

The Securitization of Migration in the Netherlands During the European Refugee Crisis:

A critical discourse analysis of the political migration debate and the influence of the populist radical right



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"In the past, politicians promised to create a better world. They had different ways of achieving this, but their power and authority came from the optimistic visions they offered their people. Those dreams failed, and today people have lost faith in ideologies. Increasingly, politicians are seen simply as managers of public life, but now they have discovered a new role that restores their power and authority. Instead of delivering dreams, politicians now promise to protect us: from nightmares."

-Adam Curtis-

The power of nightmares

Executive summary:

This thesis examines whether migration has been constructed as a security issue in the political debate in the Netherlands during the European refugee crisis, by drawing on securitization theory. Based on the Wæverian model of securitization, the analysis focuses on the speech acts of political elites from the Second Chamber of the Dutch parliament. In doing so, the method of critical discourse analysis is utilized as a qualitative tool in order to examine how security has been discursively constructed in the Dutch migration debate and how the configuration of the political order of discourse has changed. Although the data shows that migration was securitized in the Dutch political debate, how actors securitized migration varied significantly. Although the Dutch populist radical right party (PVV) has acted as the main norm-entrepreneur of securitization in the Dutch political order of discourse, during the crisis other parties increasingly reproduced this discourse by linking it to an array of security threats, and presenting it as an existential threat to Dutch society. The securitization discourse of the Dutch radical right gained significant traction among Dutch constituents during the crisis, providing an example of audience acceptance in accordance with the securitization framework. As such, through the successful proliferation of the politics of fear, the PVV influenced other parties to also adopt securitization discourse in order to preserve their political position. Accordingly, the politics of fear are considered to have played a significant role in the securitization of migration in the Netherlands. This thesis argues that this securitization process provided the onset for the negotiation of the EU-Turkey agreement, which is a securitized measure that is extraordinary and goes beyond the standard rules and regulations of policymaking.

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1. Introduction

Over the last decade, there has been a gradual increase in immigration to European countries. However, in 2015 an all-time high of 1,3 million refugees applied for asylum in Europe.¹ This unprecedented influx of asylum-seekers confronted European leaders with logistical, political and humanitarian challenges. These challenges prompted a variety of responses, increasingly emphasizing the blocking of future arrivals, whereas solidarity between EU member states as well as solidarity with the global record number of refugees was in short supply.² In accordance with these challenges, the events related to the influx of asylum seekers in 2015 and the beginning of 2016 are commonly referred to as the European refugee crisis. Although this term is rather widely accepted, one can wonder whether it was indeed the massive influx of refugees that constituted this crisis, or rather the inability of EU countries to coordinate a joint response in which the responsibility of sheltering refugees was shared.

Whether the former or the latter is the case, however, various European leaders represented the refugee crisis as a severe threat to the stability and continuity of the EU. For instance, during the crisis, the President of the European Council, Donald Tusk, stated that he was convinced that "this wave of migrants is too big not to stop them," and that it is dangerous to think otherwise.³ In agreement with this perception, the EU-Turkey agreement, which was issued in an official statement at the 18th of March, 2016, was widely celebrated by the EU institutions⁴ and leaders of individual member states⁵ as the main policy response of the EU to the refugee crisis.

In short, this deal entails the agreement of Turkey to accept the EU to return all irregular migrants that reached the EU through crossing the Aegean from Turkey.⁶ Thus, the agreement intended to end irregular migration from Turkey to Europe.⁷ In return for this, the EU agreed that the accession process of Turkey to the EU would be 're-energized', and provided a fund of 3 billion euros (with the promise of an additional 3 billion if the resources of the fund would be used in full), to help with addressing the needs of refugees and host communities in Turkey.⁸

¹ Phillip Connor, "Number of Refugees to Europe Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015", Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project, 2 Augustus 2016,

² Amnesty International, "A Blueprint for Despair: Human Rights Impact of the EU-Turkey Deal" (Amnesty International, 2007), 5, <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/EUR2556642017ENGLISH.PDF>.

³ Eric Maurice, "Tusk: 'Wave of Migrants Too Big Not to Be Stopped,'" December 3, 2015, <https://euobserver.com/migration/131363>.

⁴ Sergio Carrera, Leonhard den Hertog, and Marco Stefan, "It Wasn't Me! The Luxembourg Court Orders on the EU-Turkey Refugee Deal. CEPS Policy Insights No. 2017-15/April 2017," 2017, <http://aei.pitt.edu/id/eprint/86613>.

⁵ Karel Smouter, "Het hele verhaal van de deal tussen de EU en Turkije in één verschrikkelijke foto," De Correspondent, March 9, 2016.

⁶ European Council, "EU-Turkey Statement, 18 March 2016 - Concilium," *Council of the European Union*, March 18, 2016, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/03/18/eu-turkey-statement/>.

⁷ European Council.

⁸ European Council.

Although the main originator of the agreement, Gerard Knaus, claims that in essence, the Turkey deal leaves all relevant international and humanitarian laws intact⁹ this argument is highly controversial. Since its inception, the EU-Turkey agreement has been met with fierce criticism and condemned as a violation of international and European law by a variety of NGOs, as well as by the UN.¹⁰ Furthermore, several scholars have argued that by prioritizing short-term political goals such as internal security, the EU undermines its principles and values and consequently its impedes its credibility as a global normative power.¹¹ When considering this extensive criticism, the main question that comes to mind is how has the influx of refugees to Europe during this crisis been constructed as such a big issue, that the political leaders of the EU have been able to justify the EU-Turkey deal in order to cope with the refugee crisis? This thesis aims to address this question but does so by focusing on a case study of the political debate on migration in the Netherlands.¹²

In the year 2015, the Netherlands received a record number of 58,880 asylum applications.¹³ In this year, the Netherlands had a ratio of 266 asylum application per 100,000 citizens, whereas the EU average was on 260 applications and countries such as Hungary (1,799), Sweden (1,667), Austria (1,027), and Germany (587) witnessed a considerably larger relative influx of asylum seekers.¹⁴ Thus, although unprecedented in numbers, the influx of asylum seekers to the Netherlands was relatively small and as such can be conceived of as a manageable issue. Nevertheless, the arrival of refugees was perceived by Dutch citizens as the most significant concern for the Netherlands in the year 2015.¹⁵ But, what is the origin of this perception?

An essential explanation to this question might be found in the theory of securitization, which holds that the creation of security issues tends to be the result of leaders' efforts to understand and shape the world.¹⁶ Thus, whether a particular issue is conceived of as constituting a security threat, is the result of political actor's effort to discursively construct topics as representing a security threat.¹⁷ Accordingly, securitization theory argues that the perception of a security threat is the result of a process of social construction, rather than a representation of the

⁹ Eefje Blankevoort Els van Driel, *Documentaire: De Deal*, 2018, https://www.npo.nl/2doc/14-03-2018/VPWON_1277283.

¹⁰ Aljazeera, "UN Says EU-Turkey Refugee Deal Would Violate Law," accessed October 3, 2017.

¹¹ Lisa Haferlach and Dilek Kurban, "Lessons Learnt from the EU-Turkey Refugee Agreement in Guiding EU Migration Partnerships with Origin and Transit Countries," *Global Policy* Volume 9, no. Supplement 4 (June 2017): 85–93; Roxana Barbulescu, "Still a Beacon of Human Rights? Considerations on the EU Response to the Refugee Crisis in the Mediterranean," *Mediterranean Politics* 22, no. 2 (April 3, 2017): 301–8.

¹² Throughout this thesis, the term 'migration' will be used as a general category including immigrants, asylum-seekers, and refugees. This usage should not imply the conviction that they are identical, but rather reflect the interchangeable usage of these terms in the public debate as well as in much of the academic literature on this topic.

¹³ BBC News, "Migrant Crisis: Migration to Europe Explained in Seven Charts," *BBC News*, March 4, 2016.

¹⁴ BBC News.

¹⁵ Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau, "Continu Onderzoek Burgerperspectieven: Burgerperspectieven 2015, Vierde Kwartaal." (Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau, 4th quarter 2015), <https://www.scp.nl/dsresource?objectid=5a43d58c-0d68-4f17-b205-66f42b9356b0&type=org>.

¹⁶ Thierry Balzacq, Sarah Léonard, and Jan Ruzicka, "'Securitization' Revisited: Theory and Cases," *International Relations*, August 5, 2015, 495.

¹⁷ Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998).

objective material circumstances. Furthermore, once an issue is successfully constructed as a security issue, those who are authorized to handle the problem are enabled to use whatever means they deem most appropriate to resolve the threat.¹⁸ As such, the successful securitization of an issue allows for extraordinary measures to address the issue, which would not be justified under normal circumstances.¹⁹ In this thesis, securitization theory will be utilized in order to examine how different political actors have contributed to the perception of migration as a security threat, leading to the legitimization of the EU-Turkey agreement. Accordingly, the EU-Turkey agreement is assumed to be an example of a securitized measure in this thesis.

Over the last decade, there has been a sharp increase among European citizens in the extent to which migrants are perceived as a problem or security threat, as well as an increase in the general fear for terrorism and irregular migration.²⁰ For instance, according to a survey of Eurobarometer in the autumn of 2016, 43 percent of the EU population saw immigration as the most important problem the EU was facing.²¹ This increased threat perception has been accompanied by a similar increase in the relative importance of immigration and integration topics in the public debate in European countries; a development that among other things is illustrated by an increasing popularity of populist radical right (PRR) parties, which place topics related to migration and integration at the top of their political agenda. As a result of the growing popularity of PRR parties in Europe over the last decade, there is a wide body of literature that studies the role of the migration in the growth of the PRR. These studies largely find that the increases in the number of migrants play a pivotal role in the electoral successes of PRR parties in various European countries, including the Netherlands.²² Thus, as a general rule, it is safe to assume that the rapid rate of European immigration has breathed life into the PRR parties.²³ Consequently, the European refugee crisis constituted a unique opportunity for the PRR to capitalize the fear for migration to legitimize their radical policy agenda.

Although a wide array of explanations and dynamics might contribute to the public perception of migration as a problem or security threat, in this thesis assumes a central role for political leaders in the social construction of this perception. Accordingly, the main goal of this thesis is to examine how this perception has been constructed in the political debate during the European refugee crisis. This analysis will be conducted by analyzing the speech of political actors in accordance with securitization theory. Furthermore, the method of critical discourse analysis (CDA) is utilized as a qualitative tool in order to offer a more robust analysis of the political discourse. In agreement with this aim, the main hypothesis of this thesis is that in the context of the European refugee crisis, PRR has acted as a catalyst in the construction of migration as a security threat. By instrumentalizing political minorities as dangerous threats to host societies,

¹⁸ Balzacq, Léonard, and Ruzicka, “‘Securitization’ Revisited,” 495.

¹⁹ Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde, *Security*.

²⁰ Bruce Stokes, “The Immigration Crisis Is Tearing Europe Apart,” *Foreign Policy* (blog), July 22, 2016, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/07/22/the-immigration-crisis-is-tearing-europe-apart/>.

²¹ European Commission, Directorate-General for communication, “Standard Eurobarometer 86 Autumn 2016: Public Opinion in the European Union,” December 2016.

²² Lewis Davis and Sumit S. Deole, “Immigration and the Rise of Far-Right Parties in Europe,” *DICE Report* 15, no. 4 (2017): 10–15.

²³ Davis and Deole, 15.

a discursive political strategy that is labeled by Wodak as the ‘politics of fear,’²⁴ radical right parties are likely to have been pivotal norm-entrepreneurs in the securitization of migration. This thesis will thus examine to what extent the PRR has been able to normalize their radical anti-immigration message through what is described by Mudde as a "contamination of the mainstream political discourse."²⁵ With this idea, Mudde argues that the PRR can influence mainstream parties as they are an electoral competitor to them, which creates a tendency for mainstream parties to shift towards more nativist positions concerning migration policy, to prevent a loss of constituents.²⁶

To engage in a research objective as described above for the whole of Europe however, would be way beyond the scope of any Master thesis. Therefore, this thesis will focus on the securitization of migrations and the role of the radical right in the Netherlands. The justification for the selection of the Netherlands as a case study for this research topic is threefold. First, the government of the Netherlands was one of the primary political initiators and played a crucial role in the negotiation of the EU-Turkey agreement as the European Council was under the presidency of the Netherlands during the negotiation of this agreement.²⁷ In consideration of this crucial role and the key importance of the EU-Turkey agreement as a securitized measure, analyzing the securitization of migration in the Netherlands during the refugee crisis is of particular relevance.

Second, the radical right in the Netherlands, the Dutch Freedom party or PVV, is relatively prevalent. Currently, the PVV is the second largest party in the Dutch Second Chamber, which makes it an important player in the construction of meaning in the Dutch political debate, and the Netherlands a relevant case for the current research objective. Third, from a more pragmatic perspective, as a Dutch student it is relatively easy to gain access to comprehensive datasets of news outlets. Furthermore, as a native speaker, the interpretation of the language used in the political debate can be made more neutrally than with any other language.

In pursuance of the research objectives as described above, the central research question of this thesis will be as follows:

How has migration been securitized in the Dutch political debate during the European refugee crisis, leading to the negotiation of the EU-Turkey agreement, and to what extent was this process influenced by the populist radical right?

Based on this research question this thesis consists of the following elements. Chapter 2 constitutes the theoretical framework of the thesis. In this chapter securitization theory as a

²⁴ Ruth Wodak, *The Politics of Fear: What Right-Wing Populist Discourse Means* (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2015).

²⁵ Cas Mudde, "Three Decades of Populist Radical Right Parties in Western Europe: So What?: THREE DECADES OF POPULIST RADICAL RIGHT PARTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE," *European Journal of Political Research* 52, no. 1 (January 2013): 1–19, 10.

²⁶ Natalia Banulescu-Bogdan and Elizabeth Collett, "Refugee Crisis Deepens Political Polarization in the West," *Migration Policy Institute*, December 10, 2015, 8.

²⁷ Thijs Broer, "Het juridisch niemandsland van de Turkijedeal," *Vrij Nederland* (blog), 2016 2016, <https://www.vn.nl/het-juridisch-niemandsland-van-de-turkijedeal/>.

framework for research as well as its shortcomings will be discussed. Furthermore, this chapter presents an overview of relevant literature on the securitization of migration in Europe.

In chapter 3, the research methodology and method of the discourse analysis applied in this thesis are discussed. The selected method of discourse analysis is explained and justified, and the discourse analytical framework of this thesis as well as the concrete method of data collection and selection are discussed.

Chapter 4 of this thesis provides the reader with the necessary background analysis of some of the major themes in this thesis and is made up of four sections. The first section concerns the EU-Turkey agreement and discusses whether it indeed constitutes a securitized measure in accordance with the securitization framework. The second section discusses the PRR by defining how this party family is defined and examining several influential theories about the PRR. Accordingly, this section argues why the populist radical right should be perceived as a pivotal element in the securitization of migration during the European refugee crisis. The third section provides the reader with a short overview of the Dutch political system, the different political parties in the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament, and its composition during the refugee crisis. The fourth section provides the reader with a background of the social and political context in the Netherlands at the time of the European refugee crisis. In doing so, this section discusses some facts and figures and some indicators of the Dutch public opinion, and analyze some key events concerning the public perception of migration issues.

Chapter 5 constitutes the main empirical chapter of this thesis. In this chapter, a sample of all the text fragments that have been gathered and analyzed for this thesis are presented and discussed, based on the CDA as discussed in chapter III.

Chapter 6 discusses the results of the discourse analysis and couples these to the securitization framework and the relevant elements of the different background chapters.

Finally, chapter 7 concludes the main findings of this thesis and discusses the limitations of this research as well as suggestions for possible future research.

Despite the prevalence of the securitization of migration as a research topic, only a limited amount of research has focused on the securitization of migration in the context of the European refugee crisis. Furthermore, these works tend to too much on discourse as an explanatory variable and too little on discourse analysis and the way in which discourse is constructed and maintained.²⁸ For example, research of Kosmina, and Jakesevic and Tatalovic analyzed how discourse in EU documents drafted during the crisis was instrumental in the employment of extraordinary measures and the securitization of the refugee influx to the EU.²⁹ But this research lacks a detailed analysis on how the migration has been discursively constructed as a security threat in the political debate. This type of research thus focuses on the moment of intervention of a securitizing actor, rather than on gaining an understanding of the process through which

²⁸ Matt McDonald, "Securitization and the Construction of Security," *European Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 4 (2008): 565.

²⁹ Katarina Kosmina, "Mapping the Language of 'Crisis': How Discourse Mismanagement Impeded Solidarity in the European Union?," *IED Research Project: "Migration, Borders Control and Solidarity*, Institute of European Democracies, accessed March 28, 2017 Ruzica Jakesevic and Sinisa Tatalovic, "Securitization (and de-Securitization) of the European Refugee Crisis: Croatia in the Regional Context," *Teorija in Praksa* 53, no. 5 (2016): 1246–64.

particular discourses of security becomes ‘the lens’ through which specific issues are conceptualized and addressed.³⁰ By conducting a critical discourse analysis on the securitization of migration in the Dutch refugee debate during the European refugee crisis, this thesis aims to contribute to filling this gap.

Furthermore, whereas ample of research has been conducted concerning how the PRR has discursively constructed migration as a security threat³¹ there is little research that connects these practices to securitization theory. Accordingly, although this research is informative, it fails to appreciate how the practices of the PRR relate to the threat construction of migration at a more global level (e.g., the political debate), and influences the social reality associated with this construction (e.g., extraordinary measures). Securitization theory focuses explicitly on the idea that the discursive construction of a threat is not only a description of something but also has an executing character, as such it is an ideal framework to examine how the construction of migration as a security threat of the PRR influences social reality. On the contrary, some studies consider the populist radical right through the lenses of securitization theory by connecting the characteristics of the radical right to existing research on the securitization of migration,³² but these studies do not provide a detailed analysis of how the radical right has contributed to the creation of a more dominant position of security discourse in the political debate on migration issues. Thus, while acknowledging that the radical right securitizes migration, these studies fail to examine how this influences the securitization of migration by other actors. By conducting a critical discourse analysis of the Dutch migration debate during the refugee crisis, and specifically examining the role of the radical right as a moderator in this presumed securitization process, this thesis aims to complement existing research in this field.

³⁰ McDonald, “Securitization and the Construction of Security,” 565.

³¹ See for instance: Wodak, *The Politics of Fear: What Right-Wing Populist Discourse Means*

³² See for instance: Ashley Middleton, “Populist Radical Right Parties and the Securitization of Migration in France,” 2016.

2. The theory of securitization

The public debate on immigration is based as much on the perception of fear as it is on the actual circumstances.³³ To put it differently, the extent to which citizens experience migrants or migration as a security threat is arguably as much dependent on the perception of such a threat as it is on the objective circumstances. This claim depicts one of the core ideas of securitization theory, which holds that the existence and management of certain issues as security problems does not necessarily depend on objective or purely material conditions,³⁴ Since the dynamic of how political leaders have constructed migration issues as security issues are at the very center of this thesis project, securitization theory provides an ideal framework for such an analysis. The following chapter presents this theoretical framework. First, it gives a general overview of the theory of securitization. Second, a particular version of securitization theory, the Wæverian model of securitization will be discussed. Third, some of the significant limitations and shortcomings and how these will be interpreted in this thesis will be discussed. Finally, a literature review on how migration has been connected to security issues in contemporary Europe will be presented. This analysis of the security-migration nexus provides the main academic frame of reference of this thesis on how to analyze and interpret the securitization of migration, and the different discourses it produces.

2.1 Core concepts

There are various strands of securitization theory that draws from different intellectual traditions and conduct securitization studies in different epistemological and ontological terrains.³⁵ While these different strands highlight different elements of the securitization framework, the basic idea of what securitization theory entails and what its core components are is somewhat similar across these different strands. Correspondingly, these general ideas will be discussed in the following section.

The foundations of Securitization theory can be found in the works of Wæver, Balzacq, Buzan and de Wilde, representing the so-called, Copenhagen School of security studies. In responding to the Post-Cold War demand for reframing the concept of security and examining its dynamics and distinctive character, the authors of the Copenhagen School contributed significantly to principal shifts within the field of Security Studies, both broadening and deepening the concept of security.³⁶

In the framework of the Copenhagen School, the concept of securitization refers to the process whereby through speech acts – and audience acceptance – particular issues come to be

³³ Stokes, “The Immigration Crisis Is Tearing Europe Apart.”

³⁴ Thierry Balzacq en Stefano Guzzini, “Introduction: ‘What Kind of Theory – If Any – Is Securitization?’”, *International Relations* 29, no. 1 (March 1, 2015): 98.

³⁵ Balzacq, “A Theory of Securitization.”

³⁶ Elisabeth Farny, “Implications of the Securitisation of Migration,” *E-International Relations*, January 29, 2016, <https://www.e-ir.info/2016/01/29/implications-of-the-securitisation-of-migration/>.

considered and approached as existential threats to particular political communities.³⁷ Thus, according to the Copenhagen School, three main criteria have to be fulfilled for an issue to become securitized. First, an actor claims that a referent object is being threatened.³⁸ Second, to deal with this threat, an actor demands the right to use extraordinary measures.³⁹ Third, the audience to which the actor directs itself accepts the securitizing move, and that extraordinary measures are justified and necessary to defend the threatened object.⁴⁰

According to the authors of the Copenhagen School, when something is successfully constructed as a security issue, the issue is given priority.⁴¹ This priority gives means that the issue is given disproportionate attention and resources and the actor authorized to deal with the threat the means to respond to the threat with urgency. Successful securitization of an issue, therefore, takes this issue outside the realm of normal politics into the realm of emergency politics, where it can be dealt with by legitimizing extraordinary measures, without the normal rules and regulations of policymaking.⁴²

The theory of securitization stresses that speech matters in the construction of a threat image and the execution of security policy.⁴³ Therefore, what distinguishes securitization theory from other theories in the field of security studies is that the former adheres to the idea that the word 'security' has an executing character, in the sense that it does not only describe the world but can also transform social reality.⁴⁴ The aim of securitization theory then is to understand why and how this happens, as well as the effects that this process has on the life and the politics of a community.⁴⁵

In a securitization process, the core interaction that takes place is between the securitizing actor, which frames a particular issue as a threat (the referent subject) through a securitizing move and the collective towards which the securitizing move is directed (the referent object).⁴⁶ Although securitization theory leaves implicit who can be securitizing actors, there is a general suggestion that the securitizing actor must be an entity with some degree of discursive authority and representing a broader collective (e.g., a state, political party, or rebel group).⁴⁷

³⁷ Matt McDonald, "Deliberation and Resecuritization: Australia, Asylum-Seekers and the Normative Limits of the Copenhagen School," *Australian Journal of Political Science* 46, no. 2 (June 1, 2011): 282.

³⁸ Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde, *Security*.

³⁹ Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde.

⁴⁰ Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde.

⁴¹ Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde.

⁴² Rita Taureck, "Securitization Theory and Securitization Studies," *Journal of International Relations and Development* 9, no. 1 (March 2006): 55.

⁴³ Matt McDonald, "Deliberation and Resecuritization: Australia, Asylum-Seekers and the Normative Limits of the Copenhagen School," *Australian Journal of Political Science* 46, no. 2 (June 1, 2011): 282, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10361146.2011.568471>.

⁴⁴ Balzacq, Léonard, en Ruzicka, "'Securitization' Revisited," 496.

⁴⁵ Roxanna Sjöstedt, "Securitization Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis," *Oxford Research Encyclopedias*, April 26, 2017, <http://politics.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-479>.

⁴⁶ Sjöstedt, "Securitization Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis."

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

Thus, securitization theory assumes a degree of centralization, meaning that only actors with the societal currency, know-how, and status can create legitimate security discourses.⁴⁸ Among scholars, there is general agreement that the field of security constitutes a 'structured field of practices,' where some individual or collective actors are in a more privileged position to speak and construct security than others.⁴⁹ Consequently, although in essence nobody is excluded from being a securitizing actor, the field of security has a strong preferential bias for political elites and 'security professionals.'⁵⁰ Therefore, the effort of securitization is considered to be a deliberate, calculated, and elite-driven process.⁵¹

Another core component of securitization theory is the audience, as securitization theory assumes that securitization is an intersubjective process, which depends on audience acceptance.⁵² Thus, in securitization theory, a subjective securitizing move becomes an intersubjective securitized issue, once it is recognized by both the securitizing actor and the audience.⁵³

If one puts these core components together, the securitization process can be summarized schematically as follows:

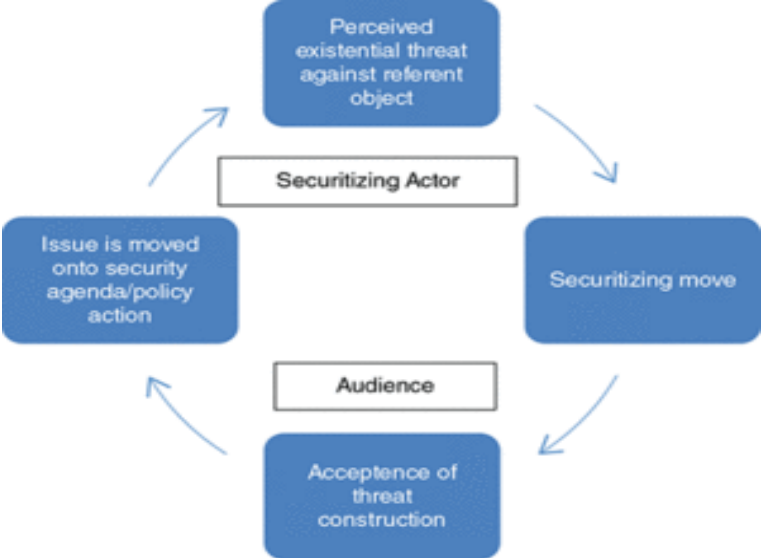


Figure I: The securitization process.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Georgios Karyotis, "The Fallacy of Securitizing Migration: Elite Rationality and Unintended Consequences," in *Security, Insecurity, and Migration in Europe* (Farham, 2011), 17.

