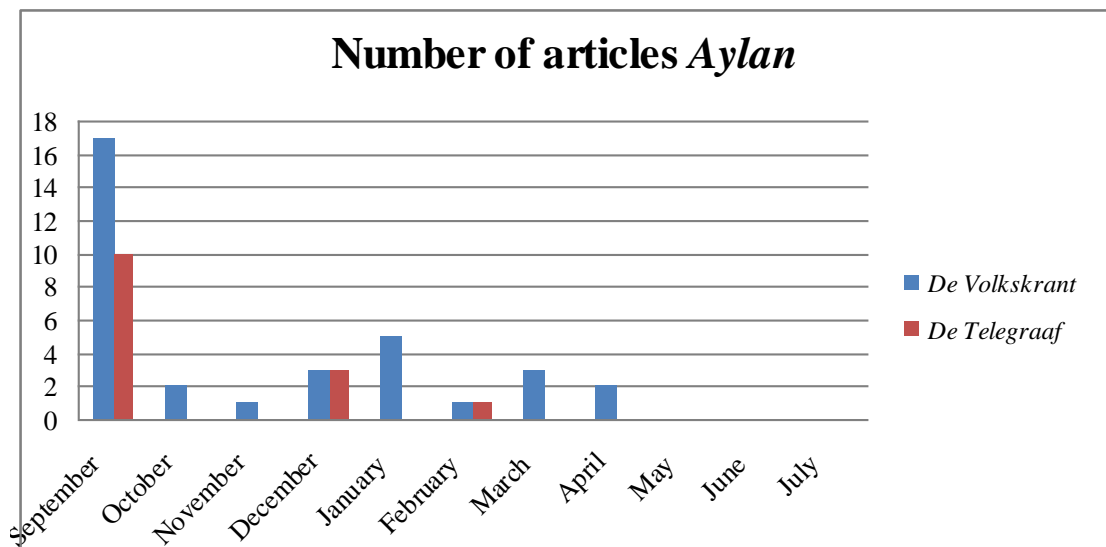


Figure 3: Number of articles Aylan in *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf*
September 2015 – July 2016.

The total amount of articles based on the abovementioned search words resulted in 34 unique articles published by *De Volkskrant*, against only 14 unique articles published by *De Telegraaf* on the Syrian boy Aylan from his drowning on September 2nd 2015 to August 1st 2016, the end date of articles that are analysed in this thesis. Of this 34 articles published by *De Volkskrant* exactly half of the articles – 17 – were published in the first ten days after Aylan’s death at sea and the spread of his picture. However, until May 2016, every month at least one article has been published in *De Volkskrant* mentioning Aylan with a peak in January 2016, after the events in Cologne, the second event that will be discussed in this thesis. This indicates that Aylan stayed relevant, and was a popular reference by the authors of *De Volkskrant*. This shows to what extent the newspaper thought of Aylan as an iconic image, that stayed worthwhile to refer to. In contrast, *De Telegraaf* only published articles on Aylan within the first two weeks after his death (till 16 September 2015), with a small peak of two articles published in December, which is around Christmas time and the end of the year, which usually is a time to reflect on important events in the past year, and one published article in February, indicating that *De Telegraaf* does not regard Aylan’s picture as iconic as *De Volkskrant*.

As the result of the amount of articles on both Aylan and Cologne, it would be impossible to incorporate them all in this thesis. Therefore, I was forced to make a selection. I have based this selection on the depiction of refugees/migrants/asylum seekers, as this forms the subject of my thesis. The analysis will be based on relevant quotations, which will then be analysed in light of the use of Orientalist discourse. Important to keep in mind is that Orientalism can be found in different aspects of the articles. Not only the author’s opinion on the situation is or might be expressed in the article, often other people are consulted on their opinions. I have tried to make it as clear as possible whether the Orientalist aspects are part of the author’s opinion, or that it is described as being in politics or the public.

Another important aspect is the use of language in this thesis, as it will consist of two different languages. Whereas the thesis itself is written in English, the newspaper articles are written in Dutch since these are published in Dutch newspapers. In order to prevent troubling the Dutch articles by translating the texts into English, I have decided to stay as close to the original as possible. Therefore, longer quotations will be given in Dutch, as I assume the reader is able to read and understand Dutch, as this research is based on Dutch newspapers. Only when a short quotation is used in an English sentence, i.e. as the quote is incorporated in my actual argument, I will translate it to English. In that case, the original Dutch sentence(s) will be provided in a footnote.

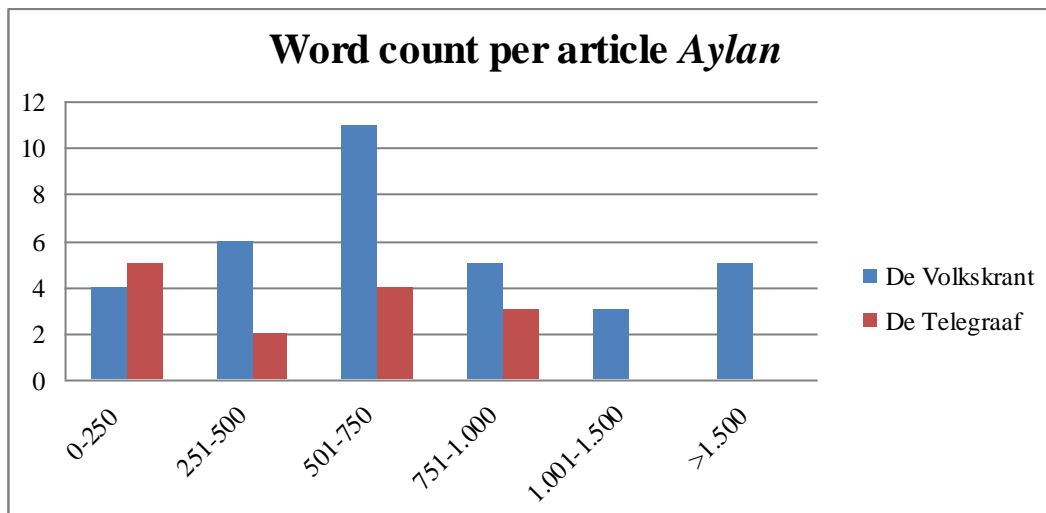


Figure 4: Word count per article Aylan in *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf*.

Lastly, at first glance another difference between *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf* can be found when examining the articles. The length of the articles is significantly different. Whereas most articles in *De Volkskrant* are between 251 and 500 words, the majority of the articles in *De Telegraaf* consists of only between 0 and 250 words. *De Telegraaf* has not even published articles over 1000 words. Thus, this figure seems to support the view mentioned in the introduction about the characteristics of both newspapers. Whereas it is *De Volkskrant*'s reputation to keep its readers informed by the publishing of more articles regarding the same event, including in-depth articles (1000> words), the focus of *De Telegraaf* seems to be articles with less than 1000 words, with the majority published as very short articles, based on these figures.

4.3 *De Volkskrant*

One of the reasons that caused the picture of Aylan to go viral on both digital (social) media and printed media was probably that the name of the young boy was quickly discovered. According to Jean-Pierre Geelen, journalist and columnist for *De Volkskrant*, in his article 'Aylan' (published in *De Volkskrant* on 4 September 2015) there have been more iconic pictures of refugees who never reached Europe. Among them were many children, just like Aylan. One picture in particular, published by news site Vice.com of a dead little girl wearing a pink dress got media attention. However, as the little girl remained anonymous, the media were not able to 'zoom in' on her story, Geelen argues. In the case of Aylan, media knew his name within hours and were able to hold interviews with his father to create the bigger picture.

However, the creation of this bigger picture is not the focus of the first articles on Aylan that appeared in *De Volkskrant*. The following day, on September 3rd, only one article was published on Aylan. It was a column written by writer and journalist Bert Wagendorp. In his column, Wagendorp uses the empathic aspect of Aylan's picture to go against populist, and more particularly Geert Wilders, the leader of the Dutch rightwing political party Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV)⁶ standpoints on refugees. By portraying Aylan as an innocent child, Wagendorp mostly uses a combination of the human interest and the moral frame. He puts the focus on the human aspect of Aylan, as 'just a young boy', like there are everywhere around the world. At the same time, however, he uses this framework to provide a moral framework: what should we do with this image? By ridiculing Geert Wilders' point of view that perhaps Aylan would have been a terrorist, Wagendorp strongly urges his reader to think for oneself and let the personal account of the story touch one's heart. Not only in Wagendorp's article this is the case. In the majority of articles in *De Volkskrant* Aylan is described in the same way: as an innocent victim, as 'just a boy'. This view (written in either a morality frame, or a human interest frame) is supported by the use of narrative structures, including fictional conversations between Aylan, his brother Galip and their mother, Rihan. A second characteristic which settles with the aspects described above is the focus on the personal and emotional aspects of the story. This includes the articles in which Aylan's father, Abdullah Kurdi, who was the only survivor of the family, is interviewed. His story is focused on the idea that refugees are innocent people, who are 'like us' and who have to be saved. This results in the creation of a narrative that takes away the differences between people rather than emphasising them, as would be the case in Orientalism.

Closely related to this is the inclusion of the notion of good and bad (morality frame). However, in the case of Aylan, this being good or bad is projected on the readers, the Western (Dutch) people. The implicit message seems to be how one could not feel sorry for Aylan, or for his father, who was the only survivor of the journey. This perspective is also apparent in other articles concerning Aylan, when it is argued that before Aylan, both Dutch politics and the public seemed in denial of the fact that the refugees were human beings, 'like us'. Instead, people looked at the refugees and the crisis as a phenomenon that was happening far away 'from us', due to the geographical distance. A first example is to be found in Dutch political parties who suggested safe havens in the Syria, guarded by Dutch soldiers on a EU or UN mission. Bert Wagendorp states in his article 'Jongetje' that the only reason to create these

⁶ In English: Party for Liberty (translation mine).

safe havens is to get rid of the problem, while at the same time preventing refugees to come to Europe and the Netherlands: “Goedbedoeld maar volstrekt wereldvreemd Hollands gebazel met als enige motivatie: als ze maar niet ónze kant op komen.” (*De Volkskrant*, 3 September 2015).

However, not only in Dutch politics these sentiments can be found. Remco Andersen argues in his article ‘Maar doe nu dan wel iets’ that as long as the tragic results of the crisis were far away, the Dutch public tended to ignore the problem(s):

Maar het was ver van ons vandaan en zou dat hopelijk blijven. Soms werden we even wakker, zoals in oktober 2013, toen zeker 366 vluchtelingen verdronken bij het Italiaanse eiland Lampedusa. Maar ‘Lampedusa’ werd een ingeburgerde term; daar gaan nu eenmaal mensen dood. Toch vooral een Italiaans probleem. (*De Volkskrant*, 5 September 2015)

The reason for this lack of interest and indifference towards refugees is according to Asha ten Broeke in her article ‘Empathie voor vluchtelingen is niet genoeg’ that opinions on the crisis are based on a moral dilemma: what are we prepared to give up for people we do not know, and are different from us? At first, both public and politicians around the world felt sympathetic for Aylan. However, public opinion is quirky: “We geven meer om een dood peutertje op een Turks strand dan om de abstractere tienduizenden vluchtelingen die een thuis zoeken. Zodra de focus komt te liggen op dat laatste, verdampt de empathie al snel.” (*De Volkskrant*, 9 October 2015). Ten Broeke implies that the Dutch can all compassionate with Aylan, as he was a young child, innocent, and, brutally said, dead. Thus, he was no longer an asylum seeker, and therefore a possible problem.

The change of heart of the Dutch public is also reviewed by Willem Feenstra and Sebastiaan van Loosbroek in their article ‘Ook Nederland verandert door Aylan’. In an interview with Annemiek Bots, who works as the press agent for the Dutch organisation Vluchtelingenwerk, Bots states that the attitude of the Dutch public has changed during the summer (of 2015):

‘Begin dit jaar was alles nog anders’, constateert Annemiek Bots van Vluchtelingenwerk. Enorme aantallen vluchtelingen verdronken. ‘Maar er werd om gejuicht. Mensen zeiden: dat scheelt weer uitkeringen. Het debat was gepolariseerd, het was het absolute dieptepunt’. Gedurende de zomer kantelde de beeldvorming.

Bots: ‘Mensen die op vakantie gingen naar Griekse eilanden zagen de vluchtelingen met eigen ogen. De laatste maanden volgden de gruwelijke foto’s elkaar zo snel op, dat je er ook in Nederland niet meer omheen kan. De dood komt dichtbij, mensen willen iets doen. Ze denken: alles beter dan nog meer van die lugubere beelden.’ (*De Volkskrant*, 4 September 2015).

