THE FRAMING OF ISLAM AND MUSLIMS IN POLITICALLY CHARGED NEWS

A comparative study of framing of Islam and Muslims in De Volkskrant over a decade.

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Preface

Firstly, I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Joram Tarusarira, for his invaluable guidance and support throughout the journey of completing this master thesis. For all the patience, trust and commitment to my academic development. I am truly grateful for the mentorship and the time invested in providing thoughtful feedback.

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Introduction

29 March 1986, anti-fascist activists threw a smoke bomb into a hotel, because politician Hans Janmaat from the Dutch House of Representatives was staying in that hotel. The hotel ended up burning down completely[1]. How this was portrayed in the news at the time is different from how we would see it in the news now. Journalists described it as a logical consequence of unconventional statements Janmaat made in the Dutch House of Representatives. Janmaat was not popular within Dutch politics with his statements such as, ''Full is full, and ''Holland is for the Dutch''(Brand 2007). He was not taken seriously by politicians in debates because his statements were seen as too extreme right-wing (Brand 2007). The way news is described in newspapers affects how it is experienced by society and how social and societal events in the Netherlands are viewed (Lecheler and De Vreese 2012; Baden 2019). In 1986, many of Jamaat's statements were not shown in the news because they were too extremist, or questions were kept out of his interview so as not to have to display the extreme views on the news[2]. People did not know how to handle such extreme right-wing statements in the Dutch House of Representatives and an article appeared in the NRC Handelsblad with the headline : ''The House struggles: how to deal with Janmaat'' (Brand 2007). It seems in this day and age, almost all comments by politicians do get reported in the news, especially the more extreme statements by populist parties in the Netherlands, such as Forum for Democracy and the Party for Freedom[3]. It's about pushing the limit of freedom of speech, how much can a politician say before it becomes discriminatory and polarising (Rummens 2011). Major past events like 9-11, the assassination of Pim Fortuin and Theo van Gogh have increased the focus on immigration and Islam criticism[4]. This raises important questions about how these dynamics manifest in the Netherlands and their impact on societal discourse. How does the Dutch population perceive Islam and Muslims, and what frames are employed when these subjects are addressed in news discussions?

The Netherlands has long been known as a secure place for refugees, from English and Spanish Protestants to Italian Jewish communities. Moreover, the Netherlands is known as a beacon of secular tolerance (Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019). But in the but late twentieth century and continuing into the twenty-first century, Europe is faced with a new stream of refugees, and although religious refugees have been coming and going for centuries, the arrival of many Muslim refugees is a new

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[1] https://www.volkskrant.nl/cultuur-media/populistische-politici-als-baudet-en-wilders-creeren-een-mijnenveld-voor-de-media-hoe-gaan-journalisten-daar-mee-om~b306d076/

[2] https://www.volkskrant.nl/cultuur-media/populistische-politici-als-baudet-en-wilders-creeren-een-mijnenveld-voor-de-media-hoe-gaan-journalisten-daar-mee-om~b306d076/

[3] https://www.volkskrant.nl/cultuur-media/populistische-politici-als-baudet-en-wilders-creeren-een-mijnenveld-voor-de-media-hoe-gaan-journalisten-daar-mee-om~b306d076/

[4] https://www.volkskrant.nl/cultuur-media/populistische-politici-als-baudet-en-wilders-creeren-een-mijnenveld-voor-de-media-hoe-gaan-journalisten-daar-mee-om~b306d076/

phenomenon in Europe (Vellenga 2009). Especially since these Muslims have always been the religious majority in the countries they fled from. As Muslims immigrants become a minority in most European cities, they needed to rearrange and evaluate their religion in European cities (Vellenga 2009). This is a unique situation in history both for the Islam and Europe (Vellenga 2009). To navigate in this unique situation, the Netherlands resorted to old techniques of integrating religions into a secular society (Vellenga 2009). In the 1990s, well-known sociologist Anton Zijderveld stated that Catholics in the Netherlands could emancipate and integrate through pillarization and that this way of integrating would also apply to Islam in the Netherlands (Vellenga 2009). Pillarization has divided the country into four population groups - Catholics, Protestants, liberals and socialists - in the Netherlands since 1860 (Rosenberger and Sauer 2013). Which pillar you are in determines which bakery, hairdresser, sports club and public broadcaster you listen to and watch. As other religions in the Netherlands grew stronger under the pillarization, it was thought that growth would take place within the new Islamic pillar without losing much of the identity, making integration easier afterwards (Vellenga 2009). But this idea did not work as well for Islam as the pillarization had done for other religions in the Netherlands, because it did not come from a nationalistic background but from a migratory one (Vellenga 2009; Rosenberger and Sauer 2013). In addition, the social economic situation and ethnic background of the Islamic communities is totally different from the other religions in the times of segregation (Vellenga 2009). As a result, it is still unsure how to position Islam as a ''new'' religion on the Dutch political and social playing field and that while several generations have lived in the Netherlands and are a part of the Netherlands and its culture (Berger M 2020). What could be said is that discrimination, ignorance and Islamophobia developed over the last decennia and prevail in the Netherlands.

Discrimination figures from 2020 show that 7% of all discrimination in the Netherlands is against religion, of which 79% is against Muslims and Islam (Rosiny 2021). These are statistics of reports made via anti-discrimination services or the police (Rosiny 2021). Also, research among Dutch inhabitants reveals a negative image of the Islam. For example, figures show that 65% of Dutch inhabitants think that Muslims are against integration, and 88% of those questioned think that Islam is a violent religion (Abdelkader 2017). These are percentages show that accepting Islam and Muslims in the Netherlands is a complex sociological matter. Last year, mosques have been defaced, women have been insulted in traffic for wearing a headscarf or have not been admitted to a job interview because of their religion (Rosiny 2021). These racist actions are also reported in De Volkskrant[5]. When it comes to discrimination against Islam, the term Islamophobia is often used. Islamophobia is a term increasingly used and

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[5] https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/moslimorganisaties-bang-na-bezette-moskee-leiden~b69c76c0/

researched in the social science field and many articles are devoted to this concept (Rosiny 2021; Vellenga 2018; Before 2022; Abdelkader 2017; van der Valk 2012; López 2011). Islamophobia was first used around the 1980s and 1990s in the United Kingdom to describe discrimination against Muslims in the ''West'' (López 2011). But after 9/11, the term turned into a controversial one in public spaces, the question in social science is whether the term existed or could be used (López 2011). The issue of Islamophobia is whether Islamic people were excluded because of their culture, skin colour or religion (López 2011). So the term Islamophobia needs to be properly defined and delineated before it can be used in a meaningful way. The fact that people are excluded is evident in the figures from Dutch surveys (Rosiny 2021).

But where does the negative perception come from? In Dutch politics, after the death of Theo van Gogh, a well-known filmmaker who was murdered because he made anti-Islamic statements, there has been more discussion about how Islam is structured in the Netherlands. There has been a shift in Dutch politics between 2004 and 2015, until 2011 terrorism was seen as something all of society had to solve collectively but after 2011 the political discourse shifted to the idea that the ''Muslim community'' in the Netherlands has to solve it (Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019).

This perception leads to a generalization that associates every individual identifying as Muslim with a potential risk of terrorism. Consequently, there is a prevailing notion that being Muslim automatically heightens the likelihood of involvement in terrorist activities, resulting in religion being primarily viewed as a factor associated with threat (Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019). This is causing discussions and even laws in Dutch politics on how to counter terrorist attacks committed from ''religion'' (Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019). The Dutch house of Representatives is traying to diminishing the idea that we live in an ''us'' and ''them'' society, and thus counteracting polarisation in the Netherlands (Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019). But this is a complex assignment because if you want to talk about countering polarisation, the differences and problems should be discussed first (Berger M 2020). This is problematic because people are then placed in a box on the basis of a core characteristic, namely religion, all of which has been discussed in debates in Dutch House of Representatives (Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019).

These debates are stored and reported in several ways, firstly in files on where the debates held in Dutch House of Representatives are transcribed (Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019)[6]. But these debates are also reported in newspapers, and because politicians in Dutch House of Representatives debates speak more freely than in official statements, less nuanced opinions are offered than are ultimately contained in the policy plans (Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019). These opinions and statements by

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[6] www.zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl

politicians are often taken up by the news, especially if they are more controversial statements. These statements have a certain newsworthiness and are published in newspapers (Van Gorp, Boesman, and Vossen 2018). The way newspapers shape these statements and in what context the statements are placed are called frames. By means of these frames, news articles can be empirically investigated (Van Gorp 2005). Framing is the link between journalists who shape the news in a certain way in a reference frame, and the readers who adopt these frames can get the same perspective as the journalist (Van Gorp 2005). The way these frames are created can have an impact on how certain situations and topics are viewed in social and cultural ways, such as Muslims and Islam in the Netherlands.

This thesis examines the way frames have changed over a 10-year time period when talking about Muslims and Islam in news related to the Dutch House of Representatives in the Netherlands. This is done with articles from the Volkskrant, this because the Volkskrant is one of the three largest newspapers in the Netherlands. De Volkskrant was founded in 1919 as a Catholic workers' newspaper. After the Second World War, it focuses on a wider audience than just workers but the newspaper retains a Catholic background. In the 1960s, the newspaper became more progressive, losing its Catholic character in 1965. De Volkskrant profiles itself as an engaged newspaper.[7] The newspaper belonged to the Catholic pillar during the pillarization. With a start date of 1 January 2012 and an end date of 31 December 2022. It was chosen to look at this specific decade because there have been several ''events'' that have changed the discourse when looking at Muslims and Islam in the Netherlands and how this is discussed in the Dutch House of Representatives and described in De Volkskrant. Such as the ''halal houses'' in 2012, the ''minder Marokkanen'' in 2014, the threat of ISIS and the refugee crisis in 2015, to the discussion on funding of mosques in the Netherlands in 2020. In addition, Meeteren and Oostendorp's article revealed that after 2011 there had been a change in the view of terrorism and therefore the ''fear'' of Islam and Muslims in the Netherlands, and the study therefore focuses on the period after 2011 (Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019).

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[7] https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/de-geschiedenis-van-de-volkskrant~b368c4dc/

The research question for this thesis is:

"How has the framing of political news related to Muslims and Islam in the Netherlands by De Volkskrant changed over the past decade?"

Sub questions:

- What are the frames most used in de Volkskrant about Islam and Muslims, when there is news from or about the Dutch House of Representatives in the Netherlands?

- In what ways has these frames changed the past ten years, and what are the trends that can be seen in this change?

- Could there be evidence of a form of Islamophobia perpetuated by the framing of political news in de Volkskrant in the Netherlands?

This research unveils the framing of political news by de Volkskrant, it becomes a valuable insight for Dutch society. This is because when individuals become accustomed to a particular presentation style, they may overlook the presence of alternative perspectives (Baden 2019). It is interesting and important to see which perspectives, frames, journalists bring out and how they have changed over the past ten years to discover a trend in the framing of these subjects. This is relevant because about two thirds of Muslims experience discrimination in the Netherlands, it is therefore meaningful to see if and how frames in de Volkskrant play a role in this (Vellenga 2018). Much research has been done into the political frames about Islam in the Netherlands, for example, how a headscarf is perceived in Dutch society and how Islam is portrayed in the political field (van der Valk 2012; Tyrer 2022; Rosenberger and Sauer 2013). Research has also been done into how social media affects the formation of a political opinion (Bode 2016). An explicit examination is made, in this thesis, of how political frames about Islam in de Volkskrant have changed over the ten years of this research. This combines both topics that have been researched many times before, in a new way, and can therefore provide more in-depth insights into this research field.

