Shrinkage and migration: problem or not?

A study on the framing of and discourse on population shrinkage and migration from a regional perspective in two regional newspapers in the Netherlands

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Abstract

This thesis examined the way Dutch regional newspapers reported on the topics of shrinkage and migration in Dutch shrinking areas. The framing of and discourse on both these topics influences the way people think about shrinkage and migration in their local area, which in turn has an impact on policy. A better understanding of the role of regional news media in forming the discourse on these topics helps us be more critical news consumers and look at topics we care about with more nuance. Finally this could lead to a more informed public and contribute to a healthy democracy.

For this research the northern region of Groningen-Drenthe, with the newspaper 'Dagblad van het Noorden' and the southern region of Limburg, with the newspaper 'de Limburger' were looked at. Both regions are classified as shrinking areas by the Dutch government. A news media analysis of newspaper articles from these two Dutch regional newspapers over the period of 2015 until 2022 showed that the frames and discourses on both the topics of shrinkage and migration were roughly similar in both newspapers, likely due to key similarities between the two regions. The newspaper de Limburger framed migrants slightly more negatively in comparison to the newspaper Dagblad van het Noorden. What stood out was the large number of articles on refugees; although being the smallest group of migrants coming to the Netherlands, this group was overrepresented in articles in both newspapers.

Both newspapers were mostly similar in their reporting on the topic of shrinkage and its effects. The dominant discourse posited shrinkage as a problem. A counter-discourse, mostly found in opinion articles in both newspaper challenged this negative framing often stating that the problems of shrinkage were exaggerated. A significant part of the discourse on shrinkage concerned the ageing population, a problem which both regions face.

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1. Introduction

The population of the Netherlands is projected to continue growing for the next decades, primarily due to migration and people living longer (CBS, 2023). People migrate to the Netherlands for a variety of reasons; people fleeing from war or prosecution, for work, or to be reunited with friends and family, among other reasons. These people largely move to the larger cities in the Netherlands (PBL, 2021). At the same time as this increase of the overall Dutch population, regions along the edges of the Netherlands have been showing signs of population shrinkage (Rijksoverheid, 2022). These regions are: Groningen, Friesland, Drenthe, Limburg and Zeeland. Other smaller areas also experience population shrinkage, as can be seen in map 1 in paragraph 3.1 (Rijksoverheid, 2022). In these areas young people are leaving, the population ages and fewer resources are available in the region. This causes problems for the liveability of these areas (Tillema, et al, 2019). This can be in the form of schools closing, resulting in children having to travel longer for education, lower revenue for businesses and fewer jobs for the local population (Rijksoverheid, 2022). This downward trend for a region can then lead to feelings of marginalization among the population who do not feel heard by the current political establishment (Wiesinger, 2007), which can result in voting for (right wing) populist parties.

Population growth and shrinkage are therefore both occurring simultaneously in the Netherlands. Many migrants coming to the Netherlands traditionally settled in the cities or municipalities around the large cities mostly in de Randstad. Although cities still attract most migrants, in recent years migrants have been spreading out more evenly over the Netherlands. This was mostly due to jobs being available in agriculture or the placement of asylum centres in smaller municipalities (PBL, 2021).

Whether migrants are welcome in an area depends on varying factors. For example the perception of migrants by people that are already living in the area. When local residents think they might experience problems due to migrants settling in an area this can spark protest (Onraet et al, 2021; Larruina et al, 2019). This can be for a wide variety of reasons such as conflict over resources or cultural differences that might spark conflict. This happened in the Netherlands before in relation to placement of asylum seeker centres in for example Oranje in 2015 and in Harskamp in 2021 which caused demonstrations and riots by the local population due to safety concerns and lack of local participation (NOS, 2016; NOS,

2021). Another factor impacting the welcoming of migrants is trust in the government in general. People that are dissatisfied with the current state of society or the functioning of the government are generally more negative towards migrants as they find the government cannot adequately handle the influx of migrants (Kuppens, et al, 2020).

(Negative) opinions on migrants do not materialise out of nowhere. A prominent way people form their views and opinions is through news media (Strömbäck et al, 2020). The way newspapers report on migrants can have serious implications when it comes to public attitude and policy making decisions on migration. Negative discourses on and framing of migrants in news media can create or maintain negative attitudes towards migrants (Parrott, Hoewe, Fan & Huffman, 2019). Similarly, when news media focus on the personal conditions, lives and problems of migrants this can create more public awareness among the host population (Kosho, 2016).

Similar to the topic of migration, newspaper reporting on local and regional problems, such as population shrinkage, can also influence local perception of these problems. Local news media has, for example, a strong influence on local elections. People that regularly consume local, traditional news media are more likely to vote in local elections, thus influencing policy in the region (Min, et al, 2020). McGonagle & van Eijk (2014) similarly note that regional news media play a significant role in the democratic process of a region. These newspapers act as public or social watchdogs, circulating information and ideas, and providing forums for public debate. How both migration and shrinkage are viewed by the regional population can therefore be related to the reporting in newspapers.

1.1 Research objective

My goal in this research was to analyse the way newspaper media reports on the topics of shrinkage and migration from a regional perspective in two ‘shrinking’ regions in the Netherlands. This provides a regional perspective to a discussion which is generally overshadowed by a national perspective. By analysing newspaper articles from two different regional newspapers in the regions of Groningen-Drenthe (Dagblad van het Noorden) and the region of Limburg (de Limburger) the framing of and discourses on both topics could be researched. A comparison was then made between the way the newspapers reported on

both shrinkage and migration. The outcome of this comparison was then brought into the context of the two regions which could help explain the differences given the different regional contexts of both regions.

The first point of focus of this thesis is how Dutch regional newspapers portray shrinkage as a phenomenon in their region. Whether, for example as a problem, a small inconvenience or as an opportunity. (Population) shrinkage is a term that is often viewed negatively in the Netherlands. When people think of shrinkage they think of shops closing and less services in an area, among other things. The solution proposed in newspapers is often simple: more people are needed to put a stop to the shrinkage, i.e. migrants (Polman, 2021; Janssen, 2017). This is the second point of focus in this research. The framing of migration and discourse on migrants in these regional newspapers. The term migrant is here meant to encompass all groups that are not native to the specific region but moved here later in life. For example: labour-migrants, refugees, (foreign) students, etc. The concepts of marginalisation and othering played a key role in analysing the newspapers and the context of the two regions. These will be further explained in the theoretical framework in paragraph 2.1 and 2.2.

This led to the following research question:

What similarities and differences exist between the framing of and discourse on both topics of shrinkage and migration between Dagblad van het Noorden and de Limburger and how can the regional context explain these similarities and differences?

In order to research this main question two sub questions have been stated. First the discourses and frames on both the topics of population shrinkage and migration in the two newspapers were analysed. Following this a comparison could be made to find out which newspaper reports more on a given topic and the different ways in which they frame these topics. Finally the regional context of Groningen-Drenthe and Limburg could then help explain the differences. The sub questions are stated below:

- What discourses and counter-discourses and frames are present in regional news media in their reporting on the topic of shrinkage?
- What discourses, counter-discourses and frames are present in regional news media in their reporting on the topic of migration?

1.2 Relevance

1.2.1 Academic relevance

Discourse and framing in news media can have serious implications in how people think, talk and report about a subject and thereby influence policy (Krzyżanowski, 2019). A lot of research has been done on population shrinkage in the Netherlands; (Tillema, et al. (2019), Dreijerink, et al. (2012), Ročak (2018)). A study on the implications of population shrinkage in the Dutch rural regions in general was done in 2019 by Tillema, et al. This study sought to understand what influence population shrinkage has on the accessibility and mobility of people living in these regions. Research on the region of Groningen-Drenthe regarding population shrinkage is prominent, with a professor "Population decline and quality of life" being appointed at the university of Groningen in 2015 (Provincie Groningen, 2020). The region of Limburg has also been subject to studies when it comes to population decline, with Ročak (2016) emphasizing that the way societal actors experience shrinkage is of key importance. Most articles that focus on the topic of population shrinkage are, similar to the topic of migration focused on the governmental side of research and not so much on the discourse in public news media (Sousa & Pinho, 2013). Research on the framing of shrinkage in news media is important however as newspaper media have an important role in spreading the message of policymakers and the branding of a city, community or any other place (Audirac, 2018).

Research has also been done on the framing of and discourses on migrants in public media in the Netherlands: Brouwer et al. (2017), Vliegenthart & Roggebrand. (2007), d'Haenens & de Lange (2001). Research here is focused mostly on the national context, researching the largest Dutch newspapers such as: 'Algemeen Dagblad' and 'De Telegraaf' (Brouwer et al, 2017) and 'NRC Handelsblad' (Vliegenthart & Roggebrand, 2007). These studies found that most newspapers use a few select frames when it comes to migrants. These are the multicultural frame, emancipation frame, restriction frame, victimisation frame, economic frame and islam-as-a-threat frame (Vliegenthart & Roggebrand, 2007). A study regarding asylum seekers in a regional context was undertaken in 2001 by d'Haenens & de Lange (2001). Here several regional newspapers were examined: De Gelderlander, Rotterdams dagblad, Haarlems dagblad and Zwolse courant. These newspapers are based in areas that

largely did not and do not experience (population) shrinkage. Other studies that focus on the discourse on and framing of migrants in the Netherlands are mostly on the governmental discourse on migrants such as municipal policy: Spencer & Delvino. (2019), Poppelaars & Scholten (2008).

Research on migrants in the context of a shrinking area is sparse. In a study by Schemschat (2021) it was found that discourses on the topic often frame migrants that move to a shrinking area as a problem but in other discourses as a boost to a declining area. A study by Besana (2021) found that EU citizens saw the integration of migrants into an area with a shrinking population as a primary solution to the problem of shrinkage and revitalisation of the area. The focus of this revitalisation is primarily economic as citizens wanted to attract mostly migrants with relevant labour skillsets that were needed in the region. Another report also mentioned the inflow of migrants into a shrinking area as a way to mitigate the effects of population shrinkage. These migrants could help to create or maintain a resilient economy and society in these areas (Copus & Dax, 2020). A recent media discourse analysis on the topic of migrants in combination with rural population shrinkage has therefore not been done. It is therefore important to look at the framing of and discourse on shrinkage and migration in shrinking areas because providing insight on these topics could help give a voice to the perspectives of the people living in the respective regions and give a more careful and nuanced understanding of the human impacts of migration and shrinkage in these region.

1.2.2 Social relevance

Next to the academic relevance of this research, it also has social relevance for the Netherlands and other regions that are experiencing population shrinkage. The way in which newspapers frame their articles helps set the agenda for the public debate around a certain topic and contributes to the discourse on the topic (Strömbäck et al, 2020). Although social media is a new and coming form of media the traditional media such as newspapers are still prevalent in setting the agenda on news (Djerff-Pierre & Shehatta, 2017). Better understanding how news media frames influence the way we interact with a certain topic is important. This helps us be more critical news consumers and look at topics we care about

with more nuance. Finally this could lead to a more informed public and contribute to a healthy democracy (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

Migration into the Netherlands has been a relevant topic of debate and policy for a long time in the Netherlands (Zorlu & Hartog, 2001; Georgi, 2019). In recent years the importance of migration has increased on the political agenda with for example parties such as the PVV profiling themselves as anti-migration (Bonjour & Duyvendak, 2016). Living in a shrinking area can have negative effects on the economic prospects of people living in the region due to a decrease in jobs and opportunities, having less access to services such as healthcare, thereby impacting the liveability (Dreijereink et al, 2012). These negative effects can lead to feelings of marginalisation among the population which could result in disillusionment in the trust of the government and voting for populist parties (Harteveld, van der Brug, de Lange & van der Meer, 2021). The topic of shrinkage has therefore also been on the political agenda for a long time in the Netherlands. With many plans of action made to combat or mitigate the shrinkage by governments on many levels (Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving, 2010). In the most recent election of 2023 the populist political party BBB, the abbreviation translates to Farmers Citizens Movement, won in large parts of the country. The parties main point is that farmers and more rural areas in the Netherlands are forgotten and neglected. The fact that this party got so many votes points to a split between regions which are more well of and regions feeling more marginalised, making the topic of shrinkage on the Dutch political agenda relevant.

1.2.3 Relevance in relation to international development

The topics of health care, liveability, marginalization and political stability, which are relevant in the context of shrinkage are all key points of interest in developmental research. Similarly, the topic of migration is a topic that can be clearly linked to international development, with a large body of literature on the topic (Schapendonk, 2021). Although this thesis is only focused on the regional perspective both topics of shrinkage and migration take place in a wider national and international context. The European Union for example granted funding for research on the combination of the topics of shrinkage and migration in the form of the 'Welcoming Spaces' project which seeks to: "search for new ways to merge two policy challenges: How to contribute to the revitalization of shrinking areas in the EU while also

offering a welcoming space for non-EU migrants to pursue their life projects?" This thesis therefore also seeks to make a small contribution to this project.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

After this introductory chapter, chapter 2 will provide a theoretical framework consisting of a literature review which addresses key terms and concepts that are relevant for this research. These are then combined to form the conceptual model in paragraph 2.5. Chapter 3 will outline the relevant regional context for this research. Here the characteristics of the regions of Limburg and Groningen-Drenthe are looked at in the context of population, economy, social well-being and political alingment. Chapter 4 then outlines the methods used for this research. Chapter 5 presents the results found in this research. In chapter 6, the research synthesizes the results with a discussion, relating the results found in chapter 5 to the theoretical framework of chapter 2 and placed in the regional of context of chapter 3. Finally chapter 7 concludes this research with a conclusion of findings and recommendations for future research.

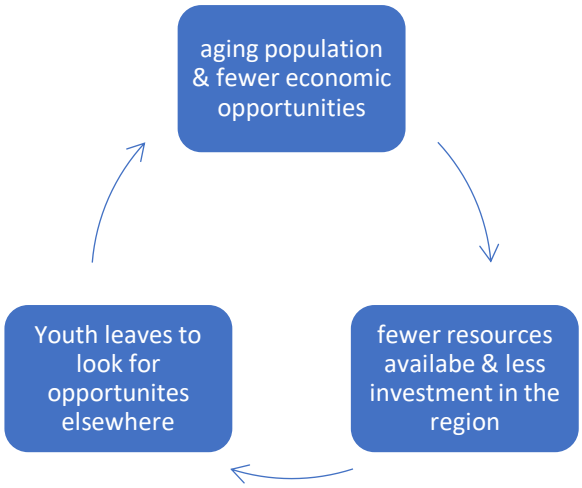
Several quotes or short quoted paragraphs are placed throughout this thesis to clarify statements or provide context to a topic. These quotes were taken from the articles in the newspapers which are of course written in the Dutch language. The quotes were then carefully translated into English for the readers of the thesis.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Regional marginalisation

Regions in the Netherlands experiencing population shrinkage are characterized by an aging population and fewer economic opportunities, which lead to diminishing resources being available and investments made. This results in youth leaving, which creates a downwards spiral for the region (Beunen, Meijer & de Vries, 2020).

Figure 1: Generalized and simplified downwards spiral of shrinking region in the Netherlands according to Beunen et al, (2020).



A shrinking population is one of the most prominent indicators of a marginalized area (Copus et al, 2021; Johnson & Lichter, 2019). The general definition of marginalisation is the treatment of a person, group or concept as insignificant or peripheral. In this thesis geographical marginalisation, and more specifically regional marginalization will be discussed. A geographically marginalised area is an area which has one or more disadvantages compared to other regions. These disadvantages are: insufficient integration, lower development, and economic, social, political and cultural disadvantages (Dreijereink et al, 2012; Tillema, et al, 2019). In the case of regional marginalisation, marginalisation is also associated with other characteristics. These characteristics are those of geographical remoteness, dominance of the primary (agricultural) sector in the economy, insufficient access to public goods such as (good) roads or health care, economic and population decline, an increasing unemployment rate and the out-migration of (economically) active groups

such as young people out of the area. The out-migration of youth then leads to an ageing population in these areas (Johnson & Lichter, 2019).