Bots argues that the indifference most Dutch felt towards the refugee crisis was caused by the geographical distance. When confronted with actual refugees during the holidays and the increase of horrific images on both conventional and social media, the opinion changed. Then death suddenly comes close to the Dutch public, who were not concerned with death as long as it was far away from ‘us’, but when we see ourselves faced with such tragic pictures, suddenly everything changes. These changes are necessary according to Bots, because the Dutch public does not want to be confronted with gruesome pictures of drowned people. Interesting to see is that the motivation according to Bots is to prevent the spread of ghastly pictures instead of focusing on the horrific things the refugees have to go through. Once again, the focus has been on the experience of the Western world itself.

On the other hand, several articles paint a more positive portrayal of the Dutch, as many articles mention the immense increase of volunteers after the picture of Aylan. The most interesting example is the article written by Lisa van der Velden, ‘Voor iedere asielzoeker een vrijwilliger paraat’, in which she interviews Theo Schuyt, professor of philanthropy of the Vrije Universiteit:

‘Het willen komt voort uit een ‘historische genetische afwijking in de Nederlander – ik zeg het maar even vrolijk – die zorgt dat hij bereid is zich in te zetten.’ Geen ander land kent zo’n vrijwilligerscultuur, legt hij uit. ‘Zeker, mensen kunnen zo’n noodopvang ook voorbij lopen. Maar zo werkt het in Nederland niet.’ (*De Volkskrant*, 2 December 2015).

The professor argues that apparently it is in the nature of the Dutch to help other people. Although I do not want to elaborate on his opinion, it seems too broad of a statement to it is intrinsic in all Dutch people that they want to help others, when considering the opinions described in articles discussed above. However, his statement can be seen as a form of Orientalism, as he implicitly makes a distinction between the refugees, who are helpless, and the Dutch, who are apparently more than willing to help others in need, since apparently it is

in their nature to be kind towards others. This results in a binary opposition between the kind Dutch who help (in what ways is not mentioned) and the helpless other, since they are unable to help themselves.

In extension to this, many articles on Aylan in *De Volkskrant* are dealing with the impact of Aylan's picture. In this, the authors often critique the attitude of the Dutch public. The picture shows nothing new, as refugees have been trying to flee to Europe for months, with many losing their lives during their attempt. As long as Western people, and more specifically, Dutch people, are not confronted with these horrors, there does not seem to be a problem. However, when the public is showed a picture of an innocent young boy, only then one thinks of that as a tragic situation, and help is needed. By the universal portrayal of the child – it could be everyone's child, and every parent has watched their child sleep in the same position as in which Aylan was found – makes that for a moment people realise that all people are the same, with the same dreams and feelings. Aylan's picture is so powerful because it takes away the differences between people and shows the common ground all people share.

As the result, in several articles Aylan is portrayed as a possible gamechanger in the attitude of the Occidental public regarding the debate on the refugee crisis. The vulnerability of humanity is showed in a most powerful way according to Rolf Bos, journalist at *De Volkskrant*. He writes:

Een iconische foto wordt het beeld van de kleine Aylan op het grijze en rommelige strand van het Turkse Bodrum al genoemd. Een schokkende afbeelding, die 'sprakeloos' maakt, een nu al 'symbolische' foto die een ommezwaai tot gevolg zou kunnen hebben. (Rolf Bos, 'De juiste snaar', in *De Volkskrant* published on 4 September 2015).

The picture contains all the right ingredients to create an empathic attitude in both Dutch politics and the public according to Rolf Bos. His article also focuses on the reception of the picture instead of the story itself. Although his journalistic writing can be called very neutral, Bos seems to indicate that a change is not only possible, but indeed needed as the circumstances in which many refugees find themselves are horrible. This picture might be the needed gamechanger, the picture that turns the public opinion in the West, and more particularly in the Netherlands, around. From indifference as the crisis does not immediately effect the Occident to gain a more empathic attitude towards refugees due to the affects of

Aylan's photo. However, Stephan Sanders argues that the sympathetic response to Aylan's picture is only temporarily:

Ik vrees dat een 'goeie' foto van een moordzuchtig oproer in een vluchtelingencentrum genoeg munitie levert om al die goodwill en medemenselijke warmte weer in een keer te doen verdampen. De politiek van de sterke foto's – die is pas echt hachelijk. ('Aan grote woorden geen gebrek', published in *De Volkskrant* on 8 September 2015).

Whereas Sanders acknowledges the impact of Aylan's picture, he also expects the effects to be temporary, until a different 'iconic' picture is spread with an opposite message. Although Sanders uses a revolt in an asylum seeker's centre as an example, one might expect the assaults on women in Cologne, which will be discussed in the next chapter, to have the same effect.

Whereas the majority of articles in *De Volkskrant* describe the picture of the drowned child in terms of one of the most powerful and visible aspects of the refugee crisis, Jean-Pierre Geelen asks himself in his article 'Aylan' (*De Volkskrant*, 4 September 2015) how the picture of the Syrian boy could become so iconic and, in extension, whether it indeed became iconic. He argues that only time will tell whether this picture has become iconic or not, thereby insinuating that the media are eager to call the picture iconic within days of the publication without sustained 'evidence'. By doing so, the media greatly influence the debate regarding refugees as they both 'created' and supported the idea that the picture is indeed iconic. Although the news media also faced resistance by people accusing them of 'exploiting' the sorrow of both Aylan and his father (Annieke Kranenberg, 'De rauwe versie van de vader van Alan', published in *De Volkskrant* on 12 September 2015), there is no doubt that the picture of Aylan has created a powerful image, with a great influence on the debate concerning refugees in both the Netherlands and other (Occidental) countries. This view is also supported by Sterre Lindhout, whose article 'Bild toont belang van foto's door ze weg te laten' (*De Volkskrant*, 9 September 2015) supports the statements that pictures indeed tell more powerful stories than words. She illustrates this by referring to the German newspaper *Bild*, that is famous for presenting powerful pictures combined with texts:

De reden dat *Bild* dat doet en blijft doen is, schrijft de redactie, omdat mensen in westerse landen zich geen werkelijke ellende kunnen voorstellen – foto's van

gruwelijkheden elders ter wereld zijn de enige manier om die ‘pijnervaring’ toch mee te krijgen – en dat moet om te blijven beseffen hoe dun de ‘korst van de civilisatie’ is. (Sterre Lindhout, ‘Bild toont belang van foto’s door ze weg te laten’, in *De Volkskrant* published on 9 September 2015).

Not only does *Bild* elaborate on the use of the picture of Aylan in media, it also shows the way *Bild* regards and divides the world in two different parts. In one part, which is referred to as the Western countries, people are not familiar with true suffering. In the other part, however, suffering is very much present. *Bild* regards it as its task to show people in the West the suffering in other places of the world, to realise ‘how thin the crust of civilisation is’. By stating this, *Bild* is indicating that the level of civilisation achieved in the Western world is unique and not common, and therefore that the level of civilisation would be less in non-Western countries. As the result, according to *Bild*, the people in different places of the world than the West themselves are less civilised, implying that the standards are less in non-Western parts of the world.

In conclusion, it is interesting to see that all articles discussed above tend to focus on the Dutch, instead of Aylan and the refugees, which form the topic of the articles. This is also one of the characteristics researched in the first chapter of this thesis. The process of defining the Self (the Occident) by comparing to the Other (the Orient) in terms of binary oppositions is very much present in the newspaper articles. By portraying the refugees as helpless, the Dutch become the direct opposite, the one who’s task it would be to help. This closely resembles the idea of Kipling’s poem, of it being the ‘burden of the white man’, as superior beings, to help the inferior Others who are unable to do so themselves.

Gelukzoekers

An other aspect in the representation of refugees in articles concerning Aylan is the portrayal of refugees as ‘gelukzoekers’ (economic refugees). Within days after Aylan’s death, some journalists picked up on the debate whether refugees were in fact economic refugees. This is very similar to what Annemiek Bots stated above, that at first refugees were seen as people who came to the West in search of a better life in terms of economic and educational chances, instead of fleeing to save their lives in physical terms. Stephan Sanders wrote in his opinion article ‘Aan grote woorden geen gebrek’:

In die zin was de situatie van de 3-jarige Aylan atypisch voor al die mensen die vluchten om hun leven te redden, het vege lijf. In juridische zin was Aylan geen politieke, maar een ‘economische’ vluchteling – voor zover je zulke grote woorden kunt gebruiken voor zo’n klein kind (8 September 2015).

Although Sanders seems to admit that calling a toddler an economic refugee sounds a bit harsh, it is true that Aylan’s family had lived in Turkey for several years, so there was no immediate danger for the Kurdi family. They were indeed in search of a better life and a better future for Aylan and his brother Galip in the West according to interviews with family members (Noël van Bommel, ‘Alan Kurdi, zijn vader en hun reis’ in *De Volkskrant*, 24 December 2015). However, the question is to what extent it would be relevant to name this in the article. By doing so, Sanders puts the emphasis not on the empathic aspect of the story (human interest frame), but instead reduces the boy to ‘one of the many’ economic refugees who invade the West (conflict frame combined with economic frame).

In direct opposition, Bert Wagendorp uses Aylan’s picture to critique the standpoints of populist political parties such as the PVV who also reduce refugees to economic refugees. More specifically, Wagendorp targets PVV leader Geert Wilders:

Misschien legt de foto populisten voor even het zwijgen op, dat zou erg welkom zijn. ‘Velen komen omdat ze een Miele willen, of een huis met een uitkering’, zei Wilders – misschien heeft zelfs hij even naar de foto gekeken en ging er op dat moment iets door hem heen dat je met een beetje goede wil empathie zou mogen noemen. (Bert Wagendorp, ‘Jongetje’ in *De Volkskrant*, 3 September 2015).

Although Wagendorp does not deny the fact that some of the refugees could indeed be called economic refugees, he implicitly argues that in this case it is more important to feel empathy for the boy than to describe the situation in polarising terms as both Wilders and Sanders have done. They reduce Aylan to the stereotype of refugees coming to the West as economic refugees instead of focussing on the personal effects of the story. By focussing on the economic aspect of Aylan, Sanders (and Wilders) discourage people to feel empathic towards the boy, thus resulting in a polarising perspective between refugees and people in the West, which is one of the characteristics of Orientalism.

Refugees as a threat

In several articles, opinions are expressed that the refugees are a threat to Western society. However, the opinions are not expressed by the authors of the articles, but instead as a reflection of opinions of others. An example is the American activist Pamela Geller, who is known for her critiques towards the Islam. She is quoted in *De Volkskrant* with her response to Aylan's picture as she argues that: "the Syrian boy is used to justify the invasion of Islamic refugees in Europe" (Irene de Zwaan, 'Verhaal van Alan wekt niet alleen medeleven' published in *De Volkskrant* on 10 September 2015).⁷ Aylan is portrayed as a means to an end: the creation of an empathic narrative, which ought to justify the 'invasion of Islamic refugees'. Aylan and other refugees are reduced to their religion and are immediately seen as a threat to Western society because they are Muslims. This view is – no surprise – supported by Geert Wilders, who is quoted by journalist Carlijne Vos in her article 'Wat doet de toestroom van jonge mannen met onze demografie en wat zijn de gevolgen?' published months after the washed ashore Aylan. Evidently inspired by the events in Cologne of early January, Vos provides more detailed information on the effects of the arrival of male refugees in the West. She argues that the iconic picture of Aylan seems to be forgotten. Instead, the compassion is overshadowed by fear of misogynistic foreigners. As an example, she uses the by Geert Wilders formulated fear of 'the invasion of Islamic testosteronbombs'. (23 January 2016).⁸ Although Vos does not seem to share Wilders' fear, it is a reflection of how (at least a part of) society not only considers refugees as being different, but as a threat as the result of this difference. Wilders uses the metaphor of 'testosteronbombs' to link the refugees to Islamic terrorism, and thus to the creation of fear towards them. This is also an aspect of Orientalism, the fear of the Other, the unknown.

In addition to this, Wilders explicitly calls (a part of the) refugees terrorists according to Wagendorp in his article 'Jongetje':

'#MenselijkheidAangespoeld', luidde de hashtag op Twitter. Al staat dat natuurlijk niet vast. Geert Wilders (PVV) wees er gisteren namelijk op dat er ook terroristen tussen de bootvluchtelingen zitten. Vermoedelijk geen terroristjes van 3 jaar oud, maar

⁷ Translation mine. Dutch original: "(...) dat het Syrische jongetje 'wordt gebruikt om de invasie van islamitische vluchtelingen in Europa te rechtvaardigen'".