⁴⁹ Ole Wæver, "The EU as a Security Actor," in *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration* (Routledge, 2000); Jef Huysmans, "Defining Social Constructivism in Security Studies: The Normative Dilemma of Writing Security," *Alternatives* 27, no. 1_suppl (2002): 41–62; Michael C. Williams, "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics," *International Studies Quarterly* Volume 47, no. Issue 4 (November 7, 2003): 511–31.

⁵⁰ Didier Bigo, "The European Internal Security Field: Stakes and Rivalries in a Newly Developing Area of Police Intervention.," in *Policing across National Boundaries* (London: Printer Publications, 1994), 161–73.

⁵¹ Karyotis, "The Fallacy of Securitizing Migration: Elite Rationality and Unintended Consequences."

⁵² Balzacq, Léonard, and Ruzicka, "'Securitization' Revisited," 499.

⁵³ Sjøstedt, "Securitization Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis."

⁵⁴ Sjøstedt, "Securitization Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis."

2.2 The Wæverian model of securitization

As already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, there is a wide variety of different strands of securitization theory, zooming in on different aspects and elements of the overarching securitization framework. Although the goal of this thesis is to take into account the whole cycle of the securitization process as depicted in figure I, the empirical analysis focuses on the discursive construction of threats by political actors. As such, the main focus is on the speech act aspect of securitization theory and the securitizing move in the securitization process. In operationalizing securitization theory, therefore, in this thesis, the Wæverian model of securitization is employed

Before starting to explain the Wæverian model of securitization, however, first, the basic idea of speech act theory has to be explored. Speech act theory can be defined as an attempt to explain how speakers use language to accomplish proposed actions and how listeners determine the intended meaning of what is said. Speech act theory was originally developed by John L. Austin, who found that certain statements (e.g., security or political), do more than just describe a given reality, and therefore cannot be judged as false or true.⁵⁵ Instead, such instances of speech realize a specific action, i.e., they are ‘performatives’ as opposed to ‘constatives’ that merely report on a particular state of affairs.⁵⁶ From the perspective of Austin, each instance of speech can convey three particular types of acts, which combined constitute the speech act situation of a sentence. First, there is the locutionary type, in which the utterance of an expression contains a given sense and reference, thus, encapsulating the literal meaning of what is being said.⁵⁷ Second, there is the illocutionary type, which refers to the act performed in articulating a locution, thus explicitly capturing the performative class of utterances. Therefore, illocutionary types of speech acts literally predicate the sort of agency encapsulated in the concept of ‘speech act.’⁵⁸ Finally, there are the perlocutionary types of speech acts, which can be considered as the ‘consequential effects’ that are directed at evoking the feelings, thoughts, or beliefs of the target audience. This triadic characterization of different categories of speech acts has been described by Habermans as the difference between to say something, to act in saying something, and to bring about something through acting in saying something.⁵⁹

According to Wæver, securitization theory is needed to come to terms with how security is given meaning in a particular social, cultural, historical, and political context.⁶⁰ Wæver suggests that ‘performative’ representation (i.e., speech acts) are central to the process of placing issues on the security agenda, but that such representations are articulated in different ways and

⁵⁵ Thierry Balzacq, "The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience, and Context," *European Journal of International Relations* 11, no. 2 (June 1, 2005): 175.

⁵⁶ Balzacq, 175.

⁵⁷ J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words: Second Edition*, ed. J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa, 2 edition (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1975).

⁵⁸ Balzacq, "The Three Faces of Securitization," 175.

⁵⁹ Habermans Jürgen, *The Theory of Communicative Action Vol. 1: Reason and the Rationalization of Society* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984), 289.

⁶⁰ Ole Waever, "Identity, integration, and security: solving the sovereignty puzzle in EU studies," *Journal of International Affairs*, 1995, 389–431.

receive varying degrees of support in each setting.⁶¹ Accordingly, Wævers conceptual framework of securitization proceeds from the fundamental claim that security means different things to different people, at different times, while suggesting that it is necessary to concentrate on the ways in which political actors attempt to use the language of security and threat to enable particular responses.⁶² Thus, similar to Austin's theory, Wæver argues that securitizing actors are to be viewed as 'performatives' rather than 'constatives,' as they shape the contextual setting and construct different threat images of that setting, rather than reflecting an objective state of affairs.

Some critics of Wæver's theory have claimed that Wæver has conflated the aspects of speech acts in securitization theory. Balzacq, for example, argues that Wæver's approach reduces securitization to the acts of the speaker, in particular, the illocutionary aspect of the speech act, not leaving any room for the audience in the securitization process.⁶³ However, Wæver considers that the success or failure of securitization is always up to the audience, which the securitizing actor pursues to convince of the validity of his or her argument.⁶⁴ Thus, although Wævers stresses the centrality of illocutionary acts in an analysis of securitization processes, in the Wæverian model the perlocutionary effect of a speech act function as the criterion for the success or failure of securitization, and as such constitutes an integral part of his securitization theory.⁶⁵

As a result of Wæver's insistence on the crucial role of the audience in a securitization process, legitimacy has to be argued somehow by the securitizing actor and cannot just be forced.⁶⁶ Consequently, the Wæverian model of securitization is ideal for analyzing a particular type of securitization, namely, the kind of securitization efforts that aim to legitimate future acts that go beyond regular liberal-democratic practices of policy-making.⁶⁷ Within this strand of securitization, the audience is constituted by the evaluators of political legitimacy of the actions of the securitizing actor (e.g., voters, journalists, or political actors). The securitizing actors in this strands are the political actors that are responsible for making decisions in the particular field of concern. Thus, in the Wæverian model of securitization, the perlocutionary goal of a securitizing move is to legitimate future acts.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Matt McDonald, "Deliberation and Resecuritization: Australia, Asylum-Seekers and the Normative Limits of the Copenhagen School," *Australian Journal of Political Science* 46, no. 2 (1 June 2011): 283.

⁶³ Balzacq, "The Three Faces of Securitization," 176–77.

⁶⁴ Juha A. Vuori, "Illocutionary Logic and Strands of Securitization: Applying the Theory of Securitization to the Study of Non-Democratic Political Orders," *European Journal of International Relations* Vol. 14, no. Issue 1 (March 1, 2008): 74.

⁶⁵ Vuori, 74.

⁶⁶ Vuori, 79.

⁶⁷ Vuori, 79.

2.3 Criticism of securitization theory

Despite its comprehensive application, various aspects of securitization theory are subject to extensive academic debate. One of the leading developers of the theory, Thierry Balzacq, agrees that securitization theory as a whole suffers from theoretical and methodological vagueness and under-definition.⁶⁸ Although not all of the debate concerning the limitations of securitization theory can be taken into account in this thesis, some relevant critiques will be discussed in the following section, as well as how these critiques are accounted for in this thesis.

2.3.2 Speech acts of dominant actors

Arguably the most influential criticaster of securitization theory Matt McDonald. One of his main concerns with securitization theory is that the form of the act that constructs security is defined narrowly, with the focus on the speech of dominant actors.⁶⁹ In doing so, securitization theory excludes other forms of representations of security and promotes a focus only on discursive interventions of voices deemed institutionally legitimate to speak on topics of security.⁷⁰

Following this critique, much research recognizes that securitization does not necessarily have to take place through speech acts but can be communicated through a variety of means, such as images or routinized bureaucratic practices.⁷¹ However, since this thesis aims to elucidate how particular political actors have discursively constructed issues related to migration as a security threat in the political debate, the focus on the speech acts of dominant actors in securitization theory actually provides a strong reason for adopting this as its theoretical framework.

Concerning McDonald's critique on the focus on dominant actors, this study follows the prevailing idea in the scholarly literature on this topic, which holds that in the field of security some individual or collective actors are in a more privileged position to speak and construct security than others.⁷² Related to this idea are the claims of Statham and Geddes found which hold that especially in the field of migration, political elites are best placed to shape public attitudes and determine policy outcomes.⁷³ Furthermore, focusing on political elites is in accordance with the Wæverian model of securitization, which holds that securitizing actors are the political actors that are responsible for making decisions in a particular field. Following these findings, in this thesis, Dutch political elites are considered as the main securitizing actors in the securitization of migration during the European refugee crisis.

⁶⁸ Thierry Balzacq, "The 'Essence' of Securitization: Theory, Ideal Type, and a Sociological Science of Security," *International Relations*, 11 maart 2015.

⁶⁹ McDonald, "Securitization and the Construction of Security," 564.

⁷⁰ McDonald, "Securitization and the Construction of Security."

⁷¹ Didier Bigo, "Security and Immigration: Toward a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease," *Alternatives*, 1 February 2002; Lene Hansen, "The Clash of Cartoons? The Clash of Civilizations? Visual Securitization and the Danish 2006 Cartoon Crisis" (Annual ISA Conference, Chicago, 2007).

⁷² Karyotis, "The Fallacy of Securitizing Migration: Elite Rationality and Unintended Consequences," 17.

⁷³ Statham and Geddes, "Elites and the 'Organised Public,'" 248.

2.3.2 The moment of intervention

Another influential critique of McDonald is that the context of the speech act is defined too narrowly in securitization theory, focusing only on the moment of intervention.⁷⁴ According to McDonald, securitization theory should instead move its focus towards gaining an understanding of the process through which particular discourses of security become ‘the lens’ (i.e., the dominant discourse strand) through which specific issues are conceptualized and addressed.⁷⁵ In other words, McDonald claims that securitization theory relies too much on discourse as an explanatory variable and too little on discourse analysis and the way in which discourse is constructed and maintained.⁷⁶ This means that in securitization theory, discourse is dealt with as a simple oration of a single actor, rather than the result of an intersubjective process of constructing meaning that includes a variety of actors and institutions over a longer period.⁷⁷ It is argued that by dealing with discourse in this way, the Copenhagen School treats discourse too simplistic and overemphasizes the social determination of discourse.⁷⁸

McDonald argues that by developing a universal framework for the designation of threat through speech, the Copenhagen School downplays the importance of contextual factors (e.g., dominant narratives of identity) that condition both the patterns of securitization and the broader construction of security.⁷⁹ Thus, rather than studying the moment of intervention (i.e., the speech act) in isolation, the analysis should focus on the process and social and political context through which particular security visions ‘win out’ over others.⁸⁰

In reaction to McDonald’s critique on the lack of focus on the process through which securitization is constituted, in this thesis the method of critical discourse analysis (CDA) is utilized as a qualitative tool to offer a more robust analysis of securitization and the discursive construction of security discourse. Accordingly, discourse in speech acts will not merely be utilized as an explanatory variable, but instead be the core subject of analysis (i.e., how particular speech acts contribute to the discursive construction of security). By conducting a CDA therefore, analyzing how specific security visions become dominant over others will be at the very core of this thesis, albeit through the analysis of the speech acts of dominant actors.

The CDA is considered as an ideal tool for such an endeavor, as it concentrates specifically on “the power behind discourse (i.e., how people with power shape the ‘order of discourse’ as well as social order in general) rather than the power in discourse (i.e., how people with power control the contribution of other (less) powerful contributors).⁸¹ Thus CDA investigates how particular actors shape – through speech acts - the order of discourse and social order through

⁷⁴ McDonald, “Securitization and the Construction of Security.”

⁷⁵ McDonald, 565.

⁷⁶ McDonald, 565.

⁷⁷ Mikko Poutanen, “Critical Discourse Analysis, Policy and Power,” 16, accessed June 8, 2017.

⁷⁸ Poutanen, 19.

⁷⁹ Matt McDonald, “Securitization and the Construction of Security,” *European Journal of International Relations*, December 1, 2008, 571.

⁸⁰ McDonald, “Securitization and the Construction of Security,” 582.

⁸¹ Norman Fairclough, “What Is CDA? Language and Power Twenty-Five Years On.” 2014, 2.

the intertextual reproduction of existing discourses and ideologies.⁸² A more detailed account of what these concepts entail and how the CDA method is given substance in this thesis will be further discussed in chapter 3.

The Copenhagen School has largely accepted McDonald's remark on the lack of attention attributed to the social and political context in which a securitization act occurs. Ole Wæver, for instance, has agreed that the conditions historically associated with the security threat indeed play a central role in any securitization process.⁸³ Accordingly, in this thesis attention will be attributed to the context in which the presumed securitization of migration has taken place in the Netherlands during the refugee crisis, albeit in a modest fashion. First of all, in the next section of this chapter relevant literature on the securitization of migration in Europe will be examined. Although this will not particularly elucidate the contextual setting of the Netherlands, which is the focus of this thesis, it does provide an overview of the scholarly literature on the securitization, and hence, a first impression of how the securitization of migration has manifested itself in contemporary Europe according to various scholars. In addition, chapter 4.4 sketches the contextual background of the social, political climate in which the refugee debate during the crisis took place in the Netherlands.

2.3.3 Audience acceptance

Despite the central role of the audience in securitization theory, it is widely acknowledged that the concept is underdeveloped and in need of better definition.⁸⁴ For instance, Barry Buzan, one of the founders of securitization theory claims that an issue can only be securitized if the audience accepts it as such.⁸⁵ But, what constitutes audience acceptance remains subject to fierce academic discussion, and some scholars go as far as claiming that how we know when securitization happens is radically under-theorized.⁸⁶ Contrary to the ideas of Buzan, Statham and Geddes, for instance, claim that the explicit consent of an audience is not a necessity in each case of securitization, as - especially in the field of migration - political elites are able to determine policy outcomes in a rather autonomous fashion.⁸⁷

In the securitization framework, the concept of audience and referent object in securitization theory are strongly interrelated but not necessarily the same, as the audience can consist of a more select group than the whole of the referent object. For this thesis, for instance, the referent object is the whole of the Netherlands, as the constructed threat of migration poses a security risk to society as a whole (e.g., the threat of indiscriminate killings as a consequence of

⁸² Marianne W. Jørgensen and Louise J. Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* (Sage, 2002), 72.

⁸³ Ole Wæver, "The EU as a Security Actor," in *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration* (Routledge, 2000), 252.

⁸⁴ Thierry Balzacq, *Securitization Theory: How Security Problems Emerge and Dissolve* (Routledge, 2010), 213.

⁸⁵ Buzan, Wæver, en Wilde, *Security*, 34.

⁸⁶ Matt McDonald, "Securitization and the Construction of Security," *European journal of international relations* 14, no. 4 (2008): 572.

⁸⁷ McDonald, "Securitization and the Construction of Security," 572.

terrorism, or the threat migration poses to the national identity). Considering that the securitizing actors under examination in this thesis are Dutch political elites in the Netherlands, the audience consists of other political elites in Parliament, as they are the ones that need to be convinced to obtain a parliamentary majority for the securitized measures. However, in consideration of the democratic nature of the Dutch political system, and based on the assumption that elected officials are rational vote-seeking agents that pursue re-election,⁸⁸ the constituency that (re)elects political representatives is also considered as the audience in this thesis.

Thus, although audience acceptance is not the main focus of analysis in this thesis, following the Wæverian model of securitization, audience acceptance is considered as a key element for the successful securitization of an issue. Accordingly, in this thesis audience acceptance is regarded as constituting 1) the extent to which a securitizing move receives a Parliamentary majority, and 2) the degree to which securitization discourse of a political elite or party is accepted by the constituency, which will be analyzed by examining the approval rates of politicians in public opinion polls; a method of measuring audience acceptance that has also been utilized in other securitization research.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (Michigan: Harper, 1957).

⁸⁹ Uriel Abulof, "Deep Securitization and Israel's 'Demographic Demon,'" *International Political Sociology* 8, no. 4 (n.d.): 410.

2.4 Literature review; examining the security-migration nexus

The following section presents a review of the relevant academic literature on the securitization of migration in Europe, thus examining how migration has been put in a security context in Europe. In doing so, it provides the primary academic frame of reference of this thesis on how to analyze and interpret the securitization of migration, and the different discourses it produces.

2.4.1 The construction of migration as a security issue

In the writing that uses securitization theory, the securitization of migration in the EU is among of the most researched themes.⁹⁰ In the research produced on this topic, there have been two main but non-exclusive lines of investigation.⁹¹ For the first, scholars focus on the modalities of securitization, examining the actors and process through which asylum and migration have been constructed as threats in Europe.⁹² For the second, research has centered on the denouncement of the social consequences of the securitization of asylum and migration in Europe.⁹³ In this thesis, the focus will be the first category, as the analysis focuses on how particular political leaders in the Netherlands have constructed the influx of refugees as a security issue.

Huysmans and Balzacq argue that in Europe, migration has been constructed as a cultural, socio-economic, and an internal security threat.⁹⁴ This view is shared by Ceyhan and Tsoukala, who in addition note that there are substantial similarities between different discourses that securitize migration, regardless of whether they are expressed by security agencies, politicians, or the media.⁹⁵ According to Huysmans, migration has become a meta-issue in the political spectacle in contemporary Europe.⁹⁶ Also, he found that discourses and governmental technologies reify immigrants, asylum-seekers, refugees, and foreigners as a dangerous challenge to societal stability.⁹⁷

Kosmina complements this vision by arguing that the Europeanization of migration policy has made a distinct contribution to this development, as it has directly securitized migration by integrating migration into an internal security framework, that is, a policy framework that defines and regulates security issues following the abolition of internal border control.⁹⁸ She argues that migration is considered a negative phenomenon at the political level, in which it is

⁹⁰ Jef Huysmans, *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration, and Asylum in the EU* (Routledge, 2006).

⁹¹ Balzacq, Léonard, en Ruzicka, "‘Securitization’ Revisited," 509.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid., 510.

⁹⁴ Thierry Balzacq, Sarah Léonard, and Jan Ruzicka, "‘Securitization’ Revisited: Theory and Cases," *International Relations*, August 5, 2015, 510.

⁹⁵ Ayse Ceyhan and Anastassia Tsoukala, "The Securitization of Migration in Western Societies: Ambivalent Discourses and Policies," *Alternatives* 27, no. 1, suppl (2002): 35.

⁹⁶ Huysmans, *The Politics of Insecurity*, 770.

⁹⁷ Jef Huysmans, *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration, and Asylum in the EU* (Routledge, 2006).

⁹⁸ Kosmina, "Mapping the Language of Crisis."

easily connected to security-related problems such as crime and riots in cities, domestic instability, transnational crime, and welfare fraud.⁹⁹ This view is shared by Özerim, who argues that a multi-actor based securitization process on migration exists in Europe at national and supra-national level.¹⁰⁰ According to Özerim such securitization practices have potentially severe consequences as they sustain a radical political strategy aimed at excluding particular categories of people by reifying them as a danger to societal security (e.g., to cultural identity, public safety or health).¹⁰¹

Complementing the literature on the security-migration nexus, Jakesevic and Tatalovic perceive that at the time of the European refugee crisis favorable contextual conditions for the increased securitization of migration in Europe were present. Examples of such conditions are; a growing threat of terrorism (terrorist attacks in France and Belgium), (sex) crimes against women committed by migrants (attacks on women in a number of German cities), and economic hardships in some EU member states as well as concerns for societal security”.¹⁰²

2.4.2 The tradeoff of security vs. liberty

In much of the literature, security thinking is connected to political Realism and the centrality of the state, whereas the focus on human security as proposed by for instance Kenneth Booth can be connected to the realm of liberalism.¹⁰³ This debate, which mainly takes place in the study of International Relations, can also be connected to the realm of migration. Whereas realism approaches migration as a vulnerability to state security, liberalism mainly approaches it as a humanitarian concern.

If one extends this tension to the policy level, there is an ambiguity in policy managing the perceived the threat on one side while at the same time pursuing to protect human rights. The conclusion that is made by most scholar - which will also be accepted in this thesis - is that in the field of migration, the realist imperative has been driving policy development at the expense of humanitarian considerations.¹⁰⁴ This domination of security discourse in the migration debate results in a version of the liberty vs. security debate in which the suggested trade-off is

⁹⁹ Kosmina.

¹⁰⁰ Mehmet Gökay Özerim, “European Radical Right Parties as Actors in Securitization of Migration,” in *Proceedings of World Academy of Science, Engineering and Technology* (World Academy of Science, Engineering, and Technology (WASET), 2013), 473.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ruzica Jakesevic and Sinisa Tatalovic, “Securitization (and De-securitization) Of the European Refugee Crisis: Croatia in the Regional,” *Teorija in Praksa* 53, no. 5 (2016): 1248.

¹⁰³ Karyotis, “The Fallacy of Securitizing Migration: Elite Rationality and Unintended Consequences,” 15.

¹⁰⁴ Andrew Geddes, *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe* | SAGE Publications Inc (Londen: SAGE Publications Inc, 2003); Jef Huysmans, *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration, and Asylum in the EU* (Routledge, 2006); Thierry Balzacq and Sergio Carrera, *Security Versus Freedom?: A Challenge for Europe's Future* (Ashgate, 2006); Karyotis, “The Fallacy of Securitizing Migration: Elite Rationality and Unintended Consequences.”

the security of the majority against the liberties of the few.¹⁰⁵ In this dynamic, the construction of an identity of ‘us’ versus ‘them’ plays a vital role, justifying the limitation of their rights to preserve our security. In postulating this dichotomy, the securitization of migration is a crucial legitimization of repressive measures against migrants.¹⁰⁶

Although the dominance of the security frame over the humanitarian frame is by no means new in the migration debate, it has been further exacerbated by the war on terror.¹⁰⁷ In his seminal article, Huysmans describes how migration is constructed as a security issue as well as a foreign policy threat to the EU as a result of being linked to terrorism and international crime.¹⁰⁸ The recent historical peak in terrorist incidents on the European continent¹⁰⁹ is likely to have had a similar impact. Thus, recent terrorist attacks such as those in Brussels, Paris, or London, are likely to further exacerbate public anxiety towards migrants in Europe, as in all these cases, the perpetrators matched a specific ethnic profile. Although these events did not cause the insecurities, ambiguities, and complexities that characterize migration policies at the domestic or European level, they strengthen and legitimize the security logic that has dominated asylum and immigration policies in Europe since the late 1970s.¹¹⁰

2.4.3 The concept of societal security

The Copenhagen School has formulated five overlapping and interrelated sectors of security; military, political, economic, societal, and environmental.¹¹¹ Although the securitization of migration cuts through all of these sectors, in research it is most commonly aligned with the sector of societal security, in which the referent object is society.¹¹² The societal sector emphasizes the importance of identity, as the criterion for societal securitization is that the referent object is threatened as to its identity (e.g., values, culture, language).¹¹³ In the societal sector, the securitization of migration encompasses the understanding that migrants or refugees are ‘outsiders’ that pose a threat to the collective cultural identity of the recipient state, as they challenge the homogeneity and collectivity of that society.¹¹⁴ There have been various studies that describe how migration has been securitized by being framed as threats to different aspects of in-group identity (e.g., national identity or a broader “Western” identity).¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁵ See for example: Karyotis, “The Fallacy of Securitizing Migration: Elite Rationality and Unintended Consequences,” 17.

¹⁰⁶ Karyotis, “The Fallacy of Securitizing Migration: Elite Rationality and Unintended Consequences,” 17.

¹⁰⁷ Huysmans, *The Politics of Insecurity*.

¹⁰⁸ Huysmans, “The European Union and the Securitization of Migration.”

¹⁰⁹ University of Maryland, “Global Terrorism Database: Incidents in Europe over Time,” 2016.

¹¹⁰ Huysmans, “The European Union and the Securitization of Migration”; Huysmans, *The Politics of Insecurity*; Karyotis, “The Fallacy of Securitizing Migration: Elite Rationality and Unintended Consequences.”

¹¹¹ Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde, *Security*.

¹¹² See for instance: Buzan et al. (1998), O’Neill, “The European Union and Migration: Security versus Identity?,” *Defence Studies* 6, no. 3 (September 2006): 322–50; Jef Huysmans, “The European Union and the Securitization of Migration,” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 38, no. 5 (December 1, 2000): 751–77.

¹¹³ Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde, *Security*.

¹¹⁴ Ashley Middleton, “Populist Radical Right Parties and the Securitization of Migration in France,” 2016, 11.

¹¹⁵ Sjøstedt, “Securitization Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis.”

Collective identities of a society are always in flux and subject to change as a result of internal and external pressures. Whether rival identities are securitized, however, depends on "whether the holders of the collective identity take a relatively closed-minded or open-minded view of how their identity is constituted and maintained."¹¹⁶ As is generally the case with securitization, whether the cause of the security threat is real or perceived is not necessarily decisive. More important is the effect of the debate on the security threat in creating the impression of genuine concern.¹¹⁷ O'Neill argues that citizens of European states increasingly expect their leaders to uphold borders, sovereignty, and a relatively stable national identity.¹¹⁸ Consequently, migration poses a potential threat to these objectives and is therefore likely to be viewed through a security lens insofar as it threatens the cultural cohesion and exclusive national identity of a society.¹¹⁹

As already argued, in the construction of security threats, the role of elite political actors is essential, as they "often see themselves as defenders of national purity and societal security."¹²⁰ According to Karyotis, however, when elites designate migration as constituting, they create a society that "lives in permanent fear from real or perceived threats" and "exacerbates negative effects on societal homogeneity and harmony through its unintended distractive consequences."¹²¹ As a result, Karyotis argues, even if one accepts the premise that migration indeed poses an existential threat to identity or public order, securitizing migration is not at a conducive method for managing it.¹²²

Securitization constitutes not only a change in policy but also a change in the mode of thinking, where political and societal concerns become perceived foremost as security threats.¹²³ Once a particular frame has gained prominence, it becomes recognized as the 'correct' or 'standard' mode to define an issue.¹²⁴ Although the securitization of a particular issue is not necessarily harmful, it is important to note that the founders of securitization theory highlight the dangers of the securitization of societal issues, and argue that instead of idealizing it, securitization should be seen as a failure to deal with issues as 'normal politics.'¹²⁵ Indeed, according to Wæver, the ideal of the securitization approach is de-securitization, (i.e., issues are brought back to the level of 'normal' politics and no longer have an urgency that tends to have anti-democratic effects).¹²⁶ Although the concept of de-securitization is underdeveloped, there is a growing body of studies that probe the securitization-de-securitization dynamic.¹²⁷ Glover, for

¹¹⁶ Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde, *Security*, 22.