2.1.1 Social well-being

The environment in which one lives contributes in large part to the well-being of a person (Burger, 2021). Good social networks in a (shrinking) region can even be one of the main reasons for people wanting to stay in that region (Klarner & Knabe, 2019; Sociaal Planburea, 2019). People that live longer in a given area report a higher level of social wellbeing, likely due to them having built up a social network (Ballas & Tranmer, 2012). This can be linked to the concept of social capital. Social capital are the relationships and networks between people who live and work in a region enabling that region to function. Maintaining a high degree of social capital is therefore crucial in maintaining the social wellbeing of a shrinking region (Le Borgne, 2023). A high degree of social capital makes that entrepreneurs in a shrinking area can retain their supply of necessary goods and resources (Lee, Tuselmann, Jayawarna & Rouse, 2018). Similarly, a region with a high degree of social capital can set up local initiatives that help mitigate the effects of shrinkage. A local community can for example help maintain the local library or bar if it threatens to shut down (Bock, 2022).

On an individual level being able to use one's own social capital can be a key resource in helping overcome problems related to shrinkage. One of these problems could be mobility poverty. Here an individual has limited access to the necessary transportation means be able to necessary things and lead a fulfilling live, for example shopping, going to a hospital when sick or visiting friends. This poverty can be in the form of not having a car, lacking public transport or not being able to understand the means of transport or feeling uneasy in using said transport (Jorritsma, et al, 2018). Particularly in shrinking areas the availability of public transport can come under pressure due to lower financial means being available leading to fewer rides and longer waiting times (Delken, 2008). A good social network can then be key to make up for the lack of available mobility means to still be able to do all above mentioned things (Klarner & Knabe, 2019).

Another key factor of a strong social network are health benefits. Especially in an increasingly aging population a strong social network is needed to combat loneliness among the elderly (Chen, Alston & Guao, 2019). Active communities which look after one another

and organize activities together lead to healthier and happier individuals in said communities, the lack of (the feeling of) a community can lead to feelings of exclusion, depression and marginalization (Tong, Zeng & Xu, 2011).

2.1.2 Economic viability

The reason that leads to regional decline and marginalisation is often the presence of an economically stronger and more urbanised area with which the marginalised region cannot compete, which makes regional decline a very likely outcome (Polèse & Shearmur, 2006 as cited by Meijers & van der Wouw, 2019). One of the effects of this marginalization is then the disappearance of services such as schools, supermarkets or cafes. This disappearance has a double impact as not only primary services become harder to reach but the social function these services provided as the 'beating heart' of the community also disappear (Gieling, Haartsen & Vermeij, 2018). Similarly the shrinkage of the regional economy can lead to a loss of jobs, further enhancing the problem of shrinkage as people leave to find work elsewhere (Dreijereink et al, 2012).

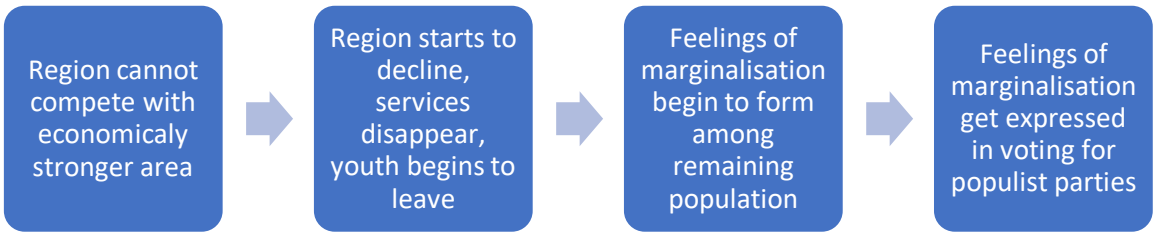
2.1.3 Political stability

When a region becomes marginalized it is often hard to revitalize. This is in part due to government policy. Investments on a national level for economically stronger areas are prioritized over peripheral and marginalized areas. This prioritization then 'confirms' a regions status as peripheral and marginalized, and leads to a downwards spiral for the region. This can lead to feelings of powerlessness and discontent among the population of these areas (Bock, 2018). In a region itself planning for population shrinkage can be hard too, with local policy makers often being slow to adapt to the new reality of a shrinking population and economy, thereby harming the trust in political institutions to govern effectively (Syssner, 2020).

The discontent following from regional marginalization can lead to an increase in support for populist parties. The main reasons for this increase in support are that the hardships in the region lead to political discontent, which are then blamed on the current government (elites). Voting populist is then a way to voice their discontent and a form of protest in

regionally marginalized areas (Harteveld, van der Brug, de Lange & van der Meer, 2021). Rydgren & Ruth (2013) similarly note that socioeconomically marginalized areas may provide a better breeding ground for the mobilization of political alternatives (and in particular populist ones) as opposed to non-marginalized areas. Regions where populist parties are more prominent are therefore likely to experience a certain amount of marginalisation.

Figure 2: Generalized and simplified timeline of a region becoming marginalised resulting in populist voting. Source: Harteveld, van der Brug, de Lange & van der Meer, 2021



2.1.4 Regionalism

The primary way both political as well as cultural actors and institutions then combat marginalization is by focusing on the identity and culture of the region and its people to maintain and reconstruct a peripheral region (Graham, 2018). This combating of marginalization is referred to as 'regionalism.' This regionalism comes in three forms. The first is that of 'defensive regionalism.' Here areas that rely on old (labour-intensive) industries resist the changes that come from a deindustrializing society (Graham, 2018). Second is that of 'integrating regionalism,' whereby the region strives to integrate itself into a larger economy, for example a 'relatively' close economically strong area. This is also referred to as 'the borrowing of size.' By creating organisational and infrastructural networks between an economically strong area, the other region tries to borrow some of the strength of that area (Meijers & van der Wouw, 2019). Finally the last type of regionalism is that of Autonomist regionalism. Here a combination of autonomy, modernizing of the regional economy and an emphasises on the distinct culture of the region is combined to modernize and revitalize the region (Graham, 2018). Here the different areas (cities, villages, etc.) act as one and present themselves jointly to the outside world, thereby enhancing visibility and political weight (Meijers & van der Wouw, 2019). The identity of a region can therefore be a point of strength for a region. Think of trust in the community, sharing common values, speaking a similar dialect and helping one another out. This focus on identity can however

create problems for newcomers who will or cannot fully adapt to the identity of the region and are then rejected by the host community (Wiesinger, 2007). This perceived divide between the newcomers as 'them' and the local population 'us' can best be explained by the concept of othering (Charon, 1992).

2.2 Othering

Othering is, according to Weis (1995) engaging with people that are considered as "other" to oneself and mark or name how they are different from oneself. The term is supposed to originate from the German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1807) with the term Andersheit. The differences that make someone the "other" can have almost unlimited sources. This can be for example: class, gender, race, nationality or level of education, among many other factors (Canales, 2000). Charon (1992) frames othering differently. He defines othering as: "It is through others that we come to see and define self, and it is our ability to take up a role that allows us to see ourselves through others." Here othering says more about how someone views themselves or the group they identify with instead of how they view "the other (group)."

Othering therefore creates an in-group and an out-group. The in-group often attributes positive qualities to their group that the out-group lacks. Likewise, the in-group can attribute an undesirable or negative attribute to the out-group which it claims the in group does not have. This attributing positive attributes to one's own group and negative attributes to the other group is called "crude othering." Opposed to this is "sophisticated othering." Here instead of the attribute just being attributed, an argument is made as to why groups are different. This difference is often neutral, however it sets the precedent of viewing the group as other which leads to attributing (un)desirable qualities (Brons, 2015). This representation of the other group is often done in binary extremes; i.e. good versus bad, smart versus stupid, etc. (Hall, 1997).

Othering occurs in many different settings, for example public discourse, academic writing or in news media (Krumer-Nevo & Sidi, 2012). News media can be an important factor in spreading stigmatising norms defining people or things as "the other" and promote them amongst the population. The group that is most often framed in news media as "the other"

are migrants. This group is often portrayed as either a threat to society or as a (helpless) victim. In the case of the 'threat frame' migrants can be portrayed as a threat to 'the nation' or in the case of this research 'the region' in three ways. First, migrants can be framed as criminals or terrorists thereby forming a threat to public security. Secondly, migrants can be framed as an economic burden as they would drain resources and therefore 'threaten' the welfare system on which people rely. Finally, the ethnical and cultural differences between migrants and the host-population could 'threaten' the culture of the host-region. The victim frame mostly consists of migrants being portrayed as a victim of violence, war, authoritarian rule in their country of origin or as a victim of racism experienced in the country they migrated to. In this frame migrants are often portrayed as helpless and with very little to no authority over their fate (Tong & Zuo, 2019). In both cases migrants are hereby different from the host-population or in-group. Reitz (2002) also found that pre-existing race or ethnic relations in the host-population also influence othering. With one group of migrants being more welcome than another. Groups that are more similar to the host-society in appearance were perceived less as the "other" compared to groups that were more physically distinct.

Othering can also occur in a regional or local context in the form of a local or regional language or dialect. In regions where a dialect is often spoken, people that are perceived as non-local will often be spoken to in the standard tongue whereas people that are also perceived as local will be spoken to in dialect, even though these people that look like they are a 'non-local' might speak the dialect (Cornips, 2020). Othering might therefore be more prevalent in regions that speak a dialect as compared to regions that do not. This othering through the use of a dialect can also work the other way however. Tonnaer, (2019) found that Dutch discourse often framed people from the region of Limburg as 'other' to the 'average Dutch person' partially due to the regional accent.

As stated above the framing of a region as marginalized and the framing of migrants as a threat or victim have an effect of perceiving them as the 'other.' In paragraph 2.3 the concept of framing is therefore further explained.

2.2.1 Focus on newcomers

The Netherlands as a whole is very divided on how they view migrants as found in a study by Albada, Hansen & Otten (2020). The attitudes found are presented in table 1 below.

Table 1: attitudes of Dutch respondents towards migrants in percentages ranging from anti to pro migrant (Albada, et al, 2020).			
Anti	Critical	Lenient	Pro
16,5	31,8	33,0	18,7

Increased perceptions of (any) threat often leads to more negative attitudes towards migrants as the host-society or in-group often focuses inward and group identity is strengthened (Muis & Reeskens, 2022). The form of contact that people have with minorities in their daily lives greatly impacts this perception of threat. People that have regular positive contact are more likely to be more open to newcomers whereas people that have more negative contact tend to view all migrants as more of a threat (Tolsma, Lameris & Savelkoul, 2021). A study by Creighton et al. (2019) found that there is also a big difference in overt negative attitudes and more covert negative opinions towards migrants in the Netherlands. Asking people directly about their opinion (overt) would yield more positive opinions while more covert ways of expressing negative attitudes such as voting would yield more negative attitudes.

2.2.2 Arrival infrastructures and integration

Whether migrants are welcomed and if they feel welcome in a new place largely depends on the 'arrival infrastructures' present in said place. These infrastructures consist of physical infrastructure in the sense of housing, healthcare, shops etc. but as much so on the social support they receive in navigating this new place of arrival (Schrooten & Meeus, 2020).

Physical arrival infrastructures in the form of ASC's (Asylum Seeker Centres) for refugees are often contested by the local population (Tolsma, et al, 2021). Larger ASC's spark more protest compared to more small scale ones. The presence of an ASC tends to decrease objections from people living in said places to an ASC (Lubbers, Coenders & Scheepers, 2006).

Social aspects of arrival infrastructures often consist of already present migrant networks. These are often more present in more urbanised areas due to a larger degree of migrants already living there and the fact that these institutions have often had time to build up (Schrooten & Meeus, 2020). Present migrant networks, particularly if these migrants have a similar cultural background can help greatly in bridging the divide in culture between that of the Netherlands and their own helping them integrate into Dutch society (Djundeva & Ellwardt, 2020).

The concept of 'integration' is hotly debated in the Netherlands. Many people in the Netherlands find that migrants are welcome as long they adapt to Dutch society and 'integrate' into it. Key in this integration is being able to interact and connect with native Dutch people. These people could form a bridge to Dutch culture and help out in how to navigate the way to schooling, jobs, health care, social institutions etc. which are key to integrate in a community (Czischke & Huisman, 2018).

2.3 Framing in newspaper media

Framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue. This can be done by highlighting certain aspects and minimizing others (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Framing then consists of selecting certain aspects of a perceived reality and emphasise these in a communicating text. This then promotes a particular definition of the issue or problem, gives an interpretation of the causes, a moral evaluation and a recommendation of how to deal with said issue (Entman, 1993). The communicators of a frame can draw their information from sources that can vary wildly. Disinformation by unreputable sources could be just as impactful as information by scientific sources. People are therefore often confronted with varying frames on a topic. When these sources are viewed by a person as equally reliable the message of both cancels out, leaving the viewer with a mostly 'neutral' opinion as found by Bolsen et al. (2020).

Framing is one of the most prominent areas of study within political literature and news media (Carnahan, et al, 2019). Analysis of news media is a useful tool to provide further insight into 'wicked' problems. A 'wicked' problem is a problem that is difficult or impossible to resolve, often due to many people having to change their behaviour and mindset (Phi, 2020). This makes it a good fit for this research as both the topics of migration and

population shrinkage can be considered wicked problems. Research into framing in newspapers has therefore been done before, on varying 'wicked problem' topics. For example: The framing of the Covid19 pandemic, here it was found that newspapers influenced the perception of the public towards the disease and the people suffering from the disease (Ong'ong'a & Mutua, 2020), Framing of the BLM movement, here some news media were found to delegitimize the movement due to the violent protests and framed them as anti-police and violent (Banks, 2018) and framing of global climate change, which showed that different countries apply different frames to the common problem of climate change due to different regional circumstances (Gunay, et al, 2021).

News items are frequently conceived as a story. This comes from two factors. First is that news items are often written in a form in which they are describing events in literal terms, i.e. telling a story. Secondly, news items are written to orient the audience to subjects that are outside their normal and therefore limited sensory experiences (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Framing theory in news stories, then, states that there is a difference in news media between facts and frames. A news story can posit several facts, but the frame that is then applied to the story is the glue that make all the separate facts fit together to form the story (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). Pan & Kosicki (1993) even state that the frame can be more influential in forming a news story than the facts as "journalists are in effect accepting the proposition that there is no clear distinction between factuality and persuasion." The way journalists frame their news stories is trough 'framing devices.' There are five framing 'devices.' These are, (1) exemplars, these can be historical examples from which a lesson can be drawn, (2) catchphrases, (3) depictions of a topic, (4) visual images, such as photos, maps, graphs, etc. and (5) metaphors (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Metaphors especially are very good at giving a conceptual context to a problem and influencing public opinion on said problem in news media. Benczes & Ságvári, (2021) refer to this as figurative framing.

Interestingly, stories that use a negative frame are often viewed as more reliable compared to stories that are using a positive frame. This is because many people believe negatively framed news stories to be more credible, whereas positively framed stories might be seen as coercing (Ashwell & Murray, 2020).

2.3.1 Framing of shrinkage

As stated in paragraph 2.1, a shrinking population can lead to feelings of marginalisation. The way population shrinkage is framed in news media can therefore contribute to or diminish these feelings of marginalisation. Research on framing of population shrinkage in news media is scarce. The importance of framing is however a key factor in the debate on population shrinkage (Haase et al, 2017). For many people the concept of population shrinkage can be abstract, of which they mostly read about in news media or policy discussions (Ročak, 2016). News media can for example frame population shrinkage as a problem, giving the place where the shrinkage occurs a bad name leading to marginalisation (Ročak, 2018).

Framing in policy-oriented studies regarding population shrinkage is more clear. What stands out is that most research on (the framing) of population shrinkage focuses on shrinking cities and not on population shrinkage in more rural areas even though population shrinkage in rural areas is far more common (Hospers & Reverda (2015) as cited by Syssner, 2020). Research on urban shrinkage and shrinking cities has even become a cornerstone of public planning research according to Ivanov (2019). This might be due to the focus of government policy on economically stronger, i.e. more urbanised areas compared to economically weaker, i.e. more rural areas, which ties it to the concept of regional marginalisation ((Polèse & Shearmur, 2006 as cited by Meijers & van der Wouw, 2019).

In both the urban and rural context at first the existence of population shrinkage is often denied or trivialised by policy makers. This denial or trivialisation of the population shrinking already frames population shrinkage as a negative thing. Later on, population shrinkage then gets addressed in policy and can be framed as either a problem or opportunity (Syssner, 2020). The framing of population shrinkage is necessary in order to implement policies related to the population shrinkage (Ivanov, 2021). Most often, population shrinkage is here framed as a problem. This negative frame can have several origins: out-migration of young citizens and an ageing population, lower rates of employment and lower educational attainment (Tietjen & Jørgensen, 2016).