Therefore, this thesis covers the following topics. Firstly, literature research is conducted to highlight the background of the political landscape in the Netherlands and the use and impact of frames and outline a landscape against which this thesis is portrayed. Then, through a conceptual framework, the concept of framing is highlighted and how this concept relates to how Muslims and Islam are described in de Volkskrant. In the methodology that follows, the content research, frames and codes used for this research will be further explained. The four frames the ethnocentrism frame, the stigmatisation frame, the leering frame and the cultural-generalisation frame are made usable for research in this chapter. In the results that follow shows the codes that occur most frequently in the 10 survey years

and looks at which frames belong to these codes. The analysis that follows links back to the Them and Threat codes and examines what the reasons might be that these codes are the most common. The Ethnocentrism and Stigmatisation frame are highlighted but also the reason why in some years more or less frames are used in the Volkskrant. This is followed by the discussion where research is evaluated and recommendations are made. Finally, the conclusion, where it becomes clear that the frames examined in the 10 years of research occur structurally in the Volkskrant.

Literature review

When there is an debate about Islam and Muslims in the House of Representatives in the Netherlands, it can be written about in de Volkskrant. How and when statements by politicians are written about has changed in recent years (Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019). Firstly, at the House of Representatives the manner in which debates are held when it comes to Muslims and Islam is constantly changing over the years, and in addition, the social situation in the Netherlands has changed over time (Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019). For example the Islam made its appearance in the Netherlands, from a religion that came with the guest workers to the Netherlands to an established religious minority (Vellenga 2009). All these changes can be written about in Volkskrant articles and the way this is described affects how the message comes across to readers (Van Gorp 2005). What are the debates about frames in the news and how are social, political and frame changes discussed in academia. In what ways do frames emerge and in what ways can this affect society when it comes to statements made by politicians about Muslims and Islam in the Netherlands and what is the discourse within the academic field.

Van Gorp (2005) describes in his article the way something, an event or situation is described is called a frame, and how a frame can influence how we look at situations or people in society (Van Gorp, Boesman, and Vossen 2018; Van Gorp 2005). A frame is a way of looking at something that actually exists, framing works by association of the brain and people often look at the world from a frame that is familiar to them (Gorp 2006). Frames are also used by journalists in de Volkskrant both consciously and unconsciously. This is because there are always different ways of interpreting an event. People are portrayed or described in different ways in newspapers, film and other forms of media, this way of portrayal can affect the image that is formed about a certain group (Van Gorp 2005; Bakali 2016b; Lecheler and De Vreese 2012). A study in Canada looked at different media outlets and how they portray Muslims, it looked at popular movies, major news articles and popular series (Bakali 2016b). In the films Iron man (2008), Body of lies (2008) and The Kingdom (2007), Muslims are structurally portrayed as violent, stupid and backward towards the West (Bakali 2016b). The "Westerners", such as the FBI, CIA and Iron Man, are portrayed as progressive figures, using the latest technologies and outsmarting the Muslims every time (Bakali 2016b). As well as in the film Body of lies, a clear distinction is made between "them" and "us", the "good Muslim" and the "bad Muslim", and in this, the image of the "rich and intelligent West" versus the "poor and undeveloped East" is clearly expressed (Bakali 2016b). All these descriptions of Muslims in the films are archetypes created about Muslims during the War on Terror and as Morey and Yaqin (2011) describe it, Muslims are only portrayed with religion as their interest and personality, all other characteristics Muslims have are not mentioned or displayed (Bakali 2016b). Now, it can be said about films that this is fiction and creative freedom nevertheless, the stereotype remains in the collective memory and remains the image that exists about Islam. It

reinforces the way of looking at a particular demographic, making a frame for Muslims and Islam more dominant and quicker to be thought of (Berbers et al. 2016; Van Gorp 2005). Also in the news Muslims are also portrayed in this way. When one thinks of occurrences concerning Islam, the events of 9/11 quickly come to mind; these events have made a big impression all over the world and the news was widely broadcast in the media. The four planes had all been hijacked by members of al-Qaeda[8], so the news about 9/11 quickly turned into terms about "they[9] hate us for our freedoms", America is under attack, and images were shown of Palestinians celebrating terrorism, not taking into account that this was about a small group of people within the Muslim community (Bakali 2016b). In the news, the hijackers are depicted in stereotypical Islamic drawings, with a beard, turban and ''Middle Eastern style of dress'' when in reality they were clean-shaven and wore ''Western clothes'' (Bakali 2016b). The image of ''them'' and ''us'' is shaped more, because major news companies in America such as CNN, ABC, NBC, CBS, MSNBC, and FOX might have consciously chosen not to show an objective picture but to respond to the feelings of the viewers, as Mogensen (2007:314) concludes in research on TV journalism after the 9/11 events (Bakali 2016b). In addition, the jihadist violence from 2011 to 2015 did much for the image of Islam and Muslims in the Dutch political discourse, they are seen as terrorists if they do not openly speak out against terrorism and for freedom, they ''should'' indicate that ''their form of Islam'' has nothing to do with ''radical Islam'' (Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019). Fear was instilled by the government about the threat of more attacks from Islam, making the "us" and "them" divide even clearer, people became afraid of each other by the way things were explained and depicted in the news (Alsultany 2012; Bakali 2016b). Added to this was the large flow of refugees due to the violence of ISIS, this also put direct pressure on society and politics (Dagevos et al. 2018). It is therefore not only about what is shown on the image, but above all about how the message is ''packaged'' and what words and images are used to communicate the message as described by van Gorp (2005) in his article (Van Gorp 2005).

These ways of describing something are called frames, and they concern the way journalists describe the news. It's about the link between the journalist using a particular frame to tell a story and the stimulation it gives the reader to adopt this frame (Van Gorp 2005). The way Muslims are portrayed, on America's big TV channels as described earlier, is an example of a frame. But framing is not independent of society, Carragee and Roefs (2004) argue, not enough attention is paid to the social and political pressures that may be involved in forming a journalistic frame (Carragee and Roefs 2004). This political influence can also have an impact in the definition of a frame, it is therefore important to consider the power relations when researching frames (Carragee and Roefs 2004). This difference in

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[8] Is a Muslim fundamentalist paramilitary movement founded by Osama bin Laden in 1988.
[9] In this example, is Muslims or Islam.

power can also be seen in the big TV channels in America, where the government approves of the pro-war media and not the anti-war media (Bakali 2016b). For the international events that have taken place in recent decades have also had an impact on the Netherlands in the inter-ethical field (Vellenga 2009). According to a 2005 study by the American PEW Research Centre[10], the Netherlands has the most negative attitude towards Islam and Muslims when compared to China, North America and other European countries (Vellenga 2009). According to Van Gorp (2005), every news coverage involves a form of framing, which is not necessarily negative. However, it is important to ensure that framing does not contribute to polarization. Frames serve to present various perspectives or points of view (Van Gorp 2005). According to the European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance, this is due to racist political language, biased media coverage and a heavy focus on security in the country (Vellenga 2009). It is repeatedly shown that the way in which the media report on Muslims and the Islam is often incorrect or negative and that this plays a role, both directly and indirectly, in the negative perception of the Islam in the Netherlands (Vellenga 2009). Campbell (1995) suggests that the media's perpetuation of racism begins with the under-representation of Islamic individuals in the media landscape. This under-representation can be viewed as a manifestation of everyday racism (Vellenga 2009). Research has been done into how Muslims experience the image of themselves in the media in the Netherlands in 2005 and 63% of this group experience a negative image (Vellenga 2009). A consequence of setting up a community in this way can have consequences in society, where a community can be seen as a suspect community (Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019). This may in time cause a reaction from within a community itself, such as turning against the local police, or conforming to an image ''because that's how ''they'' see us anyway'' (Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019). According to Meeteren and Oostendorp (2019) this can also create more radicalisation because it can grow due to inaccuracies from above towards a population group. According to Wasif Shadid (2009), the negative portrayal of Islam and Muslims cannot be attributed to a specific type of news medium. Shadid (2009) argues that nearly all newspapers and news outlets are occasionally guilty of stigmatization due to inconsistent handling of Islam and Muslim-related reporting (Vellenga 2009). The Scientific Council for Government Policy (2007) recognises that the media play a major role in shaping public opinion, because they reflect the norms of society and because they determine what is shown and what is not shown and therefore who gets a platform to voice his or her opinion (Vellenga 2009). The frames used in an article are thus not only a choice of the individual journalist, but depend on many factors, such as the employees in the company, the current social discourse in society and the political disposition that is important for the moment (Carragee and Roefs 2004).

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[10] A fact research centre in Amerika https://www.pewresearch.org/

By being able to choose what is shown in the media, mass media plays a major role in shaping the political reality in a society (McCombs and Shaw 2016). But whether the media follows politics or politics follows the media is not easy to determine; different studies have given different answers, as there are many different factors that play a role (Vliegenthart 2007). However, it has emerged that symbolic politics are more easily adopted by the media, for example presidential speeches or extreme statements (Vliegenthart 2007). Politics can follow the media when it comes to highly visible issues to the extent that the public will find the issues important and want them to be discussed from a political perspective (Vliegenthart 2007). In general, research shows that more media attention will lead to more support for political standpoints, so it can be assumed that what the media writes about politics will be adopted by the public in some way (Vliegenthart 2007). Over the years, both the media and parliament have paid more attention to immigration and Islam, what stood out about this was the media kept up with the direct world events and parliament gradually got more attention to these issues over the years (Vliegenthart 2007). Support for anti-immigration parties rose considerably after 9/11, and there was also a rise when Geert Wilders[11] appeared on the Dutch political scene with his anti-Islam policy at the end of 2004 (Vliegenthart 2007). This shows that in the Netherlands there is, to a certain extent, a movement that adheres to Islamophobia currents and ideas (van der Valk 2012). Following the 1990s, the perception of Islam and Muslims in the Netherlands was already unfavourable. However, the situation deteriorated further in the aftermath of the World Trade Centre attacks in 2001 and the murder of Theo van Gogh[12] in 2004. This decline in perception can be attributed to the intensified negative media coverage during that period (van der Valk 2012). In the Netherlands, the attitude towards Muslims and Islam is more negative than in the rest of Europe (van der Valk 2012). Kennedy (2001) states that this could be due to the fact that since the 1960s, the Netherlands has seen religion as an increasingly private matter which is not carried in public, so that a new religion can be seen as ''different'' of this concept (van der Valk 2012). In the Netherlands, after the pillarization, fewer cultural and religious differences were visible in ''public'' life; with the arrival of an ''other'', this could be seen as a cultural challenge (van der Valk 2012). This can also be seen in De Volkskrant, which increasingly shed its Catholic image after the 1960s. These are all political and social processes that have influenced society and the view of Islam and Muslims in the Netherlands. These have been slow processes, recorded and followed by politicians and the media. Politics and the media do not seem to influence each other directly, mainly because policy makers work at a different pace than the media, the media is used to being on top of all the changes while policy makers work slower (Vliegenthart 2007). But the media does report on what is going on in the political world, thereby transmitting

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[11] Geert Wilders is the party leader of the PVV, a right-wing party that openly speaks out against Islam, Muslims and immigration to the Netherlands.
[12] A Dutch director who was openly against Islam, Muslims and immigration

opinions and ideas to society. Looking at how politics is portrayed in the media is therefore important to understand what is going on in politics around the topics of Islam and Muslims in the Netherlands.