¹¹⁷ O'Neill, "The European Union and Migration," 330.

¹¹⁸ O'Neill, "The European Union and Migration."

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 325.

¹²⁰ Karyotis, "The Fallacy of Securitizing Migration: Elite Rationality and Unintended Consequences," 20.

¹²¹ Karyotis, "The Fallacy of Securitizing Migration: Elite Rationality and Unintended Consequences," 23.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 23.

¹²³ Poutanen, "Critical Discourse Analysis, Policy, and Power," 2.

¹²⁴ Karyotis, "The Fallacy of Securitizing Migration: Elite Rationality and Unintended Consequences," 14.

¹²⁵ Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde, *Security*, 28.

¹²⁶ Ole Waever, "Security Agendas Old and New, and How to Survive Them," vol. Working Paper no. 6 (Paper prepared for the Workshop on 'The Traditional and New Security Agenda: Inferences for the Third World, Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, Buenos Aires, 2000).

¹²⁷ Sjøstedt, "Securitization Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis."

instance, contends that when analyzing migration, there are different discourses of contestation that challenge dominant political security discourse, movements that can be viewed as a parallel process of de-securitization.¹²⁸

2.4.4 Securitization of migration as a policy option

When examining the literature on the security-migration nexus, there is a strong consensus among scholars that the claim that migration can be perceived as a genuine existential threat to societal security lacks substance. However, according to the Copenhagen School, migration can represent a threat to the legitimacy of political elites, policymakers, and the system of government.¹²⁹ Controlling the access to its territory is one of the defining functions of the state. However, as a result of economic globalization and increased supranationalism this function has gradually shifted beyond the control of political elites.¹³⁰ As migration calls into question the control over the boundaries of the state, some authors argue that political elites are inclined to securitize migration in order to maintain a certain myth of control and safeguard their legitimacy.¹³¹ Furthermore, securitizing migration is an appealing policy option as it shifts the blame for societies ills to the voiceless migrant.¹³² Similarly, as a result of the growing popularity of the PRR and to cement their power, political elites may shun a soft stance on migration topics, as this might result in electoral losses to such parties.¹³³ This idea is very much related to the argument of Mudde's idea on the contamination of mainstream discourse.

The outcomes of securitizing migration, however, are decisively negative as the restrictionist stance of political elites creates unattainable public expectations of defense against the threats that migration poses, whereas the inability to deliver on these expectations leaves elites susceptible to scrutiny and public criticism, which in turn can be exploited by anti-immigrant radical right opponents.¹³⁴ These dynamics create a demand for a sustained security frame as it produces demand for strict immigration policies. Thus, although securitization might protect the political legitimacy of elites on the short-term, it affects their ability to support opposing views in the long run as securitization from the top-down socially constructs an exaggerated threat perception, creating demand for securitization from the bottom-up.¹³⁵ This means that, by supporting the idea that migration threatens people, political elites exacerbate people's threat perception, creating a demand from the constituency for a more securitized stance vis-à-vis migration policy. As a result, sustained securitization is likely to produce a vicious circle of

¹²⁸ Robert W. Glover, "The Theorist and the Practitioner: Linking the Securitization of Migration To Activist Counter-Narratives," *Geopolitics, History and International Relations* 3, no. 1 (2011): 77–102.

¹²⁹ Barry Buzan, *People, States & Fear*, 2nd ed. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1991), 19.

¹³⁰ Karyotis, "The Fallacy of Securitizing Migration: Elite Rationality and Unintended Consequences," 23.

¹³¹ Didier Bigo, "Frontiers and Security in the European Union: The Illusion of Migration Control," in *The Frontiers of Europe* (London: Pinter, 1998), 148–64.

¹³² Jagdish N. Bhagwati, "Borders Beyond Control," *Foreign Affairs*, January 1, 2003, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2003-01-01/borders-beyond-control>.

¹³³ Karyotis, "The Fallacy of Securitizing Migration: Elite Rationality and Unintended Consequences," 23.

¹³⁴ Karyotis, "The Fallacy of Securitizing Migration: Elite Rationality and Unintended Consequences," 24.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

supply and demand for security which is unattainable and ultimately harms the legitimacy of political security elites.

3. Discourse analysis: methodology and method

In the following section, the research methodology and method of the discourse analysis applied in this thesis is presented. The chosen method of discourse analysis is explained, as well as why this method is deemed relevant for this particular research. Furthermore, the concrete method and steps of data collection and analysis that have been conducted for this research are discussed.

Discourse analysis as a method can be used to highlight how dominant discourses serve to create structures of meaning and power, which as a result is very much related to the constructivist discursive epistemology rooted in securitization theory. Although there are several methods of discourse analysis consisting of very divergent strands, there are some common points between different methods:

- A critical approach to taken-for-granted knowledge such as power relations and identity constructions. Reality, as we perceive it is treated as a product of our classification of the world. Representations of the world are products of discourse and not reflections of the world 'out there'.
- Historical and cultural specificity; in a broad historical sense, our worldviews and our identities could be different and could change over time.
- There is a link between knowledge and social processes. Our understanding of the world is created and reproduced by social processes.
- There is a link between knowledge and social action. As an effect, discourse creates a perception that some actions are accepted and while other are perceived as unthinkable. Social constructions of knowledge and truth have social consequences as they lead to different social practices.¹³⁶

Discourse analysis is sometimes criticized for relativizing everything, making all knowledge and social identities contingent and relative. However, theorist have found some agreement in the claim that the social field is rule-bound and regulative. "Even though identities are socially created and intersubjective, they are relatively inflexible in specific situations. Specific contexts place restrictions on the identities, which can be assumed and analyzed. This relative stability of political and social relations is fundamental to understand the discourse analysis as a method of social science."¹³⁷ The structure for the discourse analysis conducted in this thesis is borrowed from Fairclough's method for critical discourse analysis (CDA), which will be introduced in the following section.

¹³⁶ Marianne W. Jørgensen and Louise J. Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* (Sage, 2002), 5.

¹³⁷ Anna Lindvall, "Have Refugees Become A Security Problem? A Comparative Study Of Securitization In The United Kingdom And Germany" 2016, 21.

3.1 Fairclough's method for Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA provides theories and methods for conducting an empiric analysis of the relation between discourse and social and cultural developments in different social domains.¹³⁸ It is concerned with analyzing the power behind discourse rather than the power in discourse. Consequently, it asks questions about how people that command particular power shape the 'order of discourse' and the social order in general rather than only stressing how discourse shapes our beliefs about perceived realities.¹³⁹

According to Fairclough, discourse is a form of social practice which both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices. As social practice, discourse is in a dialectical relationship with other social dimensions. As a result, it does not merely contribute to shaping and reshaping social structures, but also is a reflection of them.¹⁴⁰ According to critical discourse analysts, discursive practices contribute to the formation and replication of unequal power relations between social groups, which are understood as ideological effects.¹⁴¹

Fairclough perceives discourse as having three primary functions: an identity function, a 'relational' function and an 'ideational' function. Consequently, discourse contributes to the creation of social identities, social relations, and systems of knowledge and meaning.¹⁴² In short, the realm of CDA can be summarized as an approach that systematically researches:

"Often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts and (b) broader social and cultural structures, relations and processes [...] how such practices, events, and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power [...] how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony."¹⁴³

There are three primary goals of doing CDA. First, "the aim of the analysis is to provide a detailed description, explanation, and critique of the textual strategies writers use to naturalize discourses, that is, to make discourses appear to be commonsense, apolitical statements."¹⁴⁴ This encompasses the textual analysis of CDA; the researcher examines texts to gain insight into what kind of language and strategies are used to reinforce existing structures and power relations.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁸ Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, 60.

¹³⁹ Poutanen, "Critical Discourse Analysis, Policy, and Power," 19; Fairclough, "What Is CDA?"

¹⁴⁰ Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, 61.

¹⁴¹ Jørgensen and Phillips, 63.

¹⁴² Jørgensen and Phillips, 67.

¹⁴³ Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (London: Longman, 1995), 132.

¹⁴⁴ Stephen Harold Riggins, "The Language and Politics of Exclusion," *Others in Discourse, Communication and Human Values*, 25: 3, accessed July 10, 2017.

¹⁴⁵ Ali Bilgic, "Securitization of Immigration and Asylum: A Critical Look at Security Structure in Europe" 2006, 9.

The second goal of CDA is contextual. "Texts can be understood in relation to other texts and in relation to the social context."¹⁴⁶ By evaluating texts in their contextual environment, the researcher can establish the links between discursive and social practices that are assumed to be mutually constitutive by Fairclough.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, and in line with McDonald's argument about the lack of context in securitization theory as discussed earlier, the historical development of a particular discourse can only be understood in relation to its historical context. Third, and arguably most important, CDA aims to be critical of how particular discourse structures existing knowledge-power relationships.¹⁴⁸ CDA views discourse as a stake in a social struggle as well as a site of social conflict for defining the reality of socio-political challenges, including premises, goals, and the arguments connecting the two.¹⁴⁹

3.2 Rationale for utilizing CDA

As already discussed in the theoretical framework, critics of securitization theory have contended that the methodology through which securitization is discussed relies too much of discourse, and too little on discourse analysis and the way discourse is constructed.¹⁵⁰ Although integrating the methodology of CDA has been only limitedly explored in the past (some examples are Ferrari 2007; Macdonald & Hunter 2013) it could considerably expand the field of securitization theory. CDA could provide interdisciplinary insight into how power in discourse is constructed and maintained, and hence, how security discourse often proves able to break through the public debate so successfully.¹⁵¹

Furthermore, considering that both the writers of the Copenhagen School as well as its critics conclude that security discourse is often articulated from "a position of institutional power," CDA is a good theoretical fit for the analysis of security discourse.¹⁵² Finally, since the goal of this thesis is to trace if and how security discourse has become more dominant in the political debate in the Netherlands and how the radical right acted as a catalyst in this process, CDA is a good epistemological fit as it focuses on how different actors in a particular order of discourse compete to construct dominant structures of meaning.

¹⁴⁶ Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, 78.

¹⁴⁷ Jørgensen and Phillips, 72.

¹⁴⁸ Bilgic, "Securitization of Immigration and Asylum," 10.

¹⁴⁹ Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, 66.

¹⁵⁰ Poutanen, "Critical Discourse Analysis, Policy, and Power," 1.

¹⁵¹ Poutanen, 3.

¹⁵² McDonald, "Securitization and the Construction of Security," 574; Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde, *Security*, 32–33.

3.3 Core concepts

Before elaborating how the method of CDA will be utilized in this thesis, it is necessary to elucidate some core concepts of Fairclough's method.

3.3.1 Intertextuality

Intertextuality refers to the state whereby all communicative events draw on previous events.¹⁵³ A communicative event can be seen a link in an intertextual chain, i.e., a series of communicative events in which each incorporates elements of other communicative events.¹⁵⁴ It thus concerns the influence of history on a communicative event and the impact of the communicative event on history. Through the analysis of intertextuality, one can determine either the continuity as a result of the reproduction of existing discourses, or identify discursive change when discursive elements are articulated in new ways.¹⁵⁵

3.3.2 The order of discourse

The order of discourse can be described as the configuration of all the discourse types which are used within a social institution or a social field (e.g., the political field).¹⁵⁶ It consists of the different genres (i.e., ways of (inter)acting, (e.g., an interview or lecture)), discourses (i.e., ways of representing (e.g., Neo-Liberalism or New Labour), and styles (i.e., ways of being, (e.g., manager or flexible worker) of a particular social field.¹⁵⁷ Thus, the order of discourse can be taken to denote different discourses that partly cover the same terrain, a terrain which each discourse competes to fill with meaning in its own way.¹⁵⁸ Therefore, the idea of discursive relations as social struggle or conflict is embedded in the concept of order of discourse. "Orders of discourse can be seen as one domain of potential cultural hegemony, with dominant groups struggling to assert and maintain particular structuring within and between them."¹⁵⁹ Consequently, the relationship between communicative events and the order of discourse is dialectical, i.e., communicative events reproduce orders of discourse, but they can also change them.

¹⁵³ Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, 73.

¹⁵⁴ Jørgensen and Phillips, 74.

¹⁵⁵ Jørgensen and Phillips, 73.

¹⁵⁶ Jørgensen and Phillips, 72.

¹⁵⁷ Norman Fairclough, "The Dialectics of Discourse," *Textus XIV*, no. No. 2 (2001): 234.

¹⁵⁸ Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, 56.

¹⁵⁹ Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, 56.

3.3.3 Ideology

In the terminology of Fairclough, ideology constitutes a set of interlocking assumption about some aspect of reality that contributes to the construction of meaning and the production, reproduction, and transformation of relations of dominations.¹⁶⁰ Ideology in this sense is not a totalizing entity; people can be positioned within different and competing ideologies.¹⁶¹ Individuals and social groups are constantly involved in the negotiation of meaning, and ideology is the "basis of social representations shared by a particular group."¹⁶² If, through a process of negotiation a certain consensus about meaning is reached, hegemony is attained. This conception of hegemony is borrowed from Antonio Gramsci and can be described as the discursive struggle for a dominant ideology.¹⁶³ As a result of the constant struggle between competing discourses and ideologies, hegemony is not a stable entity, but instead continually changing and contested.¹⁶⁴

The concept of hegemony then gives the analyst the means to investigate how discursive practices are part of a larger social practice involving power relations: "discursive practice can be seen as an aspect of a hegemonic struggle that contributes to the reproduction and transformation of the order of discourse of which it is part."¹⁶⁵

3.4 Operationalizing CDA: The discourse analytical framework

The following section presents the discourse analytical framework of this thesis. In doing so, it discusses how delineation of the discourse analysis and the operationalization of the different elements of CDA in this thesis.

3.4.1 Delineation of research

In the endeavor of building a discourse analytical framework, it is common to use the concept of order of discourse as a central pillar.¹⁶⁶ In discourse analysis studies, research is often delineated by focusing on a single order of discourse, as this allows the study to concentrate on different competing discourse within the same domain. Operationalized in this sense, the order of discourse is perceived as a particular 'field'; a relatively autonomous social domain obeying to a specific social logic. As such, the order of discourse constitutes the common platform of

¹⁶⁰ Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, 75.

¹⁶¹ Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, 75.

¹⁶² Teun A. Van Dijk, "Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis," *Discourse & Society* 4, no. 2 (1993): 251.

¹⁶³ Antonio Gramsci, "Hegemony, Intellectuals and the State," in *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader* (Pearson Education, 2006), 85.

¹⁶⁴ Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, 76.

¹⁶⁵ Jørgensen and Phillips, 76.

¹⁶⁶ Jørgensen and Phillips, 141.

different discourses. Within this field, the different discourses constitute the different discursive patterns of meaning. By focusing on a single order of discourse then makes it possible to investigate where particular discourse is dominant or where there is struggle, and which common-sense assumptions are shared by all prevalent discourses.¹⁶⁷ Outlining a study in terms of an order of discourse, thus, enables an analysis of the distribution of discourses in a particular domain.¹⁶⁸ In consideration of the focus on the speech of political actors in accordance with the Wæverian model of securitization, the political field is selected as the order of discourse under examination in this thesis. What exactly is understood by the political field in this thesis is described in more detail in chapter 4.3.

Now that the focus of the research is specified, the next step is to define how discourse is delineated and operationalized in this thesis. Although discourse is essentially a contested concept, it is common to conceive discourse as a particular way of representing the world, and discourses as fixations of meaning that have unstable relations to one another.¹⁶⁹ When doing empirical research, however, this provides the practical problem that the analyst needs to start out with a notion of how to identify the boundaries between different discourses. In doing so, Jørgensen and Phillips suggest treating discourse to a greater extent as an analytical concept, i.e., an entity that the scholar projects onto the reality to create a framework for the study.¹⁷⁰ Accordingly, different discourses that are formulated in this thesis should be conceived of as objects that are constructed by the researcher, rather than objects that exist in a delineated form in reality.¹⁷¹ Based on the literature on the security-migration nexus, in the empirical analysis of this research, two dialectical sets of discourses are likely to be encountered. The first set concerns the opposing discourses of the humanitarian liberalist and the security-centered realist discourse. These discourses conflict with one another since the former approaches migration as a humanitarian concern, whereas the latter approaches it as a vulnerability to state security. The second set of opposing discourses concerns the construction of national identity and consequently resonates with the dimension of societal security. This set of discourses consists of inclusive national identity discourse, in which the 'we' includes migrants, and exclusive national identity discourse, in which 'we' only refers to the national identity. In addition to these two categories of discourse, by focusing more specifically on securitization theory itself, attention will be attributed to securitization discourse in particular. In this sense, fragments will be analyzed on the basis that they articulate elements of securitizing acts, such as stressing the unprecedented or exceptional nature of a situation, calling for excessive measures, or labeling issues as existential threats.

In consideration of the central research question of this thesis, the CDA aims to establish how the discourse on migration has evolved in the Dutch political debate during the refugee crisis. Consequently, this thesis is geared towards analyzing the discursive change that occurred in the political debate during the crisis. Through the CDA, this thesis will examine how different

¹⁶⁷ Jørgensen and Phillips, 142.

¹⁶⁸ Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*.

¹⁶⁹ Jørgensen and Phillips, 143.

¹⁷⁰ Jørgensen and Phillips, 143.

¹⁷¹ Jørgensen and Phillips, 144.

political actors have contributed to the construction of a security-oriented discourses in order to legitimate the EU-Turkey deal, or instead to humanitarian oriented discourses, and to what extent the former discourse reached a hegemonic position in the political debate, or rather remained contested as a result of the production of alternative discourses from political actors. Thus, the primary focus will be on actors that implemented the transformative security discourses, what discourses they supersede, and what the consequences are. Assuming that securitizing acts indeed took place in the debate and that these were successful, the hypothesis is that the configuration of the order of discourse changed from stressing a more liberal humanitarian discourse towards a more realist security centered discourse, and a more inclusive national identity discourse towards a more exclusive national identity discourse with regard to topics related to migration.

3.4.2 The three-dimensional model

Since the research question of this thesis focuses on how the political debate evolved during the refugee crisis, within the discourse analytical framework as outlined above, emphasis is placed on discursive change over time. In the operationalization of the discourse analytical framework this thesis draws on Fairclough's three dimensional model, which is based on the premise that every instance of language is a communicative event that consists of three dimensions: It is a text; it is a discursive practice which involves the production and consumption of texts; it is a social practice.¹⁷² As a result, CDA focuses on the linguistic features of a text fragment, the processes related to the production and consumption of a text, and the more comprehensive social practice to which the communicative event belongs.

Accordingly, the first dimension of analysis consists of examining the formal linguistic structure of particular communicative events (i.e., discourse fragments), (e.g., speeches or arguments of political actors commenting on the European refugee crisis). By analyzing features as the vocabulary, grammar syntax, and practical reasoning of individual politicians, a detailed analysis of the linguistic characteristics of discourse fragments will be made, which makes it is possible to cast light on how discourses are activated textually and arrive at and provide backing for, a particular interpretation.¹⁷³

The second dimension of analysis consists of examining the discourses and genres that are articulated in the production and the consumption of the text (i.e., discursive practices). According to Fairclough, the relationship between texts and social practice is mediated by discursive practice¹⁷⁴. Therefore, it is only through discursive practice – whereby people use language to produce and consume texts – that texts shape and are shaped by social practice. At the same time, the text - the formal linguistic characteristics -influences both the production

¹⁷² Jørgensen and Phillips, 68.

¹⁷³ Jørgensen and Phillips, 69.

¹⁷⁴ Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*.

and the consumption process.¹⁷⁵ In the examination of how discursive practices draw on existing meaning formulations and how they mix different types of discourse, Fairclough's key concepts are intertextuality and interdiscursivity. The former examines how authors draw on existing texts, whereas the latter examines on what existing discourses authors draw.¹⁷⁶ Consequently, this part of the analysis examines whether in particular communicative events, discourses are reproduced or that discursive change occurs as new components are introduced.¹⁷⁷

Finally, the third dimension of analysis examines whether particular discursive practices reproduce, or rather restructure existing order of discourse, and what the implications of this are for the broader social order of which it is part.¹⁷⁸ In other words, this dimension examines how the reproduction or restructuring of the order of discourse shapes behavior and decisions in the broader social order. Accordingly, this part will deal with how the discursive practice constitutes the broader context of social and cultural relations and structures.¹⁷⁹ Thus, this part of the analysis connects the discursive practice to the broader social consequences. Does the discursive practice reproduce the order of discourse and thus contribute to the maintenance of the status quo in the social practice, and what are the ideological, political and social consequences of this practice.

When analyzing the wider social practice, discourse analysis in itself is not sufficient, since the social practice encompasses both discursive and non-discursive elements. Therefore, Fairclough argues social and cultural theory is necessary in addition to discourse analysis, to shed light on the social dimension.¹⁸⁰ However, since the discursive is just a part of the larger social dimension, it is possible to draw upon for instance sociological theories without the analyst having to translate the theories into discursive terms.¹⁸¹ This provides another argument for why CDA is an excellent methodological fit for securitization theory as it allows for a detailed analysis on how discourse is constructed while also leaving room for securitization theory to analyze the broader social consequences.

When utilizing CDA, it is in the analysis of the broader social practice that a study arrives at its final conclusions.¹⁸² Consequently, this third dimension of analysis will be addressed in the discussion section of this thesis, where the findings of the empirical chapter will be coupled with securitization theory and the literature on the security-migration nexus and the radical right. The first and second dimensions of analysis, on the other hand, provide the primary tools for analysis of the empirical chapter of this thesis, in which the individual communicative events that have been selected for this thesis are discussed.

¹⁷⁵ Norman Fairclough, *Discourse, and Social Change*, vol. 22 (Cambridge: Polity, 1992), 7.

¹⁷⁶ Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, 81.

¹⁷⁷ Jørgensen and Phillips, 73.

¹⁷⁸ Jørgensen and Phillips, 81.

¹⁷⁹ Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, 237.

¹⁸⁰ Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, 69.

¹⁸¹ Jørgensen and Phillips, 156.

¹⁸² Jørgensen and Phillips, 146.

3.5 Method for data collection

Conducting a CDA requires a detailed analysis of discourse fragments, which makes it vital to limit the number of texts that are subject to scrutiny.¹⁸³ CDA thus demands that the researcher strategically selects the texts for analysis. To make a strategic selection, it is first of all necessary to demarcate the period from which texts will be gathered and analyzed, which will be done in the first part of this section. Furthermore, it is necessary to ensure that the selected text fragments are relevant for this particular research. Thus, text fragments must relate to the discourse analytical framework of this thesis. How the selection of specific fragments over others took place is discussed in the second part of this section.

3.5.1 Timeframe for data collection

Although the European refugee crisis lacks a definite beginning and end, the general perception is that the crisis started in the first months of 2015.¹⁸⁴ If one examines Google trends, the crisis reached its peak in September 2015.¹⁸⁵ Although this is somewhat of an arbitrary benchmark, it does represent that the interest of the general population in the migrant crisis reached its peak around this time. Consequentially, it is safe to assume that the refugee influx was made a top priority in the political debate from this moment onwards.

As the goal of this thesis is to examine how migration has been securitized in the Dutch political debate in the Netherlands during the refugee crisis (i.e., how security discourse became more dominant in the political order of discourse), it makes sense to start around the peak of the crisis as before this peak the refugee crisis was a less salient political issue, which makes securitization of the issue less likely. Furthermore, before the peak of the crisis, the refugee influx in the EU was on the usual policy agenda, rather than the panic policy agenda, which entails that the EU-Turkey refugee agreement was not yet considered as a policy option before the peak of the crisis.¹⁸⁶ Considering the aim to examine how security discourse was used to legitimize the EU-Turkey refugee deal, therefore, it makes sense start analyzing political discourse from September 2015 onwards.

¹⁸³ Jørgensen and Phillips, 147.

¹⁸⁴ BBC News, "Migrant Crisis"; Kosmina, "MAPPING THE LANGUAGE OF 'CRISIS.'"

¹⁸⁵ Google, "Google Trends: European migration crisis," Google Trends, accessed at April 21, 2017, <https://trends.google.nl/trends/explore?q=european%20migration%20crisis>.

¹⁸⁶ Priscilla Oltean and Claudia Anamaria Iov, "EU-Turkey Negotiations in the Context of Securitized Migration after the 2015 Refugee Crisis: Joint Action Plan and the Readmission Agreement," *Research and Science Today* 13, no. 1 (2017): 105.

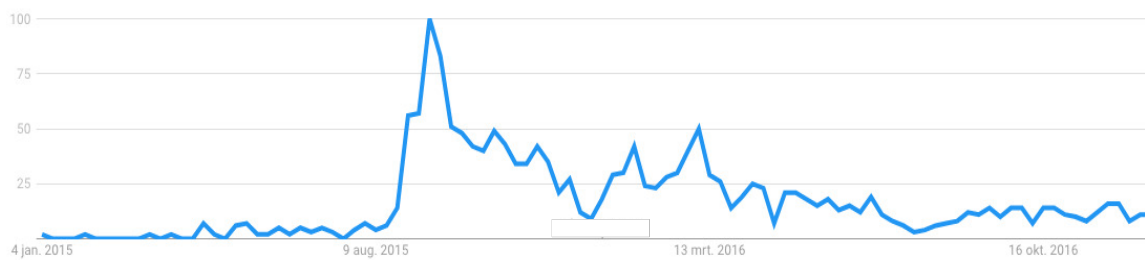


Figure II. Google trends image on the use of the term *European refugee crisis* over time.¹⁸⁷

Although the end of the crisis is arguably even more arbitrary than the beginning, since this thesis is concerned with whether and how securitization discourse was used in order to justify the EU-Turkey agreement, there is no need to gather data from after the formal closure of the EU-Turkey refugee deal (i.e., the 18th of March, 2016).

Thus, for the discourse analysis in this thesis, text fragments have been gathered from the 1st of September 2015 onwards until the 18th of March, 2016.