In the case of population shrinkage on the urban fringe Zakirova (2010) found that shrinkage may be a natural phenomenon that can also provide opportunities. It can for example allow for planning opportunities that would not be possible without shrinkage. Xie et al (2022),

also mention that a shrinking population allows for more ecological benefits in an area, due to less pressure from humans. In another study the combination of shrinkage being a problem and at the same time an opportunity is repeated. The consequences of shrinkage are here again those of less employment and services in the area while at the same providing planning opportunities (Sousa & Pinho, 2015). The framing of population shrinkage as a problem is however more common in rural areas as 'positive' effects of for example more room for nature, less air pollution, etc. are already less of a problem in the rural context as compared to urban environments (Hospers & Reverda (2015) as cited by Syssner, 2020). The framing of population shrinkage can therefore mostly be categorised in two ways, as either a problem or as an opportunity. These frames are synthesized in table 8 in the appendix.

2.3.2 Framing of migration and migrants

In paragraph 2.2 the threat and victim frame regarding migrants were highlighted. In this paragraph the framing of migration and migrants in news media will be further discussed. Here the (news)frames that are applied most to this topic will be highlighted. These will be drawn from the substantive amount of literature on media framing on migration that exists (Greenwood & Thompson, 2020; Roggebrand & Vliegenthart, 2007; Balabanova & Balch, 2010; Wasilewski, 2018). The framing of migration and migrants in newspaper articles can effect audiences to a large degree (Wasilewski, 2018). Framing of migrants in a negative way effects readers in the way they think about them. Furthermore, framing migrants as a threat or as 'the other' compared to the host population, legitimizes policies that restrict the movement of migrants (Smets & Bozdağ, 2018). Framing of migrants in news media is heavily influenced by specific events, for example the attack on the World Trade Centre in 2002. These specific events can change the way a frame is used or add new frames to be considered and used in media (Roggebrand & Vliegenthart, 2007).

While the frames on population shrinkage can roughly be categorised in positive (opportunity) and negative (problem) frames, frames on migrants can be more complicated to categorise. Frames on migration can be viewed through the lens of 'othering' as explained in paragraph 2.2. The most prominent frames on migrants that will be used for the analysis of articles for this research will be set out below.

(1) The first frame is that of frame of the human-interest / humanitarian frame, which generally portrays migrants in a positive way. This frame focuses on the stories of a single migrant or on the struggles migrants face. In visual framing, i.e. images , photos of a single migrant or small group of migrants in a normal, everyday type of setting. (2) The human interest frame can often be related to or confused with the second frame: the victimisation frame. Here the stories of migrants and especially the struggles they face are focused on. While this is a sympathetic frame (Roggebrand & Vliegenthart, 2007) migrants are here framed as 'the other' compared to the host population who are not 'victims' (Greenwood & Thompson, 2020). (3) The economical frame largely focuses on the economic side of migrants coming and living in the host-country. This frame can be both positive, in portraying migrants as contributors to the economy and doing essential jobs. Similarly migrants can be framed negatively in that they cost money or take jobs away from the host population (Lawlor & Tolley, 2010). (4) The restriction / conflict / national security frame is then often applied to groups of migrants that are not economically self-reliant or are seen as an economic burden to the host country. This group entering the host-country is then problematised. This frame however also encompasses other groups that should be 'restricted' from coming to the host-country according to this frame. These are groups that are perceived as people that could spark conflict in society. The frame therefore highlights a division between the host-population and migrants (Roggebrand & Vliegenthart, 2007; Parrott, et al, 2019). (5) the emancipation / integration frame then focuses on the emancipation of migrants into the host society. This is done in a problematizing way. Here migrants are framed as backward in their views, customs and participation in society (Roggebrand & Verloo, 2007; Roggebrand & Vliegenthart, 2007). (6) the (multi) cultural frame is then the opposite of the emancipation frame. Here migrants are framed positively in how they have shown to be an addition to society and their views and customs are an enrichment to the host-country. The focus of this frame is often on (cultural) diversity and not so much on the economical side as seen in the economical frame (Roggebrand & Verloo, 2007; Roggebrand & Vliegenthart, 2007). (7) Finally the Islam-as-a-threat frame focuses on the religion of Islam and Muslims as a threat to (western) society. Here arguments are made that (the culture of) Islam restricts freedom of expression, is intolerant towards the LGBTQ-community and equal gender relation are threatened (Roggebrand & Vliegenthart, 2007).

2.4 Discourse

The framing of a topic influences the way the topic is talked about, reported on and thought about. This is called the 'discourse' on the topic. Discourse can be understood as a system of thought, communication or knowledge which underpins the ways in which we experience the world (Foucalt, 1981). This system consists of rules and procedures which make up a space of discursive practices which set the boundaries within how knowledge can be formed and produced. 'Discourse' therefore not only regulates what can be said but also the way something can be thought about. Being outside of these discursive practices is therefore impossible (Young, 1981). Discourse in this sense can roughly be interpreted as the context or background in which one communicates with others. These discourses are often present without one actively acknowledging that they are there as they are part of the culture, grammatical and interactive conventions of communication (Giga, 1982). The concept of discourse is therefore closely related to framing. With discourse being the basis of interaction. Framing is then one of the pathways in which one might approach the subject and form an opinion as explained in the paragraph above. The relation between discourse and framing is therefore circular, with new frames changing the discourse on a topic and the discourse providing the context for new frames to emerge (Tannen, 1993; Chong & Druckman, 2007).

The distinction between what is and what is not 'a discourse' can be blurry however. A discourse itself does not have to be 'true.' It needs to be perceived as truth by the target audience of said discourse. This can be done through for example the spread of propaganda, the acceptance of alternate facts or fake news (Heinrich, 2020). Since the introduction of mass media and especially social media becoming more mainstream the 'objective truth' which was the bedrock of general discourse has come under fire more and more. This period in time has therefore been referred to as the post-truth era (Boyd-Barrett, 2019). Although this example is extreme it illustrates how there can be a 'dominant' discourse and a 'counter' discourse on the same topic. Discourses can therefore be altered.

2.4.1 Discourse and power

Having 'power' on how the 'discourse' is structured is then important. Hutchby (1996) argues that power is best seen as a shifting distribution of resources which enable some

participants to achieve interactional effects not available to others. Newspapers have a significant degree of power in how they influence the discourse on and framing of a certain topic. Newspapers have, for example, a significant effect on the information the public receives on politics. This way political topics can be emphasized or played down and politicians be held accountable for their actions (Brunns & Himmler, 2011; Ban, Fouirnaies, Hall & Snyder, 2015). Prat (2018), even states that owners of a news media medium can influence the democratic process by framing a topic in a certain way. These newspaper owners are then part of a key group of actors that can influence the topic, which are so called 'gate-keepers.' This group of people controls the flow of information that needs to flow through a gate, i.e. be published. In essence this is not a bad thing as millions of articles on millions of topics could be published every day, which need to be cut down to a reasonable amount of articles which journalists believe the readers want and/or needs to read (Barzilai-Nahon, 2009, as cited by (Al-Rawi, 2019).

This concept of the power of (mass) media to set the agenda is also known as mediatization. Mediatization is a (long-term) process where news media have gained greater influence on political processes around the world. Political institutions have now become dependent on mass media to shape the political debate (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2019). McCombs & Valenzuela (2007) describe the power of news media to influence what gets talked and thought about as the agenda setting theory. Contrast to the idea of mediatization and agenda setting theory that political power is being checked more and more by the media, a study by Rubado & Jennings (2019) found that political campaigns became less competitive due to a decline in local newspaper circulation.

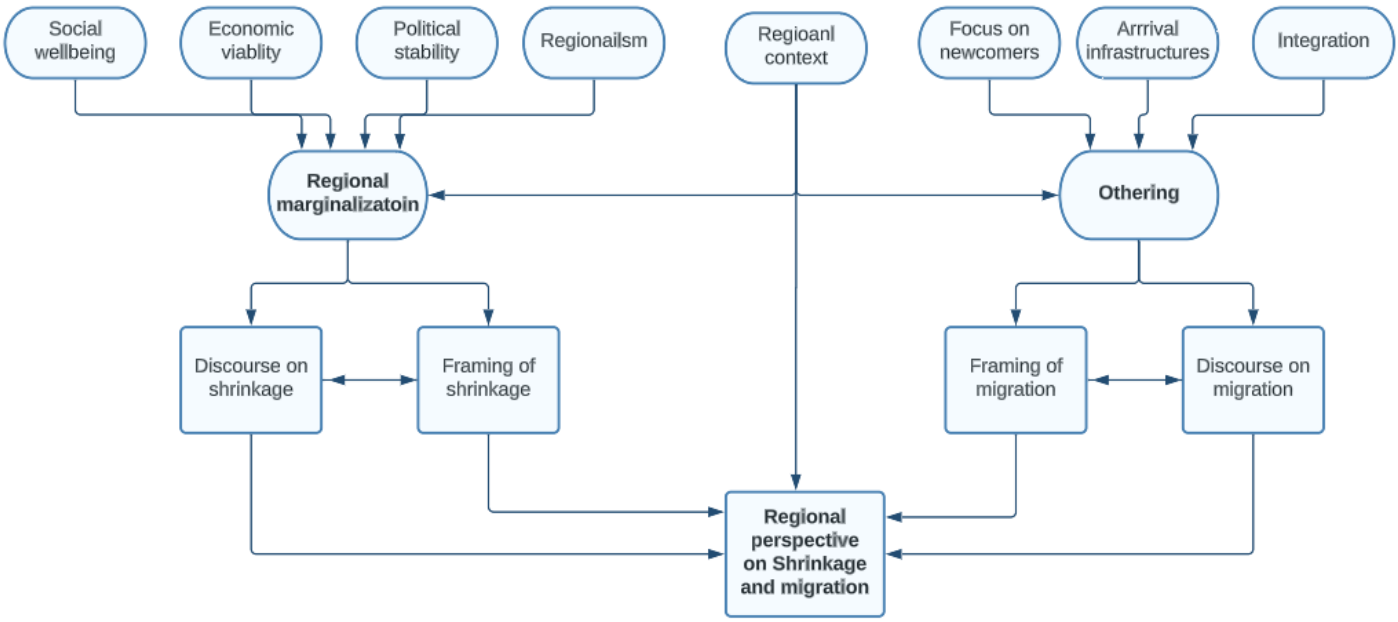
2.5 Conceptual model

Finally the theoretical framework resulted in the following conceptual model, as presented below. In order to get to a regional perspective on the topics of shrinkage and migration important concepts related to these topics need to be looked at first. For the topic of shrinkage these were the social wellbeing, economic viability, political stability and regionalism in the region. These concepts combined could then tell something about a region's marginalisation. This regional marginalisation was then the basis of looking at the discourse on and framing of shrinkage.

For the topic of migration key topics were the focus on newcomers, the existing arrival infrastructures and views on integration by people living in the region. Together these concepts tied into the central concept of othering, which influenced the way the migration was framed and the discourse on the topic constructed.

Finally, tying these two topics together and combining it with their regional context gave a regional perspective on the topics of shrinkage and migration.

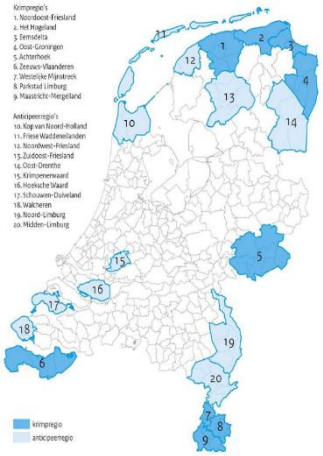
Figure 3: Conceptual model



3. Geographical contextual framework

3.1 Case study

In order to research the discourses on and framing of the topics of shrinkage and migration, a comparative media analysis between two Dutch regional newspapers was done. Researching all shrinking regions and their corresponding regional newspapers was not possible due to time constraints for this research. Therefore two shrinking regions and their respective newspapers have been selected for a case study. These are the regions of Groningen and Drenthe (with the newspaper Dagblad van het Noorden) and the region of Limburg (De Limburger). These areas and newspapers were chosen out of the shrinking regions so designated by the Dutch government. 9 out of the 20 shrinking and potential shrinking regions are located within this sub selection. 4 in Groningen-Drenthe and 5 in Limburg (map 1). Both have a regional newspaper that is roughly similar in readership size, making for an appropriate comparison. Other regions that experience shrinkage often have a smaller readership size making comparison difficult.



Map 1: Shrinking and potential shrinking areas in the Netherlands (Rijksoverheid, 2023).

The provinces of Groningen and Drenthe and Limburg are geographically on opposite sides of the Netherlands, with Groningen being the northernmost and Limburg the southernmost province. Both regions are located away from the economical centre of the Netherlands: The Randstad.

To better understand the regions discussed in this research, this chapter will outline some key characteristics of the two regions, starting with Groningen-Drenthe.

3.2 Groningen and Drenthe

The region of Groningen-Drenthe lies in the north of the Netherlands and consists of the two provinces of Groningen and Drenthe. Groningen borders the provinces of Friesland and Drenthe. Drenthe borders Groningen, Friesland and Overijssel and both provinces border Germany to the east.

3.2.1 Population

The province of Groningen has 596.075 inhabitants, Drenthe has 502.051 inhabitants in 2023 (allecijfers.nl, 2023). The population numbers for the period of 2000 to 2020 are presented in table 5 in the appendix (CBS, 2022). What can be seen is that the population of both provinces has increased over the years. At the same time however the part of the population of people over 65 years old has increased in Groningen with 43,2% and Drenthe 60,0% in the period of 2000 to 2020. The percentage of the population older than 65 increased in this period from 14,5% in 2000 to 19,9% for Groningen and from 15,3% to 23,4% in Drenthe. This points to a significantly aging population in the region. At the same time the group of 0 to 15 year olds decreased in this period with 13,9% in Groningen and 14,9% in Drenthe. The population of the region therefore also experiences 'dejuvenation.'

Whereas in 2000 both provinces had a birth surplus, in 2020 both provinces experienced a mortality surplus (see table 5 in the appendix). The fact that both provinces have continued growing over time points to people migrating to the region to make up for the mortality surplus (see table 6 in the appendix). The largest group of people moving to the region come from within the Netherlands. Over time the group of people moving to the region from outside the Netherlands has however increased. Where in 2000 15,9% of migrants moving to Groningen came from outside the Netherlands, in 2020 this had increased to 31,9%. For Drenthe this was from 20,6% in 2000 to only 7,6% in 2020. The population increase in the province of Groningen is therefore linked more to the influx from migrants from outside the Netherlands whereas the increase in population in Drenthe is due to people from within the Netherlands moving to the province.

17,5% of the population of Groningen and 10,9% of the population of Drenthe consisted of people with a migration background in 2022. The percentage of people in Groningen and Drenthe with a migration background has been increasing over the years. 49,9% of people

from Groningen and 46,6% of people from Drenthe with a migration background have a non-western background. Of the total Dutch population 25,2% of the people have a migration background and 56,7% of those have a non-western background (CBS, 2022). A smaller part of the population of Groningen-Drenthe therefore has a (non-western) migration background compared to the national average.

People in both Groningen and Drenthe felt discriminated less compared to the Dutch average, although people in Groningen relatively reported discrimination more to the police. This could be positive as people that did feel discriminated voiced their concern to the police indicating a trust in the governmental structure in the regions.

3.2.2 Economy

The economy of Groningen has grown with 10,3% over the last 25 years, that of Drenthe with 28,8% compared to the Dutch average of 61,7% (CBS, 2022). Together the provinces of Groningen and Drenthe contributed 1,0% of the 61,7% of growth over the last 25 years. Currently the province of Groningen contributes 2,9% and the province of Drenthe 1,9% to the total Dutch GDP (CBS, 2023). Particularly the decrease in the exploitation of gas fields in Groningen made that the economy grew relatively little. The largest sectors of the economy of Groningen are currently the industrial sector and government and health care sector. The province of Groningen has the largest industrial sector and the largest government and health care as part of their overall economy compared to the rest of the Netherlands. These sectors combined make up for 56,8% of the economy. For Drenthe the largest sectors are also those of industry and government and health care as well as trade, transport and catering. A key factor in being a marginalised area as mentioned by Johnson & Lichter, (2019) is the dominance of the agricultural sector in the region. While both Groningen and Drenthe have a larger percentage of their land use dedicated to the agricultural sector, this sector does not dominate the region (CBS, 2023).