That after 9/11 media coverage of Islam and Muslims took a more negative tone is well known. But how did the political landscape change afterwards with regard to Islam and Muslims in the Netherlands, and which parties played a role in this. According to Van Meeteren and Oostendorp (2019) there was a shift in the political landscape between 2004 and 2015(Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019). A big factor in Dutch House of Representatives in the Netherlands is Geert Wilders and his party the PVV, when it comes to his views on Islam in the Netherlands. The PVV (the Party for Freedom) was founded in 2006 after Wilders left another party because he felt the party was becoming too leftist[13]. The party has been well received by voters since then, and has always had around 17 seats in the Dutch House of Representatives in the years that followed[14]. The party is known for its open statements against Islam, and the policies they want to implement against it (Rummens 2011). The question that Rummens (2011) asks in his article is how far politicians can go when it comes to freedom of opinion, because this is the right that gives politicians in the Netherlands the freedom to be able to criticise a lot, for example, a religion like Islam (Rummens 2011). This is an continuously discussion in the Netherlands, the battle between religious freedom and the freedom of speech. In addition, a new politician has been starring in fierce media discussions in recent years namely Thierry Baudet, also a right-wing populist. He is party chairman of Forum for Democracy, and has been in the Dutch House of Representatives since 2017. It is also difficult for the media and newspapers to, deal with these outspoken politicians who occasionally make statements that are not accepted by society and may even be seen as racist or anti-Semitic. It is about the struggle between giving attention to vehement sometimes discriminatory statements, or not giving attention to them with the chance that people will not be aware of the sometimes discriminatory statements made in the Dutch House of Representatives and by politicians.[15] This is a balance has always been tricky but with the arrival of politicians like Thierry Baudet and Geert Wilders, it has become even trickier and this is something De Volkskrant need to take into account in framing articles. Because what and how De Volkskrant publish these statements can have an impact in how society views discrimination discourse in the Netherlands. Of course, the question then remains whose responsibility it is to continue to see ''the whole picture'', the Volkskrant, the politicians or the reader himself (Baden 2019). Baden (2019) argues that the ultimate responsibility lies with the reader, but also states that this is not an easy process (Baden 2019).

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[13] https://dnpp.nl/dnpp/pp/pvv/geschied
[14] https://dnpp.nl/dnpp/pp/pvv/geschied
[15] https://www.volkskrant.nl/cultuur-media/populistische-politici-als-baudet-en-wilders-creeren-een-mijnenveld-voor-de-media-hoe-gaan-journalisten-daar-mee-om~b306d076/

Framing, as described by Van Gorp (2005), is a crucial aspect of news coverage, influencing how events or situations are portrayed and how readers interpret them (Van Gorp 2005). Journalists, consciously or unconsciously, employ different frames to present various perspectives. The way news from politics appears in the Volkskrant therefore affects how Muslims and Islam are perceived in the Netherlands. Bakali

(2016) shows that frame forming does not only happen in newspapers, but that different forms of media contribute to the image created about Muslims and Islam in the world (Bakali 2016b). For example in the Netherlands, politicians' statements also contribute to frame creation, it has been proven that extreme statements are more easily absorbed by the news and politicians like Geert Wilders of the PVV and Thierry Baudet of Forum for Democracy contribute to this (Vliegenthart 2007). Furthermore, these media portrayals can have a impact on society, where individuals from Muslim and Islamic backgrounds are often reduced to their religious identity, overlooking their individual characteristics and diverse backgrounds (Buitelaar 2021). The relationship between media and politics, whether the media influences politics or vice versa, remains a complex question with varying conclusions from different studies (Vliegenthart 2007). In this way, the frames used in De Volkskrant determine the direction a society can take when it comes to looking at each other, and how these frames are experienced in everyday life.

Conceptual framework

The way concepts are looked at can influence the way a concept is used. It is therefore important to clearly delineate the concepts used in this thesis and describe how they are interpreted and how they are related to each other. This is done through the concept of framing, in what ways are the concepts of Islam and Muslims framed in Dutch news when it comes to news from Dutch House of Representatives reported in de Volkskrant. The most important concept for this research is the concept of framing, which is the framework to which the other concepts are linked. It looks at the frames that are used when talking about Islam and Muslims in de Volkskrant. It is widely recognized that frames concerning Islam generally tend to be unfavourable; however, it is challenging to discern a consistent positive or negative bias across the entirety of the news (Vellenga 2009). It is clear, however, that media will play an increasingly important role in shaping society's norms and values (Vellenga 2009). However, it is the responsibility of the media to provide as objective a representation as possible of the different opinions in society and to stimulate debates between these different opinions (Vellenga 2009). For example, media attention to Islam and Muslims has led politicians to give these topics a more prominent place in election programmes (Vellenga 2009). To examine the ways in which frames are used in De Volkskrant, it is important to set out the different frames and the way frames are constructed.

Framing is the way in which media shape their reporting and the connotations that are attached to it; this can apply to all media such as radio, TV and newspapers (Vellenga 2009). It is about framing the news that comes in and the way readers interpret it. The news medium tries to be as impartial and neutral as possible in its presentation of the news, yet there is always some form of steering involved (Van Gorp, Boesman, and Vossen 2018). In De Volkskrant, these frames are widely used and are experienced in four different places. In news articles, in the minds of journalists, in the minds of people who read the news and in social cultural contexts such as norms and values that are recognisable to both journalists and news readers (Van Gorp, Boesman, and Vossen 2018). These frames help journalists to present complex subjects in understandable terms, and invite the reader to look at a subject in a particular way (Van Gorp, Boesman, and Vossen 2018). It is therefore important not only to understand what the frames do, but also how the frames are created (Van Gorp, Boesman, and Vossen 2018). This is attributed to the fact that framing within an article is not solely the responsibility of an individual journalist but also involves an editorial team that may be influenced by commercial objectives. (Van Gorp, Boesman, and Vossen 2018). Newspapers often have a target group they focus on often this is also a politically defined target group, for example, Volkskrant focuses more on left-wing social events in society. So there are different levels at which a frame can operate and have influence and it is important to find out where, when and why a particular frame is chosen (Van Gorp,

Boesman, and Vossen 2018). In addition, the framing in a news article may come from a source and not be the opinion of the journalist himself, or may even have come about subconsciously (Van Gorp, Boesman, and Vossen 2018). Therefore, there are several difficulties in determining where a frame is established (Van Gorp 2005). Where a frame originates from is thus a complex puzzle, but the fact remains that it can be found in almost all news articles and that these frames influence the reading of a news article.
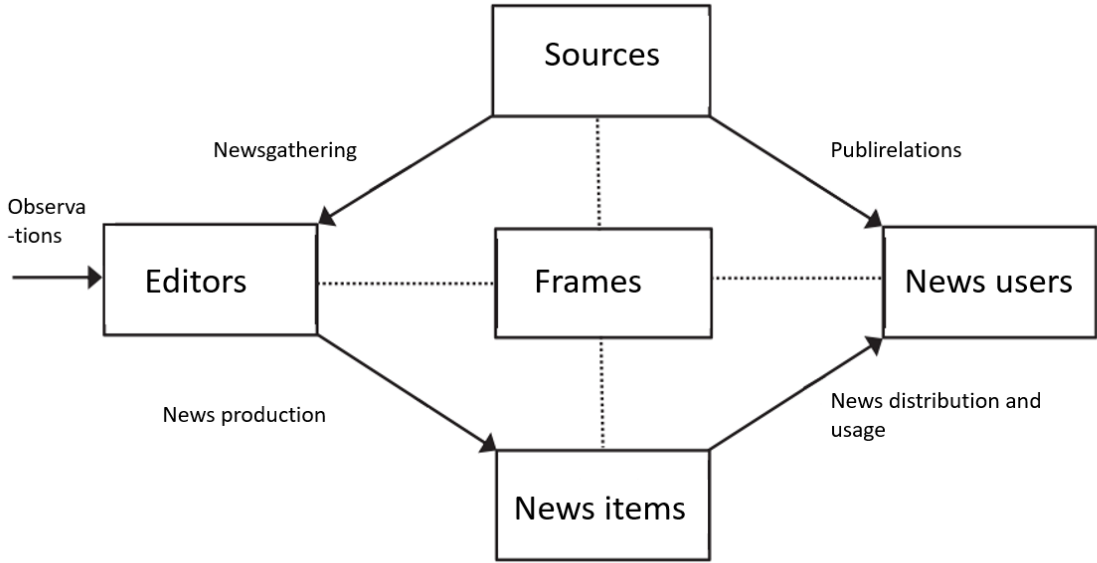

Figure 1 How frames are located in a journalistic context (Van Gorp, Boesman, and Vossen 2018)

Journalists employ framing techniques, but the process of establishing a frame can be elusive. Nevertheless, the choice of wording and presentation in writing subtly influences the perspective on a given subject. Journalists are acutely aware that their work is intended for an audience, highlighting the significance of reader perception (Weizman 2008). This thesis primarily concentrates on exploring the frames utilized by de Volkskrant over the ten years covered by this study.

A frame can be seen as a media package; everything affects the way an article is interpreted. A media package consists of, for example, images, metaphors, stereotypes, sentence structure, sources used and much more (Van Gorp 2005). This all affects the way an article can be read. The way we look at people and cultures is often seen as generalising, and the more you are exposed to these stereotypes the more it is adopted into thinking patterns (Bakali 2016a). This happens about Muslims and Islam in our society a lot, both in newspapers, films and when asked for expertise it is often not to a Muslim or Islamic person even if it is on those topics (Bakali 2016a; d'Haenens 2006). Frames thus influence political and social situations (Carragee and Roefs 2004). The reason this thesis uses the terms Muslim

and Islam is also because the concept Muslim does not always mean a religious person but can also mean that someone is culturally involved, by adding Islam this thesis looks at practising and non-practising Muslims (Berger M 2020).

Numerous studies have examined the impact of frames in news reporting (Carragee and Roefs 2004)However, an important aspect often overlooked in frame analysis is the interplay between various elements. This includes the reciprocal influence of frames constructed in politics, news media, and their absorption by society. Consequently, framing cannot be studied as a static concept, but rather as a dynamic and interconnected phenomenon (Carragee and Roefs 2004). This gives you constructs of meanings on top of each other because everything is affected by each other (Carragee and Roefs 2004). A lot of research shows that frames shape audiences and thereby politics, these studies clearly show how complex interpreting news articles is and that there is also part personal experience involved (Carragee and Roefs 2004). To shed more light on this, according to Carragee and Roefs (2004), more attention should be paid to the individual interpretation of news articles in order to better investigate the impact of framing (Carragee and Roefs 2004).

As highlighted earlier, not only does the individual and the journalist play a role in the complex concept of framing but politics also has a contribution to make. As soon as a topic becomes a subject of intense parliamentary debate, it is promptly covered by the news media. Notably, crucial debates receive extensive coverage in De Volkskrant. In this way, the de Dutch House of Representatives influences what is written about in the news, and the frames used in the news depend on the trend of the debate. For instance, on 18 November 2022, a letter was presented in the Dutch House of Representatives, from Education Minister Wiersma to more strongly control weekend schools. This is because, according to minister Wiersma, there are problems with religious weekend schools in the Netherlands and that they should be better controlled. The religion most often named is Islam, the frames used to express this can influence how the news is received. For instance the headline of De Volkskrant was; ''Cabinet wants extra supervision of weekend schools: *'Take action against gay discrimination and Holocaust denial'*''[16] . The chosen headline sets a particular tone regarding weekend schools, conveying a preliminary opinion within the article's title itself. The diversity of frames becomes evident solely by examining the headlines, demonstrating that a subject can be approached and described in multiple ways.

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[16] https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/kabinet-wil-extra-toezicht-op-weekendscholen-optreden-tegen-homodiscriminatie-en-holocaustontkenning~bc57452a/

There are four types of frames defined by Wasif Shadid (2009), the ethnocentrism frame, the stigmatisation frame, the leering frame and the cultural-generalisation frame (Vellenga 2009). Shadid argues in his chapter that Muslims and Islam in the Dutch news are represented by these four for the greater part negative frames (Vellenga 2009). Research has been done from The Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) on how immigrants, Muslims and Islam are portrayed in the Netherlands and from this research, these four frames emerged described by Shadid (2009).

First, this research looks at the ethnocentrism frame. Ethnocentrism is the idea of the superiority of one's own group or culture and the tendency to evaluate other groups or cultures based on the standards and values of one's own group (Bizumic, Monaghan, and Priest 2021). It is a form of cognitive bias that involves judging other cultures or groups based on the assumptions and biases of one's own culture. Ethnocentrism can lead to misunderstandings and conflicts between different groups or cultures, as it involves a lack of understanding or appreciation for the perspectives and experiences of others (Bizumic, Monaghan, and Priest 2021). The ethnocentrism frame causes media users to become accustomed to the we/they perspective and outlines the ''we'' culture as superior (Vellenga 2009).