3.5.2 Data collection and selection strategy

In the selection of text fragments, the literature review of the security-migration nexus and the radical right were of crucial importance, as both help identifying the types of discourses that are likely to be found in the empirical material. As such the discourse analytical framework serves as a sort of roadmap for the types of speech acts that are deemed relevant in the discourse analysis of this thesis. Considering the aim of this research, the fragments that have been selected for analysis represent ‘dogs that bark,’ meaning, fragments of communicative events that articulate elements of securitization or security discourse, or fragments that articulate the opposite (de-securitization). Although the cherry picking of data for discourse analysis is common, the reader should bear in mind that it postulates a level of confirmation bias, as elements that do not echo a particular discourse are not selected for analysis.¹⁸⁸ Although this is an inherent shortcoming, it does not mean that the claims that result from a discourse analysis are not valid – after all the fragments represent data from actual interactions–, but rather that researchers should be cautious on claiming too much based on individual fragments, and be wary of the presence of the confirmation bias when evaluating their results.¹⁸⁹

Although gathering data for discourse analysis is essentially a subjective endeavor, in order to ensure that the text fragments that are selected are gathered from a comprehensive set of communicative events regarding the political debate on refugees in the Netherlands over the selected time period, strict search and selection criteria have been employed.

¹⁸⁷ Google, “Google Trends: European Migration Crisis,” Google Trends, accessed April 21, 2017, <https://trends.google.nl/trends/explore?q=european%20migration%20crisis>.

¹⁸⁸ Deborah Tannen, Heidi E. Hamilton, and Deborah Schiffrin, *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, 2nd ed. (Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 634.

¹⁸⁹ Tannen, Hamilton, and Schiffrin, 634.

3.5.3 Collection strategy

For the collection of data, two primary methods have been employed. The first method utilized Lexis Nexis Academic, which commands a comprehensive database of online and print media outlets, including hundreds of Dutch national and local newspapers and magazines, and most of the Dutch online media outlets. As a result, Lexis Nexis Academic enables one to gather a comprehensive sample of the Dutch news from a particular moment in time. Using Boolean search operators different search terms have been combined in various conjunctions. The different terms that have been utilized to gather discourse fragment are listed in Table II together with their Dutch translations, which were used in the searches, as the data was collected from Dutch media outlets.

English search term	Refugee	Migrant	Politics	Second Chamber	Debate	Security	Threat	Netherlands
Dutch search term	Vluchteling	Migrant	Politiek	Tweede Kamer	Debat	Veiligheid	Dreiging	Nederland

Table I. Different search terms that were used for gathering discourse fragments.

Since the European refugee crisis created a massive media storm,¹⁹⁰ Each of the searches resulted in several thousands of hits. From this huge pile of articles, a pre-selection was made based on the titles of the articles. Thus, in this selection round, articles were discarded because either:

1. Their title showed they were not concerned with the political debate on the refugee crisis
2. Their title indicated they were concerned with the local politics regarding the refugee crisis,
3. Their title showed that they did not have the refugee crisis and the political debate thereof as their main subject (Lexis Nexis works with keywords; therefore if several of the search terms occur at least once in an article it appears in your search).

After that, the remaining articles were scanned and on the basis of this scan either discarded or stored. Indeed, even after the first selection round, a fair share of the remaining articles proved irrelevant nevertheless for the following reasons:

1. Despite their title articles were not about the political debate on the refugee crisis.
2. Articles did not contain communicative events of political actors of the Dutch Parliament.
3. Articles did not contain new communicative events of political actors of the Dutch Parliament.

¹⁹⁰ Deborah Tannen, Heidi E. Hamilton, and Deborah Schiffrin, *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, 2nd ed. (Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 634.

4. Articles did not contain communicative events of political actors of the Dutch Parliament that were relevant for discourse analysis (i.e., communicative events in which actors do not take a strict stance on either the refugee crisis or policy solutions, thus not echoing a particular discourse or ideology).

From each of the remaining articles after this selection procedure, the communicative events were extracted to a separate file and analyzed in detail, after which each text fragment was coded by its topic, discourse, and genre. Although this first method generated a set of more than 300 text fragments extracted from a total of 121 different newspaper articles from a wide variety of sources (including all the major Dutch newspapers, several magazines, and several local and regional newspapers) it felt necessary to complement this sample further. The main reasons for this were that different newspaper articles tend to focus on a rather small set of controversial speech acts while only providing a limited account of the context or broader debate in which this speech act took place. Furthermore, as a result of the somewhat negative connotation of some of the search terms (i.e., security and threat) de-securitizing fragments are potentially left out of the results. As such, the sample was lacking in giving a comprehensive overview of the different discourses in the refugee debate, which is why the second method was employed to complement the sample.

The second method that was used for gathering text fragments explicitly focused on the debates that took place in the Dutch Second Chamber that dealt with the topic of refugees, migrants, terrorism, and the EU-Turkey refugee deal. All debates in the Dutch Second Chamber are recorded and publicly available online. Through the first method of data collection, the dates of all the primary debates on these topics were easily obtained. In total eight debates have been watched to gather text fragments. Similarly, to the first method, all the speech acts of these debates that were considered relevant for the research topics have been collected in a separate file, after which they were analyzed in detail and coded on the basis of their subject, discourse, and genre. Despite providing a wealth of relevant text fragments, this method also offered a more nuanced picture of the refugee debate as a whole, with a more precise representation of different discourses than in the sample of newspaper articles. Nevertheless, in the discourse analysis itself, no distinction is made between the different sets of fragments, as both sets are compiled of speech acts of politicians and accordingly do not need to be treated differently. Although the gathered data samples are too large to include in the annex of this thesis, they can be made available as requested.

4. Background Chapter

The previous chapters of this thesis have presented the theoretical framework of this thesis, as well as the methodology and method of the CDA that is conducted. In doing so, however, two of the major topics of this thesis, the EU-Turkey refugee deal and the role of the populist radical right in the securitization of migration have so far not been addressed; the following chapter aims to fill this gap. The first part of this chapter discusses the EU-Turkey agreement and examines whether it can be considered as an excessive securitized measure. The second part of this chapter addresses the PRR and explains why this party family should be regarded as a vital component in the securitization of migration.

In addition to these topics, the third section of this chapter presents a short overview of the Dutch political system in order to give the reader a better understanding of what is considered as the political field in this thesis. By providing some key characteristics of the political system in general and the different political parties present in this system in particular, it should serve as to understand better what constitutes the order of discourse in this thesis as well as the different actors and dynamics within this order.

The final part of this chapter presents the reader with a background of the contextual circumstances in which the refugee debate in the Netherlands during the European refugee crisis took place. Consequently, it is meant as to address McDonald's critique on the lack of context often present in securitization research. In doing so, this section discusses the public opinion about refugees in the Netherlands and a number of relevant events and developments that took place in the Netherlands during the European refugee crisis.

4.1 The EU-Turkey agreement

One of the central assumptions in this thesis is that during the refugee crisis, migration was securitized in the Dutch political debate. This assumption is based for a large part on the idea that the EU-Turkey agreement, one of the central policy decisions made during the crisis, constituted a securitized measure. However, to what extent this agreement indeed should be perceived as a securitized measure, and why, has not yet been discussed in this thesis. In pursuance of addressing this gap, the following section discusses the EU-Turkey agreement and examines whether it indeed constitutes a securitized measure in accordance with the securitization framework. As such, it considers whether the actors that justified the agreement as a necessity to resolve an (existential) security threat rhetoric, and whether the substance of the agreement constitutes extraordinary measures that go beyond the normal liberal-democratic practices of policy-making.

Although the substance of the EU-Turkey agreement will not be analyzed in detail, in short, by closing the agreement the EU and Turkey officially established that:

1. All new irregular migrants crossing from Turkey to the Greek islands as of 20 March 2016 will be returned to Turkey;
2. For every Syrian being returned to Turkey from the Greek islands, another Syrian will be resettled to the EU;
3. Turkey will take any necessary measures to prevent new sea or land routes for irregular migration opening from Turkey to the EU;
4. Once irregular crossings between Turkey and the EU are ending or have been substantially reduced, a Voluntary Humanitarian Admission Scheme will be activated;
5. The fulfillment of the visa liberalization roadmap will be accelerated with a view to lifting the visa requirements for Turkish citizens at the latest by the end of June 2016. Turkey will take all the necessary steps to fulfill the remaining requirements;
6. The EU will, in close cooperation with Turkey, further speed up the disbursement of the initially allocated €3 billion under the Facility for Refugees in Turkey. Once these resources are about to be used in full, the EU will mobilize additional funding for the Facility up to an additional €3 billion by the end of 2018;
7. The EU and Turkey welcomed the ongoing work on the upgrading of the Customs Union;
8. The accession process will be re-energized, with Chapter 33 to be opened during the Dutch Presidency of the Council of the European Union and preparatory work on the opening of other chapters to continue at an accelerated pace;
9. The EU and Turkey will work to improve humanitarian conditions inside Syria.¹⁹¹

In the official press release after the closure of the agreement, the European Council contends that “It will be a temporary and extraordinary measure which is necessary to end the human suffering and restore public order.”¹⁹² Thus, by looking at the words used by the European Council, one can establish that the nature of the agreement is extraordinary, but that it is nevertheless a necessity to restore the public order. In doing so, the European Council puts forward the idea that there is a specific threat to public order that needs to be neutralized, and which legitimizes extraordinary measures to be taken. This threat is directly connected to the influx of asylum seekers as the core goal of the agreement is to prevent irregular migrants from entering the EU.¹⁹³ Especially point 3 of the deal, displays strong resonance with the emergency politics as described by securitization theory as it explicitly states that Turkey will take “any necessary measure to prevent new sea or land routes for irregular migration opening from Turkey to the EU.”

¹⁹¹ European Commission, “European Commission - Press Release - EU-Turkey Statement: Questions and Answers,” European Commission, March 19, 2016, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-16-963_en.htm.

¹⁹² European Council, “EU-Turkey Statement, 18 March 2016 - Concilium.”

¹⁹³ Gabrielle Vermeulen, “The Securitisation of Migration during the Refugee Crisis: The Role of the EU Institutes.” 2018, 25.

However, besides stressing public order, the European Council also highlights the necessity of the EU-Turkey deal to end human suffering. Indeed, as will be examined in more detail in the next chapter of this thesis, humanitarianism was an integral element in the discourse legitimizing the EU-Turkey agreement. Accordingly, proponents of the agreement stressed that the agreement would make an end to the loss of lives on sea, and destroy the business model of human smugglers.¹⁹⁴ Although the EU-Turkey agreement succeeded to a large extent in realizing these goals, if the primary purpose of the agreement was to end the human suffering related to the refugee crisis, sending all irregular migrants that reach the EU from Turkey back is a rather poor policy solution, especially when considering the general human rights condition in Turkey.

Since the initial idea of the EU-Turkey agreement, it has been strongly condemned by a wide variety of different NGOs.¹⁹⁵ In an extensive report on the humanitarian nature of the EU-Turkey agreement, Amnesty International argues that the central flaw of the agreement is that it is based on the "untrue, but willfully ignored, premise" that Turkey is a safe country for refugees and asylum-seekers.¹⁹⁶

One of the fundamental principles of international law is that of 'non-refoulement.' This principle entails that countries have an obligation to protect everyone under its jurisdiction from refoulement (i.e., the transfer of individuals to a place where they would be at real risk of serious human rights violations).¹⁹⁷ However, under European law, this obligation is extended towards refraining from forcibly returning asylum-seekers to their country of origin as well as refraining from transferring them to a country that is unable to guarantee access to an adequate protection status and adequate living conditions.¹⁹⁸

Research of Amnesty International in Turkey in 2015 and 2016 shows that it is beyond any doubt that Turkey is not a country that can guarantee this. To name but a few examples, this research showed that asylum-seekers in Turkey ; do not have access to fair and efficient procedures for the determination of their status, have been subject to human rights violations including arbitrary detention and denial of access to legal representation, asylum-seekers struggle to access means sufficient to maintain an adequate standard of living, and have been forcibly returned to countries such as Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan.¹⁹⁹ Furthermore, Turkey is widely condemned as a country that abuses human rights. Particularly those that concern freedom of speech and organizational freedom.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁴ Zachary Laub, "Why the German-Turkish Migrant Plan Can Work," Council on Foreign Relations, March 16, 2016.

¹⁹⁵ Aljazeera, "UN Says EU-Turkey Refugee Deal Would Violate Law"; Aljazeera, "NGOs Criticise Turkey-EU Deal on Refugees," Aljazeera, March 17, 2016.

¹⁹⁶ Amnesty International, "A Blueprint for Despair: Human Rights Impact of the EU-Turkey Deal," 1.

¹⁹⁷ Seline Trevisanut, "The Principle of Non-Refoulement And the De-Territorialization of Border Control at Sea," *Leiden Journal of International Law* 27, no. 3 (September 2014): 661–75.

¹⁹⁸ Amnesty International, "A Blueprint for Despair: Human Rights Impact of the EU-Turkey Deal," 18.

¹⁹⁹ Amnesty International, 18.

²⁰⁰ Freedom House, "Freedom in the World: Turkey," January 26, 2016, <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2016/turkey>.

Consequently, by closing the EU-Turkey agreement the EU was in direct violation of international law, even though all member states of the EU have ratified the 1951 UN refugee convention, which is directly referenced in the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (Art. 78) and the EU Charter of fundamental rights (Art. 18-19). Accordingly, the argument the European Council makes that the deal is necessary to end the human suffering related to the refugee crisis can safely be dismissed as invalid.

In addition to the violations as mentioned above, the agreement is also in contradiction with some of the basic principles on which the European Union was founded, as is exemplified by the European treaties themselves; Art. 21.1 of the Lisbon Treaty for instance phrases that:

“The Union’s actions on the international scene shall be guided by the principles which have inspired its own creation, development and enlargement, and which it seeks to advance in the wider world: democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, the principles of equality and solidarity, and respect for the principles of the United Nations charter and international law.”²⁰¹

As a result of the questionable legality of the EU-Turkey agreement as described above, three asylum seekers located in Greece reached out to the Court of Justice of the European Union and lodged an application for annulment of the agreement.²⁰² After investigation, the Court found however that it lacked jurisdiction, as the EU is itself not party to the agreement, but rather the individual Member states themselves.²⁰³ According to the Centre for European Policy Studies, this was a purposeful construction of the EU institutions enables the judicial and democratic checks and balances as laid down in the EU.²⁰⁴ Despite the inability to review the legality of the EU-Turkey agreement as a result of this construction however, it is beyond any doubt that the agreement constitutes a failure of the EU to live up to its core values and legal obligations regarding the humanitarian protection of people in need²⁰⁵.

By means of summarizing this section. On the basis of the above, one can conclude that the EU-Turkey agreement constitutes a clear instance of a securitized measure as it is excessive (i.e., the European Council stresses the extraordinary nature of the measure), was justified as a necessity in order to restore public order (existential threat), constructed asylum seekers as a threat to public order, and provided ‘carte blanche’ to take whatever means necessary to prevent new routes of irregular migration (i.e., contain the threat). Furthermore, it can justifiably be argued to be going beyond the standard liberal-democratic practices of policy-making as it constituted a sheer violation of international and European law, was in contradiction with some

²⁰¹ Khalid Koser, “When Is Migration a Security Issue?,” *Brookings* (blog), November 30, 2001.

²⁰² Carrera, den Hertog, and Stefan, “It Wasn’t Me! The Luxembourg Court Orders on the EU-Turkey Refugee Deal. CEPS Policy Insights No. 2017-15/April 2017.”

²⁰³ Carrera, den Hertog, and Stefan.

²⁰⁴ Carrera, den Hertog, and Stefan.

²⁰⁵ Tommaso Emiliani, “‘Refugee Crisis’ - ‘EU Crisis’? The Response to Inflows of Asylum-Seekers as a Battle for the European Soul,” Policy Brief (College of Europe, March 2016).

of the core values and norms on which the European Union was founded, and purposefully was constructed in such a way as to evade legal review.

4.2 The populist radical right and its relevance in the analysis of the securitization of migration

Although, the introduction of this thesis stated that the primary hypothesis in this thesis is that in the context of the European refugee crisis, the populist radical right (PRR) has acted as a catalyst for the construction of migration as a security threat, the role of the PRR in the Netherlands during the European refugee crisis, as well as the PRR in general have so far not been discussed. The following section, therefore, focuses mainly on the PRR and accordingly aims to explain why the prevalence of the PRR is a significant dependent variable when considering the securitization of migration. In doing so, first, the definition of the PRR will be established. Second, a number of key characteristics of the political strategy of this party family will be discussed, and finally, a number of academic theories that explain the success of the PRR and the effects of this success on the political landscape are reviewed.

4.2.1 Defining PRR and its core characteristics

The phenomena of PRR has received extensive attention from researchers over the last decades. As a result, there are several definitions for this party family. The most common, however, was developed by Cas Mudde, who claims that when examining the ideological core, the PRR can be defined as a combination of nativism, authoritarianism, and populism.²⁰⁶ The first key feature, nativism, encompasses “an ideology which holds that states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group (‘the nation’) and that non-native elements (persons and ideas) are fundamentally threatening to the homogenous nation-state.”²⁰⁷ Second, the concept of authoritarianism corresponds to the shared belief of radical right populist parties in “a strictly ordered society in which infringements of authority are to be punished severely.”²⁰⁸ The third element populism is defined as an “ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, ‘the pure people’ versus ‘the corrupt elite,’ and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people.”²⁰⁹

Although some scholars contest Mudde's generalization of the PRR, when looking at the Dutch case the Dutch PRR party the Freedom Party or PVV corresponds to each of the key features as indicated by Mudde. First, the PVV displays strong elements of nativism. The party stresses the importance of the Dutch cultural heritage and that Islam is a dangerous political ideology.²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ Cas Mudde, “Radical Right Parties in Europe: What, Who, Why?” (University of Georgia, 2011), 1178.

²⁰⁷ Cas Mudde, *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 17.

²⁰⁸ Cas Mudde, *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 37.

²⁰⁹ Mudde, 27.

²¹⁰ Matthijs Rooduijn, “Vox Populismus: A Populist Radical Right Attitude among the Public?: Vox Populismus,” *Nations and Nationalism* 20, no. 1 (January 2014): 83.

To give some examples, in the party program of the PVV in the last Dutch elections called for the 'de-Islamization' of the Netherlands, the closure of all facilities for asylum seekers, a ban on Islamic head scarfs in public functions, the closing of Mosques and Islamic Schools, and a prohibition of the Koran.²¹¹ Similarly, the party displays strong authoritarian attitudes as well. For instance, the party argues for strong punishment and a 'zero tolerance' approach by the police.²¹² Finally, the party's practices strongly correspond to the populist ideology. In his speeches, the party's leader Geert Wilders very frequently appeals to 'the ordinary people' or the 'common people,' and distances himself from or condemns the 'corrupt elite in Brussels and the Hague.'²¹³ In short, the political practices and ideology of the PVV correspond very well with the predicated definition of the PRR.

As already mentioned nativism is a core characteristic of the PRR. Although the idea of nativism is firmly embedded in European societies, ideologically, the populist radical right constitutes a radicalization of existing mainstream views on nativism.²¹⁴ This radicalization of nativism in the radical right philosophy can be found in the emphasis of radical right parties on nationalist sentiments, the rejection of social inclusion of foreigners and multiculturalism, and their regard of migrants as a security threat.²¹⁵

According to Wodak the emphasis on nativism or national identity politics are a pivotal element in the politics of the PRR. As such, she categorizes the PRR as parties that "instrumentalize some kind of ethnic/religious/linguistic or political minority as a scapegoat for most if not all current woes and subsequently construe the respective group as dangerous and a threat 'to us,' and to 'our' nation."²¹⁶ This 'instrumentalization' of a political minority as a scapegoat and a threat to the nation is what Wodak labels as the 'politics of fear.' According to Wodak, the politics of fear are a central part of the political strategy of the PRR as they capitalize fear to legitimize their policy proposals with an appeal to the necessities of security.²¹⁷

Although Wodak admits that not all PRR parties endorse the same discursive strategies to legitimize their political agenda, she formulated a list of characteristic discursive strategies employed in PRR rhetoric. First, she argues populist parties emphasize simplistic Manichean dichotomies in their rhetoric, dividing the world into good and bad, 'us' and 'them,' insider and outsiders and by positive self- and negative other-presentation.²¹⁸ Furthermore, PRR parties employ a continuous and aggressive campaigning mode, which is characterized by the use of logical fallacies such as ad hominem arguments, hasty generalizations, victim-perpetrator reversal, and shifting the blame fallacies as a result of the construction of scapegoats.²¹⁹ Some

²¹¹ Tweede Kamerfractie Partij voor de Vrijheid, "Verkiezingsprogramma 2017-2012," Partij voor de vrijheid, 2017, <https://www.pvv.nl/index.php/visie.html>.

²¹² Rooduijn, "Vox Populismus."

²¹³ Stijn van Kessel, "Explaining the Electoral Performance of Populist Parties: The Netherlands as a Case Study," *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 12, no. 1 (April 2011): 68–88.

²¹⁴ Cas Mudde, "Radical Right Parties in Europe: What, Who, Why?" (University of Georgia, 2011), 1178.

²¹⁵ Middleton, "Populist Radical Right Parties and the Securitization of Migration in France," 15.

²¹⁶ Wodak, *The Politics of Fear: What Right-Wing Populist Discourse Means*, 2.

²¹⁷ Wodak, 5.

²¹⁸ Wodak, 67.

²¹⁹ Wodak, 67.

examples of how these fallacies are used in the discourse of the PRR are presented in the empirical analysis of this thesis. Also, PRR parties tend to show revisionist historical narratives stressing the shared cultural heritage of a homogenous demos.²²⁰ Finally, PRR parties typically stress common sense simplistic explanations and solutions, which is labeled as anti-intellectualism, and the need for a charismatic leader and authoritarian structures to enforce such solutions.²²¹

4.2.2 Explaining the growth of the PRR

So far, this chapter has established what the PRR entails, and what discursive strategies these parties employ to advance their political agenda. The next section discusses how scholars have explained the substantial growth in popularity of the PRR in recent years.

Comparable to most Member states of the EU, in the Netherlands the relative share of immigrants among the population has risen substantially since the beginning of the 21st century.²²² Similar to this development, since the early 2000s, the vote-share of PRR parties in national parliamentary elections across the EU increased significantly.²²³ Given the anti-immigrant ideology promoted by PRR parties, a vast body of scholarly literature emerged that asks to what extent these developments are linked to each other. These studies mostly find that the increases in the number of migrants play a pivotal role in the electoral successes of PRR parties in various European countries, including the Netherlands. Thus, as a general rule, it is safe to assume that the rapid rate of European immigration has breathed life into the PRR parties.²²⁴ Despite this general rule, however, scholars present a variety of related though distinctive dynamics that constitute the rapid rise of the PRR.

A first explanation for the success of the politics of fear can be found the popular xenophobia theses, which holds that radicalization of nativism is the result of a "crisis of national identity among the postindustrial democracies brought about by the transformation into a multicultural society."²²⁵ Indeed, according to Koopmans et al., people experience a loss of identity as a result of globalization, because there "is nothing beyond the nation-state that can serve as a new anchor for collective identities and can renew a sense of control."²²⁶

Other researchers argue that the success of the PRR can be found in the appeal of their rhetoric to the 'losers of modernization.' Minkenberg, for instance, claims that the ethno-nationalistically defined, homogeneous community and the virtue of traditional roles stressed by the radical right constitute appealing counterweights for people who do not feel at home in

²²⁰ Wodak, 67.

²²¹ Wodak, *The Politics of Fear: What Right-Wing Populist Discourse Means*.

²²² Davis and Deole, "Immigration and the Rise of Far-Right Parties in Europe," 10.

²²³ Davis and Deole, 10.

²²⁴ Davis and Deole, 15.

²²⁵ Pia Knigge, "The Ecological Correlates of Right-wing Extremism in Western Europe," *European Journal of Political Research* 34, no. 2 (October 1998): 271.

²²⁶ Ruud Koopmans et al., *Contested Citizenship: Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe*, 2005, 5.

the postindustrial society.²²⁷ Intimately connected to the losers of modernization theses is the ethnic competition thesis, which claims that the success of the populist radical right can be explained by the promoted feelings of resentment towards migrants by stressing the ethnic competition between native and non-native groups over scarce resources such as, housing, the labor market, or welfare state benefits.²²⁸

4.2.3 The effect of the PRR on other political parties

The previous arguments have focused on why the radical right is appealing to voters in contemporary Europe. However, the radical right also significantly influences the practices of other political parties. Mudde, for instance, argues that PRR parties have acted as enablers for mainstream (right-wing) parties to implement stricter immigration policies "contaminating the mainstream political discourse."²²⁹ By presenting electoral competition to mainstream parties, populist radical right parties influenced mainstream parties, creating a tendency for mainstream parties to shift towards more nativist tendencies concerning migration policy, to prevent a loss of constituents.²³⁰ At the same time, however, it is questionable if such mainstreaming of the radical right is profitable for mainstream parties. Indeed, several observers have argued that securitization efforts of more mainstream political parties boost the far-right parties as they can capitalize the anti-immigration discourse since they were the first to call for more restrictive immigration policies, far for the migration/refugee influx begun.²³¹

Although the arguments presented in this section stress different elements of the populist radical right, each of them reveals how the radical right can capitalize identity-based fears present in Western societies. The politics of fear enabled the PRR to thrive on the theme of anti-immigration during the refugee crisis, arguing for restrictive, often openly xenophobic approaches to migration (i.e., draconian measures to halt immigration).²³² Consequently, the 2015 refugee influx created a perfect storm for populist radical right parties, which have been able to unleash their xenophobic - and in the Dutch case Islamophobic - rhetoric, exploit widespread fears, and profit from their long-standing opposition to immigration.²³³ Considering the prevalence of the PRR in the Netherlands, and the integral part the securitization of migration plays in their political program when assessing the securitization of

²²⁷ Michael Minkenberg, "The West European Radical Right as a Collective Actor: Modeling the Impact of Cultural and Structural Variables on Party Formation and Movement Mobilization," *Comparative European Politics* 1, no. 2 (July 1, 2003): 151.