The percentage of people receiving unemployment benefits in the region of Groningen-Drenthe does not differ largely from the rest of the Netherlands (CBS, 2022). In the north of the Netherlands the province of Groningen is the economically strongest of the three provinces of Groningen, Drenthe and Friesland. The economies of the two other provinces have a strong economic connection with Groningen. Groningen and the rest of the Northern

provinces are however at an economic disadvantage compared to other economically strong areas such as de Randstad (Planbureau voor de leefomgeving, 2019). The economically stronger position of Groningen compared to Drenthe can for example be seen in a higher consumer confidence and a higher willingness to consume in Groningen than in Drenthe as found by the CBS (2022).

In 2022 an allowance was approved by the European Commission for the provinces of Groningen and Drenthe to lessen the economic disparities these regions experience (European Commission, 2022). Top-down governmental investments often strengthen the targeted region but rarely create a trickle-down effect towards other regions. Often the opposite is true with economically stronger regions, which often profit from investments elsewhere, more resembling a trickle-up effect. It is therefore difficult for regions in the north of the Netherlands to borrow (economical) strength from other regions (Planbureau voor de leefomgeving, 2019). It is then difficult to balance the economic opportunities between Groningen-Drenthe and the rest of the Netherlands.

3.2.3 Social well being

Next to shrinkage in the economic sense, regions can also experience shrinkage in the 'social' sense. This could be by having less resources and services available for the people living there as compared to other regions in the country. People in the province of Groningen reported, in a survey by CBS in 2022, lower levels of social cohesion compared to the Dutch average. Compared to the total Dutch population more people in Groningen reported that they felt that the liveability of the region had increased and another group that it had decreased. This points to the population of Groningen being split on the topic of social cohesion in their province. In Drenthe people were mostly more positive on topics regarding the liveability in their province compared to the Dutch average. Compared to the Dutch average a smaller amount of the population felt that the region had improved or declined in its social cohesion (CBS, 2023). Both the provinces of Groningen and Drenthe report a lower than average experience of physical and social nuisance in their living area, with the province of Drenthe scoring better than the national average on every topic. The grade people give for their experienced security in their neighbourhood is a 7,5 for

Groningen and a 7,7 for Drenthe. In both provinces people are relatively less often the victim of a crime. The people that become victim of a crime report this more often to the police.

3.2.4 Political alignement

In order to better understand the political alignment of Groningen and Drenthe the results of the two parliamentary elections of 2017 and 2021 will be looked at. These elections will be discussed as they fit into the timeframe applied to this research. This data was acquired via allecijfers.nl (2023). Special attention will be paid to the voting on populist parties as this is an indicator for regional marginalization as mentioned by Harteveld, van der Brug, de Lange & van der Meer (2021). The voting numbers and statistics are presented in tables x, y and z in the appendix.

In the elections of 2017 in the province of Groningen a far-left populist party got the most votes. This was the socialist party (SP). This is interesting as the largest party being a populist party is an indicator for marginalisation. The total voting percentage for populist parties in Groningen came out to 26,7%. In Drenthe the right-wing liberal party VVD got the most votes. The populist party PVV, a far right wing, populist party mostly known for its anti-immigration policies, and SP came in third and fourth in the province. Here the total voting percentage for populist parties was 26,6%.

In the elections of 2021 in Groningen the largest party became D66, a social-liberal centre party. The total percentage of populist votes came down to 24,8%. In Drenthe the VVD again got the most votes. The total populist vote in Drenthe also shrank, to 24,8%. In both provinces, the Socialist Party shrank. The PVV also lightly shrank, but in both provinces the FvD, an even more right-wing party grew, shifting the populist vote more in favour of the far-right wing parties compared to the far-left.

3.2.5 Earthquakes

Groningen has experienced (minor) earthquakes due to gas drilling in the area since 1984 resulting in property damages and feelings of unsafety among the people living in the impacted area. Until 2012 the government stated that the earthquakes could not have been an effect of said gas drilling. A feeling of marginalization began to emerge among the local

population. Where the Netherlands as a whole profited from the revenue of the gas fields and cheap gas for residents, in Groningen people profited little from the economic benefits but instead experienced said earthquakes (Staatstoezicht op de mijnen, 2023). The gas fields are projected to finally close in 2023 (Rijksoverheid, 2022). The experienced liveability in the area which experiences earthquakes has fallen significantly compared to the rest of the Netherlands (Sociaal Planbureau Groningen, 2020).

3.3 Limburg

The province of Limburg lies in the southeastern part of the Netherlands, bordering the provinces of Gelderland and -Noord Brabant to its north and west and Germany and Belgium to the east and south.

3.3.1 Population

As of 2023 1.128.367 people lived in Limburg (allecijfers.nl, 2023). The population numbers for the period of 2000 to 2020 are presented in table 5 in the appendix (CBS, 2022). The population of Limburg has decreased over the period of 2000 to 2020, however it has increased as of 2023. In contrast to the region of Groningen-Drenthe the region of Limburg therefore experienced population shrinkage in the last 20 years. The group of people aged 65+ in Limburg increased from 14,5% in 2000 to 23,9% in 2020. The group of people aged 0 to 15 decreased from 17,2% in 2000 to 12,8% in 2020. Limburg therefore experiences both an ageing population and dejuvenation, both in a greater degree than the region of Groningen-Drenthe.

Over the period of 2000 to 2020 the births in Limburg decreased and the number of deaths increased resulting in a mortality surplus for the region. The mortality surplus is greater than that of the region of Groningen-Drenthe. In Limburg the largest group of migrants comes from within the Netherlands. The percentage of people coming to Limburg from abroad has increased from 17,8% to 24,0% in the period of 2000 to 2020. A large part of the loss of population is therefore mitigated by people from outside the Netherlands coming to the regoin.

23% of the population of Limburg has a migration background as of 2022. This percentage has been increasing over the years. Of these people with a migratory background 33,9% have a non-western background (CBS, 2023). People in Limburg felt discriminated less compared to the national average, although they reported discrimination more often to the police. While a similar amount of people in the region of Limburg have a migration background as compared to the national average, a smaller part of the population has a non-western migration background. What is interesting is that the northern part of Limburg houses 11% of the total amount worker migrants in the Netherlands (ABU, 2023).

3.3.2 Economy

The economy of Limburg grew 56,7% over the last 25 years, contributing 3,4% of the 61,7% growth to the total Dutch economy over the last 25 years (CBS, 2022). Currently the region of Limburg generates 5,7% of the total GDP of the Netherlands (CBS, 2023). The largest sectors of the economy of Limburg are those of health care and government, industry and trade, transport and catering. Together these three sectors make up for 65,5% of the economy of Limburg (CBS, 2022). Similarly to Groningen-Drenthe the region of Limburg has more of its land dedicated to agriculture as compared to the national average it does not dominate the local economy (CBS, 2023).

The percentage of people receiving unemployment benefits in Limburg does not differ largely from the rest of the Netherlands, with most people receiving benefits in the form of retirement benefits. The region of Limburg also has a strong economic connection with its neighbouring provinces, mostly Noord-Brabant. Noord-Brabant is the strongest economical region in the south of the Netherlands (Planbureau voor de leefomgeving, 2017).

3.3.3 Social well being

People in the province of Limburg score the liveability in their region higher than the Dutch average, however more than average people reported that they felt the liveability in their region had decreased (CBS, 2023). People in Limburg score instances of social and physical nuisance more highly compared to the Dutch average. Particularly the experience of security in the neighbourhood is lower than the Dutch average, even though percentagewise people experience less crime compared to the Dutch average. The people that become victim of a crime do report this more often to the police. Also noteworthy is the fact that much more than the national average people know the person that committed a crime against them, although less so than compared to Groningen and Drenthe. This could be due to the province of Limburg being more urbanised making for more anonymity among its citizens.

3.3.4 Political alignment

In the election of 2017 the largest party in the region of Limburg was the PVV. This could mean that the population in Limburg is largely anti-immigrant and /or it could be a sign of marginalization in the region as mentioned by Harteveld, van der Brug, de Lange & van der

Meer (2021). The total percentage of votes for populist parties (FvD, PVV and SP) in Limburg during this election was 35,3%.

In the election of 2021 in Limburg the populist party PVV came in second behind the VVD and the total voting percentage for populist parties in the region dropped to 31,3%. This was mostly due to the drop in votes for the socialist party (SP) which was nearly halved in size, whereas the far-right wing political parties PVV lightly shrank and FvD grew in size.

Limburg is therefore more populist as well as more right-wing populist compared to the region of Groningen-Drenthe. In both regions voting for populist parties decreased, however this was mostly due to the far-left populist party decreasing in voting percentage whereas the far-right wing parties in both regions remained constant or grew in size.

3.3.5 Mining industry

The south of Limburg is traditionally a mining industry area, with many migrants from neighbouring countries coming to the region for work. Due to the discovery of the Gas fields in Groningen the closing of the mines, which were becoming less profitable, was accelerated. The last mine closed in 1974. This resulted in a huge loss of jobs in the region. While the national government promised new opportunities for the region and the people living there these promises never materialised. This resulted in many miners feeling discarded and forgotten by the government and leaving for work elsewhere (Nationaal archief, 2023). The south of Limburg, where most mines were located is still the area experiencing the largest population shrinkage of the region of Limburg (CBS, 2023). A feeling of marginalization has therefore been present for a long time in this area.

3.4 Refugees

In the preliminary research for the thesis it was found that a vast body of articles in both newspapers on migration are on refugees even though people coming to the Netherlands with the motive of obtaining refugee status is the smallest of all migrant groups. Below a short explanation will state what a refugee is in the context of the Netherlands and what similar terms are used to describe this group.

Since the Refugee Crisis in Syria in 2015, the Afghan Crisis of 2021 and recently the influx Ukrainian refugees, migration and specifically the admission of refugees has been an increased topic of interest for many European countries (Oxford Analytica, 2021; Wallaschek, 2020). As of 2019 there were 94.430 refugees in the Netherlands (Vluchtelingenwerk Nederland, 2020). The Netherlands hosts 78 applicants for asylum per 100.000 citizens (European Commission, 2020).

When a person first comes to the Netherlands to claim asylum, they are called asylum seekers. Asylum seekers then apply to be marked as a refugee. The application then determines whether a person is allowed asylum based on several criteria. The threat of persecution in their country of origin based on factors such as: race, religion, nationality or political beliefs are grounds to grant asylum seekers asylum is one such criterium. This can be both by the government of said country or other groups such as the army, police or security services. Another factor is that of an unsafe situation in the country; for example war. The application is then reviewed by the Dutch Immigration and naturalisation service. Should the application be approved the asylum seeker becomes a status holder. This means that the now status holders will be housed in a municipality and will receive an allowance. They then start their journey to integrate into Dutch society (Rijksoverheid, 2022; COA, 2022). The different terms such as refugee, asylum seeker and status holder therefore mark different stages in the Dutch asylum process, but are often used interchangeably. In absolute numbers the province of Groningen hosts the most refugees in ASC's and emergency shelter locations. This is in large part due to the only 'login' location, where someone registers themselves as a refugee in the Netherlands is located in the town of Ter Apel in Groningen (COA, 2022). A total number of refugees per province cannot be provided (Overheid.nl, 2022).

4. Methodology

In this methodological framework the methods for this research will be set out and discussed.

In this research a media framing analysis of newspapers was done. In order to research the question: **"What similarities and differences exist between the framing of and discourse on both topics of shrinkage and migration between Dagblad van het Noorden and de Limburger and how can the regional context explain these similarities and differences?"**

a media framing analysis was a robust way to research the different frames and discourses used by the newspapers. For this analysis two regional newspapers were selected. The newspaper researched for the region Groningen-Drenthe was Dagblad van het Noorden. The newspaper has a daily number of 96.115 physical newspapers published in 2022 (advertentiegroothandel.nl, 2022). The newspaper describes itself as an unmissable source of information for everyone in the regions of Groningen and Drenthe. They posit themselves as critical, investigative and reliable (Mediahuis Noord, 2022). For the region of Limburg this is De Limburger. De Limburger has a daily number of 94.325 editions published (advertentiegroothandel.nl, 2022). De Limburger describes itself as a reliable, independent and an impartial news source for all people in Limburg (Mediahuis Limburg, 2022).

The choice to focus on two newspapers instead of just one was made to be able to compare findings in one newspaper with another. Incorporating more newspapers in this research would have been interesting but not feasible due to time constraints. The two newspapers were selected as they are strictly regional newspapers as opposed to for example AD, Volkskrant or Telegraaf which publish their newspapers throughout all of the Netherlands and both newspapers publish in regions that experience population shrinkage (to some extend). They are the primary newspaper platforms in their specific regions, provide a regional view on the topic and have a reasonable group of readers in these areas. The newspaper archives were accessed via the online Utrecht University library, Nexisuni.

4.1 Media analysis

Research into news media includes studying a broad range of 'texts' from transcripts of interviews, tv programs, films, newspapers and magazines (Macnamera, 2005). In this thesis the focus will be placed on newspaper articles.

When doing media analysis a distinction can be made between quantitative and qualitative methods. Using quantitative methods the focus will be placed on 'volumes' of mentions, topics and issues regarding a specific subject (Macnamera, 2005). This way a large body of literature can be systematically reviewed. Using qualitative methods has several benefits as well. Using a qualitative method provides the raw text with context, gives insight into the characteristics of the audience and can give credibility to the media (Macnamera, 2005).

In the case of this research a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was used. The quantitative methods provided a lot of raw data. This could then be interpreted using the qualitative method (Macnamera, 2005). Developing a coding frame for analysing the content of the articles and converting it to numerical data for analysis using both inductive and deductive methods was of key importance. (Murdoch et al, 2019).

4.2 Article selection

Articles relevant to this research were searched for by using keywords that fit the topic, these will be discussed in the paragraphs below. For this, only the databases of the two relevant newspapers (De Limburger and Dagblad van het Noorden) were looked at via lexis uni.

4.2.1 Search terms regarding shrinkage

The primary search terms regarding population shrinkage are those of 'Krimp' (shrinkage) and 'Vergrijzing' (ageing). The first search term 'Krimp' is used as the primary term when referring to this phenomenon in the Netherlands, both in news media and governmental discourse (Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving, 2022). Caution needs to be observed regarding this search term however. 'Shrinkage' is most often referred to in terms of population shrinkage but can also be used to describe economical shrinkage. The effects of

shrinkage will also be looked at by using key search terms on which shrinkage could have an effect, such as housing or jobs. Secondly the term ageing is also used. This term is closely related to and is a key component of shrinkage (Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving, 2022). In the table below the search terms for this research and their English translation are presented.

Table 3: Search terms used to find relevant articles on the topic of population shrinkage	
Codes (in Dutch)	**Codes (in English)**
Krimp	Shrinkage
Bevolkingskrimp	Population shrinkage
Demografische krimp	Demographical shrinkage
Ontgroening	Dejuvenation
Vergrijzing	Aging
Jonge mensen (vertrekken)	Young people (are leaving)
Scholen / onderwijs	Schools / education
Gezondheidszorg	Health care (needs)
Krimpgebieden	Shrinking areas
Minder werk / banen	Less jobs
Voorzieningen (onder druk)	Resources (under pressure)

4.2.2 Search terms regarding migrants

For this research two key search terms regarding the topic of migration were selected. First that of migrant. This category captures the vast amount of groups of people that have migrated into the Netherlands. People that are often referred to as migrants are: labour-migrants, foreign students or people migrating for other reasons. People that are moving to the Netherlands due to an unsafe situation in their country of origin are most often referred to as refugees and not as migrants. Only using the search term migrant would therefore leave out this group, while they are reported on in news media frequently. The search term refugee yields more than 10.000 results in both newspapers. The combined use of these two search terms then covers most, if not all groups of migrants represented in the newspapers.