⁸ Translation mine. Dutch original: "De door Geert Wilders geformuleerd angst voor 'de islamitische invasie van testosteronbommen' wordt door velen gedeeld."

toch, je hoort de raarste dingen. (Bert Wagendorp, 'Jongetje' in *De Volkskrant* published on 3 September 2015).

However, by Wagendorp's ironic tone in response to Wilders' opinion, he diminishes and ridicules Wilders' point of view. It becomes clear that although Wagendorp often refers to Wilders in his articles, he only does so to show the ways in which Wilders is using what one would call an Orientalist discourse. By critically reflecting on Wilders' proclamations he tries to create a more unifying picture, focusing on the humanity of Aylan and the other refugees, instead of the creation or support of a polarising (and therefore Orientalist) image.

East versus West

In the portrayal of the Orient, only a few articles in *De Volkskrant* express the question whose responsibility the refugee crisis actually is. Remco Andersen criticises European governments in his article 'Maar doe nu dan wel iets' for not anticipating the crisis, although the signals were loud and clear (*De Volkskrant*, 5 September 2015). Furthermore, in his article 'Laat voorzichtigheid ons idealisme temperen' (translated from *The New York Times*) Ross Douthat asks who is to blame for the current crisis: 'we – the US, the West, the world?':

Je zou kunnen zeggen dat landen die direct te maken hebben met het Syrische leed meer verantwoordelijkheid dragen om vluchtelingen op te nemen dan andere landen. De grootste verplichting zou rusten op die landen - vooral de Golfstaten en Iran - die wapens en geld in het Syrische conflict hebben gepompt. Een mindere verantwoordelijkheid, maar toch, rust op de Verenigde Staten, want ook wij hebben wapens gestuurd en er zijn verbanden tussen onze interventie in Irak en de huidige chaos in de regio. Andere landen hebben minder tot geen verplichtingen. Toch is de werkelijkheid ruwweg juist andersom. Landen als Qatar en Saoedi-Arabië nemen in feite geen vluchtelingen op. De VS maar mondjesmaat. De landen die hun deuren het wijdst hebben opengezet zijn Duitsland en Zweden. Landen die zich laten leiden door een andere theorie van morele verplichting: een utilitair universalisme waarin de rijkste landen ter wereld gewoon de verplichting hebben vluchtelingen op te nemen, ongeacht of ze verantwoordelijkheid dragen voor de crisis die de vluchtelingenstroom veroorzaakt. (*De Volkskrant*, 8 September 2015).

Douthat argues that the countries that are (partly) responsible for causing the crisis in Syria do not take their responsibilities. Instead, countries as Qatar and Saudi Arabia refuse to accommodate refugees. On the other hand, Western countries as Germany and Sweden are led by a different theory. As they are part of the world's richest countries, they feel the moral obligation to welcome and accommodate refugees, even though they are not to blame for the cause of the crisis, according to Douthat. By stating this, Douthat makes a distinction between Arab countries, who could be blamed for the crisis in the first place but who refuse to take responsibility, and European countries, who feel morally obliged. As the result, European countries seem to have transcended to a higher level of morality, when compared to Arab countries. Even though the crisis might be more relevant to other Arab countries as it is both geographically and culturally closer to Syria, apparently they are not as high on the ladder of morality to welcome fellow-Arabian refugees. Thus, it is legitimate to argue that Douthat uses an Orientalist discourse in describing the current situation.

Although this thesis examines the Orientalist portrayal of the refugee crisis, it is interesting (and relevant) to see that this is not the sole object of Orientalism. In several articles a different dichotomy between East and West is presented. Whereas Western Europe is prepared to accommodate more Syrian refugees, East European countries such as Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and the Czech Republic are in favour of more strict policies regarding the admission of refugees. In the articles, the differences between the tolerant West and xenophobic East are emphasised. (Editorial desk, 'Kentering bij deel EU: toch meer opvang' in *De Volkskrant* published on 5 September 2015). This view is also supported and elaborated on in a different article, which was published on the same day. In his article '...en de 28 lidstaten?' Marc Peepkorn writes on the attitude of East European countries regarding the refugees. The Hungarian Prime Minister Orbán has said that his country does not want to accommodate the refugees because Muslims are not wanted. By saying this, Orbán reduces the refugees to their religion, and stereotypes them as Muslims, who are apparently unwanted because 'they' are different from the mainly Christian Hungary. Peepkorn compares the attitude of the East European countries to Western Europe by implying that the East European members of the European Union are less advanced:

De oostelijke lidstaten zijn nog niet zo ver. Volgens Orbán zetten asielquota de deur wagenwijd open, stromen er straks tientallen miljoenen migranten de Europese grenzen over en drijven er nog veel meer lijken in de Middellandse Zee. Zijn remedie: een Fort Europa, met strikte bewaking van de Europese buitengrenzen. Hij kreeg deze

week steun van de Slowaakse premier Fico die zei te gruwen van het idee morgen wakker te worden met honderdduizenden Arabieren in zijn tuin (*De Volkskrant*, 5 September 2015).

Firstly, this implies that according to Peeperkorn, West European members of the EU are more advanced in their opinions on the refugee crisis, i.e. their welcoming attitude towards them. The attitude is portrayed as a process, in which the Western member states are considered to be further ahead, implying that the Eastern member states have not yet progressed as far as the West. Whereas in the previous examples the distinction is often made between East and West as between Arab countries and Europe, this statement implies that even within Europe important differences and ‘Othering’ can be traced. This means that West European countries are depicted as being superior to the Eastern parts of Europe. This idea of the superiority of the West opposed to the inferiority of the East is another important aspect of Orientalism. Apparently, even within the borders of Europe this concept is constituted.

A second aspect is to be found in the proclamations by both the Prime Minister of Hungary, Viktor Orbán and Slovakia, Robert Fico, who express their xenophobic concerns regarding Muslims and Arabs. Both Prime Ministers view the refugees as ‘others’, who will flood Europe once the borders will be opened. Their solution, against the invaders of Europe is installing a Fortress Europe, creating not only a psychological wall, but also a tangible wall between ‘us’, Europe, and ‘them’, the Arab refugees. Since both of them do not explain their opinions by supporting it with arguments (‘we do not want Muslims (Orbán) or Arabs (Fico) here, because...’), the refugees are simply reduced (again) to their religion or descent, and therefore, as being different from the European norm.

In conclusion, as is shown above, it becomes clear that many examples of the use of Orientalist discourse can be found in the articles on Aylan in *De Volkskrant*. However, one should take into account that these Oriental aspects cannot be traced back to the authors’ personal opinions. This means that the authors of the articles only represent Orientalist aspects, rather than using them in their writings themselves. The expressed opinions are of both Dutch (mostly Geert Wilders) and foreign (Orbán and Fico) politicians, as well as a part of the Dutch population. Moreover, the dichotomy between East and West, which is an important aspect of Orientalism, is a dynamic concept. It depends on the situation which countries are considered ‘West’: Europe as a whole or only Western Europe. In these opinions, the refugees are often reduced to their religion and descent, which are both seen as threats towards Western society.

In opposition to these perspectives, it is interesting to see that Aylan is mostly framed within a human interest and moral frame in *De Volkskrant*, insinuating that Aylan is indeed promoted as the ‘iconic gamechanger’, the one who is used in an attempt to bring both politics and civilians together in an empathic attitude towards refugees.

4.4 *De Telegraaf*

As is pointed out in the introduction of this chapter, *De Telegraaf* has noticeably published fewer articles on Aylan. Only fourteen articles are referring to the Syrian boy in the newspaper. This implicates that *De Telegraaf* focuses less on the tragic death of the young child. Similar to *De Volkskrant*, *De Telegraaf* also refers to the role of the media in the representation of the tragic picture. However, by doing so the articles in the newspaper tend to be more critical towards the story of Aylan’s father. An example is Wim Hoogland’s article ‘Twintig stukken over Aylan, twintig versies’, who states:

Wie twintig stukken naast elkaar legt, ziet twintig varianten. Wie zorgen daarvoor? Vader Abdullah, journalisten, tolken? Doet het er wat toe? Ja. Wie met dergelijke hevige emoties de wereld over misstanden informeert, heeft de verantwoordelijkheid voor feitelijkheid. Aylan is en blijft dood, maar het verhaal is essentieel. (9 September 2015).

Hoogland focuses on the media’s responsibility of presenting the story according to the facts. As there were many inconsistencies in Abdullah’s story, the overall tone of the articles in *De Telegraaf* is more negative towards Aylan. When comparing to *De Volkskrant*, less (empathic) narrative structures are used to describe the Kurdi’s unfortunate journey.

In addition to this, the articles published in *De Telegraaf* often use the responsibility frame, to examine who is to blame for the death of the two boys and their mother. In the same article, Hoogland states that Abdullah ‘should never have handed his family over to that boat’⁹, indicating that the father was responsible for the death of his family as he could somehow have foreseen their death. His view is supported by Frank van Vliet in his article ‘Aylan symbool van onmetelijke ellende’. His reporting on the story of Aylan and his family is immediately combined with the question who to blame for the death of the little boy:

⁹ Translation mine. Dutch original: “hij had zijn gezin nooit aan die boot mogen uitleveren”.

Veel werd met de beschuldigende vinger gewezen naar de Europese Unie, die duidelijk tekortschiet in de opvang. Maar schepen van dezelfde Unie redden bijna dagelijks vluchtelingen uit de golven. En zou het verwijt niet gericht moeten worden naar het Midden-Oosten, vandaag de dag een poel van ellende waar in Syrië misdadige bendes en het regime de bevolking op de vlucht hebben gejaagd en daarmee zorgen voor de grootste vluchtelingencrisis in Europa sinds de Tweede Wereldoorlog? Buurlanden als Jordanië, Turkije en Libanon dreigen ontwricht te worden door miljoenen vluchtelingen, maar de Golfstaten en Saoedi-Arabië kijken weg. Ze houden de poorten nog meer dan Europa gesloten. De vraag is ook terecht of Abdullah Kurdi zo'n gevaarlijke reis wel had moeten ondernemen. Natuurlijk heeft het gezin vele gevaren doorstaan en zeggen Syriërs dat ze in Turkije worden gediscrimineerd, maar toch. Pech speelt bij het gezin ook een rol. (*De Telegraaf*, 4 September 2015).

Whereas at first Van Vliet accuses the lack of good accommodations in member states of the European Union of Aylan's death, he immediately defends their approach by arguing that their ships pick up countless refugees from the sea. This perspective is also supported in one of his other articles, 'Omgeslagen', in which Van Vliet explicitly states: "Deze oorlog is niet de schuld van Europa, , laat staan van Nederland" (*De Telegraaf*, 8 September 2015).

Instead, Van Vliet accuses the Middle East of causing the crisis in the first place. Secondly, many of the countries in the Middle East, such as the Gulf States and Saudi Arabia, are ignoring the crisis rather than helping the millions of refugees. Thirdly, Van Vliet points the finger to Abdullah Kurdi by arguing that Turkey was a relatively safe place, where they should have stayed. Lastly, he indicates that bad luck was also one of the reasons that the family did not make it to the European shores. In his opinion, the European Union is not the biggest cause for Aylan's death. Instead, he prefers to blame countries in the Middle East, Aylan's father Abdullah Kurdi and finally, bad luck. This means that all factors – except for bad luck, but who is to blame for that? – are part of the Oriental world. Even though that might be true, it is surprising to see that Van Vliet has chosen for this approach, whereas the majority of the articles in *De Volkskrant* is more concerned with the empathic aspects of the story. This can perhaps be related to the Oriental discourse in which Van Vliet reports the news on Aylan, by the creation of a story in which every factor can be blamed, except for the West.