The stigmatisation frame is characterised by portraying Muslims and Islam as problem groups, associating them with crime, delinquency and abuse of social services (Vellenga 2009). Stigmatization is a perspective or approach that focuses on how certain individuals or groups are stigmatized or discriminated against because of their characteristics or identity. Stigmatization is the process of marking or labelling someone as different or inferior because of certain characteristics or traits that are perceived as negative or undesirable by society. These characteristics can include physical or mental disabilities, race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, social class, or other aspects of identity. This frame is about structurally linking negative discourse to Islam or Immigrants.

The leering frame is the third frame looked at in this thesis. This frame deals with the fact that Muslims and immigrants are given relatively little opportunity to express their views in the media, even when it comes to things in which they have expertise (Vellenga 2009). The leering frame refers to a perspective or way of thinking that is characterized by a lack of knowledge or expertise in a particular subject or area. It is often used in contrast to an expert frame, which is characterized by a high level of knowledge and expertise. With little visibility of immigrants and Muslims in the news as experts, the perception is created that they are not there.

The cultural-generalisation frame, is the last frame considered in this thesis. Using this frame, all Islamists, Muslims, Moroccans and Turks are represented as a homogeneous group in which religion overpowers all other identity (Vellenga 2009). It is important to recognize that Islam, like any religion, cannot be reduced to a single set of beliefs or practices. Muslims come from a variety of cultural,

ethnic, and national backgrounds, and their experiences and interpretations of Islam may vary significantly. By doing so in this frame the diversity is ignored within an ethical minority group, and there is a chance that individuals will only be seen as portrayals of group characteristics (Vellenga 2009).

When comparing these four frames with newspaper articles in De Volkskrant, the entire article is looked at, all framing devices, such as pictures, metaphors and descriptions (Vellenga 2009). When comparing there will be looked at both distinctions that can be made in framing, namely framing *by* and framing *through* media (Vellenga 2009). Framing by media is when a journalist himself sets a frame to a particular event, framing through media is when a frame is adopted from, say, a politicians (Vellenga 2009). All components of framing are included in this study because it looks at the overall frame in the newspaper articles and not a specific component of framing.

Methodology

Within this research, research is conducted over different points in time namely the ten research years from 2012 to 2022, an examination is made of newspaper articles in De Volkskrant. The articles and framing in the Volkskrant are being analysed because De Volkskrant is one of the largest newspapers in the Netherlands and is seen as a social left-wing newspaper. Following the content analysis, the focus shifts towards identifying trends in how Islam and Muslims are portrayed in the news, specifically examining reports from the Dutch House of Representatives and the statements made by its politicians. I am going to examine the trend of framing about Islam and Muslims in political news over the research decade. This research will examine articles concerning Islam and Muslims in the Netherlands, with a specific emphasis on news related to politicians and the Dutch House of Representatives. This is because studies have shown that there is a negative atmosphere towards Muslims and Islam in the Netherlands and that this could be partly due to racist or derogatory statements from Dutch politicians (Vellenga 2009). The Dutch House of Representatives and by politicians are often very direct and the vehement statements are also increasingly shown in the news, and it is therefore important to examine the trend in the frames [17]. Is there a change in how Muslims and Islam are being framed in the past decade if articles in De Volkskrant are considered.

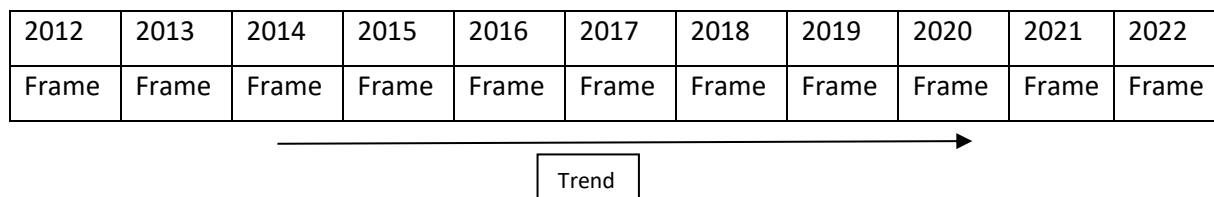| 2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame	Frame

Trend

Figure 2 Schematic overview research

Content research

For this study, content research is conducted. This is a research method that looks at the content of articles, audio and visual fragments, and discovers meaningful patterns in them. By discovering these patterns, something can be said about how the message is constructed, for example, whether it incorporates biases, to see how different authors look at a topic or to see if there are changes in messaging over time (Curtis and Curtis 2017). These patterns are examined using codes, these codes are described in a codebook. This writes down the codes used in the research, a qualitative value can be attached to the words used based on these outcomes. This is also done for this research.

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[17] https://www.volkskrant.nl/cultuur-media/populistische-politici-als-baudet-en-wilders-creeren-een-mijnenveld-voor-de-media-hoe-gaan-journalisten-daar-mee-om~b306d076/

In content research, it is important to test a hypothesis. In this research, this is done by using Shadid's (2021) four frames. It is examined whether any of these four frames (or multiples) are present in an article; to do this, they must become testable. This is done by giving values to the frames. Good values are mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive (Curtis and Curtis 2017). This means that the values do not overlap with each other and that they describe the entire frame (Curtis and Curtis 2017). By doing this, the frames become, coded and thus testable.

The articles tested in this study are determined based on a number of criteria. Firstly, they are articles from De Volkskrant. The next criteria is that it is an article published between January 2012 and December 2022, which is the 10 years in which the study is conducted. Then the content of the article is considered, all articles that deal with news related to the second chamber are eligible, this is because it is important for the research to investigate the image that politics conveys.

Frames and Codes

The articles selected based on the above criteria are assessed against the four frames already discussed earlier by Shadid (Vellenga 2009). The ethnocentrism frame, the stigmatisation frame, the leering frame and the cultural-generalisation frame. What these frames mean has already been discussed in the conceptual framework chapter, it is now important to make the codes clear in order to identify the frames in the articles from De Volkskrant. Creating a codebook and testing these codes will make coding as reliable and valid as possible. When nominal data (parts of articles) are viewed as variables, the variable is only a label (Curtis and Curtis 2017). This means that the variable does not say anything more than that it is present in the item, or is not present in the item. Furthermore, only the most prevalent variable is also used when establishing a label for an item in the article, this causes some data to be lost in the final results but provides the most reliable result. However, all variables can be found in the raw data of the study. In addition, it is also about the researcher's own interpretation of the codes, it is therefore important that the codebook does not cause ambiguity, and should therefore be as clear as possible. The codebook can be found in the appendix of this thesis.

In this study sentences are encoded, is there framing in certain sentences, and if so which of the four frames. This is because a single word is insufficient to detect a frame, lacking the necessary context to understand its meaning and apply a code or frame to it. For example, the word Muslim does not have a ''positive'' or ''negative'' connotation, but can be given that by the rest of the sentence. The research specifically avoids focusing on longer sentences, instead placing greater emphasis on shorter sentences or passages. This approach acknowledges the potential for variation in framing within a sentence and highlights the significant shifts in tone that can occur within a paragraph. In addition, this study uses deductive codes, this is because the frames the codes are based on emerge from literature research.

The codes in the codebook have been taken apart to create a good overview, in reality it often involves two or even more codes that can appear simultaneously in a sentence. For instance, when it comes to "terrorist actions from within Islam", it can be both the code "Islam" and "Terrorist". This is therefore done in this study to best reflect the actual framing. The codes in the codebook are divided into the frames extracted from the literature. This to keep it clear which code belongs to which frame. By subdividing each frame into three different codes, the articles can be looked at in an even more detailed way. For this study, 74 articles were examined, and coded using 12 codes created from Shadid's four frames in the manner mentioned above.

Validity and Reliability

To conduct good and reliable research, the reliability and validity of a study must be ensured. This can be done in several ways. The following part explains how validity and reliability are ensured in this study.

First, we look at the reliability of the study. Test-retest is used in this research to increase the reliability of coding. This is also known as stability. It means that the same article is coded twice or more by the same researcher, in order to compare both coding (Curtis and Curtis 2017). This is the first step to increase the reliability of the study. The second test that can be done to increase reliability is the test-test. This involves several researchers coding the same situation to increase reliability. This study cannot use a test-test strategy because there is not enough time for that, so the reliability of this study cannot be increased by this strategy. The test-test would help check the reproductivity of the study (Curtis and Curtis 2017). Finally, the accuracy of the study could be tested with the test standard, but that requires a standard outcome (Curtis and Curtis 2017). A standard outcome in this study does not yet exist so the test standard cannot be implemented in this study either. Thus, the reliability of this study is mainly based on stability and the test-retest method. Because it is a small study with not a large amount of data, reliability can be increased again because the researcher can more easily go back and forth in the study while conducting the study. This ensures that mistakes that might have been made earlier in the study can be fixed.

In addition, the validity of a study is important, for this a study must be repeatable otherwise the validity of a study also decreases and fewer claims can be made from the study that has been conducted (Curtis and Curtis 2017). The validity of a study is thus important in order to make well-founded claims with the research that has been conducted. Validity, like reliability, cannot be checked with a few standard tests (Curtis and Curtis 2017). Validity is more about whether the research was conducted carefully and gives a complete picture of what was researched. Also, a peer review can give more insight into the validity of a study, by having pieces read over, the researcher verifies that the study is conducted in a logical truthful manner.

The reliability of this thesis is made more reliable with a test-test. The scale of this study also keeps the results more reliable. Validity is ensured by the careful and meticulous work of the researcher. Parts of the study and literature are also checked by other people for logic and style to ensure more validity.

Results

For this research, the Atlas TI programme was used, in it all seventy-four articles were coded according to the 12 codes that emerged from the four frames of Shadid' s article, the ethnocentrism frame, the stigmatisation frame, the leering frame and the cultural-generalisation frame (Vellenga 2009). What was looked at for this study is how often different codes occurred per year, in order to discover the trend and see if there is any difference in frames used over the 10 years this study looks at. The numbers in the graphics show the number of times the encoding was used in the articles. The numbers in the tables show how often a code occurs, the colours represent the frame from which they emerged. Green for Cultural Generalisation frame, yellow for the Ethnocentrism frame, blue for the Leering frame and red for the Stigmatisation frame. This chapter shows the results of this study through bar tables and graphs on the distribution of codes and frames over the ten years in de Volkskrant.