Table 2: Search terms used to find relevant articles on the topic of migration		
Topic	Dutch search term	English translation
Migration / migrants	Migrant(!)	Migrant(!)
	Vluchteling(!)	Refugee(!)
Population shrinkage	Krimp	Shrinkage
	Vergrijzing	Ageing
Migration / population shrinkage combined	Migrant(!) AND Krimp Migrant(!) AND Vergrijzing	Migrant(!) and shrinkage Migrant(!) and ageing
	Vluchteling(!) AND Krimp Vluchteling(!) AND Vergrijzing	Refugee(!) and shrinkage Refugee(!) and ageing

4.2.3 Articles selected

The articles found containing these search terms were then scanned for several features. First, the articles containing the search terms needed to be relevant to the topic of migration or shrinkage. For example, the Dutch saying “geen krimp geven” roughly translates to “not flinching” or “not budging.” This includes the search term ‘krimp’, however this has nothing to do with shrinkage and will therefore be left out of this research. Similarly duplicate articles were removed from the database. Secondly, as this research is concerned with framing in the two regions of Groningen-Drenthe and Limburg the articles needed to refer to the specific regions. Articles referring to shrinkage or migration in other regions or countries were therefore also excluded from the in-depth analysis. Thirdly articles were selected dating from January 1st 2015 until May 1st 2022. This allowed to draw from the period of time during which population shrinkage in the Netherlands was starting to be mitigated by migration (CBS, 2022).

For the in depth analysis (textual, picture and metaphor analysis) of the articles two further criteria were added. Firstly the length of the articles (in total number of words) was looked at. Articles that shortly mention the topic were categorized differently in comparison to articles that were specifically on the topics of population shrinkage, migration and the two

search terms combined. Secondly articles shorter than 200 words were excluded as the shortness of these articles allowed for little in depth analysis. Out of this final list of articles 60 articles were randomly selected for in depth research. The other articles provided context to this body of 60 articles. Per newspaper 30 articles were researched in depth:

- 10 articles on shrinkage per region
- 10 articles on migrants / migration per region
- 10 articles on shrinkage and migrants / migration per region

Table 3: Articles for in depth analysis per topic and newspaper			
	Dagblad van het Noorden	De Limburger	Total
Migrants / Migration	10	10	20
Shrinkage	10	10	20
Migrants and shrinkage	10	10	20
Total	30	30	60

4.3 Analysis of articles

The analysis of these articles was done in four steps. First a quantitative analysis of articles was done. Secondly a textual framing analysis, thirdly a picture framing analysis and finally a metaphor analysis was carried out. These four steps together made sure that the analysis of the frames was in depth and consisted of a mixed methods approach.

4.3.1 Quantitative analysis

First a comparative analysis was carried out using key search terms that were found in the literature. This was to determine which keywords were used most often and by which newspaper. A list of codes has been created by looking at previous literature and reading other news articles in which certain key words were often found. The results are presented in table 7 in the appendix for the topic of migration and in table 6 for topic of population shrinkage. These tables also include terms that were frequently found during this research in the articles themselves.

4.3.2 Textual framing analysis

The 60 articles, as presented in table 3 above were carefully read and coded. This was done by looking at the key terms found in the literature and the previous quantitative analysis. The three-step framework of Rafiee et al. (2021) was incorporated for this research. Together this led to the finding of one or several frames within each article. The frames found were then compared between the newspapers.

Step 1: Key words that are repeated often in the news article were identified, noted down what terms and the total amount of said terms were used in the article. This resulted in a coding tree on what terms are used most often. The found codes were compared to the existing frames as found in the theoretical framework. The frames for comparison are those presented in table 16 below. New codes found in these 60 articles also lead to new found frames. This way the research had an inductive and deductive approach.

Step 2: The way the subject of the article is described was identified. Then, key adjectives that related to the key words found in step 1 were noted down. This subset of key adjectives was also coded. This gave context to the terms used.

Step 3: The key subject of the article was identified. The key subject of the article was noted down and compared to the already existing frames.

4.3.3 Picture framing analysis

Secondly, pictures presented in the 60 articles was analysed. Here news articles that contain a visual image were selected. The framework for coding these photos was that of Zhang and Hellmueller & Zheng (2019) and Schellekens (2020), which focused specifically on migrants. Here photos were categorized by different frames. This framework consists of 8 variables. These variables are presented in table 16 below. This framework helped categorise the images and made for better comparison of the images as clear themes could be picked out among the images.

Table 16: Framework for analysing visual media regarding migrants	
1	Visual news image identification
2	Visual image publication date

3	Type of frame used (photo, map, graph/table, other)
4	Theme (transit, interaction, waiting, symbolic, action, portrait, other)
5	Visual patterns of Migrants (individuals, small group, medium group, large group)
6	Migrants facial expressions (not recognizable, positive, negative, mixed)
7	The presence of other news actors (no other actors, law enforcement, local, support, politicians)
8	News frames (human-interest, economical, integration, threat, etc.)

A similar, shortened model has been created for the framing of population shrinkage, this is represented in table 17 below.

Table : Framework for analysing visual media regarding population shrinkage	
1	Visual news image identification
2	Visual image publication date
3	Type of frame used (photo, map, graph/table, other)
4	Theme (decay, emptiness, ageing, nature)
5	News frames (problem, opportunity)

By coding and categorizing the newspapers' visual media in this way a relatively unbiased analysis was done. Due to the small sample size of 60 articles total an in depth statistical analysis is of little value and was therefore not done. The visual frames found in this analysis did however provide an important layer in the complete framing of shrinkage and migration in this research.

4.3.4 Metaphor Analysis

Finally a metaphor analysis was done. First the concept of what a metaphor is in the scope of this research will be explained. A metaphor is an utterance (of spoken language, text, images, etc.) whose intended and understood meaning is different from the compositional meaning of its words and phrases (Ortony, 1993). Conceptual metaphors are then seen as mappings across different conceptual domains. Those of the 'source' domain and the 'target' domain. Here, the source domain describes the conceptual origin of the metaphor and the

target domain describes the field to which the metaphor is applicated (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Pinker (2007) also makes the distinction between these metaphors and 'dead' metaphors. Dead metaphors are metaphors where the source and target domain are no longer clear for most users. An example could be: "a business going belly up." Here, most people will not associate a business failing with a dead animal lying belly up.

Metaphors are therefore important in the way people communicate with each other as they express, reflect and reinforce multiple ways in which we understand certain topics (Semino, Demjen & Demmen, 2018). In news media, metaphors also function as a persuasion tool, to promote a certain viewpoint on a topic (Holmgreen, 2008) and are able to influence public opinion (Benczes & Ságvári, 2021). As mentioned above metaphors are a key aspect of framing (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Many studies on newspaper framing have focused exclusively on metaphor framing. For example; Benczes and Ságvári, (2021) on their research of framing of migrants in Hungary; Luokkanen, Huttunen & Hilden, (2014) on their research on geoengineering; and Williams' (2013) research on economic discourse.

In this research articles containing metaphors referencing to population shrinkage and migration were included. These metaphors were compiled and the metaphor itself explained. For this analysis the metaphor identification procedure (MIP) framework by Pragglejaz Group (2007) was used to identify the metaphors. These metaphors were then divided in certain frames. The approach for the metaphor analysis was that of Schmitt (2020). Schmitt outlines 4 basic steps to doing a metaphor analysis.

Step 1: determine a topic and its research question and explain why metaphor analysis is a good tool to use for said research. As described by Benczes & Ságvári (2021) metaphors are a key aspect of news media. Dekavalla & Montagut (2018) and Romano (2021) also state that metaphors are widely used when reporting on migrants, a metaphor analysis was therefore a useful approach.

Step 2: a literature overview should be done to see what kind of metaphors are expected to be found. This can be via reading news sources (not necessarily the newspapers in this research) and by looking at other sources that report on the topic; in this case shrinkage and migration.

A pre-made framework for analysing metaphors on population shrinkage does not exist. First metaphors in the articles were therefore collected, coded and categorized into fitting frames. An example of metaphors related to population shrinkage is for example the headline “The North is emptying” in Dagblad van het Noorden (2019). This metaphor frames the North (of the Netherlands) as a container out of which something is flowing away, in this case people. Another metaphor is that of the “grieving process” in which municipalities first deny that shrinkage exists, then try to fight it and finally accept it (van Mook, 2010).

The frames from Montagut & Moragas-Fernandez (2020) and Romano (2021) were used as a baseline relating to frames referencing migration. The most dominant frames as identified by Montagut et al. (2020) are those of humanizing and dehumanizing migrants. Dehumanizing frames can be in the form of talking about migrants as; a wave or tsunami of migrants. In the case of humanizing frames this can be in the way of talking about migrants as for example; an exodus of people or as an asset or contribution to society.

Step 3: Here the texts will be analysed and metaphors can be picked out. The definition of what a metaphor is was that of Lakoff and Johnson (1980): 1. A word or a phrase, which strictly speaking can be understood beyond the literal meaning in said context; 2. The literal meaning stems from an area of sensory or cultural experience (the source area); 3. This source is then, however, transferred to a second, often abstract, area (the target area). The metaphors found are then copied and pasted into a separate document.

Step 4: Finally the metaphors found can be categorized into concepts; metaphors that mean the same thing or have similar source and target areas (step 3) that are connected are categorized in the same groups. These will then be compared to the frames found in the textual and visual media.

4.4 Synthesizing analysis

Combining this four step approach when it comes to analysing news articles naturally generated a mixed methods approach. The first analysis is a quantitative approach while the textual analysis, photo analysis and metaphor analysis have a qualitative nature. Here the frames found in each analysis were compared to see if a certain type of framing was more prominent in for example metaphors as opposed to photos used in newspapers. Comparing

the results from each analysis between the newspapers then gave an insight into how the framing of population shrinkage and migration were related and if there were significant differences in the framing between the newspapers.

4.5 Positionality as a researcher

In this chapter I will provide some information about myself to show my positionality as a researcher. I am a 24 year old, white man, currently living in Utrecht, the Netherlands. This means I do not live in any of the researched regions. I was not born nor have any family in the researched regions. I also rarely visit these regions. I am relatively unbiased as to the writings of the newspapers as I myself do not read any of them in my own time and have no particular affiliation with any of the regions in which the newspaper is dominant.

All articles in this research were written in Dutch. I am a native born Dutch person and speak the language fluently. This helped in understanding the deeper context that was hidden in an article or photo frame or the metaphors used as compared to a non-native Dutch speaker.

I completed a bachelor's degree in human geography and urban planning at Utrecht University. Here I followed many courses on the topics of political geography and development geography. The skills I gained from getting this degree helped in critically analysing texts and providing geographical context to certain events and/or topics. I am currently completing a Master's degree at Utrecht University in International Development Studies. Here I have further developed my skills in analysing texts and being aware of my own positionality in doing research. In many courses in the bachelor and master emphasis was placed on the discourse and the way a (research) problem was framed in order to better understand why something was seen as a problem, who or what might be to blame and what possible solutions can be found and applied. This educational background provided the necessary tools to do a robust media analysis.

I myself have no history of migration as I have lived in Utrecht my entire life. My family's history of migration is also limited. I have a grandparent that migrated to the Netherlands from Germany. The rest of my family (as far as I am aware) only migrated within the Netherlands. This can be a barrier in this research as I have grown up with the way migrants

have been reported on in Dutch newspapers in general while not having a migrant background myself. To effectively minimize any bias on my own part the process of analysing articles and images was done by comparing the media to the list of codes and framework presented in this methodology section.

5. Results

In this chapter the findings of the analyses as discussed in the methodology will be presented and linked to the theoretical framework and geographical contextual framework.

5.1. Shrinkage

5.1.1 Economic viability

Search terms regarding the economic viability found that both newspapers reported on the effects of shrinkage on the economy. The results are presented in table 14 in the appendix. The combined terms of Shrinkage and Economy yielded the most articles. Many of these articles primarily discuss general economic trends. Following this were the search terms of Ageing and Work. Articles here are primarily focused on the shortage of labour that will be a result of the ageing of the population in both regions. This is contrary to the findings of Dreijerink et al. (2012), who predicted there would not be enough jobs, here however it seems there are not enough people to fill the jobs available.

Where will those extra colleagues come from?

Dagblad van het Noorden, 22 november 2019

What can be seen in table 14 is that Dagblad van het Noorden has more articles containing the search term Shrinkage whereas de Limburger has more articles containing the search term Ageing. Dagblad van het Noorden has the most articles on the search terms of Shrinkage and Economy, with a large difference in the number of news articles between the two newspapers. Dagblad van het Noorden has almost double the amount of articles on the topic. The Limburger has the most articles containing the terms of Shrinkage and Ageing. Articles concerning the economic viability in both newspapers largely place shrinkage in the negative frame, citing the shrinking of the population as a problem facing both regions.

…bottlenecks in the labor market. The lack of suitable personnel, especially in ICT, technology and care, the contraction and aging of the working population.

Dagblad van het Noorden februari 2022

5.1.2 Social well-being

Whereas the discourse on population shrinkage mostly starts out from the viewpoint of the 'absolute population shrinkage discourse' the effects of population shrinkage are often addressed later on in the longer articles. In the opinion articles in both newspapers the focus lies mostly on the effects of a shrinking population, not on the population shrinkage itself.

In the quantitative analysis it was found that Dagblad van het Noorden has the most articles on the consequences of shrinkage; schools closing, health care, housing problems. Especially articles containing the search term 'Shrinkage' are found more in Dagblad van het Noorden. The total number of articles found are presented in table 15 in the appendix. In both newspapers most articles relating to shrinkage and services are articles on schools. The (fear of) schools closing is featured prominently in both newspapers. De Limburger has more articles on the topic of shrinkage alone. This could be because the region of Limburg experiences more intense population shrinkage and dejuvenation compared to the region of Groningen-Drenthe. It could also be that the Limburger focuses more on the general topic of population shrinkage and not so much on its effects. This could indicate that the effects of population shrinkage are felt to a lesser extent in Limburg compared to Groningen-Drenthe and/or that interest for the topic of population shrinkage is greater at Dagblad van het Noorden than at de Limburger (CBS, 2022).

"The cafe next to the church is long gone. As is the monastery garden opposite [the café], as well as the candy store."

De Limburger, (September 12th, 2018).

5.1.3 Political alignment

In the in-depth analysis of the articles of Dagblad van het Noorden it was found that many articles mention shrinkage as something primarily talked about or imposed by the government with many residents feeling none or few of the consequences. However, perceived or experienced problems related to shrinkage are blamed on the national government which, according to the writers does not (sufficiently) support the regional and local governments in carrying out their key duties.

5.1.4 Regionalism

Despite the negative framing of population shrinkage, regions do however often respond to this marginalisation and (the negative effects of) population shrinkage, trying to mitigate its effects. This is referred to as regionalism as mentioned in the theoretical framework (Meijers & van der Wouw, 2019). In the quantitative analysis it was found that articles mentioning regional collaboration were present in both newspaper in large numbers. This points to the strategy of borrowing strength, except for the fact that these articles are focused on the region itself instead of a 'stronger' economic area elsewhere. The substantive amount of articles on collaboration within the region does however show that these regions have initiatives in place to resist marginalisation. Articles mentioning autonomist regionalism initiatives, where a region distinguishes itself by focusing on modernizing its regional economy, autonomy and its unique culture (Graham, 2018) were found more in de Limburger compared to Dagblad van het Noorden. The search term with the most hits was that of 'Parkstad Limburg' in de Limburger. Similar initiatives in Dagblad van het Noorden were mentioned less often. This points to the (sub)region(s) of Limburg having adopted the autonomist regionalism strategy to a larger degree compared to regions in Groningen-Drenthe.

The in depth analysis of Dagblad van het Noorden found that articles mention the problems created by shrinkage can and likely will be solved by initiatives from citizens themselves to keep basic services in smaller municipalities. This points to a strong sense of community in the region which is also a key part of regionalism as mentioned by Wiesinger, (2007).

5.1.5 Discourse on population shrinkage

What was found in the quantitative analysis was that a (relatively) small group of writers wrote many articles on the topic of population shrinkage in both newspapers. These people are in a sense the 'gatekeepers' as the articles they write determine the 'discourse' on the topic of population shrinkage. Another important actor which (unconsciously) influences the discourse on population shrinkage is the CBS (Central Bureau of Statistics). The article ***"The North is emptying!"*** by Mannus van der Laan (september 10th 2019) in Dagblad van het Noorden illustrates this. Here he discusses the newest CBS numbers on population shrinkage, stating that the rural areas in the North [of the Netherlands] are emptying. This led to several opinion articles that responded to this article. The first article by Mannus van der Laan therefore influenced the discourse on population shrinkage as his article led to many other articles on the topic. The reacting articles criticized the negative way the article by van der Laan was framed. In these reactions the CBS was seen as the dominant source of the discourse on population shrinkage as they provide the data on population shrinkage.