The responsibility frame is also used by Martijn Klerks, who wrote in his article 'Kinderen; Buitenlandse Zaken': "Aylan Kurdi, het 3-jarige Syrisch-Koerdische knulletje dat

levenloos was aangespoeld op het strand van Kos, werd het gezicht van de vluchtelingen crisis. De peuter in het zand was niet het eerste slachtoffer van de invasie van asiel- en gelukszoekers.” (*De Telegraaf*, 19 December 2015). Although Klerks uses words that reflect innocence (‘knulletje’, ‘peuter’) when speaking of Aylan, he regards their death as the victim of the ‘invasion of refugees and economic refugees’. Not only uses Klerks a metaphor from warfare discourse to describe the refugees’ journeys to Europe by the use of ‘invasion’, indicating that Europe is being conquered by outsiders, he also distinguishes between ‘refugees’ and ‘economic refugees’, implying that not all refugees come out of necessity in fear of their lives, but a part of them comes to Europe to create a better life. In one of the next paragraphs, Klerks states that: “De twijfel of Europa de vluchtelingenstroom wel aankan en of men iedereen wel moet toelaten is terecht”. Again, Klerks uses metaphors to describe the situation: the refugees as a ‘flood’ that overwhelms the continent. The distinction between ‘real’ and economic refugees is also visible in Van Vliet’s article:

Het maakte van Aylan een symbool van de onmetelijke ellende die zich bijna dagelijks afspeelt langs de kusten van de Egeïsche en Middellandse Zee, waar Syrische vluchtelingen en gelukzoekers uit andere landen hun leven op het spel zetten om Europa te bereiken (*De Telegraaf*, 4 September 2015).

Both authors admit that a crisis is taking place, that real refugees are fleeing to Europe, but they constantly emphasise that among them are also economic refugees, who seize the opportunity to go to Europe as they hope to find a better life. It is remarkable to see several authors not only mentioning, but even emphasising the difference between the two groups. By doing so, the authors create a feeling of unease among their readers, who are constantly reminded that not all refugees are in danger, but the connotation of economic refugee means that ‘they’ might be given ‘our’ opportunities, take ‘our’ jobs.

In the articles that are dealing with the positive effects of Aylan, such as initiatives to help refugees, mostly discussed are the negative effects. An example is the article by Chris Ververs, entitled ‘Ijdele hulphype voegt niets toe’; *Kritiek op vele burgerinitiatieven voor vluchtelingen*. Ververs interviews several experts on their opinions on the initiatives by civilians to help refugees that started after and as the immediate result of the picture of Aylan. One of the experts, the Dutch catholic cultural theologian dr. Frank G. Bosman explains the hype:

Een levend jongetje van drie is een probleem. Die komt hier en moeten we opvangen. Hij neemt misschien zelfs wel zijn vader, moeder en opa mee. Maar een dood jongetje, daar kunnen we onze hete tranen om plengen. Dat maakt iets los. Waarom dat bij zestig asielzoekers die stikken in een vrachtwagen niet gebeurt, is mij een raadsel. (*De Telegraaf*, 7 September 2015).

Bosman argues that the reason for Aylan to be mourned by so many in the West is that his death means that he could no longer cause a threat to Western society. He does not need shelter, food and an education, and he does not bring his family members along. He could become the sad symbol of the crisis, because he was no longer part of the crisis. The difference between him and ‘sixty asylum seekers who suffocate in a truck’ is unexplained according to Bosman. This evidently shows that refugees are often seen as a threat to the West, albeit a potential threat in the case of young children. It enforces the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ dichotomy which is so important in Orientalism.

However, Bosman takes it even further in the next paragraph. On the civilian initiatives he states:

Het heeft dan ook geen enkele zin om op een zolderkamer in Groningen een vluchteling te herbergen (...) Wat doe je als hij geestelijk in de knel komt of als je hem over een half jaar niet meer in je huis wilt omdat hij stinkt? (*De Telegraaf*, 7 September 2015).

Although the objection against taking refugees in makes sense because they have indeed most likely experienced traumatic events. The second reason, however, is much more problematic. The portrayal of a refugee as smelling bad forms part of a larger characteristic of Orientalism. As the constructed barbaric Other is less civilised than its Occidental counterpart, a lack of (personal) hygiene is one of the aspects attributed to the Oriental Other. By the use of this particular example, Bosman expresses the stereotyping image regarding the Oriental Other. He could just have said, ‘if you have enough of sharing your house with another person’. By choosing this example, a common prejudice against non-Westerners is expressed.

Muslims and terrorists

The representation of refugees as uncivilised is not only visible in prejudices about hygiene. Similar to what one has seen in the analysis of articles in *De Volkskrant*, in *De Telegraaf* the

representation of refugees as Muslims, and sometimes even terrorists, is a recurrent theme. Frank van Vliet in his article ‘Omgeslagen’:

De overheid moet erkennen dat er grote risico's kleven aan de opname van zo'n groot aantal vluchtelingen, dat waarschijnlijk nog verder oploopt. Het gevaar dat er terroristen onder zitten mag niet onderschat worden. Ook kan men zonder te stigmatiseren de vraag stellen of de integratie van zo'n grote groep, voornamelijk moslims, probleemloos zal verlopen. (*De Telegraaf*, 8 September 2015).

This article is also written within the responsibility frame, since it is the task of the government to protect its civilians against dangers within society. Evidently, Van Vliet questions the impact of the integration of refugees in Dutch society. For a reason, he provides the difference between the Dutch people and the refugees, who are mostly Muslims. Moreover, even potential terrorists are among the refugees. The integration of the refugees is challenged with two different depictions: refugees as Muslims, or even as terrorists. Although it might be true that the integration of a group with a different cultural background and religion would cause problems, Van Vliet seems almost eager to warn his readers against these dangerous refugees. His readers seem to agree with his perspective. Denise Hoogland summarises in the section ‘Wat U zegt’, readers’ opinions who responded to questions asked by the editorial board by voting

Maar nog veel belangrijker, onderstrepen veel stemmers: haal de oorzaak van al deze ellende weg; desnoods met een internationale legermacht, anders blijft het dweilen met de kraan open. Onder de Stellingdeelnemers is tenslotte veel angst voor een toenemende invloed van de islam in Nederland. Cynici voegen daar aan toe: ‘Waar blijft eigenlijk de hulp van hun eigen moslimbroeders?’ (‘Niet nóg soepeler regels’, *De Telegraaf*, 5 September 2015).

According to the voters, there is a need for a good system in which only ‘real refugees’ are facilitated. But, above all, the cause of the crisis has to be eliminated for the refugees to stop fleeing, if need be with an international military coalition. This clearly represents the opinion that people think of the West in superior terms, as they have the right to intervene in other countries and cultures in order to ‘settle’ things. The civilised West has to take action in order for civilisation to triumph. However, one ought not to forget that sometimes what is wrong

and right cannot be determined objectively. Therefore, who gives the West the right to intervene in other countries? The West as the bringer of peace (if need be brought by force) to the uncivilised Orient is also an important aspect of Orientalism. It could even be called ‘the white man’s burden’, in accordance with Kipling. In addition to this, people want the problems in Syria to be solved, since less refugees could then be expected. The fear of an increasing influence of the Islam in the West, and particularly in the Netherlands, also contributes to this suggestion.

East versus West

As one has seen above, the dichotomy of East versus West is very much present in the articles published by *De Telegraaf* on Aylan. Not only are the countries of the Orient to blame for the crisis, they also refuse to take responsibility in the matter. However, similar to what is established in the analysis of *De Volkskrant*, this dichotomy is also used within the European borders. In his article ‘Haags gesnik scheidt wel verplichtingen’ Wouter de Winther critically reflects on the opinions expressed by East European politicians:

PvdA én VVD erkennen inmiddels dat Nederland niet onder een quotum uit kan komen om migranten op te vangen, zoals dat nu vanuit Europa wordt voorgesteld. De enorme toestroom aan mensen maakt het vanuit humanitair oogpunt niet te verantwoorden om langs de kant te blijven staan, zoals een aantal Oost-Europese landen nu wel denkt te kunnen doen. De Europese solidariteit in landen als Polen, Slowakije en Tsjechië houdt kennelijk op nu de jarenlange miljardensubsidies uit het Westen veilig binnen zijn gesleept. (*De Telegraaf*, 8 September 2015).

Firstly, it is interesting to see how all aspects of the different frames are all present in this quotation. The economic frame comes into play when De Winther sarcastically talks about the money that has been given to East European countries; whereas on the other hand he explicitly states that ‘from a humanitarian perspective’ it would be impossible to refrain from taking actions, thus using the human interest frame. This calls for both the responsibility and the moral frame as the refugees are also their responsibility and it would be morally wrong not to help. However, the dominant frame in this quotation would be the conflict frame, since it clearly describes the two parties standing against each other instead of working together as equal partners. Not only are both parties depicted in terms of binary oppositions, it also stresses the inequality between them, as the East needed subsidies from the West. Lastly, the

title can be considered very negative. 'Het Haags gesnik' refers to the Dutch politicians, who were greatly influenced by the powerful image of Aylan faced down on the beach. However, De Winther states that their empathic response has created obligations, which he obviously considers as a bad thing.

In conclusion, *De Telegraaf* mostly uses the responsibility frame when writing on the refugee crisis in articles referring to Aylan. This results in binary oppositions between the West and East, between the Orient and the Occident, between us and them. Refugees are seen as potential criminals and terrorists, or as Muslims, and therefore different. In opposition to *De Volkskrant*, the authors in *De Telegraaf* mainly express their own opinions in their articles. In their reporting, an Orientalist discourse in their representation of the event can be found in the majority of the articles. Furthermore, also in the people that are interviewed and whose opinions are expressed in the articles can be seen as an example of Orientalist discourse.

5. Cologne

5.1 Introduction of the event

From Tuesday 5 January 2016 onwards, several news items showed up in international media that young women in Cologne had been (sexually) assaulted and mugged in the city of Cologne during New Year's Eve celebrations, indeed four days earlier. The first reports in Germany that something very distressing had happened in what they call *Silvesternacht*, had appeared on the fourth (Reiner Burger, 'Übergriffe in Köln: "Straftaten einer neuen Dimension"' (website *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4 January 2016)) (see for news reports in several countries for instance Kate Connolly, 'Cologne inquiry into 'coordinated' New Year's Eve sex attacks' (website *The Guardian*, 5 January 2016); Melissa Eddy, 'Reports on attacks of women in Germany heighten tension over migrants' (website *The New York Times*, 5 January 2016); Luis Doncel, 'Indignación en Alemania por la ola de agresiones a mujeres en Nochevieja' (website *El País*, 6 January 2016); Unknown, 'Merkel: 'De aanvallen waren walgelijk' (website *De Standaard*, 5 January 2016); Unknown, 'Tientallen aanrandingen en berovingen in Keulen' (website *NRC*, 5 January 2016); Unknown, 'Tientallen vrouwen aangerand en beroofd in Keulen' (website *NOS*, 4 January 2016).

It turned out that also in other cities like Hamburg and Stuttgart women had been sexually assaulted, albeit on a smaller scale than in Cologne, where the police had received up to ninety complaints on 5 January (Ursula Scheer, 'Eine Männergruppe und ihr Hintergrund' (website *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 5 January 2016)). Police president Wolfgang Albers of Cologne stated that "Sexual crimes took place on a huge scale. The crimes were committed by a group of people who from appearance were largely from the north African or Arab world." (Kate Connolly, 5 January 2016).

In February, media reported that the number of complaints the police received had risen to about 1.100. In about half of the number of complaints, sexual offenses are involved (Reiner Burger, 'Kölner Mosaiksteine' (website *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 24 February 2016) and Marc Leijendekker, 'Zeventig verdachten vast in Keulen' (website *NRC*, 16 February 2016)). Out of 73 suspects, 61 turned out to be of north African descent (under which 30 Moroccans and 27 Algerians), 4 of the other 12 were from Iraq, 3 from Syria. Most suspects were in Germany not even for a year (Jeroen Wollaars, 'Meeste verdachten Keulen waren pas kort in Duitsland' (website *NOS*, 15 February 2016)).

5.2 Methods

Similar to the previous chapter, the articles which are selected in this chapter are also gathered via LexisNexis. In this case, only one search has been used: ‘Keulen’ (Cologne). Since the events took place in this large German city, I assumed that the name of this city would be used in every article regarding the event. However, searching for ‘Keulen’ gave many results regarding other events. Hence, I had to narrow down the search by adding a date to the publication date of the newspaper articles. As the assaults took place during the New Year’s Eve, I decided to use the date of 1 January 2016 onwards.

The total amount of articles based on the abovementioned search words resulted in 11 unique articles published by *De Volkskrant*, opposed to again 14 articles published by *De Telegraaf* on the assaults in Cologne from January 1st to August 1st 2016, the end date of articles that are analysed in this thesis. Of this 11 articles published by *De Volkskrant* almost two-third of the articles – 7 – were published in the first month (January) after the assaults took place. In *De Telegraaf* the same ratio is visible. Ten out of fourteen articles were published within the first month. When cross-referencing the publication of articles between the two newspapers in later months, it is interesting to see that the same number of the ‘remained’ articles are published in the same months (2 in February, 1 in both March and July).

