

# Media Representations of Migrants in the Context of Providing Accommodation Locally

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## *Abstract*

By conducting a qualitative content analysis of over 500 news articles, this research analyzed how migrants are framed in the context of providing accommodation locally in regional newspapers in the Netherlands. This context is especially relevant, as the local level has played an increasingly significant role in providing refugee accommodation since the perceived ‘crisis’ in migration governance in 2015 and 2016. Furthermore, this context is highly politicized and frequently covered in recent Dutch media. Media representations of migrants in general are already well explored. However, this research explores media representations of migrants in the context of providing accommodation locally. This research is a relevant contribution to the literature as it allows for a better understanding of the contextual factors influencing the ways migrants are framed in the media.

Scholars have identified different important media representations of migrants, including humanitarian, security, and humanizing depictions. This research first looks at the extent to which these three migrant frames - humanitarian, security, and humanizing - are present in the sample, then analyzes the detailed contexts (e.g. the key topics of the news articles) in which these migrant frames do or do not appear.

This study found the three frames of migrants (the humanitarian, security, and humanizing frame) in 34% of the news articles. Local residents and local governmental actors apply the humanitarian frame by connecting the arrival of migrants to the reason for which they are here (fleeing war and violence), which connects to ‘our’ moral plight to help them. These actors also apply the security frame by associating the arrival of migrants with worries about their own safety and socio-economic threats, such as the expectation of a decrease in home value or a decline in income from tourism. Local governmental actors and the Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers (COA) apply the humanizing frame by sharing ‘normalizing’ details about their everyday routines and living spaces.

In almost 66% of the news articles, the three frames were not applicable. This suggests that these three frames, identified as important, may not be significant in the representation of migrants in news articles in this context. However, another likely explanation for the absence of these frames in the sample lies in the prevalence of key topics like ‘update on accommodation’ and ‘local statistics (of regions in general)’ in the sample. These articles mostly provide readers with objective updates on specific local migrant accommodations or current statistics on general accommodation numbers in the municipality or province overall. Therefore, they do not enable an emphasis on migrants’ humanity or (un)desirability related to migrants’ ‘anticipated criminal activities’ or ‘need for protection’. This explains why humanitarian, security, or humanizing migrant representations are not present in these articles. Furthermore, even in news articles covering key topics such as ‘protest’, ‘conflict’, ‘support’, and ‘cooperation’, which could emphasize migrants’ humanity or (un)desirability, this emphasis did not always occur. Instead of presenting opposing opinions based on security frames or supportive

opinions based on humanitarian frames, these news articles also featured other arguments unrelated to migrants themselves.

## *1. Introduction*

This research focuses on media representations of migrants in the context of providing accommodation locally.<sup>1</sup> This context purely encompasses the actual provision of housing or shelter for migrants locally, such as asylum seekers' centers, municipal reception centers for Ukrainians, or housing for status holders. It is important to examine these media representations because the media can constitute the main source of knowledge on topics like migrants and immigration. This can affect the actions and reactions of local residents to providing migrant accommodation locally and shape the sense of belonging among migrants themselves (Mistiaen, 2019; Kox et al., 2023). For example, Ferwerda et al. (2017) argue that threatening media frames significantly reduce support for both national and local resettlement.

Furthermore, the local context of this media research is relevant, as the local level has played an increasingly significant role in refugee accommodation since the perceived 'crisis' in migration governance in 2015 and 2016 (Jonitz et al., 2024). The context of providing accommodation locally is also highly politicized and an issue that is frequently covered in recent Dutch media. Examples include opposition by municipal councils against the 'dispersal law' or resident protests against the accommodation of asylum seekers. Furthermore, media representations of migrants in general are already well explored. However, this research explores media representations of migrants in the context of providing accommodation locally. This research is a relevant contribution to the literature as it allows for a better understanding of the contextual factors influencing the ways migrants are framed in the media. The main research question is:

How are migrants framed in the context of providing accommodation locally across regional newspapers in the Netherlands?