²²⁸ Jens Rydgren, "The Sociology of the Radical Right," *Annual Review of Sociology*, no. 33 (2007): 251.

²²⁹ Cas Mudde, "Three Decades of Populist Radical Right Parties in Western Europe: So What?: THREE DECADES OF POPULIST RADICAL RIGHT PARTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE," *European Journal of Political Research* 52, no. 1 (January 2013): 1–19.

²³⁰ Natalia Banulescu-Bogdan and Elizabeth Collett, "Refugee Crisis Deepens Political Polarization in the West," *Migration Policy Institute*, December 10, 2015; Mudde, "Three Decades of Populist Radical Right Parties in Western Europe," 8.

²³¹ Rosa Balfour et al., "Europe's Troublemakers - The Populist Challenge to Foreign Policy" (European Policy Centre, March 8, 2016), 43.

²³² *Ibid.*, 42.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 43.

migration in the Netherlands the PRR is a particularly relevant variable to take into account. Accordingly, the central hypothesis of this thesis in this regard is that the PRR in the Netherlands is likely to have played a pivotal role as a moderator in the discursive construction of migration as a security threat in the political debate during the refugee crisis. Thus, by accepting Mudde's "contaminating the mainstream political discourse" argument, the PRR is believed to have acted as a catalyst for the securitization of migration in the Netherlands. As such, the PRR is expected to have played a significant role in the transformation of the order of discourse towards a more security-oriented discourse. To what extent this has been the case, however, will be the subject of inquiry in the empirical chapter.

4.3 The Dutch political system

The following section presents a short overview of the Dutch political system to give the reader a better understanding of what is considered as the political field in this thesis. In doing so, first, some key characteristics of the Dutch political system are discussed, after which, an overview of the different political parties in the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament and its composition during the refugee crisis is given. In doing so, this section aims to provide the reader with a clear understanding of what constitutes the order of discourse under investigation in this thesis, and the different actors and dynamics within this order.

As a political system, the Netherlands is a constitutional monarchy within the framework of parliamentary representative democracy. Since 1870, the power of the monarch has been strongly limited as Ministers are accountable to the parliament for everything the head of state does or says. Thus, the Dutch monarch mainly holds a ceremonial function and is subordinate to the will of the parliament.²³⁴ Representative democracy refers to the most common form of modern democracy founded on the principle that the population of a given political entity does not participate in political decision making directly, but appoints political representatives through elections.²³⁵

The Netherlands has a bicameral governance system in which the Lower House of Parliament (Second Chamber) is the leading legislative and supervisory power.²³⁶ Consequently, the discourse analysis of the Dutch political debate during the European refugee crisis focuses on the debate that took place in the Second Chamber (this also includes other public statements of members of this Chamber in for instance the media). Therefore, in this thesis, the political order of discourse constitutes the configuration of different discourse types in the Dutch Second Chamber of Parliament.

Normally, elections for the second chamber take place every four years through universal suffrage using a system of proportional representation. This means that in the Netherlands, divisions in the electorate are reflected proportionately in the elected body.²³⁷ Consequently, there is a wide variety of political parties in the Netherlands. No political party in the Netherlands has ever had an absolute majority in the Second Chamber, and since any government needs to have the support of a majority in the Second Chamber, the Netherlands always has governments that consist of a coalition of parties.²³⁸

²³⁴ Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, *The Dutch Political System in a Nutshell* (The Hague: Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, 2008), 9, <http://nimd.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Dutch-Political-System.pdf>.

²³⁵ Antoine Loeper, "Cross-Border Externalities and Cooperation among Representative Democracies," *European Economic Review* 91 (January 1, 2017): 180.

²³⁶ Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, *The Dutch Political System, in a Nutshell*, 31.

²³⁷ Andrew Reynolds, Ben Reily, and Andrew Ellis, *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook* (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2005).

²³⁸ Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, *The Dutch Political System in a Nutshell*, 39.

As a result of this composition of Dutch governments, the Netherlands can be described as a consociational state, meaning that societal fragmentations along ethnic and religious lines are reconciled through arrangements of power-sharing.²³⁹ Indeed, politics and governance in the Netherlands are commonly portrayed as a system of consensus decision-making, based on a pragmatic recognition of pluriformity both within the political community and society as a whole, a dynamic that has been labeled as the polder model of decision-making.²⁴⁰

Concerning the securitization framework, the consociational character of Dutch governance has significant implications. As already established in the section of the theoretical framework that deals with audience acceptance, for securitized measures to be accepted in the political arena, a parliamentary majority needs to be obtained by the securitizing actor. In the case of the Netherlands however, this entails, that a variety of different parties need to accept the securitizing measure (i.e., the securitization discourse of the securitizing actor). As such, the successful securitization of an issue in the political arena will always result in a certain level of hegemony in the political order of discourse, as at least the majority of the members of Parliament need to support the securitizing act.

In total, the Dutch Second Chamber holds 150 seats, each of which is allocated to a member of one of the parties as a result of the number of votes each party receives. The following table summarizes the composition of the Second Chamber during the refugee crisis, reflecting the election results of September 12, 2012. Also, a concise description of the parties' positioning in the political spectrum and their corresponding political philosophies is provided.²⁴¹

²³⁹ John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary, *The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Regulation: Case Studies of Protracted Ethnic Conflicts* (London; New York: Routledge, 1993).

²⁴⁰ Jaap Woldendorp and Hans Keman, "The Polder Model Reviewed: Dutch Corporatism 1965–2000," *Economic and Industrial Democracy* 28, no. 3 (August 1, 2007): 317–47.

²⁴¹ Although the descriptions of the political parties are formulated mainly on the basis of the information contained on the websites of each political parties as well as a report of the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, readers should note that the categorization of political parties in holistic classes as is done here, per definition is a problematic endeavor. Parties can rarely be positioned to one category exclusively, but tend to have diverging perceptions across different topics. Thus, instead then perceiving these descriptions as a definitive guide on the political positioning of different Dutch parties, they should be interpreted as providing the reader with a general overview on where various political parties are most commonly positioned in the political spectrum.

ABBREVIATION (DUTCH)	NUMBER OF SEATS	SHORT DESCRIPTION
VVD	41	Center-right conservative-liberal party, commonly perceived as economically liberal.
PVDA	36	Center-left social democratic party generally perceived as the Dutch labor party.
PVV	13	Radical right populist party.
SP	15	Socialist party.
CDA	13	Center-right conservative Christian party.
D66	12	Center-left progressive social-liberal party.
CU	5	Center-left conservative Christian party.
GL	4	Progressive leftwing 'green' party.
SGP	3	Right wing conservative Christian party of the Christian Reformed Church branch.
PVDD	2	Progressive left wing party focusing on animal rights and welfare while generally adopting the political agenda of the green party.
50+	2	Conservative right-wing party focusing on improving the position of people older than 50 in the Netherlands.
GROUP KUZU/ÖZTÜRK	2	Left-wing progressive party consisting of two former members of the PVDA, mainly emphasizing integration topics.
GROUP BONTES/VAN KLAVEREN	2	Radical right populist party consisting of two former members of the PVV, mainly resembling the agenda of the PVV

Table II. Overview of the composition of the Second Chamber at the time of the European refugee crisis.

As can be seen in table I, the two largest parties in the Second Chamber at the time of the refugee crisis were the VVD and the PVDA. Together these parties formed the government coalition, which reflects the consociationalism as described above. Indeed, the pluriformity of views of this particular government was especially striking with regard to the theme of migration, considering that the VVD is a proponent of a more restrictionist policy, whereas the PVDA advocates a more liberal migration policy. This contradiction in views will be discussed in more detail in the empirical analysis of the thesis.

4.4 The development of Dutch public opinion on migration issues during the European refugee crisis

Although it might be considered a somewhat foolish attempt to present or summarize a country's 'public opinion', the following segment will show some of the facts and figures with regard to the refugee crisis in the Netherlands, examine a number of indicators of the Dutch public opinion, and analyze some critical events in relation to the public perception of migration issues. In doing so, it serves as a background for the reader of the social and political context in which the migration debate in the Netherlands at the time of the European refugee crisis took place. As such, this section aims to account for the criticism of McDonald on the lack of context in securitization theory as discussed in chapter 2.3.2.

Although extensive, the influx of asylum seekers to the Netherlands during the European refugee crisis was relatively small compared to other European countries, and as such constituted a manageable issue. Nevertheless, the influx of refugees represented by far the biggest concern of Dutch citizens in the year 2015.²⁴² Research of the Dutch Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) on the perception of Dutch citizens on national problems found that in the last quarter of 2015 44 percent of all the Dutch people named issues related to refugees as the most significant national problem.²⁴³ This high percentage constituted a sudden peak in the perception of issues related to immigration and integration as the primary national problem according to the Dutch population, as in the period of 2008 until the third quarter of 2015 this number fluctuated between the 7 and 14 percent.²⁴⁴ According to the research of the SCP citizens were mainly concerned with the vast number of refugees that came to the Netherlands, the growing tensions in society as a result of this influx, the fact that refugees received welfare benefits that others might not be able to enjoy, and that there might be terrorists among the refugees.²⁴⁵

In a similar vein, a survey of Pew Research Center conducted in the spring of 2016 concluded that in the Netherlands 61 percent of the surveyed individuals indicated to believe that the presence of refugees will increase the likelihood of terrorism.²⁴⁶ This means that, assuming that the survey gives a representative depiction of the public opinion, 61 percent of the Dutch population perceived refugees as a security threat to their country.

Thus, when considering the Dutch public opinion, one can justifiably conclude that the refugee crisis was perceived as a significant political and security issue facing the Netherlands, a public perception that reached its peak towards the end of 2015. One can question, however, whether

²⁴² Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau, "Continu Onderzoek Burgerperspectieven: Burgerperspectieven 2015, Vierde Kwartaal."

²⁴³ Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau, 22.

²⁴⁴ Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau, 4.

²⁴⁵ Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau, 4.

²⁴⁶ Phillip Connor, "Number of Refugees to Europe Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015," *Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project* (blog), August 2, 2016, <http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/08/02/number-of-refugees-to-europe-surges-to-record-1-3-million-in-2015/>.

these perceptions were not the result of public discourse of refugees as a security threat, rather than that they were formed by citizens independently. Indeed, it is precisely this type of dynamic that Fairclough describes when arguing that discourse is a form of social practice, which both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices.²⁴⁷ In accordance with this logic, one can assume that the public opinion concerning refugees during the refugee crisis was indeed for a large part informed by the discursive construction of refugees as a security threat, by for instance political leaders. However, since this section is not concerned with examining the interplay between discursive practice and social practice, but focuses on describing the social context in which the political debate took place, at this moment in the analysis it is mainly important to conclude that public opinion in the Netherlands during the refugee crisis constituted a favorable contextual condition for securitized discourse with regard to migrants.

As could be expected, the negative public sentiment with regard to migrants was very successfully exploited by the Dutch populist radical right party the PVV. With their long-standing opposition to immigration practices and their consideration of migrants as a security threat, the refugee crisis constituted ideal conditions for the PVV to exploit the widespread fears and concerns of the Dutch population vis-à-vis the influx of asylum seekers. Throughout the refugee crisis, the PVV was the 'issue-owner' of the theme as it dominated the media coverage on the topic.²⁴⁸ Research examining the major newspapers in the Netherlands showed that the chances of the PVV being named in an article that also named refugees was 20%, for each of the government parties, for instance, this was only 10%.²⁴⁹

The growing perception of migration as a security threat and the ability of the PVV to exploit this sentiment can also be observed in the change of political opinion polls during the crisis. In the Netherlands, several research agencies poll what constituents would vote at a particular moment in time if there would be an election. The Peilingwijzer, an independent initiative of political scientist Tom Louwerse, indexes and combines the data of four of the major polling agencies, to provide a comprehensive estimate of the opinion polls on voting behavior.²⁵⁰ Looking at these estimates, what is remarkable is that the approval rates of all political parties either remained relatively stable or declined in the period that of the European refugee crisis that is being analyzed (August 2015 until March 2016).²⁵¹ The only notable exception to this was the PVV, which saw its position rise from a hypothetical 21 seats in parliament in August 2015 to roughly 34 seats in March 2016.²⁵² In other words, according to these estimates, the number of seats of that the PVV would have obtained in an election rose by 61.9% during the

²⁴⁷ Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, 81.

²⁴⁸ Kristel van Teeffelen, "PVV Scoort Het Meest in Het Medianieuws over Vluchtelingen," *Trouw*, January 22, 2016.

²⁴⁹ van Teeffelen.

²⁵⁰ Tom Louwerse, "Peilingwijzer: Methode," accessed October 11, 2017, <http://peilingwijzer.tomlouwerse.nl/p/methode.html>.

²⁵¹ Tom Louwerse, "Peilingwijzer 2012-2017: Longitudinal Data (in %): Point Estimates and 95% Bayesian Credible Interval for Each Party on Each Day," Peilingwijzer, March 17, 2017,

<https://dataverse.harvard.edu/file.xhtml?fileId=3007245&version=RELEASED&version=0>.

²⁵² Louwerse.

timeframe of the European refugee crisis that is considered in this thesis. The majority of the hypothetical seats that the PVV won during the refugee crisis were the result of significant electoral losses of the government parties VVD and PVDA. In January 2016, according to the data of one polling agency, the government coalition only had 27 seats left of the initial 79 they received together during the last elections.²⁵³ In the same poll, the PVV had grown to largest party with a total number of 41 seats, significantly more than the government coalition combined.²⁵⁴ As recent election campaigns in both the Netherlands and other countries have shown, polls are mere sample studies of a population, and often provide predictions that are in contradiction with the actual results. Nevertheless, the rise of the PVV in the opinion polls during the refugee crisis was so exceptionally high, that it is safe to assume that these estimates indeed corresponded to a considerable actual increase in the popularity of the politics of the far right in the Netherlands. Accordingly, these opinion polls indicate that among the Dutch constituency, the anti-immigration message of the PRR gained significant traction and enjoyed considerable acceptance during the refugee crisis.

Although perceptions with regard to migrants as a security threat are likely to have been formed over a prolonged period and constituted by a variety of causes, the argument that will be made in the next section is that a select number of 'traumatic' incidents also played a vital role in shifting the public perception in the Netherlands towards a more securitized view. These incidents can be interpreted as what has been earlier described by Jakesevic and Tatlovic as favorable contextual conditions for the increased securitization of migration.²⁵⁵ The following section examines the presence of such favorable conditions in the Netherlands by describing two incidents that are assumed to have been major game changers in the refugee debate.

The most traumatic and bloody incident that is likely to have contributed to increased securitization in the Netherlands were the terrorist attacks that were committed on the 13th of November 2015 in France. During this attack, which took place at the peak of the European refugee crisis, 137 people were killed and 368 injured, making it the most fatal terrorist attack taking place in Europe since the Madrid train bombings in March 2004.²⁵⁶ Shortly after the attacks, information came out that one of the attackers held an emergency passport which he received when he falsely claimed to be a Syrian refugee at the Greek border on 3rd of October.²⁵⁷ In a later stage, however, authorities concluded that the passport was fake, as another individual residing in a Serbian refugee camp was found with a passport with exact the same details. Up till now, therefore, it remains unclear whether the unidentified attacker who carried the passport was indeed a Syrian citizen.²⁵⁸ On the contrary, all of the assailants of the Paris attacks that

²⁵³ Maurice de Hond, "Opiniepeiling Maurice de Hond: PVV Naar Nieuwe Recordhoogte," *ThePostOnline* (blog), January 10, 2016, <http://nieuws.tpo.nl/2016/01/10/peiling-de-hond-pvv-nieuwe-recordhoogte/>.

²⁵⁴ de Hond.

²⁵⁵ Jakesevic and Tatalovic, "SECURITIZATION (AND DE-SECURITIZATION) OF THE EUROPEAN REFUGEE CRISIS."

²⁵⁶ Marcy Kreiter, "Death Toll Rises In Paris Terror Attacks," *International Business Times*, November 15, 2015.

²⁵⁷ Christiane Amanpour and Thom Patterson CNN, "Paris Bomber Had Syrian Refugee Passport, Official Says," *CNN*, accessed October 11, 2017.

²⁵⁸ Ishaan Tharoor, "Were Syrian Refugees Involved in the Paris Attacks? What We Know and Don't Know.," *Washington Post*, accessed October 11, 2017.

were identified were citizens of the EU, suggesting that their radicalization was homegrown on the European continent as opposed to imported via the exodus of Syrian refugees.²⁵⁹

Similarly, in the days after the Paris attacks, several Dutch terrorist experts, such as the National Coordinator of counter-terrorism, proclaimed that they consider it "unlikely" that terrorists will travel the same ways as refugees to gain access to Europe. Rather, they claimed that "the most important threat of terrorism in the Netherlands comes from combatants that have gone to Syria to fight and return to the Netherlands, and youngsters that radicalize in the Netherlands."²⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the floodgates of the debate on whether one of the terrorists was a Syrian refugee had already been opened, creating a new security dimension for the refugee crisis, one that was widely articulated in the Dutch political debate.²⁶¹ Thus even though there is no evidence of the involvement of asylum seekers in the Paris attacks, there is a widespread consensus that the attacks made the refugee crisis more complex and sensitive.²⁶²

Another pivotal incident that occurred during the refugee crisis that might have contributed to the securitization of migration in the Netherlands were the mass sexual assaults that occurred in Germany on New Year's Eve 2016. The biggest attacks occurred in the city of Cologne, where more than 100 women and girls reported sexual assault and robbery.²⁶³ At the same night, similar incidents occurred in the cities of Hamburg, Dortmund, Düsseldorf, and Stuttgart. The German police reported that in the whole of Germany an estimate of 1,200 women were sexually assaulted and that at around 2,000 men, acting in groups, were involved in the attacks.²⁶⁴ Eyewitness reports of the events described how males surrounded women in groups of 30 to 40 before groping them and assaulting them and their partners.²⁶⁵ The Police in Cologne indicated that the men appeared to be acting coordinated, matching their modus operandi to that of criminal groups that have been active for years in the German city.²⁶⁶ Despite the shocking number of assaults that occurred this night, only a handful of arrests were made. Eyewitnesses described the gangs of men as having a "North African or Arabic" appearance.²⁶⁷ Although it is unclear how many refugees were among the assaulting groups, officials stated that many suspects originally came from North African countries rather than Syria.²⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the events were quickly linked to the influx of asylum seekers and Merkel's open-door policy. Holger Münch, Minister of the German Federal Crime Police Office, for instance, declared that "there is a connection between this phenomenon and the rapid migration in 2015."²⁶⁹ After the

²⁵⁹ Tharoor.

²⁶⁰ Jaco Alberts, "'Er Dreigt Een Verkeerde Focus Op Vluchtelingen'; de Terrorisme-Experts," *Vrij Nederland*, November 28, 2015.

²⁶¹ Alberts.

²⁶² Gavin Hewitt, "Paris Attacks: Impact on Borders and Refugees," *BBC News*, November 15, 2015, sec. Europe.

²⁶³ "Cologne Sex Attacks: Women Describe 'Terrible' Assaults," *BBC News*, accessed October 11, 2017.

²⁶⁴ Rick Noack, "Leaked Document Says 2,000 Men Allegedly Assaulted 1,200 German Women on New Year's Eve," *Washington Post*, accessed October 11, 2017.

²⁶⁵ Kate Connolly, "Tensions Rise in Germany over Handling of Mass Sexual Assaults in Cologne," *the Guardian*, January 7, 2016.

²⁶⁶ Connolly.

²⁶⁷ Melissa Eddy, "Reports of Attacks on Women in Germany Heighten Tension Over Migrants," accessed October 11, 2017.

²⁶⁸ Noack, "Leaked Document Says 2,000 Men Allegedly Assaulted 1,200 German Women on New Year's Eve."

²⁶⁹ Noack.

incidents the rightwing populist party Alternative for Germany (AFD) called upon Merkel to stop the mass immigration, and make Germany safe again, but also other, less conventional critics, condemned Merkel's approach and called for a reevaluation of Germany's open border policy towards refugees.²⁷⁰

Although similarly as with the Paris attacks, there were no refugees directly involved in this incident, a connection between the events and the influx of refugees was quickly made by a variety of actors. Consequently, it is very likely that the New Year's Eve incidents will have had a facilitating impact on the increased securitization of migration. Whether or not and to what extent the two incidents described here have indeed contributed to the securitization of refugees in the Netherlands however, will be analyzed in more detail in the actual discourse analysis of this thesis. Yet, one can safely conclude that both of the events described in this section provided a strong favorable contextual condition for the discursive construction of migration as a security threat. Moreover, as a general conclusion, the political climate in the Netherlands at the time of the refugee crisis should be considered as a climate in which citizens widely perceived issues related to migration as potential security threats, and that there was ample demand for the strong anti-immigrant rhetoric of the PVV.

²⁷⁰ Saskia Jonker, "Keulen Zet Asieldebat Op Scherp," *Trouw*, January 6, 2016.

5. Results discourse analysis

The following chapter presents an analysis of the discourse fragments that have been gathered for this thesis and discusses these by focusing on the first two dimension of Fairclough's three-dimensional model. As a result of the large amount of relevant discourse fragment that have been gathered, not all relevant fragments will be presented in this chapter. The fragments that are given here, however, do represent the discourses and ideologies that were prevalent in the gathered data. As all the data that was collected was in Dutch, all of the fragments have been translated for this thesis. The original Dutch version of the fragments can be found in the appendix.

To present the gathered data gathered in a more structured fashion, the different text fragments from the political debate on the refugee crisis have been divided into several timeframes (figure III). These timeframes have been selected because the events that separate the timeframes constituted key moments during the refugee crisis and accordingly are presumed to constitute moments at which significant discursive shifts took place (game changers). The first timeframe encompasses the period from the 1st of September, until the 13th of November, the day on which a series of terrorist attacks took place in Paris. The second timeframe covers the period from the 14th of November until the 1st of January 2016, the date on which the series of sexual assaults in Germany took place. Finally, the third timeframe encompasses the period from the 2nd of January until the formal closure of the EU-Turkey agreement (the 18th of March 2016). In addition to these timeframes, throughout this chapter, text fragments that reflect similar discourses are presented in grouped sections. In most cases, these grouped sections resemble the left-right political spectrum. This resemblance of discourses according to this spectrum was not a priori assumed, however, but rather emerged in the data as such.

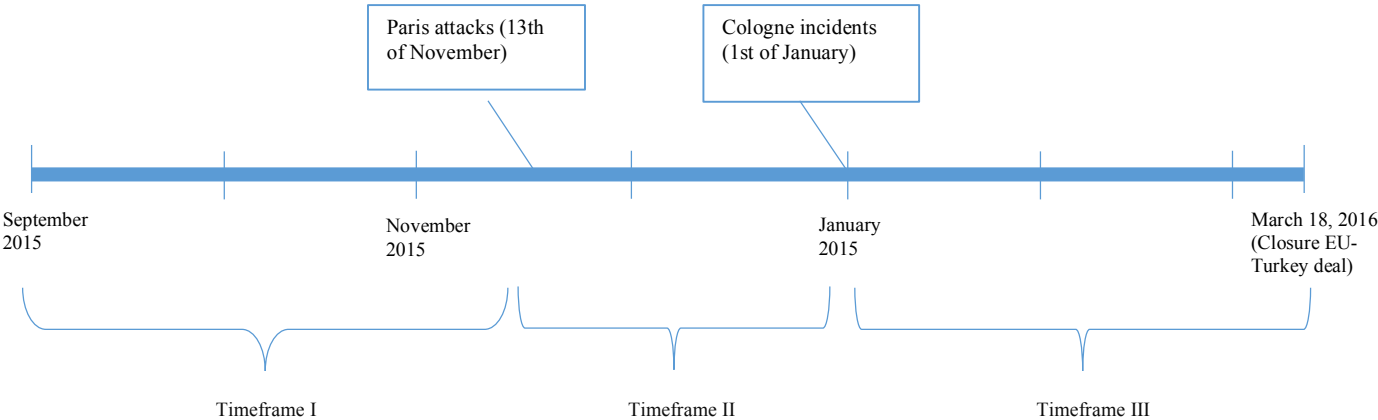


Figure III. Timeline of data collection with events separating the selected time frames.

5.1 Timeframe I

5.1.1 Humanitarian discourse

Although the refugee crisis was already at its peak with regard to the influx of irregular migrants in Europe in September 2015, much of the discourse in the political debate echoed mainly humanitarian discourse, framing the issue of irregular migration as a humanitarian question, and primarily emphasizing values as solidarity, the rights of refugees, and the moral obligation of the Netherlands to shelter refugees.

Especially the parties at the left end of the political spectrum; the Socialist Party (SP), the Green party (GL), the labor party (PVDA), the social liberal party (D66), and the progressive Christian party (CU) overwhelmingly expressed humanitarian oriented discourse. Some examples of text fragments representing such discourse are and analyzed below.

One fitting example of a humanitarian discourse ideology was a resolution submitted by Alexander Pechtold, the leader of D66, and signed by Jesse Klaver, the leader of GL, stating that:

“Considering the Netherlands has committed itself in several international treaties tot he fundamental right to asylum. Considering that corresponding to the current propositions of the government in time this fundamental right will be affected; requesting the government to not assent in any way to the derogation of the fundamental right to asylum.”

Alexander Pechtold and Jesse Klaver (09-10-2015)

Text fragment I.

Despite the somewhat fuzzy language that is inherent to official resolutions, this fragments strongly echoes a humanitarian ideology, by stressing the fundamental right to asylum. Also, this resolution articulates the importance of international humanitarian law, and by displaying intertextual elements of international treaties, highlighting the legal obligations that resulted from the commitment to these treaties.

In another fragment, again, the leader of D66 asked the Dutch people to be ‘generous’ towards refugees by stating the following:

"Let us carry out our civilization as something we are proud of and give people certainty, security, and decent refuge."

Alexander Pechtold (09-06-2015)

Text fragment II.