"the CBS has told us for years that the north of Groningen is a shrinking area. The newspaper then adds insult to injury with the heading: "The north is emptying!""

(Dagblad van het Noorden, September 14th 2019).

"Less than six months ago, "the North is emptying!", was the gloomy conclusion of a population forecast by the accountants of the Central Bureau of Statistics."

(Dagblad van het Noorden, January 8th 2020).

This points to a discourse which is dominated by data from the CBS, a (governmental) organization specialized in providing data and statistics on a wide range of topics. In the quantitative analysis it was then found that the number of articles on population shrinkage had decreased over the period of 2015-2022 in both newspapers. This could partially be explained by the decrease in population shrinkage in both regions. The process of ageing has however not decreased as pointed out by the CBS (2022), yet this term and related terms are also found less often. This points to the discourse on population shrinkage largely being led by the absolute numbers of population growth or decline provided by the CBS. This 'absolute number shrinkage' discourse is also found in Dutch (local) governmental discourse. The topic of shrinkage would appear (hesitantly) on the agenda of municipalities but when

the population numbers rose again the attention for population shrinkage sharply decreased (Verwest & van Dam, 2010). An article in the Limburger also stated that the resistance against population shrinkage within municipalities in Limburg was very much present.

"It is 1995 when Wim Derks, economist and demographer, is told in no uncertain terms by administrators not to mention shrinkage."

(De Limburger, October, 29th, 2016).

5.1.6 Framing of population shrinkage

Articles reporting on the effects of population shrinkage often mention the (negative) effects of the shrinkage. These articles largely place population shrinkage in the 'negative' frame. In the three in depth analyses of the 20 articles; Textual analysis, picture framing analyses and metaphor analysis this negative frame was found. The 'counter' frame; the positive or opportunity frame was also identified. This confirms that both newspapers frame population shrinkage as either a problem or an opportunity as was also found by Ročak (2018) and Syssner (2020). The text in the articles was largely mixed on how population shrinkage was framed as can be seen in table 13 in the appendix, with both the positive and negative frame being equally present in the articles. The framing of population shrinkage in the 'positive' frame was rather unexpected as the quantitative analysis found many articles relating population shrinkage to search terms that could indicate negative effects.

In both the picture framing analysis and metaphor analysis the 'negative' frame is however dominant. The image framing analyses found that images primarily framed population shrinkage as a problem. Here, images mostly portrayed empty and/or neglected buildings. Similarly the metaphor framing analyses found that metaphors on population shrinkage were mostly negative, here however the amount of 'negative' metaphors far outweighed the 'positive' metaphors. What is interesting is that the 'negative' image framing occurred more often in Dagblad van het Noorden whereas metaphors fitting the 'negative' frame were found more often in de Limburger. The dominant sort of metaphor on population shrinkage is the metaphor describing population shrinkage as an (evil) force of nature, with its own free will as illustrated by the quote below.

“the shrinkage strikes mercilessly”

Dagblad van het Noorden, December 6th, (2018).

This way of framing might also contribute to the feelings of marginalisation among the population in both regions due to the shrinkage being portrayed as something which cannot be fought. With the discourse on population shrinkage being dominated by a governmental (elite) body combined with the framing of population shrinkage as an evil force with its own free will could lead to feelings of powerlessness among the people living in shrinking areas.

5.2 Migration

5.2.1 Focus on newcomers

Both newspapers wrote many articles on the topic of migration. Dagblad van het Noorden wrote the most articles on migrants. The total number of articles per search term can be found in table 10 in the appendix. Two things stand out when looking at these numbers. The first is that de Limburger wrote many more articles including the search term worker migrant. This could be due to the fact that a larger amount of the migrants in Limburg are there for work as opposed to Groningen-Drenthe.

The second thing is that the amount of articles that focus on refugees vastly outnumber the articles reporting on other migrant groups in both newspapers (see table 10 in the appendix). This is interesting as refugees make up a relatively small part of the total number of migrants coming to the Netherlands each year and are in both regions not the largest group of migrants.

"Why is the migration discussion in De Limburger almost exclusively about asylum seekers? A persistent misunderstanding. Wake up, I would say, welcome to the new world: the Netherlands has been growing rapidly for years due to migration from other EU countries."

De Limburger (June, 4th, 2021)

This focus on refugees from both newspapers is interesting as refugees are often portrayed as different from the (host) population. A refugee is, by definition someone who is fleeing from some sort of persecution and needs help (in the form of refuge) somewhere else. This is something most Dutch citizens cannot relate to as they never had to flee from prosecution and feel that these refugees will not contribute to society but only drain resources. Secondly, refugees are often fleeing from countries that differ largely from the Netherlands in for example their economy, culture, religion or even climate such as Syria, Eritrea and Afghanistan (CBS, 2022). This makes it so that many Dutch people find it hard to relate to refugees.

As the amount of articles related to refugees then (vastly) overshadows articles on other migrant groups this frames refugees as the main group of migrants coming into the

Netherlands. The (negative) aspects that people then relate to refugees might then be applied to all groups of migrants coming to the Netherlands.

Another interesting finding on refugees was the discourse on Ukrainian refugees coming to the Netherlands as a result of the ongoing war in Ukraine in both newspapers. The conflict itself and the refugees as a result of the conflict are reported on almost daily in both newspapers since the beginning of the conflict in February 2022. Although the Ukrainians were refugees, this particular group was portrayed more positively compared to the group 'refugees' in general. This could be due to the economy, culture and religion of Ukraine being more similar to that of the Netherlands.

"In addition to the many support campaigns and donations, many people are now also taking Ukrainian refugees into their homes. Airbnb's, hotel rooms and bed & breakfasts are opened to families who have fled the Russian invasion."

Dagblad van het Noorden (March, 9th, 2022).

5.2.2 Focus on arrival infrastructures

The focus on arrival infrastructures is similarly placed on refugees. Most articles concerning housing for migrants are on search terms related to the housing of refugees in both newspapers. The most articles on housing refugees are found in Dagblad van het Noorden. This could be due to the primary application centre where asylum seekers have to register their status as a refugee in the Netherlands being located in Groningen and the fact that the province of Groningen houses the most refugees of all provinces in the Netherlands (COA, 2022). Articles focusing on the housing of worker migrants are featured more prominently in de Limburger but still not to extend that refugee housing is reported on. The fact that refugee housing is featured so prominently in both newspapers could be due to perceived problems the placement of ASC's could create for people living in the area as mentioned by Tolsma, et al, (2021).

5.2.3 Focus on integration

5.2.3 Othering and integration

Integration means becoming part of a whole. In the case of this research that means people from outside the region becoming part of the group of people living in the region. De Limburger has more articles on the topic of integration as compared to Dagblad van het Noorden as can be seen in table 10 in the appendix. What is interesting in the articles is that most articles in both newspapers point to the migrants themselves as having to adapt and become part of the whole. The 'Dutch society' is then placed as a static model which cannot or should not change to which migrants should adhere.

"The failure of decades-long policy of 'integration while retaining one's own identity' has become visible. It is the smelly wounds that remain after the pampering of migrants and their organizations."

Dagblad van het noorden (May 4th, 2017)

This (perceived) divide between groups, i.e. migrants against locals creates an in-group and an out-group, this is referred to in the theoretical framework as othering. The in-group in these articles are the 'native' white Dutch and more specifically the regional or local population i.e. Limburgers in the case of de Limburger and Groningeners and Drenthenaren in the case of Dagblad van het Noorden. This group is often not mentioned by name or attributes. Rather, the out-group and the attributes ascribed to that group are more clearly defined. The out-group consists of people not from the region, both from inside and outside the Netherlands. Send in letters on the debate on migration in the Limburger differ people from outside the Netherlands in two ways, those who 'participate' and the 'others.' Participating is here defined primarily by working and conforming to Western cultural norms such as freedom of speech and equal rights for all (De Limburger, 2021). Another article from Dagblad van het Noorden on the different nationalities of migrants in the north of the Netherlands might however show that a person's appearance also influences what puts people in the in-group. In the quote below it would not be surprising for the north of the Netherlands to have many German immigrants as this is the country sharing the only land-border with the region. It could however be surprising as many Dutch people might not recognise them by sight as German because Germans are mostly white and dress the same

similar to most Dutch people. Looking like the in-group might therefore lead to people perceiving themselves as the in-group not recognising you as the out-group.

"**Surprising and not surprising. The largest immigrant group in the North is made up of Germans."**

Dagblad van het Noorden, (July, 7th, 2018).

People framed as the out-groups are often attributed with negative aspects. One article for example mentions how Polish migrants are portrayed as noisy and having alcohol problems by the native Dutch population (De Limburger, 2015) while another criticizes the integration of young Muslims into Dutch society (Dagblad van het Noorden, 2019). In contrast to the out-group, the in-group then consists of 'Dutch' people who are portrayed as generally well-integrated and part of Dutch society. Putting people in an out-group does however not need to be done with negative intension. The sentence below from the article from Dagblad van het Noorden which was primarily positive towards migrants illustrates that.

"It is remarkable that research by Statistics Netherlands in 2014 showed that Antilleans, of all minorities are the least happy in the Netherlands. Could it be the weather?"

Dagblad van het Noorden, (July, 7th, 2018).

This second part of the quote jokes about the unhappiness among Antilleans by saying the weather might be the source of their unhappiness. The weather in the Netherlands is generally colder and more grey and therefore 'sad' compared to the more sunny and tropical 'happy' climate of the Dutch Antilles. By adding this short joke the problems the Antilleans in the Netherlands face are trivialized and glossed over. This short five word joke thereby puts the Antilleans in the out-group.

5.2.4 Discourse on migration

The quantitative analysis, similarly to the topic of population shrinkage found that a (relatively) small group of journalists wrote many articles on the topic of migration. For Dagblad van het Noorden the most prominent writer was Herman Blom, a professor of applied sciences who writes opinion articles, who are mostly critical of immigration. In de Limburger the most prominent writer is Sjors van Beek, a research journalist. This select group influences the discourse on migration. One interesting example would be the article: ***"expensive hobby, that immigration."*** By Sjors van Beek (march 4th, 2021) where this columnist wrote a short column on the economic burden migrants would place on Dutch society. This sparked a discussion in de Limburger with around 140 letters and emails being sent to the editorial office which largely stated:

"relief that 'this story is now also in De Limburger', praise for 'the courage to say this' and 'to break through the political correctness that has gone too far'."

De Limburger (March 10th, 2021).

The statement that 'political correctness has gone too far' is interesting as it points to a certain 'politically correct' discourse on migration in de Limburger and maybe more in general in the Netherlands and that articles that go against this discourse are not published. This discourse would be characterized by only referring to migrants or migration in positive terms and not publishing any (perceived) negative news. This one short article by Sjors van Beek then formed the starting point for many more articles relating to migration in de Limburger: interviews with letter-writers, context articles to the topic of migration and short comments from readers. Sjors van Beek therefore influenced the discourse on migration as it was the reason for the articles that followed and provided a 'new non-politically correct' discourse on migration in de Limburger. Similarly an opinion piece writer in Dagblad van het Noorden, Herman Blom sometimes writes critically about migration or one particular group of migrants. He wrote a commentary on several articles relating to (perceived) racism by the police. Here he criticized the way the newspaper wrote on the matter which was not fact-based.

"instead of playing the racism card, the newspaper could have asked research questions."

Dagblad van het noorden (April 5th 2022).

In another article he criticizes the integration of Dutch people with Turkish roots. Here he states that many Dutch Turks choose the 'separation' instead of the 'integration' route.

"They are often mistakenly presented as deserving pity. By playing both sides, they enjoy the best of both worlds. Erdogan Turks are well off in the Netherlands."

Dagblad van het Noorden (May 4th 2016).

The 'critical' discourse on migration is specifically found in opinion articles or comments sent in by readers. The reasons for the dominance of the "politically correct discourse" in both newspaper can be several. First, the newspapers (publishers) could want to keep away from displeasing advertisers in the newspapers. Advertisers might not want to see their advertisements in a newspaper which goes against the dominant discourse on migration and withdraw their advertisements thus costing the newspapers and publishers money. This could be enforced via either the head publisher of the specific newspaper or on a higher level such as that of Mediahuis Noord, Mediahuis Limburg or Mediahuis. Secondly, the journalists reporting on the topic of migration could be biased towards a certain discourse due to personal convictions. It therefore seems that the 'gatekeepers' might be promoting one 'discourse' over the other.

5.2.5 Framing of migration

In the analyses of the frames found on migration it was found that the frames as discussed in the theoretical framework are present in the articles in both newspapers. The frames found per article per newspaper are presented in table 12 in the appendix. The first interesting finding was that an article can encompass more than one frame. The paragraph below from an article in Dagblad van het Noorden illustrates this. Although the emancipation frame is dominant this paragraph shifts between the (negative) emancipation frame and the more positive economical frame. The sentences related to the integration frame are here marked red and those related to the economical frame green.

"The immigration trauma runs deep. Understandable, because the track record of Dutch mass migration is not good. You can see a positive trend in, for example, more labour participation of non-Western migrants. Grosso modo, however, they dominate the wrong rows: use of benefits and allowances, unemployment, crime."

Dagblad van het Noorden (March 28th, 2019).

This shifting between different frames adds nuance to the articles, which might be the purpose of the authors of said articles. This shows that not one single frame is dominant in the discourse on migration in both newspapers. Although the emancipation frame is the frame most found in the articles of Dagblad van het Noorden and the human interest frame is most found in de Limburger there is no clear difference between the newspapers in which frames they use in their articles. All seven frames are identified in the 20 articles that were analysed. This points to there not being one single frame being dominant in the discourse on migration in both newspapers.

Metaphors found relating to migrants were mostly negative portraying's of migrants in both newspapers. Of these negative metaphors the 'container' form metaphor was found most often. This metaphor portrays the Netherlands as a bucket of people. Adding extra people to this 'bucket' would then cause it to overflow.

5.3 Discourse and framing of population shrinkage and migration

There are relatively few articles on the combined topics of shrinkage and migration in both newspapers. Most articles on the combined topics are found in de Limburger as can be seen in table 12 in the appendix. While refugees are still the largest group of migrants mentioned, there are relatively more articles relating worker-migrants to shrinkage.

In the separate discourses on population shrinkage and on migration a discourse that stands opposite to the main discourse is often present, mainly in columns and opinion articles. When reporting on migration in the context of shrinkage however, mostly the dominant discourse of both topics are combined. This could be because the separate topics have a large volume of articles on their respective topic providing more room for discourses that are not in agreement with the main discourse. The dominant frame on population shrinkage is that of the negative frame.

The dominant frame on migration is that of the economical frame. Migrants are primarily viewed as being able to provide economical input which would help the economy in the region.

The writing on the two topics combined is less dominated by one or a few writers. The discourse on the combined topics of population shrinkage and migration largely merges the two dominant discourses of both topics. The discourse on population shrinkage largely follows the main discourse of 'absolute number shrinkage' mostly focusing only on the absolute growth and shrinkage of the population. The discourse on migrants is mostly that of the 'positive' discourse. In most cases only short sentences refer to migrants contributing to population growth. The example below is an example of these combined discourses.

"The above-average population growth in the Netherlands last year was largely due to the arrival of migrants."

Dagblad van het Noorden (september, 14th 2019).

6. Discussion

In this chapter the findings of the previous chapter will be discussed in the context of the research questions as stated in the introduction chapter. These were:

- **What discourses and counter-discourses and frames are present in regional news media in their reporting on the topic of shrinkage?**
- **What discourses, counter-discourses and frames are present in regional news media in their reporting on the topic of migration?**
- **What similarities and differences exist between the framing of and discourse on both topics of shrinkage and migration between Dagblad van het Noorden and de Limburger and how can the regional context explain these similarities and differences?**

The goal of this research was to better understand the discourse on the topics of population shrinkage and how shrinkage and migrants are framed in the two regional newspapers: Dagblad van het Noorden and De Limburger in order to contribute to the literature on framing and discourse and the scientific debate on shrinkage and migration, provide insight in the way regional similarities and differences can show an outside perspective to the publishers of both newspapers and make a small contribution to the welcoming spaces project

6.1 What discourses and counter-discourses and frames are present in regional news media in their reporting on the topic of shrinkage?