Distribution of codes through the years

The graph below shows that the code Identity occurred 13 times in the articles of the year 2012, the code Them 16 times and the code Threat 13 times. All the graphs below can be read in the same way. Absolute numbers are used in this study unless otherwise indicated.
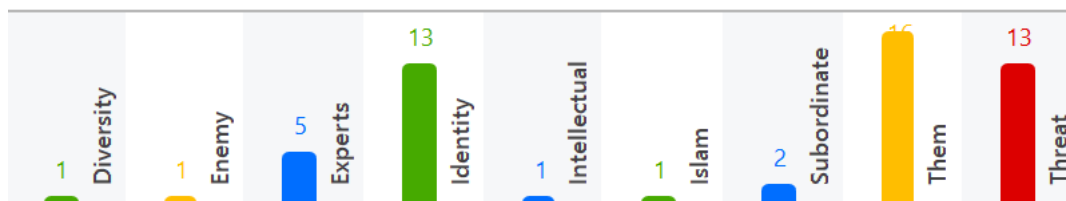

Figure 3: Distribution of codes in 2012
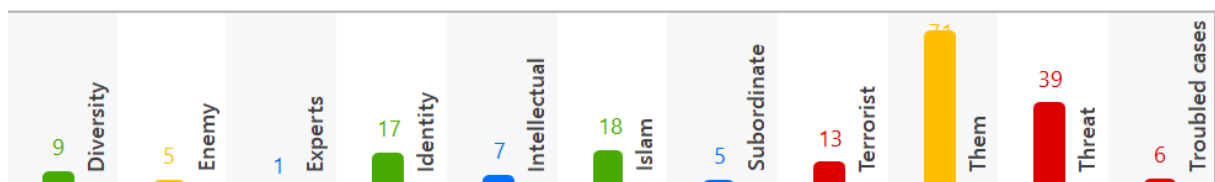

Figure 4: Distribution of codes in 2013

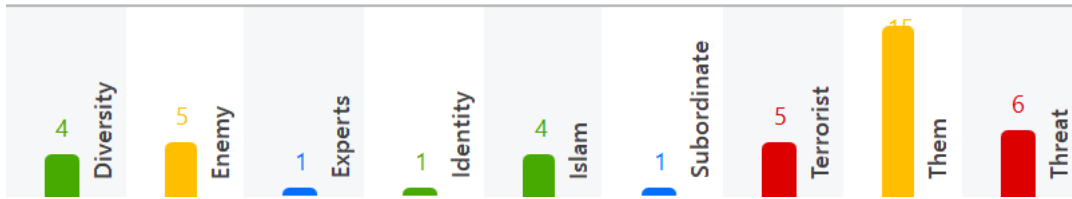*Figure 5: Distribution of codes in 2014*

Figure 6: Distribution of codes in 2015
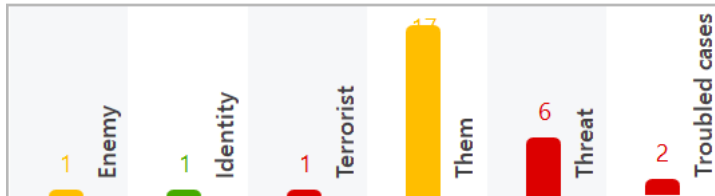

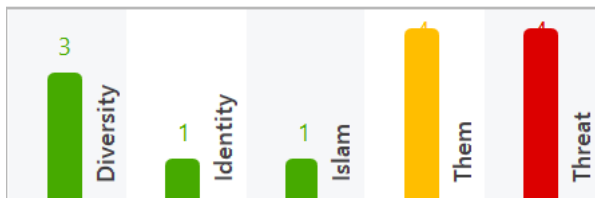*Figure 7: Distribution of codes in 2016*

Figure 8: Distribution of codes in 2017

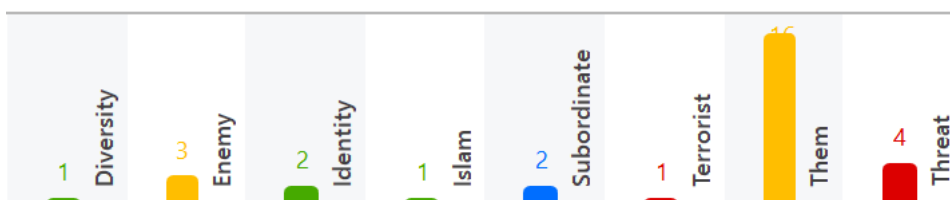*Figure 9: Distribution of codes in 2018*

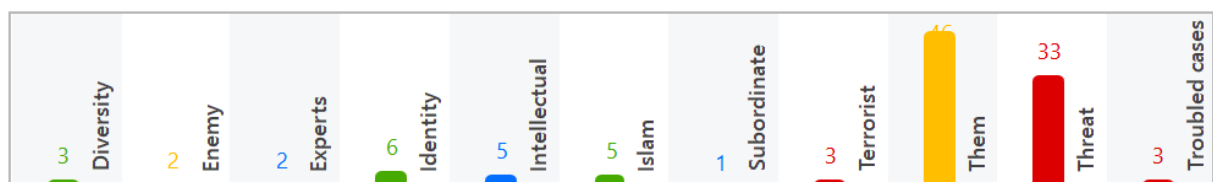*Figure 10: Distribution of codes in 2019*

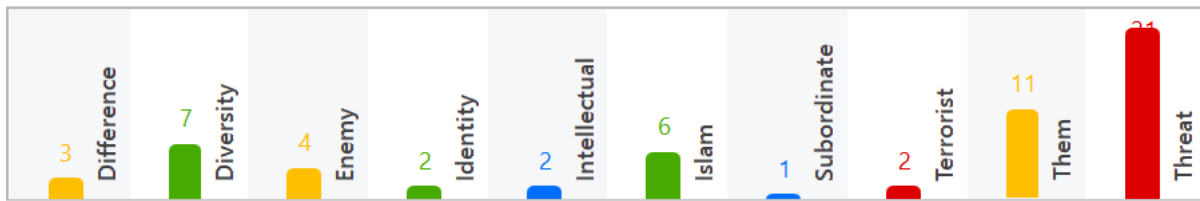*Figure 11: Distribution of codes in 2020*
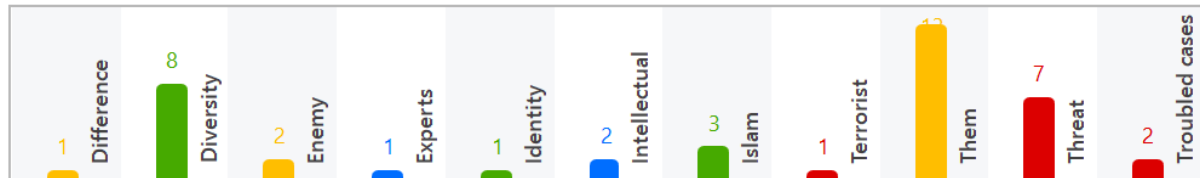
Figure 12: Distribution of codes in 2021

Figure 13: Distribution of codes in 2022

Of the 12 codes under examination, different codes have been the most prevalent in different years. These are codes represent the frames covered earlier, the leering frame, the cultural generalisation frame, the stigmatisation frame, and the ethnocentrism frame. All four of these frames are subdivided into 3 codes so in total there were 12 codes. The distribution of the most common code by year is visualised below.

YEAR	CODE
2012	Them (16)
2013	Them (29)
2014	Them (71)
2015	Them (15)
2016	Them (17)
2017	Them (4) Threat (4)
2018	Them (29)
2019	Them (16)
2020	Them (46)
2021	Threat (21)
2022	Them (13)

Figure 14: the codes by year

As observed, the code "Them" stands out as the most prevalent over the past decade, aligned with the ethnocentrism frame. This frame portrays Muslims or Islam in opposition to "Western" culture. Additionally, the code "Threat" emerges prominently in two specific years, reflecting the stigmatization frame. Within this frame, Islam and Muslims are depicted as problematic groups,

associated with crime, delinquency, and exploitation of social services.
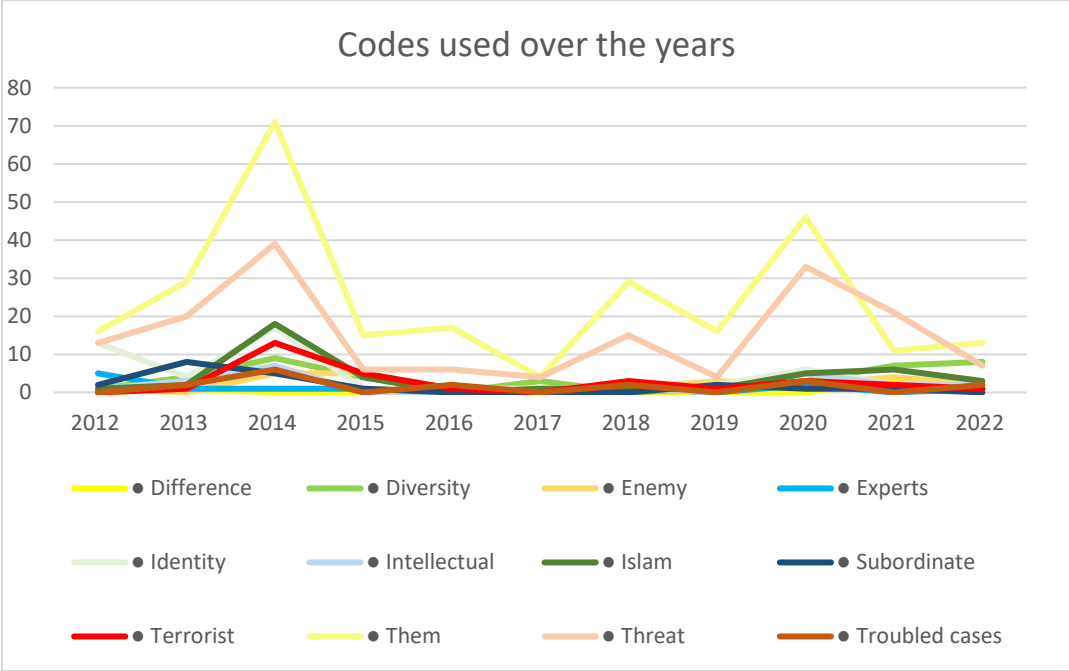
Figure 15: Codes used over the years.

The provided graph illustrates the occurrence of different codes throughout the years, reaffirming that the "Them" and "Threat" codes are the most prevalent in de Volkskrant over the past decade. It is worth noting that the frequency of these codes does exhibit variation from year to year.

From the fact that the codes Them and Threat are the most common, it can be extracted that in recent years, ethnocentrism frames and stigmatisation frames have been used the most in De Volkskrant. The frames used have not changed extremely over the past 10 years, except for the year 2017 and 2021 in which the stigmatisation frame was most commonly used.

YEAR	FRAME
2012	Ethnocentrism
2013	Ethnocentrism
2014	Ethnocentrism
2015	Ethnocentrism
2016	Ethnocentrism
2017	Ethocentrism and Stigmatisation
2018	Ethnocentrism
2019	Ethnocentrism

2020	Ethnocentrism
2021	Stigmatisation
2022	Ethnocentrism

Figure 16: the frames by year

The table above provides a comprehensive overview of the most frequently used frames in de Volkskrant for each year, offering a clearer understanding of which frame dominated during specific periods.

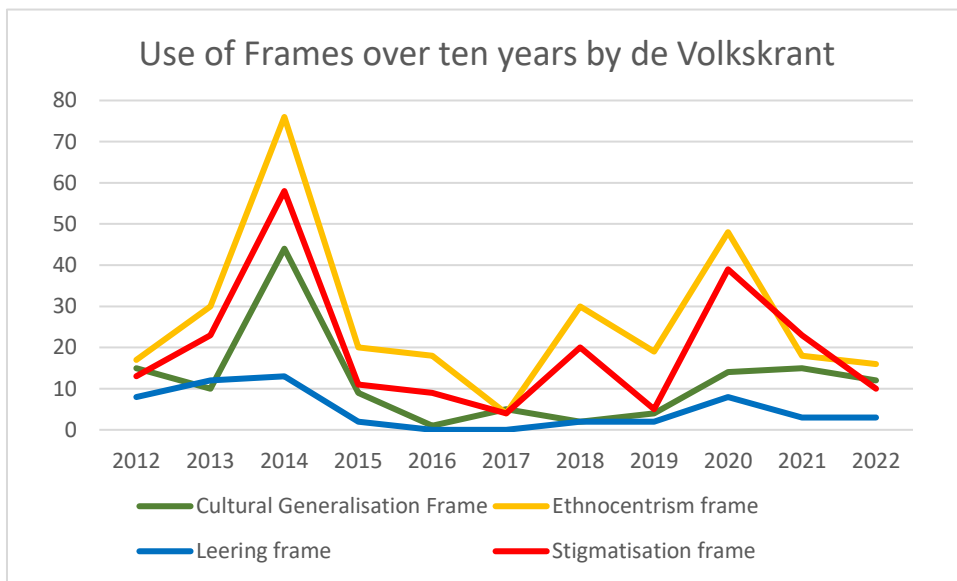*Figure 17: Use of frames over ten years by de Volkskrant*

The graph above shows how the use of different frames has changed over the ten years studied when looking at how often the frames occur in a year. For instance, there is an overall peak of frame usage in 2014, this shows that many articles were published about Muslims and Islam in Dutch politics. A peak can also be seen in the year 2020 and a small one in 2018.