Similar to the first fragment, Pechtold very clearly echoes a humanitarian discourse, asking the Dutch people to be solidary towards refugees. Furthermore, he appeals to the morals of the Dutch people by implying that there is pride in taking care of refugees.

The following fragment from Jesse Klaver constitutes a characteristic display of the arguments uttered by the progressive left-wing parties in the refugee debate during the first time frame: .

"Can our country handle the current influx of refugees? (...) I do not have any doubts about that; we can handle this, we have handled such situations before. Not that long ago, the Netherlands had an influx of refugees that was just as extensive as the current influx. Therefore, the question is clear; do we want to be able to handle the current influx? On this question the answer is clear for me: Yes."

"We can cope with the current refugee influx, but be realistic; people will come. There will come more people than is calculated for at this moment, be honest about that."

"From day one we have to invest in integration, work, language, and education; including not excluding. Be studious."

Jesse Klaver (10-14-2015)

Text fragment III.

This fragment shows the argument that was often expressed in the first timeframe by left-wing parties, namely that the refugee crisis was not an unprecedented or existential crisis. Echoing similarities with the discourse of Merkel's famous "wir schaffen das," the leader of the green party explicitly mentions that the Netherlands has dealt with large influxes of refugees before in the recent past, and connect to this his belief that the Netherlands can cope with the influx. By emphasizing it is more a question of willing, Klaver directly challenges the opposing discourse based on the premise that the Netherlands is unable to cope with an influx of refugees as large as during the crisis. Rather he stresses that politicians should be honest vis-à-vis their voters about the future influx and make arrangements for this. The last passage strongly reflects the ideology of the values of the multicultural society, explicitly promoting inclusiveness for refugee identities, rather than framing them as 'others.'

The discourse fragments displayed so far constitute narratives of humanitarianism and solidarity. Although throughout the whole period from which discourse fragments are collected such humanitarian ideologies were prevalent in left-wing discourse, the following fragment – a resolution supported by all the leftist parties of the Chamber- indicates that already in the first time frame left-wing parties also acknowledged the exceptionality of the European refugee crisis:

"The Chamber, hearing the deliberations, considers that the sheltering of large numbers of asylum-seekers sometimes asks for unconventional measures; considering that taking these measures can never derogate the obligation we have to shelter asylum-seekers in a rightful and dignified manner, expresses that frugality may never be used as an instrument for asylum policy."

Arie Slob (10-14-2015)

Text fragment IV.

This resolution was a reaction on the proposition of the VVD to make the sheltering of asylum-seekers more frugal in order to discourage asylum-seekers to stay longer than necessary and not create incentives of asylum-seekers to come to the Netherlands. Although the argument made echoes intersubjective elements of humanitarian values and international legal obligation it is interesting left-wing parties somewhat reproduce the discourse of other parties by stating that 'unconventional' measures are justified, albeit to only a limited extent.

5.1.2 Exceptionality

When moving more towards the right end of the political spectrum, a considerable part of the communicative events during the first timeframe stressed the severity of the consequences of the refugee crisis for the Netherlands or the EU as a whole. The following two fragments of Mark Rutte, the Dutch Prime Minister, are a clear case in point:

"My political taxation is that this part of Europe is not able to deal with another peak in the influx."

"The texture of the European Union threatens to tear away if we do not succeed to address the problem of the refugee crisis jointly. That is the severity of the situation; I cannot make it prettier than it is."

Mark Rutte (10-12-2015)

Text fragment V.

Although the Prime Minister does not use the words, clearly the above passages suggest an existential threat to 'this part of Europe' and the EU. As will be seen, these types of arguments were very frequently used in the debates on the refugee crisis.

Another major theme among the parties positioned more to the right end of the political spectrum in the period of the first time frame was that of the measures directed concerning stopping the influx of refugees towards the Netherlands, often combined with arguments about the societal costs of refugees or that priority has to be given to native inhabitants. The following fragment from Halbe Zijlstra, who was the chairman of the VVD in the Second Chamber, is an illustration of such arguments:

“The large numbers of asylum-seekers can have a destabilizing effect on our society. The conclusion of the VVD is, open borders, and attractive social welfare do not go together (...) Although people understand that we cannot let people sleep in the streets, at the same time it is clear that we cannot continue the current path.”

Halbe Zijlstra (10-14-2015)

Text fragment VI.

This argument implies the destabilizing effect of asylum-seekers on host societies. The argument continues by claiming that the welfare state works as a pull factor for asylum-seekers, which makes it – according to Zijlstra - incompatible with open borders (i.e., the Schengen zone). Accordingly, this fragment articulates ideas of welfare chauvinism and stresses an exclusive national identity. By constructing open borders and attractive social welfare as a dichotomous relation, Zijlstra is discursively constructing migration as a threat to the welfare system and promoting a restrictionist stance with regard to immigration. Finally, the fragment finishes with an implicit argument that continuing in the current way would be really harmful, implicitly justifying excessive measures. This fragment can thus be seen as a ‘soft’ instance of securitization discourse as it defends excessive actions and emphasizes the negative effects of the influx of refugees.

The following fragment of Sybrand Buma, leader of the CDA, is another example of how the more right-wing oriented political parties have discursively justified excessive measures by pinpointing to the severity of the refugee crisis and advocating measures directed towards averting asylum-seekers in the Netherlands during the first timeframe:

“Europe has to go to a situation in which it can say, yes we can shelter refugees, but there are limits (...) I do not believe these limits should be enforced with fences, although I have to admit that Hungary gets quite far with its fences. I am not as critical of the fences as other commentators Under the current circumstances I believe it is morally acceptable what Hungary is doing. “

Sybrand Buma (10-18-2015)

Text fragment VII.

The most important argument made here is that there are limits to the capacity of Europe to shelter refugees. What is apparent from the different communicative events registered during

the collection of data is that the right-wing parties were very open to taking measures outside the realm of what would be considered acceptable under normal circumstances, such as the closure of borders to refugees altogether, as is done here. Although Buma does not explicitly argue for closing the borders and putting up fences, he does sympathize with Hungary which did precisely that and states that it is 'morally acceptable' to do so. As such, Buma sympathizes with rather draconic measures effectively acknowledges the severe threat the refugee crisis poses to European society.

5.1.3 Radical right exclusionary and securitization discourse

So far the analysis has brought us from the left of the political spectrum towards the right. However, on the far-right of this spectrum, the discourse was considerably more dramatic, exclusionary, and security-centered. Characteristic of the discursive practices of the radical right is the frequent use of metaphors that imply a great danger for host societies vis-à-vis refugees.

The following fragment depicts a typical example of the metaphors often used by PVV leader Geert Wilders in the political debate on refugees or migrants:

"The Netherlands is being flooded with a tsunami of fortune seekers."

Geert Wilders (09-10-2015)

Text fragment VIII.

This fragment is characteristic for the exclusionary discourse of Wilders for two main reasons. First, depicting the influx of refugees as a flood or tsunami is a metaphor widely used by Wilders and those affiliated with his party. This metaphor discursively portrays the influx of refugees as something that is too large and overwhelming to control, discursively constructing refugees as an existential threat to Dutch society. Second, Wilder implies that all asylum-seekers are 'luck seekers' (i.e., economic migrants) disregarding their legal status as refugees, and the legitimate struggle of refugees to find shelter in the Netherlands.

Another fragment that clearly displays the exclusionary and anti-immigrant nature of the discourse of the PVV is the following passage of Sietse Fritsma, the vice chairman of the PVV:

"It is, in fact, unforgivable that the Prime Minister and State Secretary are not doing anything. That they give the Islamic charge towards our country all the space it needs. That they give away our wealth, identity, and freedom as if it is nothing."

Sietse Fritsma (11-05-2015)

Text fragment IX.

Similar to the last fragment, by speaking of an "Islamic charge on our country," Fritsma constructs the influx of asylum-seekers as an existential threat by using metaphors. Furthermore, it is suggested that by doing nothing about this supposed charge, the government gives away 'our' wealth, identity, and freedom. Thus, Islamic migrants are discursively constructed as a direct threat to the wealth, identity, and freedom of 'the Dutch citizen,' even though the demographics of the Netherlands are far from homogenous. Furthermore, arguments as these construct the idea of a dangerous 'other,' discursively constructing an in-group of 'native' Dutch citizens and an out-group of 'others,' in this case including every individual with an Islamic background. As a result, this fragment constitutes an apparent incident of societal securitization.

Besides the discursive construction of fear as elaborated upon above, the Dutch radical right also uttered language on the limits of the Netherlands to shelter asylum-seekers in the political debate during the first time frame. The following fragment is an example of such communicative discourse by Wilders:

"47% of the Dutch public feels that I cannot continue like this any longer, that we should not accept more asylum-seekers to the Netherlands, that this is impossible, and that we should close our borders and don't accept any more asylum-seekers. Not because all these millions of citizens are asocial people, but because; a) they see that people come here from other countries that are already safe, b) they do not want the Netherlands to Islamize, that they c) want safety to come first in the Netherlands, that we spent those billions of euros on our own people and that we cannot cope with this any longer. The Netherlands has reached its limit. Millions of people are saying enough is enough; the borders have to be closed, we cannot cope with this any longer."

Geert Wilders (10-14-2015)

Text fragment X.

The first aspect of this fragment that is interesting for this research is the discursive construction of the refugee crisis as something "we cannot cope with any longer" as was similarly done in, for instance, the fragments of Zijlstra. Indeed, as other fragments in the remainder of this chapter will display, on the right-wing spectrum of the political field discourse production on the refugee crisis as an existential crisis was rather dominant. Considering the anti-migration agenda the PVV has had since its conception, however, such a position is not unexpected from Wilders.

The second aspect that makes this particular fragment relevant is the way the argument is constructed, more specifically, that it is based on a fallacy. Wilders begins his argument by stating that 47% of the Dutch public feels that we should not accept more asylum seekers to the Netherlands. This statement is not false but is in fact based on research conducted by I&O, a renowned Dutch research organization. However, the study only concluded that this 47% of the Dutch population was in favor to take in fewer refugees than the Netherlands was doing at the

moment of the research.²⁷¹ Wilders, however, claims that this percentage of the Dutch population argues "that we should not accept more asylum seekers to the Netherlands, that this is impossible, and that we should close our borders and don't accept any more asylum seekers," but this claim is not supported by the research. Consequently, this argument by Wilders is a classic example of confusing sufficient conditions with necessary conditions, a formal fallacy often labeled as affirming the consequent.²⁷²

This fallacy entails that a conclusion is based on the premise that is a sufficient condition for the conclusion, but not a necessary consequence. In the case of this particular text fragment, although it might have been the case that indeed 47% of the Dutch public believed that we should have closed the borders for asylum-seekers, it is likely that there is a variety of conditions for them to formulate this belief. Wilders' argumentation, however, implies that the fact that they indicated their belief that the Netherlands should accept fewer asylum seekers than it did at that moment, postulates that they all want that the government to closes off the borders and not accept any more asylum seekers. Consequently, Wilders' argumentation is based on invalid inferences about the public opinion, and as such misrepresents research outcomes in such a way as that it serves his own political ideas and agenda. As already discussed in chapter 4.2, the use of logical fallacies is a common discursive strategy of the PRR.

5.2 Timeframe II

The second timeframe starts right after the terrorist attacks in Paris committed on the 13th of November, 2015, which shocked the Netherlands, and likewise, the political debate regarding the European refugee crisis. It created a number of distinctive discursive shifts in the debate, as well as providing discursive space for the further cultivation of already observed trends in the discourse of the first timeframe. Both of these developments will be the subject of discussion in the following section.

5.2.1 Distinctive discursive shifts: The aftermath of the Paris attacks

Five days after the Paris attacks a debate on this topic was held in the Dutch Second Chamber. As can be expected the strongest securitization discourse came from the side of the PVV. The following passages are but a few of the speech acts of Wilders, clearly representing the security and anti-immigrant rhetoric present in his discourse during the debate regarding the Paris attacks:

²⁷¹ I&O Research, "Rapport 'Fort Europa': Hoe Denken Nederlanders over Migratie En Vluchtelingen in Europa En Nederland" (I&O Research, August 13, 2015), <https://ioresearch.nl/Portals/0/Rapport%20VK%20migranten%20DEF.pdf>.

²⁷² Fallacy files, "Logical Fallacy: Affirming the Consequent," Fallacy Files, accessed September 19, 2017, <http://www.fallacyfiles.org/afthecon.html>.

How many attacks still have to take place, how many innocents deaths have to occur before you start understanding mister President? (...) Islam does not belong in the Netherlands, and as long we do not do anything about that terrorist attacks will continue to occur."

"The truth is that we in Europe have been suffering terrorist attacks for a considerable time (...) since we have allowed mass-immigration from Islamic countries (...) I do not want to create discord; I want to make the Netherlands a secure country again. We witness all this misery since we imported Islam and I say we have to de-Islamize to make the Netherlands more secure."

"The root of all evil is named Islam."

Geert Wilders (11-19-2015)

Text fragment XI.

Just as with the fragments of the PVV from the first timeframe, these fragments represent very strong exclusionary discourse, by creating a dichotomy between those that have Islamic beliefs and those that do not (i.e., the migrants that come from predominantly Islamic countries and the 'native' inhabitants of the Netherlands). However, contrary to the other fragments presented so far, that indirectly presented migrants as a threat to wealth, identity and freedom of the Dutch people, here a direct connection between terrorist threats and migrants from Islamic countries, making 'them' the perpetrators of terrorism, as such representing a very clear example of a securitizing act. Furthermore, Wilders argues, the Netherlands is insecure as a result of Muslims coming to the Netherlands, discursively constructing fear and de facto securitizing the identity of migrants with an Islamic background.

In addition to the securitization discourse of the PVV, that is well-known for its anti-Islam and anti-refugee discourse, after the Paris attacks other political parties also discursively connected the influx of refugees with terrorism, albeit in a subtler fashion.

The first example of such securitization discourse that will be subject to analysis comes from Kees van der Staaij, leader of conservative Christian Reformed party (SGP):

"For the SGP an important element of this debate and the actions of this government. The migration flow that lacked sufficient control and registration measures constitutes a large security risk, which is why I find it important that the government says, yes we will work on better identification and registration measures."

Kees van der Staaij (11-19-2015)

Text fragment XII.

Although the language of van der Staaij is considerably less provocative than the words of Wilders, it is nevertheless highly relevant for the purposes of this research as it constitutes the first instance in the data where a party other than the PVV makes a direct connection between the influx of migrants and security risks in a public speech act.

One could argue that there is substance to this argument, as much of the media at this time speculated about the possibility of terrorists coming to the Netherlands concealed as refugees. However, as already mentioned, after the Paris attacks, several Dutch experts on the topic of terrorism concluded it to be unlikely that terrorists will travel the same ways as refugees in order to gain access to Europe. Thus, even though this statement is likely to represent a genuine concern of van der Staaij, it is contrary to the opinions of some of the leading experts in the field of terrorism in the Netherlands. Additionally, it is an incident of securitization, and an example of how political actors different than the PVV, started to produce discourse securitizing the identities of refugees, discursively confirming the relation between refugees or migrants and security threats.

The following fragments of Halbe Zijlstra (VVD) from the political debate regarding the Paris attacks gives two additional examples of the production of security centered discourse in relation to refugees and migrants:

"I realized this creates fear (...) Fear that there can also be terrorists among the large stream of refugees that reaches our country (...) everyone feels that fear, including me."

"From the Islamic community, I have seen and heard shameful and plain disgraceful reactions concerning the attacks in Paris. The children of one of my employees have been confronted on Facebook with classmates that express to be happy that the Jihad has finally begun in Europe, and school classes that cheer "Allah is great" and shout during a moment of silence for the fallen. This is impossible. It indicates the miserable state of the integration of second and third generation immigrants."

Halbe Zijlstra (11-19-2015)

Text fragment XIII.

Again, these discourse fragments are considerably less dramatic than the speech acts of Wilders, nevertheless, similarly to the last fragment, Zijlstra displays a definite move towards a more securitized discourse. With regard to the first fragment, it is remarkable that Zijlstra starts his argument by explicitly referring to 'his' and 'everyone's' fear that there can be terrorists among refugees. Again, although this fear might be legitimate, it was not in correspondence with the view of terrorist experts at that time. Furthermore, by explicitly emphasizing this fear, Zijlstra actively contributes to the construction and reproductions of such fears (i.e., securitizing the identity of refugees), which were already widely capitalized by actors such as Wilders.

The second fragment, however, takes it a step further. By relying on highly anecdotal evidence (i.e., 'the children of one of my employees have been confronted on Facebook with classmates' and an unspecified number of school classes) Zijlstra reaches a conclusion that generalizes all second and third generation immigrants. This is an example of the hasty generalizations fallacy,

a discursive strategy that is often found in the rhetoric of radical right populist parties.²⁷³ Consequently, this particular fragment is an example of how the VVD started to employ discursive strategies that are characteristic for the PRR.

Besides these apparent discursive shifts in the political debate, various political actors also made an effort in their communicative events to de-securitize the influx of migrants or refugees in the debate after the Paris attacks. The following fragment of GL leader Klaver is a fitting example of such speech acts:

"The delusions of ISIS do not report themselves at border controls; closing borders or building walls that is closing your eyes to reality."

Jesse Klaver (11-19-2015)

Text fragment XIV.

This speech act of Klaver was a reaction to propositions of other parties to impose stricter border controls. In this argument, Klaver emphasizes that the security threat comes from terrorism – in this case, more explicitly terrorist group ISIS – rather than of refugees or migrants that come to Europe. Consequently, this argument is an effort to differentiate between the threat of terrorism and the influx of migrants, which is not considered as threatening by Klaver. During the debate on the Paris attacks, this important differentiation was often lacking in the speech act of politicians. However, one very clear and authoritative example of such a differentiation came from Prime Minister Rutte:

"There is the refugee influx, which is in principle completely unrelated to that [terrorism]. We also have to separate this [the refugee influx] from Islam and the idea that Islam is connected to terrorism, I have said it before; jihadists abuse Islam for their own purposes."

Mark Rutte (18-11-2015)

Text fragment XV.

Contrary to speech acts of other right-wing oriented political actors as presented so far in this section, this particular fragment represents the discourse genres that were mainly articulated by the left-wing oriented political actors during the second timeframe, and very explicitly calls for a strong differentiation between terrorism and refugees, as well as Islam and terrorism. Consequently, this fragment is an example of a discursive effort to de-securitize the identity of refugees. As a result, contrary to the other fragments of the second timeframe that have been presented so far, this speech act aims to restructure the order of discourse towards a less securitized identity of refugees. Although one can only guess what the political logic behind this statement was, it might be the case that Rutte tries to present himself as the leader of the nation that keeps calm and neutral, and distances himself from the quarrels of party politics.

²⁷³ Wodak, *The Politics of Fear: What Right-Wing Populist Discourse Means*, 67.

Although noteworthy, however, based on the collected data this de-securitization of migration was not characteristic of the speech acts of the Rutte during the refugee crisis.

5.2.2 Discourse as ‘usual’: the development of an unprecedented existential threat vs. ‘our’ capacity to shelter large numbers of refugees

Besides the sudden shift towards a more securitized refugee discourse by a number of political actors right after the Paris attacks, discourse stressing the exceptionality of the refugee crisis continued to be produced by several actors in the debate. Indeed, the idea that the refugee crisis constituted an existential threat to the EU or Dutch society was more concretely expressed on several occasions. Therefore, arguably, over the course of the second timeframe, the order of discourse developed towards a wider acceptance of the idea of the refugee crisis as an existential security threat. One fragment that very clearly depicts the refugee crisis as an existential threat is the following of Bas van ‘t Wout, a member of the Dutch Second Chamber for the VVD:

“Still the Netherlands and Europe are being confronted with historical numbers of migrants, numbers that are so high that they form a threat to our way of living and our welfare state.”

Bas van t Wout (12-15-2015)

Text fragment XVI.

Although this fragment replicates language similar to that of the welfare chauvinism fragment of Zijlstra from the first timeframe, it is considerably more explicit and direct. Whereas Zijlstra only contended that ‘large numbers of asylum-seekers can have a destabilizing effect on our society,’ van ‘t Wout’s speech acts describes the historically high number of migrants as a direct threat to ‘our way of living’ and the welfare state. In doing so, van ‘t Wout makes a direct connection between the influx of migrants and an existential threat to Dutch society, consequently discursively constructing the identity of migrants as a societal security threat, making this speech act a clear instance of a securitizing act.

The reproduction of securitized discourse from particular political actors, such as the fragments of the VVD as discussed so far are of vital importance from an ideological point of view, considering that the VVD was at that time the largest party in the Dutch parliament, and hence, had a significant power position. Despite the increasingly securitized discourse of different right-wing and conservative parties in the Netherlands however, other parties continued to articulate a distinctive humanitarian ideology in their speech acts. Examples of such discourses of GL and D66 have already been provided in this discussion, but also speech acts of the PVDA echoed mainly the liberal humanitarian discourse that was so characteristics for the left-wing political parties during the crisis.

Just before the end of 2015, the chairman of the PVDA in the Second Chamber, Diederik Samson, gave an interview in a Dutch newspaper in which he took a strong position based on

humanitarian discourse, by stating that the Netherlands should be able to harbor 200,000 refugees in 2016, close to four times as much as came to the Netherlands in 2015:

"[200,000] on a population of 17 million people is a manageable number."

"The Netherlands would handle the influx of refugees more relaxed if it knew that it would stop at 200,000 refugees (...). Of course, 200,000 refugees that enter in a short amount of time is a lot. But in the Netherlands we annually receive many more normal migrants than asylum-seekers, this has been so for many years."

Diederik Samson (12-30-2016)

Text fragment XVII.

The following fragment is relevant firstly because the position taken here by Samson is virtually the opposite of the position of the VVD took at this moment in time. While, the VVD proposed that the influx of new asylum-seekers quickly had to go to zero, "or the limit would be reached in the first quarter of 2016", echoing an exclusionary and security centered discourse, Samson adopted a much more liberal 'Merkelian' discourse in this fragment.²⁷⁴

Secondly, although these arguments do not reproduce the discourse of humanitarianism, it is a proposition rooted in convictions of humanitarianism and solidarity. Indeed, by proposing that the Netherlands can absorb almost four times more asylum-seekers as it did in the year 2015. As such, it constitutes a de-securitizing move concerning the influx of asylum-seekers. Instead of labeling the influx of refugees as an existential threat such as various other actors, this argument presents it as a manageable phenomenon, which is noteworthy considering the change of position of Samson and the PVDA during the third timeframe, which will be further discussed later in this chapter.

5.3 Timeframe III

The data from the third timeframe, in general, presents a gradual development of the trends already in motion in the second timeframe. Although the expectation was that as a consequence of the incidents in Germany on New Year's eve of 2016 another distinctive discursive shift would be visible in the data, this was, however, only the case to a very limit extent. Although the event was widely discussed in the media, in the speech acts in the political debate, most parties did not show a change in discourse when discussing the incident. Moreover, in the debates that focused on migration policy, most actors did not even refer to the events at all. Both the PVV and the group Bontes van Klaveren however, did explicitly refer to the incidents in their speech acts during one of the refugee debates. Although this chapter has already presented a solid case with regard to the securitization discourse from the side of the radical right, considering the central role that is assumed for the radical right in the securitization of

²⁷⁴ Raoul du Pré, "Asieldebat: VVD En PVDA Graven Zich in," *De Volkskrant*, December 31, 2015.

refugees, one fragment that exemplifies the reaction of the radical right on the Cologne incidents will be discussed nevertheless:

"The Netherlands is becoming less safe every day. Especially women continue to feel more unsafe (...) You have been able to see what happened in Cologne; those were 'testosterone bombs.' Hundreds of women have been sexually assaulted. 30 suspects have been arrested, half of which were asylum-seekers. These were people that see women as objects of lust."

"The safety of women, our daughters, are more important than the rights of asylum-seekers. I know that not all asylum-seekers are rapists, but I do not want the same thing to happen in the Netherlands as did in Germany. Even if only ten percent is like this, and I can avoid this by preventive detention of asylum-seekers, that would be a hard measure, but I would defend that with verve."

Geert Wilder (02-11-2015)

Text fragment XVIII.

Similar to the fragments of Wilders discussed before, and characteristic for the PRR in general, the argumentation in this fragment suffers from a number of logical fallacies. First, the claims, 'The Netherlands is becoming less safe every day,' 'especially women continue to feel more unsafe,' and 'even if only ten percent is like this,' are all hasty generalizations that lack sufficient evidence to support them. Especially the words 'even if only' in the last of the three hasty generalizations is striking since this presumes that the ten percent Wilders names are a low estimate. However, it seems highly implausible that 10 percent of all asylum-seekers in the Netherlands are rapists, let alone that this percentage would be even higher. In presenting his arguments in this way, however, Wilders discursively construct fear for asylum-seekers by using his exclusionary rhetoric. Consequently, this fragment is a classic example of the politics of fear operating in practice. Also, Wilders shifts the blame of the perpetrators of the sexual assault incidents to all asylum-seekers by proposing his measure of preventive detention; whereas the measure in itself is an example of an excessive measure that is justified by securitization discourse. Thus, this exclusionary discourse of Wilders that discursively constructs dichotomous identities of victims and perpetrators (i.e., women and asylum-seekers) is another clear example of how the PRR securitized the identity of asylum-seekers or refugees in the political debate on the European refugee crisis.

Besides several other speech acts from the PRR, the Cologne incident was not widely discussed in the political debate on refugees. Actors did frequently express their grief and condemn the acts that had occurred but did not connect this incident to the debate on migration and asylum issues. Although a discourse analysis is the wrong type of research to inquire as to why this was the case, an explanation for the relatively low profile of the Cologne incident in the Dutch migration debate might be that the identity of the perpetrators has remained rather obscure, and the acts were never proven to be conducted by asylum seekers or migrants. Only a handful of the perpetrators of the incident have been arrested, and besides the description of their "North African or Arabic" appearance, no actual link between the perpetrators and migration has been

established. As such, politicians might have been cautious to make claims about the crisis, as they were afraid to come across racist or make hasty generalizations.