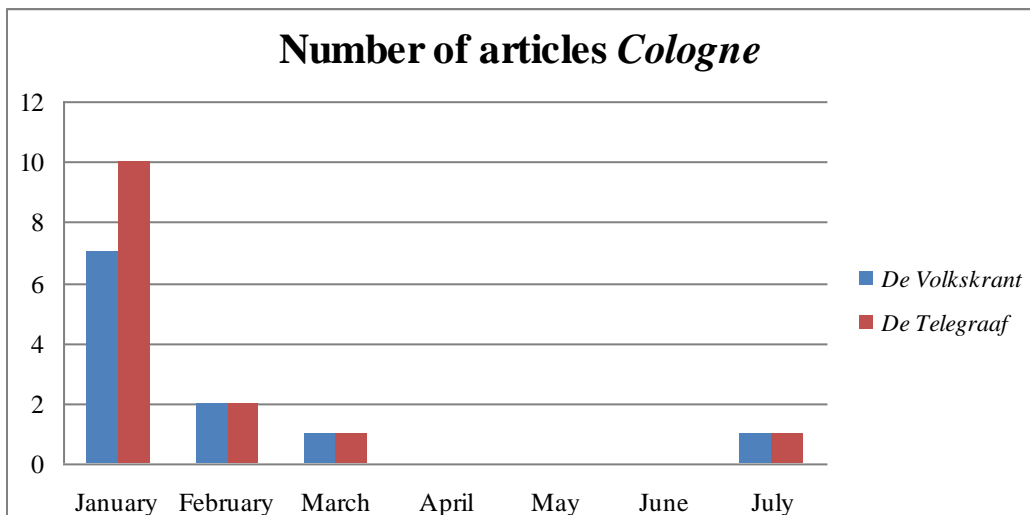


Figure 5: Number of articles Cologne in *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf*
September 2015 – July 2016.

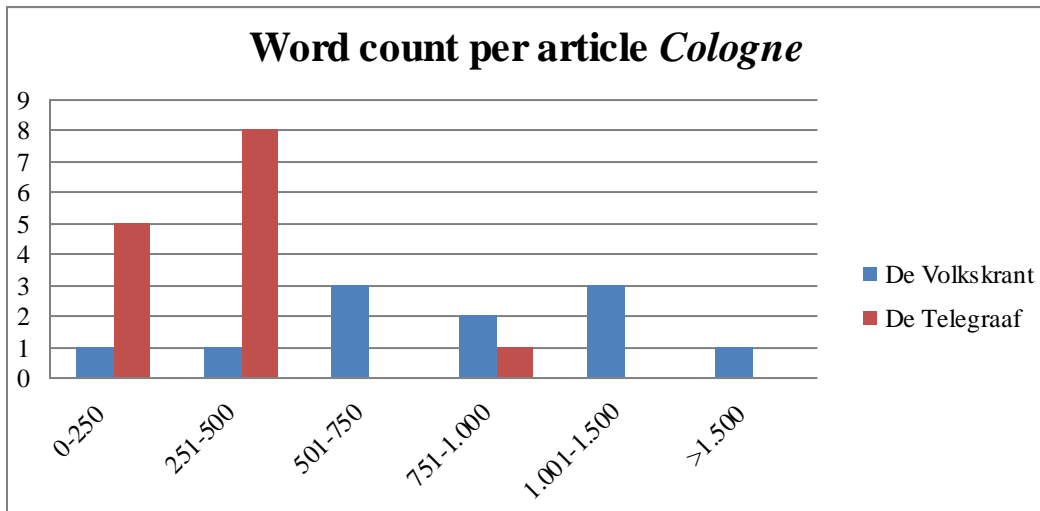


Figure 6: Word count per article Cologne in *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf*.

Lastly, the differences in word count between *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf* are perhaps even more significantly different. Whereas in this case most articles in *De Volkskrant* are between 501 – 1500 words, the majority of the articles in *De Telegraaf* consists of only between 0 and 500 words. Again, *De Telegraaf* has not published articles over 1000 words, resulting in that no in-depth articles are published.

5.3 *De Volkskrant*

The first article that mentioned the assaults in Cologne in *De Volkskrant* was published on 5 January 2016 (ANP, ‘Vrouwen belaagd bij jaarwisseling’ in *De Volkskrant*, 5 January 2016). It was a short news item copied from the general press agency in the Netherlands (ANP). On top of that, this first item indeed appeared five days after New Year’s Eve, which could be called remarkable on itself. The information about what had happened on that particular evening in Germany and the scale of the event became visible piece by piece only during the first weeks of January.

In the first article published, it was mentioned that dozens of women in Cologne were harassed by men. The full extent and detailed information about what exactly happened during New Year’s Eve lacked though. Cologne’s police chief Wolfgang Alberts spoke of perpetrators of ‘Arabic or North African descent’ and ‘an unbearable situation’. The first publication:

Tientallen vrouwen zijn in de nieuwjaarsnacht rond het station in het centrum van Keulen belaagd door groepen mannen. Er zijn rond de zestig aangiften gedaan, in één

geval van verkrachting, zegt de politie. Politiechef Wolfgang Albers zei maandag dat volgens de beschrijvingen van ooggetuigen de daders van 'Arabische of Noord-Afrikaanse afkomst' waren. Albers noemde het 'een onverdraaglijke situatie dat zulke misdrijven midden in de stad worden gepleegd'. (ANP, 'Vrouwen belaagd bij jaarwisseling' in *De Volkskrant*, 5 January 2016).

As just mentioned, in the weeks after 5 January new information revealed more about the assaults. Hence, more articles were published in this period. Only months later it was discovered that the scale of the assaults was much bigger than initially thought.

The Other

As is explained in the first chapter of this thesis, one important aspect of Orientalist narratives is the portrayal of people from the Orient as 'the Other'. In most articles published by *De Volkskrant* on the events in Cologne, this perspective is expressed. However, similar to what is showed in the analysis of articles regarding Aylan in *De Volkskrant*, this 'practice of Othering' is mainly expressed by people who are interviewed rather than the opinions of the journalists themselves. In other cases, the person who is interviewed reflects on tendencies within society regarding refugees. In an interview with Jos Wienen, mayor of Katwijk (the Netherlands) and chairman of the commission 'Asiel en Integratie' of the Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten (VNG), Wienen argues that the events in Cologne were the exception to the rule. However, he has noticed that negative prejudices circle around within society:

'Je hoort telkens hetzelfde: huizen dalen in waarde, de veiligheid van meisjes loopt gevaar, de criminaliteit neemt toe. Het zijn geen voldongen feiten, maar spookbeelden op sociale media. Sommige mensen verbinden de meest uiteenlopende zaken, bijvoorbeeld dat Zwarte Piet weg moet vanwege vluchtelingen. Het is lastig, maar we moeten leren dealen met een stortvloed aan desinformatie.' (Bart Dirks, "Grof geweld of ordeverstoring mag niet lonen", in *De Volkskrant*, 20 January 2016).

Wienen notices that there are tendencies in Dutch society that view refugees as the source of problems, an idea that is often spread on social media. Refugees are used as scapegoats, to blame for the increase of crime rates, and most particularly seen as a threat to the girls. Although there is no evidence that indeed refugees are responsible for these negative aspects,

Wienen argues that this Othering sentiment is often shared within society. Refugees are reduced to simply being bad, as criminals and rapists.

In some articles, again similar to the case of Aylan as depicted in *De Volkskrant*, this Othering is not only objectively portrayed but even criticised by the author. An example is Sander van Walsum, who criticises Wilders' statements in his article 'Politieke correctheid: horen, zien en dan zwijgen':

Wilders vertolkt heel effectief de oeroude angsten voor 'de vijand in ons midden', de 'vijfde colonne' waarover Theo van Gogh en Pim Fortuyn al spraken in verband met de islamisering van Nederland. Elk tijdvak heeft z'n eigen vijfde colonne en meestal moest achteraf worden vastgesteld dat het met de gevreesde dreiging nogal meeviel. Maar na de aanslagen door moslims die in Europa zijn opgegroeid, na de moord op Theo van Gogh en na de gebeurtenissen in Stockholm en Keulen kan Wilders op akelige feiten wijzen. Dat doet hij dan ook met overgave. (*De Volkskrant*, 20 January 2016).

Van Walsum argues that in every era society has a 'common enemy', a group that is regarded as a threat in the middle of society. According to him, most of the time, afterwards can be concluded that the threat was not as big as it was feared beforehand. Van Walsum argues that Wilders uses this discourse of 'the enemy in our midst' to create feelings of fear and mistrust against his target, the refugees. In this case, however, Wilders seems to hold strong arguments as recent months have proved that at least a part of the Muslim population in Europe poses a serious threat. However, the ways in which Wilders targets this particular group, as a threat to 'our' Western society, is evidently part of an Orientalist discourse. Although Van Walsum admits that attacks have occurred, he also implies that Wilders is grateful in using these as examples to support his (polarising) picture of refugees as criminals.

Wilders is a popular target among reporters of *De Volkskrant*. Bart Dirks poses Geert Wilders' proposition that he wants to lock up all male refugees in his interview with Jos Wienen. In an answer to this, Wienen responds: "Wat een totale onzin, die karikatuur van islamitische testosteronbommen. Arabische mannen zijn biologisch niet anders dan westerse mannen." Wienen immediately dismisses Wilders' idea as nonsense, as a caricature of 'islamic testoronbombs'. The warfare discourse by comparing male refugees to testosteronbombs is immediately countered by Wienen in both a biological and humane

response. He argues that Arab men are the same as Western men, and thus refusing to accept the polarising representation Wilders tries to impose on the public.

Contributing to the notion as refugees as the Other is the physical aspect. Generally speaking, refugees are relatively easy to recognise based on their looks. This aspect is also expressed in the articles. Margriet Oostveen mentions in her article ‘Alles kantelt’ that people who ‘look and speak’ differently suddenly becomes a factor of importance after Cologne:

Voor het eerst hoor ik mezelf hardop tegen mijn kind zeggen dat de slachtoffers bijna allemaal aangifte deden van diefstal en aanranding door grote groepen ‘mannen met Noord-Afrikaans uiterlijk’ die ‘Arabisch’ spraken. Generalisaties om te vermijden. Maar het alternatief is meer dan honderdtwintig vrouwen wegzetten als fantast. (*De Volkskrant*, 8 January 2016).

The notion of the Other is reinforced by the fact that refugees can be identified as different based on their looks, as Oostveen also mentions in her article. Although she explicitly states that she wants to avoid generalisations, she admits that in this case it might be unavoidable as this is the bitter reality: at least hundred women reported assaults (later it turned out that even over a thousand women filed reports) by men with a North African appearance who spoke Arabic. Although obviously not all people who meet with this appearance can be blamed for the assaults, it does form a contributing factor in the stereotyping of refugees, as the women were assaulted by very large groups of men.

A very nuanced depiction of the refugees is expressed by Jens Spahn, the coming man of the CDU (Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands) who talks in an interview with Sterre Lindhout in “De valse tolerantie is nagenoeg weg” about the policies regarding asylum seekers in Germany. He argues that the ‘openness’ of Germany is in danger by the inflow of migrants, who have a culture that is so very different ‘from ours’. As a result, the crisis is polarising society. He pleads for an honest answer on the crisis by politicians:

‘Dat je nu gewoon kunt zeggen dat de integratie van zo veel mensen heel veel moeite gaat kosten. Mensen laten bij het passeren van de Duitse grens niet de waarden achter waarmee ze zijn opgegroeid: de verhouding tussen mannen en vrouwen, hoe ga ik met Joden om en met homo's, hoe zit het met de familie-eer. We willen iedereen de kans geven hier te komen, in Europa, in Duitsland, maar laten we eerlijk constateren dat dat langer gaat duren dan twee dagen.’ (*De Volkskrant*, 6 February 2016).

Spahn is very nuanced in his opinion, as he argues that there are indeed different cultures. Refugees cannot simply leave their beliefs and cultural convictions behind when crossing the border to Germany (or any other European country). Spahn considers it a challenge to integrate the refugees into German society, but he admits that it is part of a process. It is not something that happens overnight or, as he says, ‘in two days’. Spahn uses several examples in which cultures might differ: the relationship between men and women (very relevant in case of Cologne), the acceptance of minorities such as Jews and gay people, and family honour. He does not value these differences, he does not state (not even implicitly) that the European cultures would be superior as they have ‘evolved’. Instead, he only names the differences, without prejudices. Although perhaps Spahn creates a dichotomy between the Germans and the refugees and their cultures as he acknowledges the differences between them, he does so without moral judgements.