Analysis of the codes and frames in de Volkskrant

Looking at the graphs and the distribution of the codes over the years, it can be seen from the results which codes were used the most in which year. The code Them appears most frequently in de Volkskrant almost every year. This code represents a distinct perspective on Islam and Muslims within the newspaper. It is important to note that this perspective can be both positive and negative. But it mostly indicates Muslims and Islam are contrasted with ''Dutch culture'' (Vellenga 2009). This coding does not necessarily have a value judgment but is therefore common with another code such as intellectual or threat, for example. Muslims and Islam are depicted either as less intelligent or as a threat to "Dutch culture." The frames used to discuss them emphasizes their distinctiveness as a separate group.

There are two years where the coding Threat is most common, in 2017 and in 2021. Besides revealing which codes were used the most in a year through this research, it is also possible to see how often the codes were used in a year. There is also a difference in this over the past decade, with more codes found in 2014 and 2020, for example. Why a difference in quantity of articles can be seen could have several reasons, what can be noted from this research is that in those years more articles were published that reflect the topics being researched. The increased focus on Islam and Muslims in Dutch politics and subsequent extensive coverage in de Volkskrant can be attributed to the societal issues associated with Islam and Muslims. As a result, these topics receive significant attention in the Dutch House of Representatives, leading to their heightened prominence in de Volkskrant. For example, in 2014, a discussion and a debate were held in the Dutch House of Representatives due to the rise of ISIS and the associated refugee influx that affected the Dutch landscape (Dagevos et al. 2018). There is also a big debate around 2020 that heightened the prominence of articles whit a frame in the Volkskrant, about the funding of mosques in the Netherlands, but based on this research it is not possible to say for sure that this is really the reason (Hoorens, Nederveen, and Snippe 2020). This has also been mentioned by in the literature, it is difficult to find out exactly where a frame comes from (Van Gorp, Boesman, and Vossen 2018).

To make a sufficient analyse about the trends of the frames over the 10 years studied in de Volkskrant, it is important to link the codes back to the frames. As can be seen in the results, each code is part of one of Shadid' s (2009) four frames (Vellenga 2009). Since the codes Them and Threat are the most common, the two most common frames in the 10 years studied are also Ethnocentrism frame and Stigmatisation frame. This can be seen in Figure 17 in the results. The four frames examined in the this thesis are the Ethnocentrism frame, the Stigmatisation frame, the Leering frame and the Cultural generalisation frame. These frames were established by Shadid (Vellenga 2009). Throughout the 10 years studied from 2012 until 2022, the frames all occur in de Volkskrant in different quantities relative

to each other over time. Below, each frame used is highlighted in which situation the frame occurred most frequently in De Volkskrant over the past ten years.

The ethnocentrism frame is most often used in De Volkskrant when discussing Islam and Muslims by politicians. Ethnocentrism is the idea that one's ''own group'' is superior to other cultural groups. Which tends to pit different cultures against each other creating an ''us'' ''them'' movement (Vellenga 2009). This is also evident in how Dutch politicians talk about Islam and Muslims in the Netherlands and how this is portrayed in De Volkskrant. In 2018, for example, a newspaper article on extra supervision and control of weekend schools talks about "They incite anti-democratic thinking, with which they can undermine." *15:2 ¶ 7 in After 18 interrogations is clear there is a threat of a parallel society*. The aforementioned example explicitly highlights the use of "they," thereby establishing a dichotomy between different cultural groups within the Netherlands.

Through the process of "dissecting" various cultures and emphasizing their differences, distinct sub-societies can coexist within a single country. This phenomenon is currently being discussed within Dutch political discourse. For example, an article on the influence of foreign mosques said the following. "The Dutch House of Representatives wants to know whether more cannot be done to combat the danger of 'a parallel society'" *8:9 ¶ 17 in Foreign influence on mosques keeps Chamber and cabinet in grip*. These two examples show that sentences or parts of a newspaper article can quickly be scaled under the ethnocentrism frame, namely the moment different groups are talked about with a value judgment attached to one or more of the groups. The moment the media speaks and writes ''often enough'' in this way about a group being pitted against another group by a country's governing body, this idea can be adopted within society (Gorp 2006).

After the ethnocentrism frame, the stigmatisation frame is most common in De Volkskrant when discussing Muslims and Islam in Dutch politics. The stigmatisation frame is a frame where Muslims and Islam are portrayed as problem groups, associating them mainly with crime, delinquents and abuse of social services from the government (Vellenga 2009). For example, a politician says she feels unsafe because of a burka. "Mona Keijzer (CDA) gets unsafe feeling from burka" *70:4 ¶ 1 in Mona Keijzer (CDA) gets unsafe feeling from burka*. Expressing it this way in a newspaper makes the link between wearing a garment based on religious beliefs and the threat it poses. It looks only at the ''dangerous'' side of Islam and a possible burka and not at the cultural norms and values behind it that may be reasons for wearing a burka. Seriously negative words are also sometimes used to describe fundamentalist spiritual leaders of Islam. "PvdA MP Martijn van Dam wonders how the student union came to invite 'a hateful person." *74:8 ¶ 6 in Christian Union Sharia scholar may not enter country*. The moment politicians make statements like this and it appears in the newspaper in this way, it creates a

negative image. When the news only talks negatively about Islam, it seems as if the whole "culture" is like this and it is then no longer taken into account that it is often only a small part of communities involved in crimes (Bakali 2016a).

The least common frame in De Volkskrant is the leering frame, this frame is based on the fact that Islam and Muslims are often portrayed as a less intelligent group within the Netherlands (Vellenga 2009). The frame deals with the fact that Muslims are often given less opportunity to share insights in which they have a lot of knowledge in the media. The fact that this is the least common frame may also be due to the fact that there is little representation of Muslims and Islamic people themselves in De Volkskrant. In addition, Islamic people and Muslims are often underestimated in knowledge and expertise in the Netherlands. Similarly in the example in De Volkskrant, Prime Minister Rutte talks here about becoming mayor with a Moroccan background. "But don't give up! Maybe you have to apply twice as often, but eventually you can also become mayor of Rotterdam with a Moroccan background and even be appointed for a second term. That's the Netherlands." *46:6 ¶ 17 in Rutte lectures Wilders on Moroccan pronouncements; he said this*. Two things come out very clearly in this example, firstly that there is still discrimination in the labour market. Secondly, that it is described almost with surprise that you can become mayor in the Netherlands with a Moroccan background. This shows that a group of people within the Netherlands are structurally underestimated on their abilities. This already starts with discrimination on the labour market and therefore the under-representation of Islamists and Muslims in certain fields of work, which is a form of structural racism (Vellenga 2009).

The final frame is the cultural generalization frame, which, while not pervasive, is more prevalent than the leering frame. This frame implies that all people who may have even a little to do with Islam are united in one. Both Islamists, Muslims, Moroccan people, Turkish people and more are put down as a homogeneous group and also portrayed that way in the news where religion is seen as the dominant identity (Vellenga 2009). The politician who generalises a lot is Geert Wilders, and this statement also comes from Geert Wilders. "'I maintain that Islamic culture does not belong to the Netherlands and that we must de-Islamise the Netherlands. That means closing our borders - yes, indeed! - for people from Islamic countries and that we have to make Muslims in the Netherlands who consider Islamic rules - read: sharia - more important than our national laws, admit colour." *46:3 ¶ 13 in Rutte lectures Wilders on Moroccan pronouncements; he said this*. This clearly shows that Geert Wilders does not look at anything other than religion to allow or not allow people to live in the Netherlands. This is a typical example of a cultural generalisation frame, which does not take into account any deeper culture or identity in people other than religion and strips away any form of individual interest.

Having established the patterns of frame usage by De Volkskrant over the past decade, we need to see if there have been any changes over time. The graphs in the results show how often frames are used also fluctuate over time. In 2014, politicians talked a lot about Muslims and Islam and appeared often in De Volkskrant. As this was pointed out earlier, this may have to do with the fact that there are things going on in society and the world, causing politicians to talk about Islam and Muslims in the House of Representatives (Dagevos et al. 2018). This also applies to 2020 where there is much talk in politics about investigating the financing of mosques in the Netherlands (Hoorens, Nederveen, and Snippe 2020). This was widely reported in De Volkskrant making the frames more prevalent. It is also noticeable that the ethnocentrism frame is almost always the most common in the articles. This is because the most common code namely the Them code is in this frame. After 2014, there is a decrease in all the frames but when they are again being talked about more in Politics and written about in De Volkskrant, it is also noticeable that the leering frame does not really return in the reporting. One reason for the decrease in the amount of frames used in those years is the fact that otherwise news in that period were more newsworthy, newspapers have to choose articles relevant to that period every day (Van Gorp, Boesman, and Vossen 2018).

From this research, it emerged that the four frames examined all occur in De Volkskrant over the past decade. The frequency in which they occur varies, this is probably due to relevant things happening in society and the discourse of the political landscape over the ten years. However this cannot be determined with certainty because this was not researched within this thesis. This falls within the expectation of the research, as research on frames is a complex issue. It is often possible to examine one part of the link properly, but how all the links relate to each other is often difficult to grasp in a form of research (Van Gorp, Boesman, and Vossen 2018).

Finally, the results of this thesis do not provide a clear indication of the specific tone employed in presenting the frames. The frequency of the frames become well visible and which frames are used in different frequency's in De Volkskrant, but not the specific words are examined. The articles do note that the way Islam and Muslims are talked about in society has hardened over the years (Berger M 2020). Extreme statements are made by various politicians about Islam and Muslims in the Netherlands and these statements are then repeated in De Volkskrant (Baden 2019). A question that arises after this analyses is to what extent is the newspaper obliged to directly document what is mentioned in the Dutch House of Representatives (Weizman 2008). By publishing the sometimes heated statements made in a debate on paper, they are made even more public, repeated and perceived as important enough. By incorporating the statements from a debate into an article, more attention is given to them and this can influence how society will look at issues (Van Gorp, Boesman, and Vossen 2018). Ensuring responsible handling of this matter is a shared responsibility involving various stakeholders,

including the politicians engaged in the debate, the article authors, and the chief editors of De Volkskrant but some responsibility would also lie with the reader.

Discussion

The research conducted on the frames used in De Volkskrant when it comes to Islam and Muslims in the Dutch House of Representatives has shown that De Volkskrant has structurally used all the four frames examined over the past decade. This research shows that the ethnocentrism frame is the most common, then the stigmatisation frame and cultural generalisation frame, and lastly the lay frame. The fact that some frames are more or less prevalent says nothing about the influence these frames have on society. It is therefore important to clarify some more issues while executing this research now that all conclusions about the data have been figured out. This chapter discusses all these issues one by one. This starts with a review of the research that has been done, demonstrating the validity of this thesis and discussing any insights and recommendations for the future.

Research evaluation

The research is conducted in several stages, commencing with the compilation of all articles by systematically reviewing the De Volkskrant website, starting from the latest publications and working towards the oldest ones. Thereafter, the articles were examined against the predefined codes developed based on the four frames outlined by Shadid (Vellenga 2009). The four frames are the leering frame, the cultural generalisation frame, the stigmatisation frame and the ethnocentrism frame. To conduct the most precise coding, each of the four frames was further divided into three distinct codes. After the first round of coding all the articles, there are a few things that stand out. For instance, the four frames used are often about negative things, when positive things are mentioned, it is difficult to code. Often the positive things that are said to contradict or negate the a negative code. So it was decided to mark the positive things with the code they correspond to. Having read and coded all the articles for the first time, it also strikes one that perhaps no value should be given such as positive or negative to enhance objectivity. The codes in themselves are not necessarily positive or negative, but as a researcher, a trend emerges because almost all the articles deal with problems, fears, or threats. It is also noticeable that Islam and Muslims are often used as examples or reasons why something is not going well or should be different. No coding was found for this either, and this may need to be added to get a complete picture. The four frames that Shadid (2009) has created are from 2009 and so might no longer be complete because the field could be changed in the past 13 years (Vellenga 2009).