As the Cologne incident did not provoke a sudden discursive shift in the discourse on migration, the incident did not constitute a game changer in the Dutch migration debate as was hypothesized in chapter 4.4. However, a significant discursive change did take place in the period of the third time frame, mainly concerning the question on whether or not to stop the flow of refugees towards Europe or the Netherlands, and if so, in what way.

5.3.1 The refugee flow: to stop or not to stop?

As the refugee crisis progressed over time, a growing number of parties ‘bandwagoned’ towards the perception that the refugee crisis constituted a threat to European society that needed to be stopped, with unorthodox measures if necessary. However, the degrees of securitization discourse that were used to make this argument varied greatly across parties. Indeed, during the debate on the influx of asylum-seekers on the 11th of February, a majority of the Second Chamber agreed that the refugee crises is demanding too much of the carrying capacity of society and that the government should not shun ‘unorthodox’ measures to stop migration.²⁷⁵

However, the parties in the Dutch parliament located at the left end of the political spectrum hardly changed their ideology and corresponding discourse during the refugee crisis. For example, in the second last debate before the negotiation of the EU-Turkey agreement, Sharon Gersthuizen, member of the Second Chamber for the SP, gave the following statement:

"I find it truly repugnant what is being argued. The goal is to bring the influx to zero. We have to make people wait here a long time for a procedure; maybe this will affect the inclination of people to come to the Netherlands. (...) Everything is directed to make sure that all those 60 million refugees across the globe, of which half is a child, can go everywhere except for the Netherlands. (...) What about the resolution that has been adopted by the Chamber last December, which states that the Netherlands is committed to the UN refugee treaty and the implementation thereof?"

Sharon Gersthuizen (02-17-2015)

Text fragment XIX.

Unlike many of the other fragments analyzed in this chapter, there is no reference in this argument to the exceptionality of the refugee crisis or how it might constitute a threat to Dutch society. Instead, it strongly criticizes the more dominant ideology that the influx of refugees has to be stopped, by emphasizing the UN refugee treaty and the resolution of the Second Chamber that expressed its commitment to this treaty. In doing so, Gersthuizen strongly

²⁷⁵ Dion Mebius and Raoul Du Pré, “Tweede Kamer Maakt Zich Op Voor Asielblokkades,” *De Volkskrant*, February 12, 2016.

articulates humanitarian discourse, highlights the international legal obligation of the Netherlands, and denies that the European refugee crisis justifies exceptional measures. Thus, similar to the first timeframe the progressive left-wing parties continued to hold on to a discourse ideology of humanitarianism and international solidarity.

Despite the commitment of the progressive left to a more facilitating policy for the refugee influx, discourse that promoted halting or minimizing the flow of refugees to the Netherlands and Europe became more prevalent in the political debate as the refugee crisis progressed over time. However, the extent to which actors used security discourse to legitimize this position, varied substantially across parties. The mayor conservative Christian party (CDA) for instance continued to stress the exceptionality and unprecedented nature of the refugee crisis, but did this in a somewhat 'moderate' fashion, as can be seen in the following fragment of CDA leader Sybrand Buma:

"The unprecedented refugee wave puts pressure on our continent. We have to acknowledge that the elasticity of Europe has already been stretched to its extreme in the past year."

Sybrand Buma (03-15-2015)

Text fragment XX.

Although Buma explicitly indicates the pressure the influx of refugees puts on European society and how this has 'stretched the elasticity of Europe,' no securitization or exclusionary discourse is used. Nevertheless, the discourse in this fragment makes clear that refugees put a negative pressure on Europe and that the refugee crisis constituted an extreme case. Thus, implicitly justifying extraordinary measures to halt this pressure.

As depicted earlier, the VVD has been less moderate in the production of security and exceptionality discourse, a practice that did not change during the third timeframe, as the following fragments of Halbe Zijlstra confirm:

"The number of asylum-seeker has to go down; if that does not succeed at the European level, we have to take care of it at the national level."

"I do not use the word draconic. I merely say that we do not exclude any measure in advance because the problem is so large you do not have that luxury. In advance, we do not exclude anything."

"The VVD believes that the refugee problem is of such large proportions that we cannot allow ourselves to only look for solutions with our friends. We have to examine each possible way and seize all opportunities in order to halt the uncontrolled flow of migrants."

Halbe Zijlstra (03-15-2015)

Text fragment XXI.

Similar to earlier fragments of the VVD, these fragments are obvious examples of securitization discourse. Not necessarily because it securitizes the identity of refugees, but rather as a result of the reproduction of and emphasis on existential threat discourse. The arguments of Zijlstra in these fragments promote to take whatever means necessary to halt the influx of refugees, which make it classical incidents of securitization discourse.

5.3.2 The discursive shift of the PVDA

In the general trend that is visible during the third time frame of a more securitized discourse, stressing the exceptionality of the crisis, and justifying unorthodox measures, there was one discursive shift that was particularly striking, namely, the discursive change of Samson and the PVDA is likely to be considered as one of the most sudden discursive shifts in the whole migration debate. Although Samson was a strong proponent of a more 'facilitating' refugee policy in earlier stages, in an interview with the Volkskrant on the 28th of January, 2016, he presented a plan that would establish just the opposite:

“As long as the crossing gives perspective, no matter how small, people are apparently willing to lose their children along the way. Because that happens: 3,700 people have drowned in the last year. An unprecedented amount.”

“For me it was clear: We do not have a year to organize this. This has to be realized before the new refugee season starts, this spring. At the Turkish shores, they have built a kind of highway to Europe (...) This will attract an increasing number of people. The refugee influx will easily double.”

"For everybody that arrives on Chios, Lesbos, Kos, or whatever Greek island, the asylum application will be declared inadmissible because they come from Turkey, which is a safe country for refugees. They will be sent back by turning ferry."

Diederik Samson (01-28-2015)

Text fragment XXII.

In this interview, as well as throughout the debate on his proposed solution, Samson echoes clear elements of humanitarian discourse. In the above fragment, for instance, he emphasizes the humanitarian suffering related to smuggling overseas. However, at the same time, Samson stresses limited capacity of Europe to absorb refugees and the necessity to limit the number of asylum-seekers that reach Europe. The most controversial passage of this selected fragment, however, is where Samson proposes to send refugees back to Turkey by turning ferry, based on the premise that Turkey is a safe country for refugees. It is quite remarkable that Samson claims this, however, as when the interviewer confronts Samson with the premise that Turkey is a safe country he states that:

"The developments go quick. (...) Turkey is not far removed from receiving the status of a safe country. Then, the returning of refugees according to UN agreements is possible.

Diederik Samson (01-28-2015)

Text fragment XXIII.

Thus, in this statement, Samson admits that at the moment that the EU-Turkey deal was being developed, Turkey indeed was not a safe country for refugees. However, as established in chapter 4.1, also after the closure of the EU-Turkey agreement this was fundamentally not the case. Thus, although articulating humanitarian discourse, Samson nevertheless promoted a policy that was not (yet) in accordance with international law, effectively justifying extraordinary measures.

In an earlier stage of the refugee crisis, plans of the VVD²⁷⁶ to send refugees back to camps to shelter them close to their 'region of origin' were dismissed by Samson on social media as something that went "against the international solidarity and compassion where we [the PVDA] stand for, which in addition is in violation with international treaties."²⁷⁷ However, the plans Samson proposed do show rather strong similarities with the ideas of the VVD he condemned earlier in the crisis, while at the same time, Samson sticks with the humanitarian discourse.

As a result of the vast amount of media attention that was attributed to the policy proposal of Samson, the legitimacy and feasibility of this proposal became a major theme in the migration debate in during the third time frame. The following selection of text fragments present a number of speech acts in which Samson justifies his proposition:²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ Malik Azmani, "Migratienota: De (Buiten)grenzen van Europa" (VVD Tweede Kamerfractie, Maart 2015).

²⁷⁷ Diederik Samson, "Facebook Reaction on Plan-Azmani," Facebook, March 22, 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/DiederikSamsom/posts/795657887149475>.

²⁷⁸ Kati Piri, "NRC - 'Plan-Samsom' Moet Asielcrisis Europa Onder Controle Brengen," *Kati Piri* (blog), January 28, 2016, <http://www.katipiri.nl/media/nrc-plan-samsom-moet-asielcrisis-europa-onder-controle-brengen/>; Diederik Samson, "Debate on European Conference of 17-18 March" (2016), <https://debatgemist.tweedekamer.nl/debatten/europese-top-3>; Romana Abels, "Voor de Kust van Izmir Kreeg Samson Zijn Nieuwe Inzicht," *Trouw*, January 29, 2016, 4.

“Refugees deserve safe shelter, but the people here deserve it that we preserve their welfare state.”

“A Europe and a Netherlands that is open, en continues to be open for those in need, but with a sense of reality that the capacity to take people in is not unlimited. Because we have to keep in mind what we can handle and what the necessities of our own society are. With the propositions we have now, we can approach this equilibrium.”

“In the last year 60,000 refugees came to the Netherlands, it will never work if we continue like this for ten years.”

“This is, the only way to make the refugee [of asylum-seekers] manageable.”

Diederik Samson (03-15-2015)

Text fragment XXIV.

In contradiction to the fragments of Samson analyzed so far, these fragments clearly prioritize the Dutch interest of the welfare state over that of relieving the suffering of refugees. Even though the initial plan proposed that Europe would relocate a considerable number of Syrian refugees from Turkey, Samson shifted his argumentation from a discourse of international solidarity (i.e., claiming that the Netherlands could manage to absorb 200,000 asylum-seekers in 2016), to a more nationalist and protective discourse, stressing the limits of the carrying capacity of the Netherlands, and emphasizing the necessity to sharply limit the number of asylum-seekers arriving in the Netherlands. However, at the same time, Samson continues to produce humanitarian discourse, by stressing the "refugees deserve safe shelter" and a "Netherlands that is open for those in need."

Although Samson did not use or reproduce the strong security language that other political actors have produced on this topic, he does argue that his proposal is the "only way" to make the refugee stream manageable. In doing so, Samson implicitly argues that if his proposition is not implemented, the welfare state may become unattainable. Thus, in this particular fragment, Samson discursively constructs the refugee crisis as a threat to the welfare state and de facto securitizes the influx of asylum-seekers, albeit in a somewhat covert fashion. Consequently, while Samson does not represent asylum-seekers as a direct security threat or a threat to the cultural identity of the Netherlands as other actors did during the refugee crisis, he did justify extraordinary measures in order to limit the influx of asylum-seekers while constructing them as a threat to the stability of the Netherlands. What is very interesting about this particular type of securitization discourse, however, is that Samson legitimizes his measures through humanitarian discourse, by stressing the human suffering of asylum-seekers at sea.

Besides constituting a sudden and radical discursive shift on behalf of the PVDA, it also constituted an essential shift in the refugee debate at large, as it was the first instance in which a more left-wing oriented party, securitized the influx of refugees to the extent that it justified excessive measures to solve this problem. Furthermore, this 'change of heart' was particularly

important as it provided a breakthrough in the negotiation of the EU-Turkey agreement. As presented in this analysis, during the crisis, the VVD displayed a tendency to securitize migration and frequently argued for the necessity to use extraordinary measures to substantially reduce the influx of asylum-seekers. On the opposite end of the discourse spectrum, the PVDA strongly condemned such proposals by emphasizing humanitarian discourse. However, Samson's plan formed the blueprint of the EU-Turkey agreement, which was an obvious instance of a securitized measure, as has been established in chapter 4.1. Therefore, this discursive shift, effectively provided the government, of which the PVDA was a part, with the necessary support (i.e., a parliamentary majority) to negotiate the EU-Turkey refugee deal. As such, the discursive shift that took place within the PVDA also constitutes a form of audience acceptance of the securitization discourse that has – in varying degrees - been articulated during the refugee crisis by the different right-wing political parties in the Dutch Second Chamber.

The discursive change of the PVDA towards a more securitized discourse, however, does not mean that the securitization of migration attained a hegemonic position in the Dutch political debate during the refugee crisis. On the contrary, other left-wing parties have been very critical of the EU-Turkey agreement, which, as far as the role of the Netherlands is concerned, can be seen as to be the direct result of the PVDA's discursive change. The following fragments, which are some of the reactions to the closure of the EU-Turkey agreement constitute examples of such criticism.

“Very bad and worrisome. It is in violation of the refugee treaty, which is being buried alive.”

Sharon Gersthuizen (03-18-2015)

"The Second Chamber has demanded that the deal can only progress if Turkey meets the requirement of the refugee treaty, which currently is by no means the case."

Kees Verhoeven (03-18-2015)

“Instead of relieving the emergency state of refugees, European leaders gave away their rights in a sale.”

Issa Klover (03-18-2015)

Text fragment XXV.

Thus, contrary to the PVDA, other left-wing parties continued with rather stable discourses towards the end of the crisis. Each of these fragments articulates humanitarian discourse. Consequently, each of these fragments questions the legality of the EU-Turkey agreement and condemns the EU for the course of action it has taken. As a result of these discourses that contest the securitization discourse, one cannot claim that the securitization of migration has reached a hegemonic position in the Dutch political debate. Nevertheless, and despite these contesting discourses, the influx of asylum-seekers has been successfully securitized in the political debate during the refugee crisis, as through a process of negotiating meaning, eventually the securitization discourse became the most dominant, and enabled the negotiation of the EU-Turkey agreement.

6. Discussion of results

By combining the main findings of the discourse analysis with securitization theory and the relevant elements of the different background chapters, the following section addresses how migration has been securitized in the Dutch political debate during the European refugee crisis and how this process was influenced by the radical right. Accordingly, this section couples the findings of the CDA with the broader social context following Fairclough's three-dimensional model. The literature on the security-migration nexus provided ample evidence that in Europe there is a tendency to construct the processes and developments related to migration as security threats. Migration is most commonly interpreted as a societal threat, but too as an economic or military threat. Based on the data that has been collected for the discourse analysis, however, the presence and severity of securitization in the Dutch case showed to be very heterogeneous, which is not unexpected when considering the fractionalized political landscape of the Netherlands.

Throughout the period from which data was gathered, there was already a prevalence of exceptionality discourse in the speech acts of various right-wing parties. Discourse of this kind contained arguments that emphasized the severity of the consequences of the refugee crisis for the Netherlands and as such, the necessity to stop the influx of refugees. The arguments in this discourse were often characterized by rhetoric that stressed the limited capacity of the Netherlands to shelter refugees and the societal costs of migrants. Although the exceptionality discourse does not necessarily constitute an instance of securitization, it can be seen as an essential step towards securitization, as it stresses the extraordinary nature of a situation, and primes the audience concerning the necessity to use extraordinary measures to address the situation.

As the crisis progressed over time, exceptionality discourse became more securitized, containing arguments that justified excessive measures and stressing the necessity to do so. Most political parties have at some point articulated or reproduced exceptionality discourse in the political debate in the Netherlands during the refugee crisis. As expected, the speech acts of the PVV represented by far the most explicit incidents of securitization discourse, echoing an extreme anti-immigration ideology, and structurally representing migration as an existential threat to Dutch society, showing strong similarities with the politics of fear as described by Wodak. However, among other right-wing parties, discourse that articulated the existential threat of the refugee crisis was also frequently observed in the gathered data.

On the left end of the political spectrum, however, fragments of parties mainly articulated the Liberal humanitarian discourse, emphasizing international solidarity and international human rights. Consequently, by challenging the opposing discourse that was found in the text fragments of various right-wing parties, the left-wing parties de-securitized migration rather than securitizing it. However, also leftist parties have stressed the exceptional nature of the refugee crisis at numerous occasions and justified unconventional measures, even though they kept on articulating humanitarian discourse at the same time. The most significant example of such discourse is that of the PVDA, which shifted during the third timeframe from a very strong humanitarian discourse towards a discourse that reproduced elements of exceptionality and

stressed the legitimization of extraordinary measures. This shift was of particular significance as it constituted the onset of the negotiation of the EU-Turkey agreement, which can rightfully be considered as a securitized measure, as established in chapter 4.1.

Thus when looking at the data, one can justifiably conclude that migration has been securitized in the Dutch political debate by a large number of parties. The ways in which parties or individual actors securitized migration however varied greatly across actors. Nevertheless, two central narratives can be observed with regard to the construction of migration as a threat. First, there was the more radical variant, which directly links migrants to an array of security threats, such as the increased risk of terrorist attacks, sexual harassment, the demise of the welfare state, or a threat to Dutch culture and values. This narrative was mainly uttered by the radical right, but too by other actors such as the VVD, CDA, and SGP. Second, there was the more moderate variant of threat construction, which emphasized the threat of a refugee stream that becomes too large to cope with for the Netherlands. This narrative was very widely reproduced during the debate, mostly by right-wing, but also by left-wing parties, most notably by the PVDA.

As the chapter on the PRR already established, explicit discursive construction of migration as a security threat was expected by the PVV. Accordingly, the existential threat discourse from the side of the PVV was in clear correspondence with the characteristics of the politics of fear as described in chapter 4.2. However, as the refugee crisis progressed, the VVD, also shifted towards a more securitized discourse, strongly emphasizing the existential threat refugees pose to the Netherlands, but also directly linking refugees to security threats. However, to what extent can this shift be attributed to the influence of the PRR?

In consideration of the role of the PRR in the discursive shift of the VVD, it is necessary to take into account the broader social context in which the refugee crisis took place. As discussed in chapter 4.4, the refugee crisis was considered as a huge problem in the Netherlands and issues related to migration were widely perceived as a potential security threat by the Dutch populace. As the PVV dominated the media coverage on this theme, the refugee crisis constituted a unique opportunity that enabled them to capitalize identity-based fears and profit from their long-standing opposition to immigration. Indeed, the stunning rise in the opinion polls of that period shows that the securitization discourse of the PVV gained significant traction among the Dutch constituency during the European refugee crisis. In other words, this rise reflects the acceptance of a considerable part of the Dutch audience of the PVV's securitizing move. Moreover, as discussed in chapter 4.2.4, a sustained security frame exaggerates threat perceptions, creating demand for securitization from the bottom-up. The growing audience acceptance of the securitized message of the PVV, as well as the exaggerated threat perception that was present in the Netherlands, can be seen as an instance of such a demand.

As the VVD, as well as most other parties, had virtually been losing voters throughout the refugee crisis to the PVV, the VVD might have seen itself forced to move its political agenda more into the direction of the PVV to maintain voters. As such, the discursive shift of the VVD, and to a lesser extent other right-wing parties, can be perceived as an example of Mudde's argument of contaminating the mainstream political discourse. Thus, through the successful securitization of migration in the political debate, the PVV created a demand for a more restrictive stance on migration issues and as such, influenced other parties also to adopt

securitization discourse to preserve their political position. By shifting its position towards that of the PVV however, the VVD also contributed towards creating a more dominant position of the securitization discourse in the configuration of the Dutch political order of discourse.

The question that remains then is how has the relative dominance of securitization discourse, constituted by the apparent acceptance of the securitization of migration by the Dutch constituency as well as the reproduction of security discourse by various right-wing parties, influenced the discursive shift of the PVDA? Based on the academic theories referred to in this thesis the answer to this question is somewhat similar, though with an important distinction. Similar to the situation of the VVD, the PVDA had virtually been losing voters throughout the refugee crisis and was confronted with a demand for more security-oriented policy from the Dutch constituency. Furthermore, despite the antagonistic humanitarian discourse of the left, the PVDA was faced with an increasingly dominant position of securitization discourse in the political debate. Indeed, the PVDA shifted its discursive position in a rather late stage of the refugee crisis (at the beginning of the third timeframe). At this moment in time, all the major right-wing parties had already begun reproducing securitization discourse.

Especially since the PVDA was part of the government coalition, it was thus confronted with the necessity to formulate policy on migration in a securitized political landscape, while also needing to address the humanitarian concerns of the PVDA's constituency. It seems as Samson's proposal, which was the blueprint for the EU-Turkey agreement provided just that. An extraordinary measure to halt the exceptional influx of asylum-seekers, while still leaving room for the humanitarian discourse. Even though, the humanitarian nature of the EU-Turkey agreement is very questionable, as the primary goal of the agreement was to stop irregular immigration to Europe and the consideration of Turkey as a safe country was never realistic, it provided Samson with sufficient means to argue that this option was better than the suffering of irregular migrants who drowned at sea, which was a vital component for the PVDA, considering the importance of humanitarian discourse in their political ideology.

Thus, although the politics of fear cannot be seen as a direct cause for the discursive shift of the PVDA, as a pivotal norm-entrepreneur of the securitization of migration and the audience acceptance of this message by the Dutch constituency, the PVV can be considered to have been instrumental in the construction of migration as a security threat in the Dutch political debate and the transformation of the political order of discourse, which facilitated the negotiation of the EU-Turkey agreement. However, although securitization discourse was dominant, as a result of the antagonistic humanitarian discourse of the political left, securitization did not attain a hegemonic position in the order of discourse during the refugee crisis.

7. Conclusions and future perspective

The primary goal of this thesis has been to assess whether migration has been constructed as a security issue in the political debate in the Netherlands during the European refugee crisis. By drawing on securitization theory, a central role for political leaders in this construction was assumed. Based on the Wæverian model of securitization, this thesis has done this by analyzing the speech acts of political elites from the Second Chamber of the Dutch parliament, the principal legislative and supervisory branch of the Dutch governance system. In doing so, the method of critical discourse analysis has been utilized to examine how security has been discursively constructed in the Dutch migration debate and how the configuration of the political order of discourse has changed in this debate.

When reflecting on the collected data, one can justifiably conclude that migration has been securitized in the Dutch political debate by a large number of parties. How parties or individual actors securitized migration, however, varied considerably. The PVV has acted as the main norm-entrepreneur of securitization in the Dutch political order of discourse, structurally constructing the influx of asylum-seekers as an existential threat to Dutch society. However, during the crisis, other right-wing parties increasingly reproduced this discourse by constructing the refugee crisis as an existential threat, linking it to the demise of the welfare state, and the increased risk of terrorist attacks, albeit less dramatically and directly as the PVV.

Although in general, left-wing parties showed very persistent to the humanitarian discourse, the PVDA displayed a significant discursive change towards the end of the crisis. Although continuing to incorporate elements of humanitarian discourse, the PVDA started reproducing exceptionality discourse and justifying extraordinary measures, demonstrating a definite shift towards a more securitized position. As such, one can conclude that during the refugee crisis, securitization discourse became more dominant in the political order of discourse in the Netherlands. In the creation of this dominance, the PVV can rightfully be perceived as an essential catalyst.

During the refugee crisis, the securitization discourse of the PVV gained major traction among the Dutch constituency, providing an example of audience acceptance in accordance with the securitization framework. This audience acceptance can be interpreted as creating a demand for more security-oriented policy. As such, through the successful proliferation of the politics of fear, the PVV influenced other parties also to adopt securitization discourse to preserve their political position, effectively contaminating the mainstream political discourse.

Based on these findings, one can come to the tentative conclusion that as a result of the public acceptance of the politics of fear and the increasing dominance of securitization discourse in the political order of discourse, the PVDA, which was part of the government coalition was confronted with the necessity to take a strong stance on the refugee crisis while also needing to address the humanitarian concerns of the PVDA's constituency. The proposal for the EU-Turkey agreement seemingly combined these two antagonistic objectives. However, this agreement is extraordinary in nature and goes beyond the standard rules and regulations of policymaking, making it a clear instance of a securitized measure.

Although - in the opinion of this author - this thesis has been able to address the main aims as were presented in the introduction and answer the central research question satisfactorily, there are a number of limitations that have to be taken into account with regard to the validity of the claims made, and the methodology and methods used in this thesis.

Arguably the most important limitation is the normative nature of securitization research and CDA and how this creates a tendency for confirmation bias and arbitrary claims.

Indeed, the critical foundations of CDA make it very normative in nature as it views discourse as a stake in a social struggle, and has as its goal to be critical of how particular discourse structures existing knowledge-power relationships and contribute to the transformation of oppressive power relations. As such, the methodology of CDA might seem incompatible with a 'neutral' stance vis-à-vis a research problem (e.g., how migration was securitized during the refugee crisis). However, if the goal of transforming social reality is left behind, as has been pursued in this thesis, Fairclough's method and three-dimensional model also seem well-suited for research endeavors that are less rooted in critical theory, as it leaves the researcher with a concrete method to explore the links between language use and social practice.

In a similar vein, research that utilizes securitization theory is typically designed in such a way as to make a case on how a particular issue is securitized and provide arguments of why this is a harmful development. As such, securitization theory tends to be very normative, and hence, generate subjective claims about the construction of security and effects thereof.

However, as the research is geared towards proving a certain point, in the selection of data and interpretation of speech acts, the problem of confirmation bias lingers. In other words, this may create a tendency to only select speech acts that confirm their preexisting beliefs or hypothesis rather than data that contests this. In consideration of the selection of data, this thesis pursued to minimize confirmation bias through selecting data from a comprehensive set of text fragments concerning the refugee debate, by both utilizing the database of Lexis Nexis as well as speech acts from all the relevant debates. Accordingly, one can argue that a representative sample of speech acts regarding the securitization of migration in the Netherlands was obtained. Yet, the normative nature of research might be more problematic with regard to the interpretation of data. Indeed, it seems somewhat ironic that despite the insistence of securitization theory that objects are given meaning through an intersubjective process of social construction, the type of research it creates leaves so much room for claims of the researcher based on its own subjective interpretations. However, these are epistemological challenges that are inherent to the interpretivist or social constructivist schools of thought to which securitization theory belongs, and need not discredit the validity of research.

In overcoming these challenges, the concept of audience acceptance can potentially provide an outcome and foster the internal validity of securitization research. For example, the audience acceptance of the PVVs securitized discourse, measured in this thesis by reflecting on opinion polls, provides a strong argument for how the PRR has influenced the securitization of migration in the broader political debate, a claim that would have been much more arbitrary without an operationalization of the concept of audience acceptance. As such, in the securitization framework, audience acceptance can provide measurable the interpretivist findings of the researcher with measurable substance.