Heribert Prantl articulates his aversions against the polarisation and stereotyping even more strongly in his article ‘Europa zit in een noodtoestand’ (*De Volkskrant*, 12 January 2016). In his article Prantl protests against the generalising (stereotyping) ideas to which the refugees are reduced after Cologne: “Een groep dronken mannen van deels buitenlandse komaf wordt tot kroongetuige gemaakt van de stelling dat ‘vluchtelingen’ niet meer te tolereren zijn voor de Duitse samenleving. (...) “Moeten onschuldigen ervoor boeten dat er schuldigen in Keulen bestaan?”. Prantl does not see the refugees as a unified group, in which all people are reduced to the same stereotypes (Muslims, sexually aggressive, etc.), but rather sees them as individuals. Whereas a part of this group might be responsible for the assaults on women during New Year’s Eve, a larger of the group has nothing to do with it. Just like some Germans (or Dutch) are criminals, the majority is not.

Refugees as a threat

As the two articles discussed above clearly have indicated, a tendency opposing Orientalist discourse by the refusal of stereotyping, many of the articles express their concerns somehow. Even in book reviews is referred to the events in Cologne. Marjan Slob’s review entitled ‘Plat verhaal over complexe verkrachtingszaak’ is about a book in which three young women were raped by three popular footballplayers of the highschool team, the local heroes of the small town. As the topic of the book revolves around the rapes of the girls, Slob seizes the opportunity to relate this to Cologne. She writes:

Sinds Keulse vrouwen op nieuwjaarsnacht op grote schaal belaagd werden door dronken mannen met een tintje, is het gesprek over seksueel geweld niet meer verstomd. Nieuw element is dat er volop verbanden worden gelegd tussen seksueel geweld, vrouwbeelden en cultuur. Die invalshoek is raak - zelfs al zijn de motieven om zo te willen kijken soms ranzig. (*De Volkskrant*, 13 February 2016).

Evidently, Slob does not only review the fictional rapes, but also the assaults in Cologne. She states that the debate on sexual violence is ongoing since Cologne. After the events took place, immediately connections were drawn between ‘sexual violence, images of women and culture’, of which Slob thinks that they are correct. Therefore, she argues that the violations are most likely caused by cultural differences, by different approaches towards women. It is suggested that the Western man is civilised in the sense that he is restraining himself from assaulting any woman he likes. In direct opposition, Slob seems to suggest that the cultural difference in the Orient consists of the lack of respect towards women and their right to choose their own partner. Although this perspective might be true, such statements should be expanded and explained further instead of just proclaiming them, leaving it to the reader to interpret what is meant. Slob’s representation of the refugees can indeed be called Orientalist, as she states that the problems are caused by the cultural differences as described above.

This perspective is supported by Carlijne Vos, who provides in her article ‘Wat doet de toestroom van jonge mannen met onze demografie en wat zijn de gevolgen?’ more detailed information on the arrival of male refugees:

Veel mensen noemen de ongelijke positie van vrouwen in de islamitische wereld als verklaring voor de massa-aanrandingen. Met de verkrachtingen op het Tahrirplein in Caïro nog vers in het geheugen is de veronderstelling dat dergelijke zedenmisdrijven in de Arabische wereld acceptabel worden geacht. Geen wetenschapper zal dit beamen. Er is eenvoudigweg geen onderzoek dat aantoont dat moslims substantieel meer zedendelicten plegen dan niet-moslims. Het is wel zo dat de maatschappelijke afkeer van seksueel geweld tegen vrouwen in Europa meer is geïnstitutionaliseerd: daders worden vaker aangegeven en bestraft dan in regio's met een machocultuur of een slecht functionerend rechtssysteem. (23 January 2016).

Although Vos acknowledges that this opinion is not scientifically supported, she finds her prove in the unequal position of men and women in the Orient. This is immediately opposed

to what she calls ‘the institutionalisation’ of repulsion of (sexual) violence against women in Europe. In the Orient, on the other hand, perpetrators are not often punished due to their ‘machoculture’ and ‘malfunctioning legal system’. One might presume both terms, macho and the malfunctioning legal system as negative portrayals. The countries are described as being inferior with reference to Europe, where women’s rights are institutionalised. This indicates an inferior position of the Orient, thus resulting in the use of an Orientalist discourse.

Berthold Kohler supports the perspective that sexism is culturally imbedded in Oriental cultures, where the refugees are from. He states in his opinion article ‘Immigratiedebat op scherp na ‘Keulen’ that:

Na Keulen zien veel Europeanen als ze aan vluchtelingen denken niet het beeld van vervolgte families of kinderen, maar bedreigende jonge mannen doordrenkt van een seksisme dat al te gebruikelijk is in het Midden-Oosten en Noord-Afrika. Zulke angsten, hoewel overtrokken, zijn niet absurd en kunnen niet worden gesust met de vaststelling dat veel van de tot nu toe geïdentificeerde vermeende aanvallers in Keulen Marokkaans of Algerijns zijn, niet Syrisch. (*De Volkskrant*, 16 January 2016).

Not only constitutes Kohler a shift from Aylan to Cologne as the portrayal of the refugee crisis, he also argues that sexism is seen as culturally embedded in Middle Eastern and North African countries. Although after almost two weeks became clear that the attackers were mostly of North African descent rather than Syrian (which forms the majority of the refugees), Kohler admits that the fears are exaggerated, but nevertheless very present and even valid. Therefore, he is adding to the idea that refugees are seen as a threat towards society, although he admits that Syrians might be excluded from the prejudices.

In addition to this, Kohler continues by stating that: “Migranten zijn niet meer genegen misdrijven te plegen dan autochtonen. Maar het zou niet van deze wereld zijn te doen alsof er geen spanning is tussen de houdingen van sommigen en hun gastheren.” Again, Kohler nuances the ideas at first by stating that it is not the nature of all refugees to behave as criminals, but the tension cannot be denied. What is especially interesting, is his use of the word ‘gastheren’. Kohler sees the West as hosts for the refugees, implying a hierarchical relationship between the two. Refugee are seen as (temporary?) guests by the grace of the West. This is relate to what Halleh Ghorashi argues about the Dutch asylum policies. The system has created the feeling that migrants should be grateful towards their hosts. This idea is also clearly expressed by Kohler by his word use. This results in an unequal position of

original population and refugees, which prevents the people to see the refugees as full members of their (shared) country.

However, in an interview with Valerie Hudson in the same article, expert in political science, instead of a cultural problem, a different cause of the assaults than the cultural inferiority of the Orient comes to light: “Er wordt veel gesproken over de kleinerende houding jegens vrouwen waar sommige van Europa’s nieuwste moslims mee kunnen zijn opgegroeid.” (*De Volkskrant*, 15 January 2016). But, as Hudson argues, the sex ratio (the amount of men per 1000 women in a certain area) turns out to be much more influential. The higher the sex ratio, the higher the number of criminal acts and violence against women. This means that the sexual assaults could not be explained by the differences in the refugees’ culture, but rather by that the majority of the influx of refugees is male, who are then mostly separated from society by asylum policies of European (in this case, German) governments. This results in the gathering of mostly young male refugees, which would cause problems according to Hudson. If we take this idea to the Netherlands to prevent these assaults from happening, firstly the asylum policies ought to be changed. By incorporating the refugees in society after entering the country, the ratio men-women is equalled, Hudson’s theory states. This means that Hudson mostly rules out cultural differences as the reason for the acts of violence against women. His research shows that the results applies to all men, regardless of their cultural or ethnic background. Although her theory is objectively described, the results of the research imply that the cultural background is not particularly to be blamed, thus resulting in more universalising picture: all men are the same, and violence against women is related to the situation instead of one’s background.

Ultimately, many articles mention a shift in attitude towards refugees. Whereas Aylan is mostly framed in a human interest frame or moral frame, the majority of articles published by *De Volkskrant* on the events in Cologne is framed within the conflict frame as the articles portray the perspectives of different groups and people. However, the morality frame certainly forms an important aspect as well. Whereas the authors often portray opinions of others, they also reflect on their points of view. Overall, this results in relatively nuanced reporting on the event. At times, the journalists seem to critique and oppose the general tendency in society to blame ‘all refugees’. However, the journalists cannot deny that there indeed are tensions between the (original) population and refugees. Moreover, the sexual assaults have resulted in a shift in icon. Whereas from September 2015 onwards, Aylan’s picture was often seen as the tragic representation of the refugee crisis, this image seems to be replaced according to

psychologist Jaap van Ginneken by the influx of many young males, who pose a threat towards society and, especially, women:

‘Met de massa-aanranding is een belangrijk symbool aangetast van onze westerse beschaving: seksegelijkheid. De perceptie dat moslims vrouwonvriendelijk zijn, gaat nu hand in hand met de perceptie dat alleenstaande mannen bedreigend en agressief zijn. De combinatie van die percepties over sekse en etniciteit is een gevaarlijke mix. Percepties zijn grillig en beweeglijk, maar als ze maar genoeg worden herhaald, worden ze vanzelf werkelijkheid en nestelen ze zich muurvast in het brein.’ (Carlijne Vos, ‘Wat doet de toestroom van jonge mannen met onze demografie en wat zijn de gevolgen?’, in *De Volkskrant*, 23 January 2016).

The empathic picture of Aylan seems to be forgotten and already replaced by a new image: the refugee as the (sexual) threat towards Western society. Although in this example, Van Ginneken refers to sentiments in society, even with the journalists of *De Volkskrant* a shift can be traced. Whereas generally speaking their reporting shows both defenders and opponents of refugees by combining the conflict and the moral frame on the events in Cologne, the authors cannot deny that something has happened, which might cause trouble in the near future again. Interesting to see is that the story is only told by German people, not one interview with refugees is published in the newspaper. The Oriental Other is not given a voice in the matter, although opinions regarding them are constantly formulated. On the positive side, the authors do try to avoid generalisations and stereotyping by blaming ‘all refugees’. Unfortunately, this becomes more and more difficult as refugees are often easily identified as foreigners based on their looks. This results in the rise of Orientalist prejudices among both the public and the journalists of *De Volkskrant*.

5.4 De Telegraaf

It is remarkable to see that the overall portrayal of the event can be called neutral and at times even positive in a newspaper that has the reputation of being a sensational newspaper with its undue headlines. Although some of the titles indeed imply articles of the sort (‘‘Duitsland een tikkende tijdbom; Sinds aanrandingen in Keulen is stemming radicaal omgeslagen’’¹⁰; ‘Jacht

¹⁰ The same article was also published under the title ‘Duitsland wordt een wankel kruitvat; Sinds aanrandingen in Keulen is stemming radicaal omgeslagen’.

op buitenlanders in Keulen'; 'Düsseldorf toneel van mega-razzia'), the overall tone of the articles can be considered nuanced and at times even positive. In the article 'Duitsland een tikkende tijdbom; Sinds aanrandingen in Keulen is stemming radicaal omgeslagen' journalist Jan Albert Sterkman tries to show the other side by interviewing refugees and their volunteers. By doing so, Sterkman avoids solely portraying refugees as perpetrators. As a result, he shows the personal affects of the events in Cologne on different people and thus avoiding generalisations and stereotyping in his reporting. Asylum seeker Jawad Ali (28) states that he is afraid since he saw the images on television: "Voor ons is het heel slecht dat die boeven Duitse vrouwen beroofden" (*De Telegraaf*, 14 January 2016). This shows that not all refugees are the same, 'the good ones' are also negatively effected by the deeds. The fear is not only reserved for German people, but also for the other refugees. Interesting is that Ali does not mention the sexual assaults on women, only them being robbed by 'thieves'. In the same article, the leader of an AZC in Berlin, Kristin Liedtke, admits that the assaults in Cologne were 'a catastrophe', but she nuances the image by arguing that during Oktoberfest many women are also assaulted by drunk (Western) men. By saying that, she seems to implicate that the assaults are a common phenomenon. Since the men during Oktoberfest are not refugees, the media do not elaborate on this as much as when there are refugees to blame.