In addition, during the first time coding, it emerged that as a researcher you are carried away in a stream of thought, you have to pull yourself back each time to draw the most objective conclusions rather than letting your feelings have free rein while coding. One last thing that stood out while coding is the problem of actual terrorist danger or danger to society. But that should also be solved by

remaining objective if it is in the newspaper as it was said by a politician, then it should be coded as it is.

The conclusion after the first time coding all articles is that continuing to look objectively at the individual sentences is the most important thing for this part of the study. For the next round, the order of coding will be changed to coding by year. To perhaps already catch a trend of how there is change over time and to be able to take a new look at the articles through a different order. In addition, tests will be conducted with articles printed out and physically coded to see if that makes a difference.

Upon conducting a second round of coding for all the articles, it becomes evident that several aspects were overlooked during the initial coding process. This highlights the significance of this valuable round of coding. Utilizing printed copies of articles proves beneficial as it allows for a fresh perspective while examining the content. However, it is not essential to print out every single article. Engaging in the physical process of reviewing one or two articles per day already facilitates a reset in the overall process. In addition, after a second coding, it is noticeable that Islam and Muslims are often used as '' news hook'' of an article (Van Gorp, Boesman, and Vossen 2018). When it comes to ritual slaughter or a discussion on freedom of religion in the Dutch House of Representatives, Islam or Muslims are often mentioned as an example religion or in the title of the article. This is to add urgency or news value to the article to make clear why the article is being published in the chosen moment, the topicality value of an article or utterance of a politician (Van Gorp, Boesman, and Vossen 2018). There is the example of ''het Boerkaverbod'' in the Netherlands, this is a law against shielding one's head in public places including a burka, but also a balaclava or other face-covering clothing. Yet this law is structurally referred to as ''het Boerkaverbod'' in de Volkskrant and by politicians[18]. This is also often done by specific politicians in the Dutch House of Representatives such as Geert Wilders.

Also, another look through all the articles needs to be done to make sure all articles contribute to this research. This is going to happen for the third and probably last round of coding. Because it was concluded during the second round of coding that not all articles are equally relevant to this study. There will be stricter filtering on that the articles really only reflect statements or behaviours of politicians in the Dutch House of Representatives, and not an overly observational article. It is also decided after the second time of coding to mark all sentences that refer to Islam and Muslims and not only if one of these words appear in them or it is clearly about them. Indirect sentences about Islam and Muslims are also included in the coding in order to detect the trend in De Volkskrant when it comes to Islam and Muslims in the Dutch House of Representatives.

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[18] https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/jaar-na-boerkaverbod-nog-geen-boetes-uitgedeeld-wel-vier-waarschuwingen~bfb581b50/

It is also decided to code from the newest to the oldest articles in order to approach all the articles in a different order again and ensure the most objective coding possible. What is further noticeable is that patterns can already be discovered during the coding process, for instance Islam and Muslims are often portrayed as ''the other''. This is a trend that is already very apparent during the coding process. But no conclusions should be drawn from this yet.

Having coded all the articles for the third time, it is necessary to see if any patterns can be detected in the data. What first stands out is that the articles used in this research are not evenly distributed over time. In some years, more was published about Muslims and Islam discussed in the Dutch House of Representatives than in other years. This may be because of the events that took place in the years. For instance, in 2014 there are more newspaper articles analysed because around that time ISIS emerged and attacks were carried out in Europe and more refugees came to the Netherlands (Dagevos et al. 2018). Similarly, in 2020, there are more articles because a large-scale investigation into the funding of mosques was done then and mainly focused on foreign money from ''on free'' countries outside Europe (Hoorens, Nederveen, and Snippe 2020). So there is a difference in years whether these topics have been discussed in politics in the Netherlands.

Validity

To find out the validity of this research, there are a number of pillars to measure it against. The significant aspects emphasized in this research pertain to the thoroughness of the approach and the extent to which it provides insights into the real-world context. First, sufficient time was taken for this research, during which the field was first discovered and various adjustments were made to the direction of the research. In order to arrive at a feasible and relevant research. In addition, the articles were found by structurally going through De Volkskrant site to eventually find all the articles that were relevant. When all articles were collected, coding was done three times to minimise errors. After each time coding, an evaluation was made, which can be read in the section above. However, it would have been better to have a second person watch the coding, this to increase the reliability of the study and take out even more errors (Curtis and Curtis 2017). A second person takes an unbiased look at the codes and applies them to the selected articles, this is called intercoder agreement. In this study, there was no time to have a second person co-coding, for further research in the future, this is recommended. Throughout the writing of this thesis, there were reflective moments, both with the thesis supervisor and self-reflection in order to write a valid thesis.

However, while writing this thesis, I did come to realise that the background in which the researcher grew up has an impact on the interpretation of the articles. For instance, as a researcher I am a Dutch non-religious, white cis gender woman, while doing research one tries to remain so objective but occasionally I noticed that my own ideas, backgrounds, upbringing caused a moment of reflection

about myself. For instance, while coding I became very aware of the fact that I myself actually have little direct connection to Islam or Muslims in the Netherlands apart from my studies and interest. I cannot sense how these articles affect an actual community or people personally. In order to gain a better understanding of this, I attempted to shift the narrative in my mind to topics that I could more readily relate to. This exercise aided me in contextualizing the articles and frames, enabling me to imagine the impact of such content when expressed by the political leaders of the country in which one resides. But I could never actually experience this in such a way so it's about looking at the words as objectively as possible. This moment has caused some doubt in my topic, but by remaining objective, my views can also contribute to the investigation into the way of framing in De Volkskrant when it comes to Muslims and Islam from the Dutch House of Representatives.

Insights and recommendations

There are a number of things that stood out, surprised or could have been better while doing this research. Based on these insights, it is also possible to make recommendations for future research, in order to move forward in researching frames in De Volkskrant when it comes to Islam and Muslims with news from the Dutch House of Representatives, but also for other research for which these insights may be relevant.

First, the use of interviews, during my research I noticed at times that I missed information from society itself. How are newspaper articles actually received by people. What does reading different frames do to a person. These questions could have been beat with the addition of doing interviews while researching frames in a newspaper. In this way, more information could be found out, for example, about the impact that the negative framing from the Dutch House of Representatives via newspaper articles in De Volkskrant has on an individual within society. By doing interviews with people about whom the frames are about, the research can be supplemented by responses from the communities themselves. In order to get a more complete picture of the impact these frames can have in society.

Second, this study only looked at the text in articles. But images, writers, and other texts near the article all contribute to forming a frame and to how an article is read and received by a person (Van Gorp 2005). Looking at this too will give you more information about the frames used in an article. Why this was not chosen in this study is because no interviews were conducted and pictures and things around an article are very difficult to code objectively than text alone. For this reason, I chose not to include this in this study, should there be more time for a study or a specific visual research on frames is done, it is important to include the entire article including photo and everything around it in the analysis.

In addition, multiple newspapers could also be examined for a similar study. In order to compare the amount of frames used in the newspapers over time. This was first an idea for this thesis, but as that research would be too large, it was abandoned. However, this could give more insight into how different newspapers relate to each other and how framing is applied.

Also, while analysing the data, one could have looked at the percentages in which the different codes and frames occur. This is to look in yet another way at the frames and codes used in the Volkskrant in the ten research years. So as to be able to say something about the codes and frames that occur independently of the number of articles published in a year. Due to time constraints at the inception of this further analysis, this particular aspect was not pursued. However, given more time, it would still be feasible to conduct this analysis.

Finally, research could be conducted on the role newspapers play in conveying political news. For instance, different decades looked differently at the role newspapers have on conveying politicians. Should everything a politician says be quoted directly and put in the newspaper, or does the newspaper also play a role in this. In the 1980s, politicians were almost not interviewed if they had strong opinions against immigration, for instance what happened with Hans Janmaat[19]. Now these politicians are actually sought out to do an interview in order to write down the most vehement statements possible. What is the role of the newspaper in this narrative, and how does this change affect the society we live in.

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[19] https://www.volkskrant.nl/cultuur-media/populistische-politici-als-baudet-en-wilders-creeren-een-mijnenveld-voor-de-media-hoe-gaan-journalisten-daar-mee-om~b306d076/

Conclusion

After analysing all the data, there are some insights that emerge about the frames used by De Volkskrant when writing about political news and about Muslims or Islam in the Netherlands. All the conclusions from this research will be discussed in this chapter. This is done according to the frames that were investigated and the frequency that they occurred in the 10 research years in de Volkskrant. From now on, we will only look at the frames that occur and not the codes. This is to keep the conclusion as clear as possible and applicable for further studies done with these frames that occur from the literature.

In addition, it is important to note that because this is a content research conducted from the social sciences the conclusions drawn are done by a researcher and no matter how much of an attempt is made to articulate an objective conclusion, it cannot be ignored that a person is analysing the data and therefore some form of bias is always present.

 The main question examined in this study:

"How has the framing of political news related to Muslims and Islam in the Netherlands by De Volkskrant changed over the past decade?"

- What are the frames most used in de Volkskrant about Islam and Muslims, when there is news from or about the Dutch House of Representatives in the Netherlands?

- In what ways has these frames changed the past ten years, and what are the trends that can be seen in this change?

- Could there be evidence of a form of Islamophobia perpetuated by the framing of political news in de Volkskrant in the Netherlands?

What are the frames most used in de Volkskrant about Islam and Muslims, when there is news from or about the Dutch House of Representatives in the Netherlands?

All four frames of Shadid (2009) the Ethnocentrism frame, the Stigmatisation frame, the Leering frame and the Cultural generalisation frame occur (Vellenga 2009). They occur to varying degrees, but are all present in De Volkskrant over the past 10 years when it came to political news from the Netherlands. The ethnocentrism frame the most, then the stigmatisation frame, third is the Cultural generalisation frame the most prevalent and the leering frame has been the least present in de Volkskrant over the past ten years.

This can say the following things, the fact that all four frames occur to a degree in de Volkskrant firstly means that de Volkskrant actually uses frames in the articles that are published. This is an outcome of the research which was to be expected as framing is a part of news creation (Baden 2019). The way something is framed gives the reader guidance but also clarity, this framing can be created or used consciously or unconsciously (Van Gorp, Boesman, and Vossen 2018).

The fact that the ethnocentrism frame is the most common in the Volkskrant in the 10 years studied shows that Muslims and Islam in the Netherlands are portrayed as a ''different group'' in the Netherlands. Not necessarily always negative, but different from ''the norm''. This is partly due to the fear of polarisation in the Netherlands, but also the fact that there already is a form of polarisation in the Netherlands (Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019). In the Dutch House of Representatives, therefore, these issues are frequently discussed, but statements are also made by politicians that do not contribute to a constructive debate on polarisation in the Netherlands, and these statements are also highlighted in Volkskrant' s articles. This involves the discussion of how far politicians can go in the statements they make and who is responsible for this and in what way Volkskrant is responsible in incorporating these statements into articles that are published (Rummens 2011; Weizman 2008).

Whoever ultimately bears this responsibility, the fact remains that framing is published in newspapers. That Islam and Muslims in the Netherlands are talked about in a certain way in politics and therefore structurally present in the Volkskrant over the past 10 years of this study. This may have consequences for the people about whom these frames are structurally used and may cause adverse effects within society (Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019). Without these frames always being obvious, if something is structurally represented in a certain way it slowly starts to become ''the norm'' and this can reflect negatively on the group it concerns and cause serious problems (Nekuee 1999; Vliegenthart 2007). It cannot be said from this research whether the articles in de Volkskrant actually contribute to this, but this research does show that the four frames appear structurally in de Volkskrant.