Still, within securitization theory, the conception of what constitutes audience acceptance lacks methodological rigor and remains underdeveloped. Although reflecting on opinion polls gives an indication of the extent of voters' approval of the securitized message of a particular political party, it does so in a rather shallow sense. Voters are likely to consider voting for a specific party for a wide variety of reasons and accordingly, the securitization of a particular issue is likely not the only or primary reason to vote for a specific party. However, as the anti-immigration agenda constitutes such a quintessential component of the political agenda of the radical right, it seems safe to assume that their increased popularity during the refugee crisis was indeed due to an increased acceptance of their securitized message. Nevertheless, although the operationalization of audience acceptance definitely contributes to the internal validity of the claims made in this thesis, it is necessary for future research to develop further what constitutes audience acceptance and how research can measure this within the securitization framework.

Another limitation to take into consideration is the extent to which securitization discourse constitutes or is constituted by social practice. One of the primary goals of this thesis is to elucidate how the influx of refugees had become perceived by Dutch citizens as the most significant concern for the Netherlands in the year 2015. As a result of the selection of securitization theory as an explanation for this, emphasis has been placed on the role of political elites on the construction of this perception. Furthermore, in correspondence with criticism to securitization theory on the lack of attention of securitization theory on the social and political context in which a securitization act occurs, an attempt was made in chapter 4.4 to describe the social and political context in which the migration debate in the Netherlands took place. In this chapter, it was concluded that the public opinion in the Netherlands during the refugee crisis constituted a favorable contextual condition for securitized discourse concerning migrants. Accordingly, one might be inclined to claim that this is an example of how social practice constitutes discourse.

This implies, however, that the discussed favorable context was created in isolation of political securitization discourse, while one could analogously claim that it should be seen as a consequence of the discursive construction of the refugee crisis as a security threat by certain political actor throughout the crisis, such as the PVV. Indeed, based on the dominant idea within the paradigm of securitization theory that some individual or collective actors are in a more privileged position to speak and construct security than others, one can argue that the public anxiety in the Netherlands with regard to migration during the refugee crisis indeed is constituted for a considerable part by actors that articulated security discourse in the political debate. Accordingly, one could thus justifiably claim that securitization discourse both constitutes and is constituted by social practice. This can be seen as a limitation of CDA as a research method, as it does not provide the researcher with the means to make concrete claims on whether a particular discourse creates a particular social practice or is created by a particular social practice. However, it is precisely this interplay between social and discursive practices that forms the essence of CDA. As such, researchers in the CDA tradition are unlikely to perceive this as an actual limitation, as they understand the relationship between discursive and

social practices as one of continuous negotiation. Therefore, CDA research should not seek to investigate whether discourse constitutes social practices or the other way around, but instead assume that this dynamic always works both ways.

In utilizing CDA as a qualitative tool, this thesis aimed to address a significant limitation in much of the securitization research, namely, that it relies too much on discourse as an explanatory variable and too little on discourse analysis and the way in which discourse is constructed and maintained. Thus, rather than treating discourse in speech acts as a simple oration of a single actor, in this thesis analysis focuses on how discourse is constructed through discursive practices, and how this contributed to the construction of security.

In retrospect of this endeavor, CDA is viewed as a very good methodological fit as it complements securitization theory exactly there where it seems to fall short, the analysis of how security is given meaning through discourse. Thus rather than merely describing how a particular actor frames an issue as an existential threat as securitization research often does, CDA enables the researcher gain insights in how power and meaning in specific discourses are constructed and maintained. As this research hopefully has demonstrated, through concepts as intertextuality and the order of discourse, CDA can provide important insights how different discourses relate to each other, how particular discourses become more dominant over others in a specific order of discourse, and how this dominance becomes a frame through which security is given meaning.

On the contrary, one of the significant strengths of securitization theory is to relate aspects of intersubjective social construction to meso or macro level social developments. Accordingly, the insistence of CDA to only analyze the wider social dimension through utilizing other (sociological) theories, enables it to be combined very well with securitization theory, as it leaves room for the latter to make claims about the implications of the findings of the discourse analysis for the broader social context.

Thus, the claim that CDA can considerably expand the field of securitization theory indeed seems justified. As such, a first general recommendation for future research would be to incorporate the method of CDA in other securitization research or even exploring the possibilities for developing a securitization framework that includes CDA in its analysis of speech acts.

This thesis aimed to examine whether and how the securitization of migration during the European refugee crisis and the role of the PRR in this process have been instrumental in the legitimization of the EU-Turkey agreement in the Netherlands. Although it found that the PRR can be perceived as a catalyst for the securitization of migration in the Netherlands, which allowed for to the legitimization of the EU-Turkey agreement, this agreement was negotiated at the European level and accordingly the Netherlands was not the only relevant actor in the negotiation of this agreement. As such, the case study of the Netherlands only tells a small part of the larger story on the relationship between the securitization of migration and the EU-Turkey agreement. Accordingly, to gain a deeper understanding of the securitization of migration in Europe during the European refugee crisis and how this affected the policy decisions made during the crisis, it would be interesting for future research to provide an

empirical (discourse) analysis of the securitization process in other EU member states that played a pivotal role in the negotiation of the EU-Turkey agreement, such as Germany or Greece.

Furthermore, it would be interesting for future research to probe on whether migration was de-securitized after the refugee crisis in the Netherlands or other European countries, and if so, how. Especially since authors of the Copenhagen School consider prolonged securitization harmful and de-securitization as the ideal of the securitization framework, but admit that this concept is underdeveloped in securitization theory. It would be particularly interesting to examine whether and how the political order of discourse changed after the crisis, and how this has affected the influence and the role of the PRR in the political landscape. It seems plausible to assume that after the perfect storm of the European refugee crisis, the position of the PRR has become less dominant in the political debate, but to make such claims, further research would be needed. Such research could also be coupled with an enhanced focus on audience acceptance within the securitization framework, by looking for instance at how the securitized position of the PRR became less accepted by the constituency after the refugee crisis. Such research could focus on the Dutch situation, but could also examine other countries in which the PRR was prevalent during the European refugee crisis.

Although the influx of irregular migrants during the European refugee crisis was unprecedented, in essence, this massive influx constituted a manageable phenomenon. As such, the crisis was rather constituted by the apparent inability of European leaders to reach and implement common decisions on their shared responsibility in sheltering refugees and the distribution of refugees across member states.

In the Netherlands, this dynamic created a tendency to exaggerate the different threats that were associated with the massive influx of refugees, a process that was conflated by the increased popularity and dominance of the PRR in the political debate. Although it would be fallacious to make inferences over the whole of Europe founded only on the findings of the case of the Netherlands, based on the existing literature on the securitization of migration and the European refugee crisis, one can assume that other EU member states experienced similar developments during the crisis.

However, rather than addressing the apparent unease of European citizens with non-western immigrants, the securitization of migration in general as well as the politics of fear in particular increase polarization and fear for the unknown 'other.' Furthermore, as a result of the constructed necessity to deal with the existential threat migration poses, the securitization of migration creates incentives for short-term and anti-immigration oriented policy, which impedes European values and the normative power of Europe as a global champion of human rights. As such, by closing the EU-Turkey agreement, which can be viewed as the most relevant example of such a policy, and neglecting the human rights issues connected to this agreement, the EU is effectively undermining its own identity.

Therefore, instead of focusing on keeping people out of Europe and exaggerating the threats associated with migration, policymakers should instead aim to gain insight on why citizens feel threatened by immigration and look for ways to de-securitize these issues, work on sustainable solutions to the genuine problems that do result as a consequence of migration waves. Although

the fortification of Europe might have proven successful in keeping migrants out in the short run, this outcome seems decisively worse than the disease it aimed to cure. Moreover, the arrival of large numbers of refugees to Europe is likely to continue as long as the root causes of involuntary migration remain unaddressed.

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9. Appendix: Original Dutch versions of selected text fragments

Text fragment I:

“Overwegende dat Nederland zich in verschillende internationale verdragen gecommitteerd heeft aan het fundamentele recht op asiel; overwegende dat conform de huidige voorstellen van het kabinet op termijn het fundamentele recht op asiel aangetast zal worden; verzoekt de regering, op geen enkele wijze in te stemmen met een aantasting van het fundamentele recht op asiel”²⁷⁹

Text fragment II:

"Laten we onze beschaving uitdragen als iets waar we trots op zijn, en mensen zekerheid, veiligheid en een fatsoenlijke opvang geven"²⁸⁰

Text fragment III:

“Kan ons land het aan? (...) Ik twijfel daar niet over, we hebben eerder voor opgaven zoals dezen gestaan. Nog niet zo lang geleden, was er in Nederland een toestroom van vluchtelingen die net zo groot was als de huidige instroom. Daarom is de vraag helder, willen we het aankunnen? Het antwoord op die vraag is voor mij helder: ja.”

“We kunnen de huidige vluchtelingenstroom aan, maar wees realistisch, mensen zullen komen. Er zullen meer mensen komen dan momenteel wordt ingecalculeerd, wees daar eerlijk over.”

“Er moet vanaf dag 1 worden ingezet op integratie, werk, taal en onderwijs: insluiten niet uitsluiten. Wees zorgvuldig.”²⁸¹

Text fragment IV:

“De Kamer, gehoord de beraadslaging, overwegende dat de opvang van grote aantallen asielzoekers soms vraagt om onconventionele maatregelen; overwegende dat het nemen van deze maatregelen nooit afbreuk mag doen aan de verplichting die we hebben om asielzoekers op een menswaardige en rechtvaardige wijze op te vangen; spreekt uit dat soberheid nooit als instrument van vreemdelingenbeleid mag worden gehanteerd.”²⁸²

²⁷⁹ Alexander Pechtold and Jesse Klaver, “Resolution Concerning the Fundamental Right to Asylum,” Pub. L. No. 19637–2035, 2015 (2015), <https://www.tweedekamer.nl/kamerstukken/detail>.

²⁸⁰ Romana Abels, “Nederland Wil Toonaangevende Stem in Europees Vluchtelingbeleid,” *Trouw*, September 7, 2015.

²⁸¹ Jesse Klaver, “Debate on European Conference of 15-16 October 2015” (2015), <https://debatgemist.tweedekamer.nl/debatten/europese-top-van-15-16-oktober-2015>.

²⁸² A. Slob, “Resolution Regarding Never Using Sobriety as Instrument of Asylum Policy,” Pub. L. No. 21501-20–1017, 2015 (2015), <https://www.tweedekamer.nl/kamerstukken/detail>.

Text fragment V:

“Mijn politieke taxatie is dat dit deel van Europa een nieuwe voorjaarspiek in de instroom niet meer aankan.”²⁸³

“De textuur van de Europese Unie, het samenbindend weefsel drijgt weg te scheuren, als wij er niet in slagen, dit probleem van de vluchtelingencrisis gezamenlijk het hoofd te bieden. Zo ernstig is het; ik kan het niet mooier maken.”²⁸⁴

Text fragment VI:

“De grote aantallen asielzoekers kunnen een ontwrichtende werking op onze samenleving hebben. De conclusie van de VVD was en is, open grenzen en aantrekkelijke sociale voorzieningen, dat gaat niet samen (...) Hoewel mensen snappen dat wij mensen niet gewoonweg op straat kunnen laten slapen, is tegelijkertijd duidelijk dat het zo niet verder kan.”²⁸⁵

Text fragment VII:

“Europa moet naar een situatie toe waarin het kan zeggen, ja, wij kunnen vluchtelingen opvangen, maar er zijn grenzen (...) Ik ben niet van mening dat deze grenzen moeten worden geforceerd met hekken, hoewel ik moet toegeven dat Hongarije aardig ver komt met zijn hekken. Ik ben niet zo kritisch op de hekken als andere commentatoren. Onder de huidige omstandigheden vind ik wat Hongarije doet moreel aanvaardbaar is.”²⁸⁶

Text fragment VIII:

“Nederland wordt overspoeld met een Tsunami van gelukszoekers”²⁸⁷

Text fragment IX:

Het is in feite onvergeeflijk dat de premier en de staatssecretaris niet ingrijpen. Dat ze de islamitische stormloop op ons land alle ruimte geven. Dat ze onze welvaart, identiteit en veiligheid weggeven alsof het helemaal niets is.²⁸⁸

²⁸³ Dion Mebius and Raoul Du Pré, “Tweede Kamer Maakt Zich Op Voor Asielblokkades,” *De Volkskrant*, February 12, 2016.

²⁸⁴ Mark Rutte, “Debate on EU Summit and Migration Summit” (2015), <https://translate.google.com/#nl/en/gezamenlijk>.

²⁸⁵ Halbe Zijlstra, “Debate on European Conference of 15-16 October 2015,” 2015 § (2015), <https://debatgemist.tweedekamer.nl/debatten/europese-top-van-15-16-oktober-2015-1>.

²⁸⁶ Buma Sybrand, “Refugee Fence Is ‘Morally Acceptable’ - CDA Leader Buma,” VPRO Buitenhof, accessed September 15, 2017, https://www.vpro.nl/buitenhof/speel~POMS_VPRO_2298996~vluchtelingenhek-hongarije-moreel-aanvaardbaar-cda-leider-buma-in-buitenhof~.html.

²⁸⁷ Geert Wilders, “Debate Regarding European Refugee Policy” (2015), <https://debatgemist.tweedekamer.nl/debatten/gemeenschappelijk-asielbeleid-europa-0>.

²⁸⁸ Sietse Fritsma, “Debate on European Conference and Migration Summit” (2015), <https://debatgemist.tweedekamer.nl/debatten/europese-top-3>.

Text fragment X:

"47% van de Nederlanders vindt op dit moment dat het niet meer kan, dat wij niemand meer moeten toelaten, dat dit onmogelijk is en dat we de grenzen moeten sluiten en geen asielzoekers meer moeten toelaten. Niet omdat al die miljoenen Nederlanders asociale mensen zijn, maar omdat ze a) zien dat de mensen al uit veilige landen komen dat ze b) niet willen dat ons land islamiseert, dat ze c) willen dat veiligheid in Nederland voorop staat, dat we die miljarden aan onze mensen besteden en dat we het niet meer aankunnen. Nederland zit aan zijn tax. Miljoenen Nederlanders zeggen genoeg is genoeg, de grenzen moeten dicht, wij kunnen het niet meer aan"²⁸⁹

Text fragment XI

"Hoeveel aanslagen moeten er nog plaatsvinden, hoeveel onschuldige doden moeten er vallen, voordat u het begint te begrijpen meneer de President? (...) De Islam hoort niet thuis in Nederland en zo lang we daar niet aan doen zullen er terroristische aanslagen blijven plaatsvinden."

"De waarheid is dat Europa al voor een aanzienlijke periode leidt onder terroristische aanslagen (...) sinds we de massa-immigratie vanuit Islamitische landen hebben toegestaan (...) Ik wil geen tweedracht zaaien; Ik wil Nederland weer een veilig land maken. We maken al deze ellende mee sinds we de Islam geïmporteerd hebben en ik zeg dat we moeten de-Islamizeren om Nederland weer veilig te maken."

"De wortel van al het kwaad heet Islam."²⁹⁰

Text fragment XII:

"Voor de SGP is het wel een belangrijk onderdeel van dit debat en de maatregelen van dit kabinet: die migrantenstroom waar geen onvoldoende controle en registratie was, is gewoon een groot veiligheidsrisico, en daarom vind ik het heel belangrijk dat het kabinet zegt, ja wij gaan werken aan betere identificatie, registratie maatregelen."²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ Geert Wilders, "Debate on European Conference of 15-16 October 2015" (2015).

²⁹⁰ Geert Wilders, "Debate on the Terrorist Attacks in Paris" (2015), <https://debatgemist.tweedekamer.nl/debatten/aanslagen-parijs-0>.

²⁹¹ Kees van der Staaij, "Debate on the Terrorist Attacks in Paris" (2015), <https://debatgemist.tweedekamer.nl/debatten/aanslagen-parijs-0>.

Text fragment XIII:

"Ik realiseerde mij dat dit angst oproept (...) Angst dat de grote vluchtelingenstroom die ons land bereikt, dat daar ook terroristen in kunnen zitten (...) edereen voelt die angst, en ik ook."

"Vanuit de Islamitische gemeenschap heb ik beschamende en simpel walgelijke reacties gezien en gehoord op de aanvallen in Parijs. De kinderen van een van mijn medewerkers zijn op Facebook geconfronteerd met klasgenoten die laten weten blij te zijn dat de Jihad eindelijk begonnen is in Europa, en hele schoolklassen die roepen "Allah is groot" en schreeuwen gedurende een moment stilte voor de slachtoffers. Dit is onmogelijk. Het geeft de beroerde staat aan van de integratie van 2^e en 3^e generatie immigranten",²⁹²

Text fragment XIV:

"De waanbeelden van IS, melden zich niet bij grenscontroles, grenzen sluiten, muren bouwen, dat is de ogen sluiten voor de werkelijkheid.",²⁹³

Text fragment XV:

"Er is de vluchtelingenstroom, die staat daar in principe helemaal los van (terrorisme). Die moeten we ook scheiden van de Islam en ook scheiden van de gedachte dat terrorisme Islam is, ik heb het eerder gezegd, jihadisten misbruiken de Islam voor hun doeleinden.",²⁹⁴

Text fragment XVI:

"Nog steeds worden Nederland en Europa geconfronteerd met historische aantallen migranten, aantallen die zo groot zijn dat ze een bedreiging vormen voor onze manier van leven en de welvaartsstaat",²⁹⁵

Text fragment XVII:

"Sommigen zeggen dat deze migrantengolf te groot is om tegen te houden. Dat is gevaarlijk."

"Ik weet absoluut zeker dat deze golf te groot is om níet tegen te houden."

"Ik denk dat wat we van onze leiders vandaag de dag kunnen verwachten is dat ze hun 'mindset' veranderen die in deze tijd een groot gevaar is."

Geen enkel Europees land is klaar om "deze absurde hoge aantallen te absorberen, ook Duitsland niet.",²⁹⁶

²⁹² Halbe Zijlstra, "Debate on the Terrorist Attacks in Paris" (2015), <https://debatgemist.tweedekamer.nl/debatten/aanslagen-parijs-0>.

²⁹³ Jesse Klaver, "Debate on the Terrorist Attacks in Paris" (2015), <https://debatgemist.tweedekamer.nl/debatten/aanslagen-parijs-0>.

²⁹⁴ Mark Rutte, "Debate on the Terrorist Attacks in Paris" (2015), <https://debatgemist.tweedekamer.nl/debatten/aanslagen-parijs-0>.

²⁹⁵ Bas van 't Wout, "Debate on European Summit of 17 and 18 December" (2015).

²⁹⁶ Martin Sommer, "De Gamechanger van Tusk," *De Volkskrant*, December 7, 2015, 6.

Text fragment XVIII:

“[200,000], op een bevolking van 17 miljoen mensen is dat een overzichtelijke hoeveelheid.”

Nederland zou er meer ontspannen mee omgaan als we zouden weten dat het stopt bij 200 duizend vluchtelingen (...) We hebben dertig, veertig jaar ervaring met de opvang van asielzoekers. We weten hoe het niet moet. Natuurlijk is 200 duizend mensen die zich in korte tijd melden veel. Maar er melden zich in Nederland jaarlijks veel meer gewone migranten dan asielzoekers, en dat is al jaren zo.²⁹⁷

Text fragment XIX:

Nederland wordt met de dag onveiliger. Vooral veel vrouwen voelen zich steeds onveiliger (...) U heeft kunnen zien wat er in Keulen is gebeurd, dat waren Testosteronbommen. Honderden vrouwen zijn aangerand. Er zijn 30 verdachten gearresteerd, de helft daarvan waren asielzoekers. Dat waren mensen die vrouwen als lustobjecten zagen.”

De veiligheid van de vrouwen, onze dochters, is belangrijker dan de rechten van asielzoekers. Ik weet dat niet alle asielzoekers verkrachters zijn, maar ik wil niet dat in Nederland hetzelfde als in Duitsland gebeurt. En al is maar 10% zo, als ik dat kan voorkomen door asielzoekers preventief vast te houden, dan is dat een harde maatregel, maar dan verdedig ik die met verve. Ik vind dat we Nederland moeten beschermen.²⁹⁸

Text fragment XX:

“Wat er hier allemaal gezegd wordt stuit mij echt tegen de borst. Het gaat erom de instroom naar nul te brengen. Mensen moeten hier heel lang wachten op een procedure, wellicht heeft dat effect op de bereidwilligheid van mensen om naar Nederland te komen. (...) Alles is erop gericht, om er maar voor te zorgen dat alle 60 miljoen vluchtelingen die er wereldwijd zijn, waar meer dan de helft van kind is overal terecht kunnen, behalve in Nederland. (...) En de motie die in December vorig jaar is aangenomen in de kamer, namelijk dat Nederland zich sterk maakt voor het VN vluchtelingenverdrag en de uitvoering daarvan?”²⁹⁹

Text fragment XXI:

“De ongekende vluchtelingenstroom, zet ons continent onder druk. We moeten erkennen dat de spankracht van Europa, vorig jaar al tot het uiterste is opgerekt.”³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ Raoul du Pré, “Asieldebat: VVD En PVDA Graven Zich in,” *De Volkskrant*, December 31, 2015.

²⁹⁸ Geert Wilders, “Debate on the Influx of Asylum Seekers” (2016),

<https://debatgemist.tweedekamer.nl/debatten/instroom-van-asielzoekers-0>.

²⁹⁹ Sharon Gersthuizen, “Debate on European Summit of 18-19 February” (2016),

<https://debatgemist.tweedekamer.nl/debatten/europese-top-van-18-19-februari-2016-0>.

³⁰⁰ Sybrand Buma, “Debate on European Conference of 17-18 March” (2016),

<https://debatgemist.tweedekamer.nl/debatten/europese-top-3>.

Text fragment XXII:

“Het aantal asielzoekers moet naar beneden, en als dat niet op Europees niveau lukt, dan maar op nationaal niveau”

“Ik gebruik draconisch niet. Ik zeg alleen, je moet op voorhand geen maatregel uitsluiten, omdat het probleem dermate groot is, dat je die luxe niet hebt. Op voorhand sluiten wij niks uit.”³⁰¹

“De VVD vindt dat bij het vluchtelingenprobleem, wat van zo'n grote orde is, wij het ons niet kunnen veroorloven om alleen maar met onze vrienden rond de tafel te gaan zitten. We zullen alle wegen moeten bewandelen en alle middelen moeten aangrijpen om de ongecontroleerde stroom migranten een halt toe te roepen.”³⁰²

Text fragment XXIII:

“Zolang de overtocht kansen biedt, hoe klein ook, zijn mensen kennelijk bereid hun kinderen te verliezen onderweg. Want dat gebeurt: 3.700 mensen zijn afgelopen jaar verdronken. Dat is een ongekende hoeveelheid.”

“Voor mij was duidelijk: hier hebben we geen jaren voor. Dit moet op de rails staan vóór het nieuwe vluchtelingenseizoen van start gaat, dit voorjaar dus. Aan de Turkse kust is een soort snelweg naar Europa gebouwd (...) Dat trekt steeds meer mensen aan. De vluchtelingenstroom verdubbelt met gemak.”

“Van iedereen die arriveert op Chios, Lesbos, Kos of welk Grieks eiland ook, wordt de asielaanvraag niet ontvankelijk verklaard omdat ze uit Turkije komen, wat een veilig land is voor vluchtelingen. Ze worden per kerende veerboot teruggestuurd.”³⁰³

Text fragment XXIV:

“De ontwikkelingen gaan snel. (...) We zijn niet ver verwijderd van het moment dat Turkije de status van veilig land krijgt. Dan is terugsturen onder VN afspraken mogelijk.”³⁰⁴

³⁰¹ Halbe Zijlstra, “Debate on the Influx of Asylum Seekers,” February 11, 2015, <https://debatgemist.tweedekamer.nl/debatten/instream-van-asielzoekers-0>.

³⁰² Halbe Zijlstra, “Debate on European Conference of 17-18 March” (2016), <https://debatgemist.tweedekamer.nl/debatten/europese-top-3>.

³⁰³ Marc Peepkorn, “‘Ik Was in Izmir En Zag: We Hebben Geen Tijd Meer’ - Buitenland - Voor Nieuws, Achtergronden En Columns,” *Volkskrant*, accessed April 10, 2018, <https://www.volkskrant.nl/buitenland/-ik-was-in-izmir-en-zag-we-hebben-geen-tijd-meer~a4233502/>.

³⁰⁴ Peepkorn.

Text fragment XXV:

“Vluchtelingen verdienen een veilig onderkomen, maar mensen hier verdienen het dat wij hun welvaartstaat beschermen.”³⁰⁵

“Een Europa en een Nederland dat open staat en blijft staan, voor wie in nood is, met de realiteitszin dat de opnamecapaciteit groot, maar niet onbegrensd is. Omdat we ook oog moeten houden van wat wij aankunnen en voor de noden in de eigen samenleving. Met de voorstellen die er nu liggen, kunnen we dat evenwicht benaderen.”³⁰⁶

“Dit is de enige manier om de stroom beheersbaar te maken”³⁰⁷

Text fragment XXVI:

“Het is in strijd met het vluchtelingenverdrag, dat wordt levend begraven.”
(Sharon Gersthuizen)

“De Tweede Kamer heeft geëist dat er pas een deal kan komen als Turkije voldoet aan de voorwaarden van het Vluchtelingenverdrag, en dat is nog lang niet het geval.”
(Kees Verhoeven)

“In plaats van de noodsituatie van vluchtelingen te verlichten hebben de Europees leiders de rechten van vluchtelingen in de uitverkoop gedaan”³⁰⁸
(Jesse Klaver)

³⁰⁵ Samson, Debate on European conference of 17-18 March.

³⁰⁶ Samson.

³⁰⁷ Peeperkorn, “‘Ik Was in Izmir En Zag: We Hebben Geen Tijd Meer’ - Buitenland - Voor Nieuws, Achtergronden En Columns.”

³⁰⁸ Barend Grutterink, “Gemengde Reacties in Den Haag Op Akkoord,” *Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau*, maart 2016.