The dominant discourse in both newspapers on the topic of shrinkage is that of the absolute number shrinkage in which a decrease in the number of people in a region is seen as what constitutes a shrinking region, which mostly relies on data by the CBS. A counter discourse is found mostly in opinion articles in both newspapers where the label of shrinking region is contested and the CBS and (national) government is criticized. This split in discourse is similarly found in the frames used when referring to shrinkage. Shrinkage is referenced to in both newspapers with different terms. The framing of shrinkage in the text is also mixed. Some articles adhere more to the problem frame whereas other articles frame population

shrinkage more as an opportunity, relating to the opportunity frame. Articles that frame population shrinkage as a problem primarily focus on young adults leaving the area, not having enough students to fill the schools and services becoming harder to maintain in the future. Articles that frame population shrinkage as an opportunity focus mainly on the resilience of the community, with population shrinkage as an obstacle that will be overcome by the community. The images found are also mixed in how they portray population shrinkage. Finding this mix of both the problem and opportunity frame in relation to population shrinkage is in line with the literature that found similar frames (Sousa & Pinho, 2015; Tietjen & Jørgensen, 2016; Ročak, 2019;; Xie et al, 2022). What is interesting is that the metaphors used in relation to population shrinkage adhere mostly to the problem frame, especially the metaphors found in De Limburger. Both within the problem and opportunity frame some nuance needs to be taken into account. Articles placing shrinkage in the problem frame often state that the shrinkage is a problem but not an enormous one. Except for the framing through metaphors, a clear difference in how the topic of shrinkage is framed between newspapers was not found, with both newspapers framing it as both a problem and an opportunity.

The feeling of marginalisation is not always clear in many of the news articles reporting on the topic of shrinkage. Articles fitting in with the positive frame regarding shrinkage do not mention feeling marginalized or any of the aspects relating to feeling marginalized as described by Johnson & Lichter, (2019). In these articles the authors portray their respective region generally as a place they happily call home. Articles fitting in the negative frame do relate to the aspects of feeling marginalized. This is most clear in the articles concerning the loss of services and amenities in an area as found by Gieling, Haartsen & Vermeij (2018). The role of marginalisation is here clearly relatable to the framing of an article and does not encompass the entire discourse on shrinkage.

6.2 What discourses, counter-discourses and frames are present in regional news media in their reporting on the topic of migration?

The discourse on the topic of migration is dominated by a small group of journalists in both newspapers. The dominant discourse in articles is what is referred to by the counter-discourse as the “politically correct discourse” which is generally positive in the way it

portrays migrants. The counter discourse, which is found more in opinion articles is more critical of migrants and migration. The frames used when portraying migrants are varied in both newspapers. These frames range from more positive frames such as the human-interest frame to the threat frame which are both equally present in the text in both newspapers. For example, the images that were analysed framed migrants in a variety of ways with no single frame being dominant. This is different from Greenwood & Thompson (2020) who found that negative frames dominated visual media on migrants. The framing of the topic of migration in both newspapers is therefore mixed.

What is interesting about both topics is that a dominant discourse with corresponding frames in the main articles exists in both newspapers with a counter discourse and frames being present more in the opinion articles.

Some form of othering could be identified in almost all newspaper articles on the topic of migration. What is interesting is that the othering of migrants is both done in obvious and more covert terms which is contrary to the clear othering as stated by Hall (1997). The clear othering is found mostly in opinion articles, where migrants are more clearly framed as being different from the 'in-group.' Here nearly all authors write in a clear 'we' versus 'them' theme. In these opinion articles both 'crude' othering and 'sophisticated' othering were identified in line with Brons (2015). In the standard news articles the othering is more covert. Here the differing between 'us' and 'them' is less obvious but after analysing the articles in depth some form of othering was often found. Othering in these articles was 'sophisticated.'

This differing of the in and out group could to lead to a strong emotional response as stated by van Gorp et al. (2021). The clearest example of this was found in de Limburger with letters being sent in to the publisher as described in chapter 5.1.3. The role of othering in the debate on migration in both newspaper articles is therefore significant. Whether this is done by design or by accident, a clear we versus them theme sets the tone for many of the articles in both newspapers regardless of the frames used for portraying migrants. The entire discourse on the topic of migration is therefore influenced by othering.

6.3 What similarities and differences exist between the framing of and discourse on both topics of shrinkage and migration between Dagblad van het Noorden and de Limburger and how can the regional context explain these similarities and differences?

6.3.1 Similarities: Shrinkage

Similarities between the two newspapers on the topic of shrinkage are that the framing of shrinkage is mixed. Both the problem and opportunity frame are present in equal amounts. This could be linked to another similarity between the two newspapers. Both newspapers have a main discourse and counter discourse on shrinkage as discussed in paragraph 6.1. The primary discourse on shrinkage could be a result of the newspapers wanting to present factually correct information as both newspapers state this as one of their key objectives as discussed in chapter 4. By relying on numbers and statistics the information provided is indeed factually correct. The counter-discourse, mostly found in opinion articles then relies more on the experiences regarding the effects of shrinkage of the writer. The negative attitude towards CBS and governmental institutions could be a result of feelings of marginalization as both regions have had promises broken by the government in the past (relating to the earthquakes in Groningen and the closing of the mines in Limburg). This negative attitude towards governmental institutions is in line with the findings of Bock (2018) and Harteveld, van der Brug, de Lange & van der Meer, (2021).

Another similarity on the topic of shrinkage is the amount of articles that focus on topics related to the social effects of shrinkage in both newspapers. The topic written most about was that of schools (closing), followed by housing and healthcare (see table 11 in the appendix). The fact that both newspapers have the most articles on these topics in that same order points to these being the largest concerns if not the largest problems in the region related to shrinkage.

6.3.2 Differences: Shrinkage

Some important differences on the topic of shrinkage are firstly the amount of articles dedicated to shrinkage. De Limburger has more articles on the topic of population shrinkage compared to Dagblad van het Noorden. Articles including terms such as population shrinkage, dejuvenation and ageing were found more in de Limburger (see table 11 in the

appendix). This could be due to Limburg experiencing more intense population shrinkage and ageing as compared to the region of Groningen-Drenthe as presented in table 5 in the appendix.

Interestingly the opposite is true for the effects of shrinkage. While both newspapers have the most articles in their respective newspapers on the same topic, Dagblad van het Noorden has many more articles in total on the effects of shrinkage on social aspects (see table 15 in the appendix). Dagblad van het Noorden has more articles on all search terms relating shrinkage to social well being in the region. This is interesting as citizens in Groningen and Drenthe rated the social aspects of living in the region higher than the Dutch average and people living in Limburg lower than the Dutch average. The Limburger has more articles relating ageing to social shrinkage as mentioned by the CBS (2022). This is likely due to Limburg having a larger ageing population compared to Groningen-Drenthe. The large number of elderly might then need more care which puts a larger strain on health care and the social networks in the region.

On the topic of economic viability the two newspapers show a difference on which topic is focused more on. Search terms relating shrinkage to economic aspects are more prevalent in Dagblad van het Noorden. This could be due to the region of Groningen-Drenthe already having a small economy compared to the total Dutch average and having grown little over the last 25 years whereas the economic position of the region of Limburg is slightly stronger as pointed out in paragraph 3.2.2. and 3.3.2. De Limburger however has more articles focused on the topic of shrinkage and ageing. This is again likely due to Limburg having a larger ageing population compared to Groningen-Drenthe. This could be perceived as a bigger problem as jobs might not be filled in the future in the region.

6.3.3 Similarities: Migration

A key similarity on the topic of migration is that one group of migrants is overrepresented in the articles in both newspapers, namely those of refugees and asylum seekers. This could be due to them being perceived as very much other from the host population as explained in paragraph 5.2.1.

In the in-depth analysis both newspapers were found to use more than one frame relating to migration per news article (see table 11 in the appendix). This could point to the newspapers themselves or the journalists writing the articles not actively or consciously selecting one frame in the article. This could be due to the frames found in the news articles having become so common in the discourse on migration that they have become part of the discourse in both newspapers.

6.3.4 Differences: Migration

The first difference between the two newspapers is that Dagblad van het Noorden has more articles on refugees and asylum seekers compared to the Limburger. This could largely be due to the province of Groningen having the primary application centre where asylum seekers have to register their status as a refugee in the Netherlands and the fact that the province of Groningen houses the most refugees of all provinces in the Netherlands. A larger presence of refugees in the area is therefore likely the reason for the larger amount of articles on this particular group.

The second differences is on another group of migrants: those of worker migrants. De Limburger wrote more articles on this group compared to Dagblad van het Noorden. This could be due to the fact that a larger amount of the migrants in Limburg are there for work as opposed to Groningen-Drenthe, as Limburg is one of the regions housing the most worker-migrants (ABU, 2023).

Articles on the topic of integration were found more in de Limburger, also in the in depth-analysis, articles using the integration frame were found exclusively in articles in de Limburger (see table 12 in the appendix). This could be due to the region of Limburg being more populist-right wing as compared to the region of Groningen-Drenthe. As Harteveld et al. pointed out, populist voting could lead to a more negative stance towards migrants, leading to more focus on the integration of migrants into the host-society. This is interesting as more people in the region of Limburg have a migration background as opposed to Groningen-Drenthe. Most migrants in Limburg have a western background, which would suggest they are already culturally more similar to people in Limburg as opposed to people with a non-western background. In the region of Groningen-Drenthe the part of the population with a migration-background is smaller, but with more people with a non-

western migration-background. Having a migrant-background therefore seems more important in the attention paid to integration than having a western- or non-western background.

7. Conclusion

By doing a media discourse analysis of two regional newspapers this research provided further insight in the framing of and discourse on population shrinkage and migration in shrinking regions in the Netherlands and the way marginalisation and othering play a role in these frames and discourses.

Despite regional differences and likely due to similarities between the two regions, both newspapers that were researched have roughly similar discourses on the topics of migration and shrinkage. The frames used in both newspapers were also rather similar. Here, population shrinkage was largely presented as a problem that had to be overcome in both newspapers with the problematic frame being dominant. The discourse on and framing of migrants was mixed in both newspapers. Both positive and negative frames were identified in the news articles, sometimes switching between frames in the same article.

As was presented in this research, the (absolute) population shrinkage seems to have slowed in both regions discussed in this thesis, both in population statistics and the amount of articles dedicated to the topic in both newspapers, in part due to migration. The ageing of the population in the regions might however lead to a new way of framing. The discourse and framing of migration in newspaper media will also remain a topic of interest in the future. Whether immigration and shrinkage will increase or decrease both to the Netherlands and the regions within the Netherlands is hard to predict. In both cases, a study on both topics with a longer timespan would be interesting to see how current frames and discourses might continue or discontinue in the future.

Researching different forms of media regarding this topic such as television or social media could be an interesting addition to this research which focused on regional newspaper media. Comparing newspapers on different levels of scale could such as international, national or local newspaper media might yield different discourses or frames. Due to more and more media moving to online platforms research on these topics by focusing on social

media could provide a different perspective on the discussion. Then comparing the frames and discourses might show whether these discourses and frames are only limited to newspaper media or also present in social media.

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Appendix

Table 5: Population of Limburg, Groningen and Drenthe per age-group (2000-2020). Source: CBS statline (2022).					
	2000	**2005**	**2010**	**2015**	**2020**
Total Limburg	1 141 192	1 136 695	1 122 701	1 117 941	1 117 201
0 - 15 years	196 787	188 408	169 343	154 472	143 280
15 - 30 years	195 808	184 798	187 205	191 728	192 176
30 - 45 years	277 647	253 684	213 765	185 138	180 187
45 - 65 years	304 919	328 550	349 680	349 203	334 713
65+ years	166 031	181 255	202 708	237 400	266 845
	2000	**2005**	**2010**	**2015**	**2020**
Total Groningen	562 646	575 072	576 668	583 942	585 866
0 - 15 years	94 549	96 343	91 737	87 121	81 390
15 - 30 years	121 835	118 671	121 701	129 222	131 828
30 - 45 years	128 974	127 202	114 242	103 390	98 272
45 - 65 years	135 757	149 043	158 649	159 009	157 641
65+ years	81 531	83 813	90 339	105 200	116 735
	2000	**2005**	**2010**	**2015**	**2020**
Total Drenthe	469 806	483 369	490 981	488 576	493 682
0 - 15 years	87 286	89 414	87 486	80 874	74 264
15 - 30 years	79 741	74 769	74 652	74 550	78 182
30 - 45 years	109 007	106 809	96 024	83 474	78 518
45 - 65 years	121 755	134 421	145 440	146 990	147 433
65+ years	72 017	77 956	87 379	102 688	115 285

Table 5: Births and deaths in the regions of Limburg, Groningen and Drenthe (2000-2020)
Source: CBS statline (2022).

Year	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020
Deaths in Limburg	10670	10 629	10 690	11 814	13 625
Births in Limburg	12235	10051	9620	8739	8652
Total	1565	-578	-1070	-3075	-4973
Year	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020
Deaths in Groningen	5458	5216	5331	5481	5716
Births in Groningen	6510	5943	5732	5329	4956
Total	1052	727	401	-152	-760
Year	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020
Deaths in Drenthe	4527	4349	4616	4975	5551
Births in Drenthe	5822	5099	4750	4029	4135
Total	1295	750	134	-946	-1416

Table 6: Migration into and out of the three provinces of Limburg, Groningen and Drenthe (2000 – 2020). Source: CBS statline (2022).						
		2000	2005	2010	2015	2020
Netherlands	Migration into the Netherlands	132.900	92.300	154.500	204.600	220.900
	Migration leaving the Netherlands	79.000	119.700	121.400	149.500	152.500
Limburg	Migration from outside the Netherlands	8 602	5 888	10 697	14 592	15 044
	Migration within the Netherlands	39 739	39 905	34 986	40 799	47 651
	Migration leaving the Netherlands	7 780	8 791	7 646	10 850	12 868
	Migration to other municipalities	41 038	41 326	36 993	43 135	46 136
Groningen	Migration from outside the Netherlands	5 362	3 309	6 055	11 611	14 043
	Migration within the Netherlands	28 440	28 979	26 542	30 752	29 912
	Migration leaving the Netherlands	2 498	4 394	4 096	5 818	6 406
	Migration to other municipalities	28 520	29 725	26 533	36 636	35 746
Drenthe	Migration from outside the Netherlands	3 846	1 422	2 331	3 783	1 890
	Migration within the Netherlands	18 678	19 045	15 613	18 826	22 808
	Migration leaving the Netherlands	1 411	2 181	1 697	1 711	1 282
	Migration to other municipalities	17 736	18 010	15 916	19 888	20 883

Table 7: Frames on migration as found in the literature per researcher(s)				
Roggebrand & Vliegenthart	Greenwood & Thomson	Balabanova & Balch	Subtypes of the frame by Balabanova & Balch	Eberl et al.
1. Multicultural frame	1. Conflict frame	1. Communitarian frame	1. Domestic social justice	1. Economical frame
2. Emancipation frame	2. Peace frame		2. Cultural protectionist	2. Cultural frame
3. Restriction frame			3. Public security	3. Security frame
4. Victimisation frame			4. Liberal constitutionalist	
5. Islam-as-a-threat frame			5. Priority for compatriots	
		2. Cosmopolitan frame	1. Universalist cosmopolitanism	
			2. Consequentialism	
			3. Quotidian cosmopolitanism	

Table 8: Frames on population shrinkage	
Type of frame	**Mostly associated with**
Negative / problem frame	out migration of young citizens
	ageing population
	lower rate of employment (opportunities)
	lower educational attainment / opportunities
Positive / opportunity frame	public planning opportunities
	Ecological benefits
	Optimism: Effects shrinkage will not be as bad as predicted