In what ways has these frames changed the past ten years, and what are the trends that can be seen in this change?

Something that immediately stands out about the frames is that there are big differences in how often they occur over the past 10 years. Based on the research conducted in this thesis, it is not possible to entirely exclude the potential factors contributing to how this phenomenon arises. But a reason for the large differences could be that in some years Islam was discussed a lot in the Dutch House of Representatives in the Netherlands. For instance, around 2013 and 2014, ISIS was an important topic in the world which meant that it was also talked about more in the Netherlands, especially as more and more refugees came to the Netherlands (Dagevos et al. 2018). In 2020, it was about investigating foreign money to Mosque in the Netherlands. This may be a reason that sometimes frames are more prevalent, but this cannot be ruled out.

What can be clearly seen in the past decade is that, on average, the Ethnocentrism frame is the most prevalent and the leering frame the least. Besides the frequencies in which frames occur, which means that they have been discussed in the Dutch House of Representatives and described in De Volkskrant, there has not been much change in dynamics between the frames that occur. This can also be clearly seen in the figure above.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the frequency of frames that occur depends on the topics that play within society and are therefore discussed in the Dutch House of Representatives. Based on the utilization of the four frames in the study, it appears that the framing of frames remains relatively consistent, as the same frames continue to exhibit similar relationships with each other over time. The fact that little change can be seen in the proportions in which frames appear in the Volkskrant may also mean that the frames are used in such a subconscious, unremarkable way on the editorial staff that they do not realise that actual framing can be found in the articles (Gorp 2006). This may create dormant discrimination if people are not aware that framing actually takes place in the Volkskrant. But no firm statements can be made here as a result of this study.

Could there be evidence of a form of Islamophobia perpetuated by the framing of political news in de Volkskrant in the Netherlands?

Drawing a definitive conclusion regarding the presence of Islamophobia in De Volkskrant based on this research is not a straightforward task. Because it is difficult to find out what the influence of these frames is on Dutch society and it could also not be done on the basis of this research. So whether there is Islamophobia in the framing of De Volkskrant is difficult. This firstly because Islamophobia is difficult to define and when there is an clear definition it is difficult to actually determine it. What can be stated is that Islam and Muslim unfriendly expressions are made in the Dutch House of Representatives and this is reported in de Volkskrant from time to time.

The fact that frames influence society in a certain way is well known, the way and how much influence frames have is difficult to assess (Lecheler and De Vreese 2012; Van Gorp, Boesman, and Vossen 2018). In the case of this study, it can also be argued that the prevalence of all four frames in the past decade has influenced the view of Islam and Muslims in the Netherlands to some extent. Especially since these frames are used by people from the Dutch House of Representatives, the people in the House of Representatives are elected on a democratic basis and should represent the entire Dutch population. In addition, they run the country, and the House of Representatives decides which direction the Netherlands and her society will go. If from this position of power, the House of Representatives, structurally expresses negative views, such as ethnocentric, stigmatising, generalising, a cultural group and also does not see any expertise in the group they are negative about, this can have a negative effect on society as a whole (Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019). Especially also if the different groups and in addition the cultural, religious and social differences within Islam and Muslims are not recognised, then this could do something to how one positions oneself in society. How one feels at home within society and the way the Dutch House of Representatives and other government bodies are viewed. In addition, if this is also portrayed in this way in De Volkskrant, there may be a perception that this is the general discourse that is valid in the country about certain cultural and religious groups. And if you, as a person, are placed outside a society in this way, it can affect how you feel at home in a country, whether you feel comfortable in a country and whether you trust the people who run the country in the Dutch House of Representatives (Meeteren and Oostendorp 2019). The way things are portrayed in the media, despite being difficult to examine, do have an impact on how society is formed.

"How has the framing of political news related to Muslims and Islam in the Netherlands by De Volkskrant changed over the past decade?"

This research has shown that de Volkskrant has used the four frames the past ten years when it comes to Muslims or Islam. That these frames are used in one of the largest newspapers in the Netherlands therefore shows a discourse from the decade that has been researched. From the frames used, it emerges that when De Volkskrant writes about Muslims or Islam following an event in the Dutch House of Representatives, it often does so with at least one of the four frames, often more. The Ethnocentrism frame is most common which means that ''Dutch culture'' is considered superior to a Muslim or Islamic culture (Vellenga 2009). It is also evident that when Islam and Muslims are talked about it is most of the times described in a negative way, as a threat or as a danger to ''Dutch culture'', which comes back through the stigmatisation frame. The Cultural Generalisation Frame also shows a picture of how Islam and Muslims are spoken and written about when news comes out of the Dutch House of Representatives, namely that there is often little distinction between the many cultural and moral differences within Islamic and Muslim Culture. On top of that, when it comes to these topics, an

expert or someone with experience from these cultural and religious groups is not often asked. This then comes back with the leering frame used in De Volkskrant, often people with an Islamic or Muslim background are underestimated in their ability or not consulted when it comes to Islam itself.

How these frames come about was not investigated in this thesis and it is therefore difficult to pinpoint a cause for the frames being used. Whether this comes mainly from the Dutch House of Representatives, whether the House of Representatives is responding to society or whether it has some other interaction. What does become clear from this research is that by using these frames is one of the Netherlands' largest newspapers Muslims and Islam are often placed outside ''Dutch'' society. When Islam or Muslims are talked about, they are often placed outside society, opposite ''Dutch culture'' and also often as an ''entire group''. Some articles have a strong undertone making it clear that ''the whole group'' is seen outside ''Dutch society''. This is a discourse both described by the newspaper but also one expressed by political leaders in the Dutch House of Representatives. The question then is it the responsibility from the newspaper to change this discourse, not publish it or publish it as it has been said.

Because this discourse comes from both a major newspaper in the Netherlands and the Dutch House of Representatives, it could have an impact on how Islam and Muslims are approached in the social setting in the Netherlands and what kind of consequences it could have if ''your own'' group, or so it is portrayed, is put outside ''society'' every time. Especially when this comes from the country's political leaders, when Muslims and Islam are talked about like this in the Dutch House of Representatives, or by politicians outside the chamber. This can have an impact on the sense of belonging and feeling at home and being/being part of Dutch society (Buitelaar 2021). What is important to remember from this study is that the framing itself does not cause polarisation but brings the different discourses into focus, this can be a negative framework. Especially if this happens in a structural way, this research found that despite the frequencies of the frames changing, all four frames have been used structurally by de Volkskrant over the past 10 years.

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Appendix

Codebook

LEKENFRAME	Discription	Origin	Exmple
Experts	The moment Muslims are not asked for information when it comes to Islam.	The ''racism'' by the under-representation of immigrants in the media world according to Campbell (1995)(Vellenga 2009).	"What are we doing to women,' Keijzer said. 'It is a prison for women and a complete denial of their identity." 70:3 ¶ 5 in Mona Keijzer (CDA) krijgt onveilig gevoel van boerka
Intellectual	The moment Muslims are not seen as intellectual, or mentally underestimated.	The "Westerners", such as the FBI, CIA and Iron Man, are portrayed as progressive figures, using the latest technologies and outsmarting the Muslims every time (Bakali 2016b).	" Sometimes you hear that there should be fewer, fewer, fewer Moroccans, other times you are sitting somewhere waiting because of your student side job as a note-taker and someone comes in and says 'Ah, you are the new cleaner!'" 77:15 ¶ 10 in Kamerlid Kauthar Bouchallikht 'Moslim zijn kan op verschillende manieren'
Subordinate	The moment Islam is outlined as third-world culture, lagging behind Western culture.	Muslims are structurally portrayed as violent, stupid and backward towards the West (Bakali 2016b)	" He argues that no public money should go to facilities that separate men and women." 63:4 ¶ 5 in Tweede Kamer gaat debatteren over 'halalhuizen'

CULTURELE- GENERALISATIEFRAME	Discription	Origin	Exmple
Islam	When Islam is described as the same group	"They hate us for our freedoms", (Bakali 2016b).	" Fighting 'terrible Islam' remains PVV's main issue " 6:3 ¶ 19 in Wilders zet in zijn partijprogramma alles op alles om niet te hoeven regeren.
Identity	If Muslim or Islam is the only identity given to a person.	Muslims are only portrayed with religion as their interest and personality, all other characteristics Muslims have are not mentioned or displayed (Bakali 2016b).	"A Muslim father tried to keep his daughter away from unsegregated swimming lessons'." 75:2 ¶ 11 in 'Islamdebat bedreigt soepele omgang religie'
Diversity	If the diversity of Islam is not recognised.	America is under attack, and images were shown of Palestinians celebrating terrorism, not taking into account that this was about a small group of people within the Muslim community (Bakali 2016b).	"What I also learned was how diverse a group can be that is seen and put down as homogeneous " 77:18 ¶ 30 in Kamerlid Kauthar Bouchallikht 'Moslim zijn kan op verschillende manieren'

STIGMATISERINGSFRAME	Discription	Origin	Exmple
Terrorist	The moment Muslims or Islam is purely outlined as a terrorist danger.	In the news, the hijackers are depicted in stereotypical Islamic drawings, with a beard, turban and ''Middle Eastern style of dress'' when in reality they were clean-shaven and wore ''Western clothes'' (Bakali 2016b).	" More attacks by extremists would follow in the following years: in Beslan, Madrid, London. These reinforced my image of Islam as an evil, violent faith.'" 78:3 ¶ 7 in ExPVV'er Joram van Klaveren 'De islam is een vreedzaam geloof'
Threat	The moment Islam or Muslims are only outlined as a threat to Dutch culture.	In the Netherlands, after the pillarization, fewer cultural and religious differences were visible in ''public'' life; with the arrival of an ''other'', this could be seen as a cultural challenge (van der Valk 2012).	" This mosque too has the 'intention to strip Almere of all Dutch features in the shortest possible time and turn it into an Islamic settlement' " 34:1 ¶ 19 in Het lot van de eerste Nederlandse moskee
Troubled cases	The moment Muslims are presented only as problem groups.	Figures show that 65% of Dutch inhabitants think that Muslims are against integration, and 88% of those questioned think that Islam is a violent religion (Abdelkader 2017).	"However, Asscher did say the area is "a difficult neighbourhood", where many Muslims live and where nuisance and crime take place " 68:2 ¶ 5 in Asscher tempert onrust over Schilderswijk

ETHNOCENTRISMEFRAME	Discription	Origin	Exmple
Them	The moment Islam and Muslims are contrasted with ''Western culture''.	A clear distinction is made between "them" and "us", the "good Muslim" and the "bad Muslim", and in this, the image of the "rich and intelligent West" versus the "poor and undeveloped East" is clearly expressed (Bakali 2016b).	" What this now means in practice for burka-wearing Netherlands is not yet entirely clear. Will women be evicted from buses or buildings? Will they be fined?" 24:9 ¶ 19 in Het boerkaverbod na 4.571 dagen wordt Wilders' wil wet in de zorg, het openbaar vervoer en op scholen
Enemy	Moment Islam and Muslims are portrayed as enemies of ''the West''.	Fear was instilled by the government about the threat of more attacks from Islam, making the "us" and "them" divide even clearer, people became afraid of each other by the way things were explained and depicted in the news (Alsultany 2012; Bakali 2016b).	" The government must protect "all Dutch people" from "religious extremism that is contrary to our democratic rule of law.'" 7:13 ¶ 10 in Zorgen over islamistische koers Erdogan Kamer eist inzage in rapport over invloed op Turkse Nederlanders
Difference	The image painted than Islam and Muslims are less than ''us''.	Last year, mosques have been defaced, women have been insulted in traffic for wearing a headscarf or have not been admitted to a job interview because of their religion (Rosiny 2021).	"At the job interview, someone still asked 'as a Muslim you definitely don't drink, won't that affect networking?', but other than that, I had a great and instructive time there." 77:7 ¶ 26 in Kamerlid Kauthar Bouchallikht 'Moslim zijn kan op verschillende manieren'