Another example is the news reporting on the precautions that the police took in Cologne during carnival in the article 'Massale politie-inzet in Keulen'. Whereas the reader expects the deployment of the German police to be the result of something, it becomes clear in the article that it only is a precaution, to prevent assaults on women:

De politie in Keulen zet massaal in op beveiliging tijdens het carnaval. In plaats van de gebruikelijke 750 agenten zijn er nu 2500 op de been. De Duitsers willen zo uit alle macht voorkomen dat er zich weer de gruwelijke situaties voordoen als tijdens nieuwjaarsnacht. Toen werden vrouwen slachtoffer van groepsaanrandingen. (*De Telegraaf*, 30 January 2016).

The tone of the article can be called neutral, as it is not even mentioned that the assaults were by refugees or migrants. In fact, the perpetrators are not part of the article. Only the victims, the women, are named. This is also the case in Rob Savelberg's article 'Jacht op buitenlanders in Keulen; Ook Zweden hield misdaden asielzoekers onder de pet', who only states that: "Tijdens de jaarwisseling werden ruim 500 vrouwen er [Keulen] het slachtoffer van Arabische bendes." (*De Telegraaf*, 12 January 2016). Although the title implies that the

perpetrators were all foreigners, in the article the focus is put on ‘Arab gangs’ as the attackers. Refugees are not even mentioned in the article. It shows that in many articles in *De Telegraaf* the journalists are not out to accuse refugees, but instead focus on other (ethnic) groups.

However, the number of journalists who wrote article on Cologne is limited. Important to name is that many articles on Cologne and its aftermath are written by Rob Savelberg, who works as the Berlin correspondent for *De Telegraaf*. Therefore, he can be seen as an expert since he works and lives among the Germans and the refugees. During carnival Savelberg explored the opinions of the people in Cologne by interviewing them. This resulted in his article ‘Kölsch’, in which he portrays the attitude of both the inhabitants of Cologne and the refugees as very positive:

Maar de burgers van de miljoenenstad blijken stuk voor stuk prachtexemplaren met een plat Kölsch accent en een groot hart. Met rollator draait Elizabeth Sutorius (82) vrolijk om de Syrische asielzoeker Ahmad (22) heen, die haar voor een spontaan dansje op straat heeft uitgenodigd. ‘Deze mensen vluchtten voor oorlog en bombardementen. Ik ken die situatie uit Silezië, voordat ik als jonge vrouw hierheen vluchtte’, zegt de vroegere dienstmeid. Veel medeburgers weigeren eveneens vanwege duizend berovingen en aanrandingen in de nieuwjaarsnacht door Noord-Afrikanen hun gedrag te veranderen. Overall in de stad worden kortgerokte meiden in sexy carnavalskostuums geflankeerd door stoere jongemannen met zwarte emblemen als SWAT en FBI, SEK en POLIZEI. (*De Telegraaf*, 10 February 2016):

The article shows the attitude of many inhabitants of Cologne who refuse to change their behaviour and judge all refugees and migrants based on the events during New Year’s Eve and whom Savelberg considers to be ‘beautiful people’ due to this attitude. An old, and therefore vulnerable, woman is interviewed who can relate to the refugees, as she fled from Silesia when she was young herself. She focuses on the humanitarian aspect of the crisis and the refugees, and dances with Syrian asylum seeker Ahmad. However, Ahmad is not given a voice in the article, another aspect of Orientalism. Although the inhabitants of Cologne refuse to change their behaviour, the article also describes how the girls in short skirts are escorted by tough looking guys dressed as guardians (SWAT, FBI, SEK and police). Moreover, Savelberg describes in both this and his previous article that extra police is present to prevent assaults like the ones on New Year’s Eve. This suggests that although in Cologne carnival is

celebrated as always, but the threat is still visible and expressed in the costumes of the men and the visibility of the police force.

Although in these more nuanced articles the perpetrators are at times not even named, other articles refer to ‘refugees’ as the culprit of the events in Cologne. Like *De Volkskrant*, the first article that was published in *De Telegraaf* was only days after the events took place in Cologne. Even within the first days of news reporting, a lot was unclear. *De Telegraaf* published six weeks after the event Rob Savelberg’s article ‘Bijna alle Keulse aanranders afkomstig uit Noord-Afrika’, in which it is revealed that whereas it was commonly thought that refugees were responsible for the sexual assaults, almost no Syrians were part of the actions:

In tegenstelling tot wat eerder werd aangenomen zitten er onder de aanranders en dieven amper vluchtelingen afkomstig uit Syrië. De meerderheid van de daders is weliswaar statutair asielzoeker maar komt uit Noord-Afrikaanse landen als Marokko, Tunesië en Algerije. (...) Er zijn drie Duitsers onder de verdachten en verder slechts één Syriër. De meeste van hen zijn eind vorig jaar of in de zomer het land binnengekomen.” (*De Telegraaf*, 24 February 2016).

Savelberg extensively explores the origin of the refugees responsible for the attacks in the article. Therefore, he avoids the generalisation and stereotyping of all refugees. Syrians seemed to be the innocent victims, as media constantly defined ‘refugees’ to be the perpetrators. By distinguishing between North-African and Syrian refugees, he also seems to imply that the Syrians ‘are not the bad ones, but watch out for the people from Northern Africa!’. This means that the Orientalist portrayal of refugees is only applied to migrants from North African countries.

It was only in July that the scale of the assaults became clear. Rob Savelberg wrote in his article ‘Keulen’ groter dan gedacht’: “Het aantal aanrandingen in de Duitse nieuwjaarsnacht ligt vele malen hoger dan tot nog toe bekend was. Meer dan duizend vrouwen bij onze oosterburen werden het slachtoffer van allochtone mannen.” (*De Telegraaf*, 1 July 2016). The perpetrators consisted of an estimated group of 2000 refugees, but Savelberg emphasizes again that almost no Syrians were involved. Although there is a direct link between the arrival of refugees and the sexual assaults according to the Cologne police chief, Syrians, who are the largest group of refugees, were not involved. In addition, this is the only article in which the men are defined by the term *allochtonen*. By defining the refugees

from North African descent as *allochtonen*, Savelberg creates a generalising picture, in which all men with a foreign origin can be named as a perpetrator.

Refugees as a threat

In the articles, refugees are often portrayed as threats, both in a criminal and sexual sense. Rob Savelberg strongly objects to the refugees who profit from the German ‘Willkommenskultur’ and who repays this society by attacking innocent civilians. Inspired by and referring to the action of Riaz A., who recently attacked and severely wounded civilians in the train with an axe and knife on July 22nd 2016. In his article ‘Einde van de welkomstcultuur’ Savelberg describes Riaz’ welcome in Germany:

[E]en warm nest, goede verzorging, aandacht en een dak boven het hoofd. Zoals alle andere asielzoekers en economische vluchtelingen ontving hij zakgeld, een veilig thuis en een voorlopige verblijfsvergunning. Maar daar bleef het niet bij. Riaz A. kreeg in de kerk een eigen gebedshoek, mocht cursussen Duits bezoeken, had sinds kort een pleegfamilie op een grote boerderij en was begonnen aan een beroepsopleiding in een bakkerij. Niets leek zijn integratie in de weg te staan. (*De Telegraaf*, 10 February 2016).

Savelberg states that the prospects of a successful integration were apparently not enough for the 17-year-old asylum seeker. It causes doubts within the minds of the German population, as they are starting to wonder what kind of people they have welcomed to their country. In interviews, a general feeling is expressed that the refugees should show gratitude towards the nation that has welcomed them and has been providing for them ever since. This idea is similar to the situation in the Netherlands, where as is shown in previous chapters, the system causes refugees to be completely dependant on the state. Instead, Riaz starts to attack Germans, a situation that can be compared to the assaults in Cologne, where the asylum seekers attacked women instead of showing a more grateful attitude. As more examples can be shown, Germans (and the other Western countries) start to fear the refugees and see them as possible threats.

Moreover, Rob Savelberg suggests in his article ‘‘Bendes hondsbrutaal’; Draaideurcriminelen vooral Marokkaanse jongeren’ that assaulting women can be expected as it is a common practice in the Arab world according to German police officers:

Volgens rechercheurs bij de politie heten de technieken, waarbij vrouwen plotseling door grote groepen Arabische mannen omringd, misbruikt en beroofd worden ‘taharrush gamea’. De schandalige gebeurtenissen van de nieuwjaarsnacht in Keulen, waarbij inmiddels 650 vrouwen aangifte deden en door Noord-Afrikaanse bendes van vooral Marokkanen beroofd en aangerand werden, staan niet op zichzelf. Het afgelopen jaar registreerde de politie bijna tweeduizend delicten van deze jongemannen. (*De Telegraaf*, 13 January 2016).

This implies that the sexual harassment of women indeed can be seen as part of ‘the Orient’ Therefore, Cologne does not seem to be the exemption, but rather the rule as the attribution of a name indicates that it is a common practice in the Orient. The view that Cologne does not stand alone is supported by Rob Savelberg who provided in his article ‘Meerderheid Duitsers tegen Merkel; ‘Stekeblind voor de werkelijkheid’ more examples of assaults in Germany: “Gisteren werd verder bekend dat een zwembad in Bornheim, gelegen in Noordrijn-Westfalen, mannelijke asielzoekers weigert. Ze zouden vrouwen lastigvallen.” (*De Telegraaf*, 16 January 2016). Savelberg describes that in response, measures are taken. These measures include refusing entrance to all male asylum seekers. This is obviously part of Oriental discourse as all refugees are reduced to (possible) threats and therefore refused entrance. This is without a doubt the creation of a generalising and stereotyping image, which actively results in the exclusion of male refugees.

Savelberg does not only represent measures and opinions of others, he also participates in the portrayal of refugees as a threat in his discourse. In his articles, he uses several words in his articles to refer to the assaults. Whereas he uses the term rather neutral term ‘massa-aanranding’ (‘Jacht op buitenlanders in Keulen; Ook Zweden hield misdaden asielzoekers onder de pet’ in *De Telegraaf*, 12 January 2016) he also uses words that indicate that the refugees are a threat to society. Examples are the word ‘seksexcessen’ (‘Burgeroorlog tegen de islam’; Pegida-menigte raakt slaags met 1700 man van de Keulse politie’ in *De Telegraaf*, 10 January 2016); ‘seksterreur van asielzoekers’ (‘Asielbeleid kantelt; Angela Merkel onder gigantische druk na seksterreur Keulen’ in *De Telegraaf*, 10 January 2016) and ‘de seksuele terreur van Noord-Afrikanen en Arabische asielzoekers tegen Duitse vrouwen’ (‘Meerderheid Duitsers tegen Merkel; ‘Stekeblind voor de werkelijkheid’ in *De Telegraaf*, 16 January 2016). In this, Savelberg relates the assault to a form of terrorism – ‘sexual terrorism’ to be more precise. By doing so, he contributes to the exclusion of (male) refugees as he emphasises the sexual threat and traces this back to terrorism.

Lastly, a remarkable response was given from the Netherlands. In a statement by the mayor of Amsterdam, Eberhard van der Laan, he declares that something alike to Cologne would never happen in Amsterdam, since the inhabitants of his city are ‘too sweet’. In response, several readers of *De Telegraaf* wrote to the newspaper to dispute his statement. One of the editors of the newspaper, Coosje Hiskemuller, wrote a short article on the response in the section ‘Geachte lezer’ (dear reader), combining different responses. The overall opinion was that Van der Laan’s statement was ‘strange’ and incorrect. In a response, readers wrote:

‘Het is blijkbaar nog steeds niet doorgedrongen dat het niet om de oorspronkelijke bewoners gaat, maar om hen die hier binnendringen’, merkt Chris Cats op en hij is niet de enige. ‘Het gaat om anderen, die níet lief zijn’ zoals G. den Uil schrijft. (*De Telegraaf*, 13 January 2016).

Interesting to see is that the opinions that are expressed above (and in the rest of the article) only critique Van der Laan’s bad comparison: the people in Cologne were not the attackers, but ‘others’ were. By others, the refugees are meant. However, what is most interestingly is that the mayor defines the people in his city by judging the attackers in Cologne and defining the Self as opposed to these Others: ‘they’ did something wrong, something which ‘we’ would never do because we are too sweet. In short, Van der Laan uses the assaults in Cologne and the representation of refugees as being criminals and a threat to women in order to define himself in direct opposition this: ‘they’ are bad, ‘we’ are good. The defining of the Self as opposed to the (actions of the) Other is also an important aspect of Orientalism.