Table 9: List of codes used to analyse migration	
Codes (in Dutch)	**Codes (in English)**
Vluchtelingen	Refugees
Asielzoekers	Asylum Seekers
(arbeids)Migranten	(worker) Migrants
Statushouders	Status holders
(nood)opvang	(emergency) Shelter
Welkom	Welcome
Vriendelijk	Friendly
AZC (Asielzoekerscentrum)	Asylum Seekers Center (ASC)
Protest	Protest
Gezinnen	Families
Alleenstaande (mannen)	Single (men)
Overlast	Nuisance
COA (Centraal Orgaan opvang Asielzoekers)	central body for the reception of asylum seekers (CBA)
Gelukszoeker	Fortune seeker
Allochtoon	allochthon
Kansarme migranten	Migrants with poor prospects
Integratie/Integreren	Integration/integrating
Veilige landers	Safe country people. People from a 'safe' country that do not have a chance of applying for Dutch refugee status
Gastarbeiders	Guestworkers
Vreemdeling	Stranger/foreigner
Buitenlander	Foreigner
International (als in hij/zij is een…)	International (as in he/she is a…)
Uitgeprocedeerde asielzoeker	Exhausted asylum seeker
Gelukszoeker	Fortune seeker (often intended as a negative, in this context can mostly be equated to: freeloader)

Table 10: search terms and number of hits in both newspapers on the topic of migration			
Search terms Related to the topic of migration			
Search term	English term	Newspaper	Number of articles
Migrant!	Migrant	Dagblad van het Noorden	2733
		De Limburger	2200
Vluchteling!	Refugee!	Dagblad van het Noorden	11062
		De Limburger	9246
Migratie	Migration	Dagblad van het Noorden	1246
		De Limburger	937
Asielzoeker!	Asylum Seeker	Dagblad van het Noorden	7342
		De Limburger	5726
Gelukszoeker!	Freeloader	Dagblad van het Noorden	143
		De Limburger	153
Buitenlander!	Foreigner	Dagblad van het Noorden	1778
		De Limburger	1700
Arbeidsmigrant!	Worker migrant	Dagblad van het Noorden	293
		De Limburger	2043
Buitenlandse toeris!	Foreign tourism	Dagblad van het Noorden	228
		De Limburger	179
Uitgeprocedeerde asielzoeker	Exhausted asylumseeker	Dagblad van het Noorden	367
		De Limburger	86
Vreemdeling!	Stranger	Dagblad van het Noorden	1492
		De Limburger	1288
Vreemdelingepolitie	Foreigner Police	Dagblad van het Noorden	59
		De Limburger	71
Veilige lander!	Safe country person	Dagblad van het Noorden	29
		De Limburger	8
Integratie	Integration	Dagblad van het Noorden	1280
		De Limburger	1640
Integreren	Integrating	Dagblad van het Noorden	498
		De Limburger	699
Allochto!	allochthon	Dagblad van het Noorden	530

		De Limburger	750
coa	COA (Central Organ Asylum housing)	Dagblad van het Noorden	2519
		De Limburger	1662
Polenhotel	'Poles' hotel	Dagblad van het Noorden	20
		De Limburger	53
AZC	ASC (Asylum Seeker Centre)	Dagblad van het Noorden	2744
		De Limburger	2369

Related to migration			
Search term	English term	Newspaper	Amount of articles
Migrant!	Migrant	Dagblad van het Noorden	2733
		De Limburger	2200
Vluchteling!	Refugee!	Dagblad van het Noorden	11062
		De Limburger	9246
Migratie	Migration	Dagblad van het Noorden	1246
		De Limburger	937
Asielzoeker!	Asylum Seeker	Dagblad van het Noorden	7342
		De Limburger	5726
Gelukszoeker!	Freeloader	Dagblad van het Noorden	143
		De Limburger	153
Buitenlander!	Foreigner	Dagblad van het Noorden	1778
		De Limburger	1700
Arbeidsmigrant!	Worker migrant	Dagblad van het Noorden	293
		De Limburger	2043
Buitenlandse toeris!	Foreign tourism	Dagblad van het Noorden	228

		De Limburger	179
Uitgeprocedeerde asielzoeker	Exhausted asylumseeker	Dagblad van het Noorden	367
		De Limburger	86
Vreemdeling!	Stranger	Dagblad van het Noorden	1492
		De Limburger	1288
Vreemdelingepolitie		Dagblad van het Noorden	59
		De Limburger	71
Veilige lander!	Safe country person	Dagblad van het Noorden	29
		De Limburger	8
Integratie	Integration	Dagblad van het Noorden	1280
		De Limburger	1640
Integreren	Integrating	Dagblad van het Noorden	498
		De Limburger	699
coa		Dagblad van het Noorden	2519
		De Limburger	1662
Polenhotel?		Dagblad van het Noorden	20
		De Limburger	53
AZC		Dagblad van het Noorden	2744
		De Limburger	2369

Table 11: search terms and number of hits in both newspapers on the topic of population shrinkage			
Search term	English term	Newspaper	Number of articles
Krimp!	shrinkage	Dagblad van het Noorden	5040
		De Limburger	3608
Bevolkingskrimp	Population shrinkage	Dagblad van het Noorden	142
		De Limburger	468
Demografische krimp	Demographical shrinkage	Dagblad van het Noorden	6
		De Limburger	15
Ontgroening	Dejuvenation	Dagblad van het Noorden	215
		De Limburger	299
Vergrijzing	Ageing	Dagblad van het Noorden	1517
		De Limburger	1838
Krimpgemeente!	Shrinking muncipality(s)	Dagblad van het Noorden	51
		De Limburger	17
Krimpgebied!	Shrinking area(s)	Dagblad van het Noorden	519
		De Limburger	80
Krimpregio!	Shrinking region	Dagblad van het Noorden	326
		De Limburger	213
Krimp! AND voorziening!	Shrinkage AND service(s)	Dagblad van het Noorden	375
		De Limburger	127
Krimp AND Onderwijs	Shrinkage AND education	Dagblad van het Noorden	374
		De Limburger	315
Krimp AND werk	Shrinkage AND work	Dagblad van het Noorden	408
		De Limburger	239
Krimp AND scho!	Shrinkage and school(s)	Dagblad van het Noorden	1048
		De Limburger	743
Krimp AND zorg	Shrinkage and healthcare	Dagblad van het Noorden	591
		De Limburger	298
Krimp AND won!	Shrinkage and houses/housing	Dagblad van het Noorden	961
		De Limburger	483
Krimp AND cafe!	Shrinkage and cafe!	Dagblad van het Noorden	69
		De Limburger	66

Krimp! AND aardbeving!	Shrinkage and earthquake(s)	Dagblad van het Noorden	522
		De Limburger	2

Table 12: Articles used for analysis and frames found per news article.						
Newspaper	Subject	Datum	Title	Word count	Frame	
dagblad van het noorden	Shrinkage	13-sep-16	'Niet krampachtig doen over krimp'	583	negative but mostly positive	1
dagblad van het noorden	Shrinkage	21-mrt-18	Krimp? Ach, het dorp redt zich wel	804	positive	2
dagblad van het noorden	Shrinkage	6-dec-18	Dick Henderikse tussen krimp en beving	619	Negative	3
dagblad van het noorden	Shrinkage	10-sep-19	'Het Noorden loopt leeg'	512	Negative	4
dagblad van het noorden	Shrinkage	14-sep-19	Stop met doemdenken over de krimp in Groningen	703	positive	5
dagblad van het noorden	Shrinkage	24-sep-20	Krimp is zo erg nog niet	439	positive	6
dagblad van het noorden	Shrinkage	26-mrt-21	Woningnood stopt krimp in het Noorden	621	positive	7
dagblad van het noorden	Shrinkage	24-jun-21	'We moeten de krimp stoppen'	461	negative	8
dagblad van het noorden	Shrinkage	4-nov-17	Krimp zet fors door in Westerkwartier	433	negative	9
dagblad van het noorden	Shrinkage	5-feb-22	Is de krimp in Noord-Nederland voorbij? En wat dan?	1080	positive and negative	10
De Limburger	Shrinkage	29-10-2016	De kramp rond de krimp	1498	positive	
De Limburger	Shrinkage	3-nov-16	Steeds meer schoolkeuze ondanks de krimp	747	positive	
De Limburger	Shrinkage	25-jan-17	'Krimp in Weert zou fataal zijn'	514	negative	
De Limburger	Shrinkage	16-mei-18	Geen krimp maar groei	418	negative	
De Limburger	Shrinkage	30-mei-18	Krimp is een natuurlijk fenomeen	678	positive	
De Limburger	Shrinkage	26-mrt-19	De krimp gaat pijn doen	679	negative	

De Limburger	Shrinkage	15-aug-20	Krimp krijgt een extra zetje door corona	688	negative	
De Limburger	Shrinkage	7-jul-21	Einde aan worsteling met krimp	1022	negative	
De Limburger	Shrinkage	11-feb-22	Krimp Well steekt schril af tegen groei van overige dorpen Bergen		negative	
De Limburger	Shrinkage	12-sep-17	Festival van de toekomst	721	positive and negative	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Migration	25-okt-18	Etnische feiten? We willen ze niet weten!	712	negative; (multi-)cultural frame, security frame,	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Migration	4-mei-17	Erdogan-Turken hebben het goed in Nederland	662	negative; Roggebrand and Vliegenthart all frames	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Migration	6-mei-17	'Leuke gesprekken met asielzoekers zal ik missen'	1013	economical and human-interest frame	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Migration	15-jun-17	Jonge migranten willen hun kansen pakken	644	victim, emancipation frame	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Migration	7-jul-18	Van kleur verschoten	517	human interest	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Migration	7-jul-18	Van kleur verschoten (2)	2156	human interest, emancipation, economical frame, Islam as a threat frame	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Migration	28-sep-18	Internationalisering onderwijs kan anders	691	emancipation frame, burden	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Migration	28-mrt-19	Migranten zijn gebaat bij een rechte rug	732	emancipation frame, security, cultural, victim frame, Islam as a threat frame	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Migration	20-apr-21	Vamba Sherif: Er zijn kansen voor iedereen	874	multicultural, cultural, social justice, human interest frame	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Migration	24-3-2021	arbeidsmigranten opgehokt	680	threat, victim, economical	
de limburger	Migration	21-mei-21	De bevolking kan niet blijven groeien	966	personal interst, victim, burden,	
de limburger	Migration	4-mrt-21	dure hobby die immigratie	195	burden, economical,	

de limburger	Migration	10-3-2021	lezers over 'taboe' debat immigratie	1139	Islam-as-a-threat, emancipation, cultural, economical	
de limburger	Migration	28-dec-20	Polen trekt aan 'onze' arbeidsmigrant: 'Wij hebben ze ook hard nodig'	857	economical	
de limburger	Migration	22-mei-21	Multicultureel fiasco Liever hoofd dan onderbuik ...	928	integration	
de limburger	Migration	4-jun-21	Migratie gaat over veel méér	695	multicultural, emancipation	
de limburger	Migration	25-nov-15	Stel je eens voor: lijken in de Jeker	894	victim, humanitarian, emancipation,	
de limburger	Migration	14-dec-15	Pools in Horst	678	emancipaiton, human interest	
de limburger	Migration	15-apr-15	Waar moet de arbeidsmigrant naartoe?	526	human interest, threat, victim	
de limburger	Migration	11-jun-21	‘Blijkbaar kun je hier niet zeggen wat je denkt’	924	human interest, threat, burden, integration, emancipation, ecnomical, cultural	
de limburger	Migration	19-mrt-22	Voetbalclub Rood Groen wil ook buitenlandse ouders langs de lijn	705	human interst, integration, (inter)cultural, humanitarian	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Shrinkage and migration	29-aug-15	Toestroom vluchtelingen: oplossing voor de krimp?	804	(shrinkage negative) victim, humanitarian, threat, economical,	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Shrinkage and migration	13-jun-19	‘Laat buitenlandse werknemer toe’	377	(shrinkage negative) economical	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Shrinkage and migration	14-sep-19	‘Niet krimp, maar de vergrijzing is het echte thema’	348	(shrinkage negative) economical, opportunity	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Shrinkage and migration	12-nov-19	van naar	1025	(shrinkage negative) cultural	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Shrinkage and migration	16-apr-22	'Personeelstekort niet weg door Oekraïners'	452	(shrinkage negative) economical	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Shrinkage and migration	20-nov-14	Prognoses kloppen niet	704	(shrinkage negative) economical	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Shrinkage and migration	26-feb-20	Bevolkingsgroei, maar niet in het Noorden	444	(shrinkage negative) migrants neutral	

Dagblad van het Noorden	Shrinkage and migration	4-jan-22	Krimp in Noorden voorbij	461	(shrinkage negative) migrants neutral	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Shrinkage and migration	5-jan-22	Gevolgen krimp niet op slag verdwenen	628	(shrinkage negative) migrants neutral	
dagblad van het noorden	Shrinkage and migration	23-apr-21	Meer oog voor de regio	2846	(shrinkage positive), economical	
De Limburger	Shrinkage and migration	3-oct-15	Van luis in de pels naar plek op het pluche	926	(shrinkage negative) emancipation, threat,	
De Limburger	Shrinkage and migration	5-dec-15	Bouwen naar échte behoefte	1021	economical, integration	
De Limburger	Shrinkage and migration	15-jun-16	`Omarm de vluchtelingen'	557	(shrinkage negative)victim, humatinarian, integration, economical	
De Limburger	Shrinkage and migration	7-mrt-17	Immigratie in Nederland	1010	islam as a threat, threat burden, integration, cultural, emancipation	
De Limburger	Shrinkage and migration	20-apr-17	Hoe Weert de krimpgeest bevecht	838	economical	
De Limburger	Shrinkage and migration	12-dec-17	Vergrijzen en groeien langs Maas	1087	(shrinkage negative)emancipation, integration,	
De Limburger	Shrinkage and migration	28-jul-18	Ontwethouderen in Venlo	734	(shrinkage negative), economcial	
De Limburger	Shrinkage and migration	11-sep-18	Het dorp anno 2018	999	(shrinkage positive and negative), emancipation	
De Limburger	Shrinkage and migration	17-okt-18	Stads dorp met een social sofa	1082	(shrinkage negative), emancipation	
De Limburger	Shrinkage and migration	23-mrt-19	Welkom maar niet van harte	1516	(shrinkage negative), cultural, emancipation	

Table 13: summarised results of the textual, image and metaphor analyses regarding population shrinkage in both newspapers.		
Textual frames on population shrinkage found in Dagblad van het Noorden and de Limburger		
	Dagblad van het Noorden	De Limburger
Positive (opportunity) frame	5	4
Negative (problem) frame	4	6
Both frames used in article	1	0
Frames of the images on population shrinkage found in Dagblad van het Noorden and de Limburger		
	Dagblad van het Noorden	De Limburger
Positive (opportunity) frame	3	3
Negative (problem) frame	6	4
Framed metaphors on population shrinkage found in Dagblad van het Noorden and de Limburger		
	Dagblad van het Noorden	De Limburger
Positive (opportunity) frame	8	2
Negative (problem) frame	21	15
Neutral metaphor	2	2

Table 14: Search terms related to Economic viabilty	**Search terms**	**Newspaper**	**article count**
Krimp AND baan	Shrinkage AND job	Dagblad van het Noorden	291
		De Limburger	265
Krimp AND werk	Shrinkage AND work	Dagblad van het Noorden	408
		De Limburger	239
Krimp AND economie	Shrinkage AND economy	Dagblad van het Noorden	1404
		De Limburger	770
Vergrijzing AND baan	Ageing AND job	Dagblad van het Noorden	95
		De Limburger	110
Vergrijzing AND werk	Ageing AND work	Dagblad van het Noorden	850
		De Limburger	1042
Vergrijzing AND economie	Ageing AND economy	Dagblad van het Noorden	316
		De Limburger	386

Table 15: Search terms related to shrinkage and services		
Krimp! AND voorziening!	Shrinkage AND service(s)	Dagblad van het Noorden
		De Limburger
Krimp AND Onderwijs	Shrinkage AND education	Dagblad van het Noorden
		De Limburger
Krimp AND scho!	Shrinkage and school(s)	Dagblad van het Noorden
		De Limburger
Krimp AND zorg!	Shrinkage and healthcare	Dagblad van het Noorden
		De Limburger
Krimp AND won!	Shrinkage and houses/housing	Dagblad van het Noorden
		De Limburger
Krimp AND cafe!	Shrinnkage and cafe!	Dagblad van het Noorden
Vergrijzing AND voorziening	Ageing AND service(s)	Dagblad van het Noorden
		De Limburger
Vergrijzing AND Onderwijs	Ageing AND education	Dagblad van het Noorden
		De Limburger
Vergrijzing and School!	Ageing AND school	Dagblad van het Noorden
		De Limburger
Vergrijzing and Scholen!	Ageing AND schools	Dagblad van het Noorden
		De Limburger