In conclusion, several extremes can be found in the reporting of *De Telegraaf* on the attacks in Cologne. On the one hand, the overall tone in the articles is nuanced. In several articles, the origin of the attackers is not even mentioned. In articles in which is referred to them, the difference between North African and Arabic as opposed to Syrian refugees is a factor of importance as it is often mentioned. One article is even dedicated to showing the side of the refugees by interviewing a Syrian refugee and the volunteers of an asylum seeker centre. However, in half of the articles, both the headline and discourse result in a different representation. Lastly, Cologne is used by mayor Van der Laan to define the nature of the inhabitants of Amsterdam in direct opposition to the attackers in terms of good and bad.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I expected to find that the representation of the crisis and refugees is based on Orientalist prejudices, such as the dichotomy between the Self and the Other – the Self being the European civilian; the Other the mysterious and primitive savage from the East (i.e. the Middle East). Therefore, I expected Dutch newspapers to be dividing the world in the ‘West’ and ‘Rest’ and judging and representing the constructed Other – the refugees – based on an Oriental discourse. This thesis has shown that an Orientalist discourse is indeed used in the representation of refugees in Dutch newspapers *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf*.

When first looking at the amount of articles produced and published by both newspapers, an important difference can be seen. The word count in the articles differs immensely. Whereas *De Volkskrant* often published articles larger than 750 words, the majority of the articles published in *De Telegraaf* are relatively small, only between 0 and 750 words. The difference in these numbers supports the view mentioned in the introduction about the characteristics of both newspapers. Whereas it is *De Volkskrant*'s reputation to keep its readers informed by the publication of more articles regarding the same event, including in-depth articles (1000+ words), the focus of *De Telegraaf* seems to be articles with less than 1000 words, with the majority published as very short articles.

Not only in the size of the articles differences can be found, the content of the articles also differs. The fourth chapter, the analysis of the representation of Aylan, shows that although in both newspapers many examples of the use of Orientalist discourse can be found, one should take into account that in case of articles by *De Volkskrant* these Oriental aspects cannot be traced back to the authors' personal opinions. This means that the authors of the articles only represent Orientalist aspects, rather than using them in their writings themselves. The expressed opinions are of both Dutch (mostly Geert Wilders) and foreign (Orbán and Fico) politicians, as well as a part of the Dutch population. The representation of their opinions by the journalists is used to attack and ridicule the persons expressing these Orientalist opinions. In opposition to *De Volkskrant*, the authors in *De Telegraaf* mainly express their own opinions in their articles, meaning that the use of Orientalist discourse can be traced back to the authors rather than the people cited. In their reporting, an Orientalist discourse in their representation of the event can be found in the majority of the articles.

In opposition to these perspectives, it is interesting to see that Aylan is mostly framed within a human interest and moral frame in *De Volkskrant*, insinuating that Aylan is indeed promoted

as the ‘iconic gamechanger’, the one who is used in an attempt to bring both politics and civilians together in an empathic attitude towards refugees. His picture is both exploited (the amount of articles dedicated or referring to Aylan) and used to change public (and political) opinion. The journalists do not reflect critically on the story of Abdullah Kurdi, but rather use it to provide the reader a personal account of the event.

In direct opposition, *De Telegraaf* mostly uses the responsibility frame when writing on the refugee crisis in articles referring to Aylan, asking the question who is to blame for the death of Aylan and the crisis in general. *De Telegraaf* concludes that although the West is partly failing in their attempt to accommodate the refugees, the crisis is caused (and supported) by Arab countries, who now refuse to take their responsibilities. It is even the fault of Abdullah Kurdi, who should have stayed in Turkey. This results in binary oppositions between the West and East, between the Orient and the Occident, between us and them.

Moreover, the dichotomy between East and West, which is an important aspect of Orientalism, is in both newspapers used as a dynamic concept. It depends on the situation which countries are considered ‘West’: Europe as a whole or only Western Europe. If East European countries refuse to cooperate in the accommodation of the millions of refugees, authors from both newspapers depict them as being Other in a West versus East dichotomy.

The conclusion of the fifth chapter, in which the representation of the assaults in Cologne was analysed, might be that the empathic picture of Aylan seems to be forgotten and already replaced by a new image: the refugee as the (sexual) threat towards Western society. This is the case for both newspapers. Even with the journalists of *De Volkskrant* a shift can be traced. Whereas generally speaking their reporting shows both defenders and opponents of refugees by combining the conflict and the moral frame on the events in Cologne, the authors cannot deny that something has happened, which might cause trouble in the near future again. On the positive side, the authors do try to avoid generalisations and stereotyping by blaming ‘all refugees’. Unfortunately, this becomes more and more difficult as refugees are often easily identified as foreigners based on their looks. This results in the rise of Orientalist prejudices among both the public and the journalists of *De Volkskrant*. The emphasis on ethnicity and looks settles with Halleh Ghorashi’s theory on the feeling of otherness (which was explored in the second chapter). One of the contribution factors was, according to Ghorashi, the process of exclusion. This is based on the manifestation of ethnicity in physical appearance that shapes the perception of migrants as ‘others’. This coincides with the portrayal of refugees as is seen in both newspapers.

Moreover, several extremes can be found in the reporting of *De Telegraaf* on the attacks in Cologne. On the one hand, the overall tone in the articles is nuanced. In several articles, the origin of the attackers is not even mentioned. In articles in which is referred to them, the difference between North African and Arabic as opposed to Syrian refugees is a factor of importance as it is often mentioned. One article is even dedicated to showing the side of the refugees by interviewing a Syrian refugee and the volunteers of an asylum seeker centre. However, the undue headlines would suggest a different, less nuanced representation. This also corresponds to the reputation of *De Telegraaf* as a newspaper with ‘screaming’ headlines.

Furthermore, it is remarkable to see that the refugees themselves are rarely given a voice in both newspapers. *De Volkskrant* only interviewed a refugee once after the events in Cologne and his opinion is stated in just one sentence. On the contrary, in the case of Aylan especially *De Volkskrant* takes into the story of the Kurdi family. Two interviews with Abdullah Kurdi, Aylan’s father, are published. This might be explained by the tragic nature of the event which can be ‘exploited’ by the newspaper to create a both powerful and tragic show case by highlighting the personal aspects of the story. So the Orient can indeed not speak for itself, at least not in Dutch media.

The dichotomies shown above are also visible in Dutch statistics, which one expects to be ‘objective numbers about facts’. However, as it turns out, the divisions and categories are based on racial and cultural differences. An example is the division between Western and non-Western *allochtonen*. Not only is this division artificial, but also the countries that are considered as Western and non-Western are artificially made. By the creation of a division between people who are ‘like us’ and others who are not, even in statistics, the discourse is defined in terms of binary oppositions, in terms of ‘us’ and ‘them, the ‘self’ and the ‘other’.

The second chapter also dealt with the concept of ‘crisis’, a word that is used in the majority of all articles, by both newspapers. However, among them are no articles that are dealing with the particular ‘essence’ of a crisis, asking whether the current influx of refugees can indeed be portrayed as a crisis or not. The lack of such articles can be explained by the choice of articles which were analysed in this thesis. As this thesis only researched the portrayal of refugees in two specific events, Aylan and Cologne, many articles on the crisis and its nature in terms of numbers are left out of the search results. However, especially *De Volkskrant* focuses on the humanitarian aspect of the crisis in Syria, as its journalists often framed Aylan in a human interest frame or moral frame, and their urge to call towards Dutch society for help. A different analysis, with other articles, will be needed to answer the question whether the crisis is a ‘real crisis’ or is instead created by media.

Regarding Edward Said's concept of Orientalism, of which several characteristics were conducted in the first chapter, it can be concluded that Orientalism is indeed used in the representation of refugees in the case of Aylan and the assaults in Cologne. The stereotyping of the refugees in their representation is very much present, as they are reduced to the idea of the Other and as a threat. In addition, their sexualisation is also a recurrent representation in the newspaper articles. The men do not seem to have control over their lusts, and the harassment of women would be culturally embedded. Therefore, refugees are seen as uncivilised and barbaric, traits that are opposed to 'the civilised West', in which women are equal to men. The dichotomy between East and West is also portrayed, albeit that the East serves as a dynamic concept, as it is applied on different countries (Middle East and East European countries). Within society, prejudices against refugees are present in the representation of *gelukzoekers*, rapists and terrorists. This leads to the exclusion of (male) refugees, which is based on physical appearances. Finally, the (negative) traits that were attributed to the refugees, are used to define the West. The definition of the Self is thus based on the (constructed) image of the (constructed) Other, defining oneself by the use of binary oppositions.

However, one important difference can be found between Said's use of Orientalism and its use in the newspapers. Whereas Said's notion of Orientalism mainly focused on women as the mysterious and sensual Other, the newspapers express a clear focus on the men, as being over-masculine and aggressive. The male refugees are portrayed as a threat, both in sexual and criminal terms. This shift from the female to the male as the centre of Orientalism could be explained by the central role played by male refugees in the events. Moreover, it is a fact that the majority of refugees consists of young males, who are sent by their families as they have the biggest chance of reaching Europe. Said's idea can still be applied, but in a more fluid form. It has evolved throughout the years into a more fitting concept in the recent refugee crisis, which has made Said's concept still relevant in present times.

That Said's Orientalism is still relevant is also supported by answering to the critique expressed by Nadjé Al-Ali, which was explained in the first chapter of this thesis. Nadjé Al-Ali stated that the dichotomy between East and West has been overcome. However, this thesis has made it very clear that differences between the Orient and the Occident and even binary oppositions are still expressed in media.

As the representation of refugees is clearly one-sided and consists of an Orientalist discourse, I would like to end with emphasising the role of the media in the creation of

stereotypes of Others. Alongside the conclusion of Akbarzadeh & Smith (2005) I want to argue that a balanced and careful coverage of news is essential:

Given the implicit influence of newspaper journalists on their readers, it is imperative that news on sensitive issues are investigated in depth and represented with due care to their impact on inter-ethnic and inter-faith relations. This will mean avoiding stereotypes and reflecting the social, political and ideological diversity (...). Simplistic reports and recycling cliché do not inform readers. They reconfirm bias against a community that has become a subject of intense public scrutiny (37).

Unfortunately, this does not seem to correspond to the conclusion of this thesis. Since media are unable to create a more nuanced picture without the Othering of refugees, a different medium has to stand up in order for the refugees to be heard. This medium is literature, a means in which counter narratives can be given a voice. An example is given by the author Hakim Aberrezak, who wrote on the relation between media coverage of refugees and 'illiterature' in his article 'Burning the Sea: Clandestine Migration across the Strait of Gibraltar in Francophone Moroccan 'Illiterature' (2009, p. 456). Its topic is one of the earlier 'crises' and is applied to Moroccan and francophone literature, but it could easily be compared to the recent crisis. The so-called 'illiterature' is a compression of 'illegal' and 'literature', by which he refers to literature written by migrants who came to Western Europe illegally and who wrote about their experiences. Although many refugees have come to Europe legally, 'illiterature' could also be the means by which the refugees can express themselves, to tell their own story. However, this illiterature is not being provided yet as the crisis is too recent. However, literature is able to challenge the Orientalist depictions of refugees in Western media.

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Attachment 1: Rudyard Kipling - 'The White Man's Burden' (1899)

Take up the White Man's burden, Send forth the best ye breed
Go bind your sons to exile, to serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness, On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples, Half-devil and half-child.

Take up the White Man's burden, In patience to abide,
To veil the threat of terror And check the show of pride;
By open speech and simple, An hundred times made plain
To seek another's profit, And work another's gain.

Take up the White Man's burden, The savage wars of peace—
Fill full the mouth of Famine And bid the sickness cease;
And when your goal is nearest The end for others sought,
Watch sloth and heathen Folly Bring all your hopes to nought.

Take up the White Man's burden, No tawdry rule of kings,
But toil of serf and sweeper, The tale of common things.
The ports ye shall not enter, The roads ye shall not tread,
Go mark them with your living, And mark them with your dead.

Take up the White Man's burden And reap his old reward:
The blame of those ye better, The hate of those ye guard—
The cry of hosts ye humour (Ah, slowly!) toward the light:—
"Why brought he us from bondage, Our loved Egyptian night?"

Take up the White Man's burden, Ye dare not stoop to less—
Nor call too loud on Freedom To cloak your weariness;
By all ye cry or whisper, By all ye leave or do,
The silent, sullen peoples Shall weigh your gods and you.

Take up the White Man's burden, Have done with childish days—
The lightly proffered laurel, The easy, ungrudged praise.
Comes now, to search your manhood, through all the thankless years
Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom, The judgment of your peers!