Five sub-questions are used to answer the main research question. First, scholars have identified different important media representations of migrants, including humanitarian, security, and humanizing depictions. Humanitarian depictions portray migrants as victims in need of help and protection from persecution. Security depictions portray migrants as intruders, linking their arrival in the Netherlands to socio-economic, socio-cultural, and security threats. Humanizing depictions portray migrants as normal and human by focusing on everyday situations, spaces, and initiatives (Georgious & Zaborowski, 2017; Hognestad & Lamark, 2017; Lams, 2018; Geuijen et al., 2020; Kox et al., 2023). This research looks at the extent to which these three different migrant frames -

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<sup>1</sup> The term 'migrants' is used in this research as an umbrella term for asylum seekers, Ukrainians (including third-country nationals (TCNs) from Ukraine) and status holders.

humanitarian, security, and humanizing - are present, as well as which actors are presenting the frames, in the context of providing accommodation locally.

- 1) To what extent are humanitarian, security, and humanizing frames present in the representation of migrants in the context of providing accommodation locally across regional newspapers in the Netherlands?

In the context of providing accommodation locally, news articles do not only discuss the provision of accommodation locally for asylum seekers but also for Ukrainians, including third-country nationals (TCNs) from Ukraine, and status holders. Therefore, it is interesting to compare the representation of different groups of migrants in this context.

- 2) To what extent does the representation of different groups of migrants - asylum seekers, Ukrainians (including TCNs from Ukraine), and status holders - differ in the context of providing accommodation locally in regional newspapers in the Netherlands?

Furthermore, if we look at the detailed context of providing accommodation locally, it also includes various issues such as conflicts, protests or support related to this provision. To provide a more comprehensive view of the three frames, this research not only looks at the extent to which the three different migrant frames are present in the sample but also analyzes the detailed contexts (e.g. the key topics of the news articles) in which these migrant frames do or do not appear.

- 3) What key topics related to providing accommodation locally are prevalent in news articles with or without the presence of the humanitarian, security, or humanizing frame in regional newspapers in the Netherlands?

The first three questions explore the content of news articles. However, the content of news articles might be influenced by media logic. Media logic relates to the process through which media present and transmit information (Strömbäck, 2008). Due to a highly competitive media environment, where media compete for audiences and profit, news outlets are now more served by articles that include biases such as dramatization, personalization, and a tendency to select negative issues over positive ones. (Klijn & Korthagen, 2018; Patterson, 2000; Bennett, 2016). Considering the prevalence of this, it is important to consider whether these biases are present in the news articles.

- 4) To what extent is media logic reflected in news articles in the context of providing accommodation locally in regional newspapers in the Netherlands?

Last, this research analyzes news articles from different regional newspapers with different characteristics, such as ownership, areas of circulation, and different rates of provision of accommodation for asylum seekers in the newspapers' area of circulation. Therefore, it is important to compare the representation of migrants in the context of providing accommodation locally across these regional newspapers.

- 5) To what extent does the representation of migrants in the context of providing accommodation locally differ between regional newspapers in the Netherlands?

## *2. Theoretical Framework*

First, this chapter will discuss the current Dutch context of the provision of accommodation for migrants locally. Second, it will discuss two important concepts in this research: media representations and media logic. Then, it will present an overview of existing literature on media representations of migrants in general. Last, this chapter will present previous research on media logic and media representations of migrants in news articles in the same context as this research.

### 2.1 Local Context

The context of providing accommodation for migrants locally is highly politicized in the Netherlands. Following the EU peak in asylum applications in 2015 and 2016, there has been a perceived ‘crisis’ in migration governance (Jonitz et al., 2024). Currently, the Dutch government speaks of a ‘reception crisis’ due to a shortage of asylum reception facilities. This shortage is partly caused by a ‘turnover crisis’, where too few status holders (former asylum seekers with residence permits) are moving from asylum seekers’ centers to housing in municipalities. As a solution, the previous government adopted the ‘dispersal’ law in February 2024. This law gives municipalities a legal duty to provide sufficient reception facilities for asylum seekers and also ensures a balanced distribution among provinces and municipalities (Rijksoverheid, n.d. a). However, according to the coalition agreement of the new government, the ‘dispersal’ law will be repealed. This demonstrates the highly contested nature of this law and the provision of accommodation for asylum seekers in general.

Providing accommodation for migrants locally includes the provision of accommodation for asylum seekers, Ukrainians (including TCNs from Ukraine), and status holders. A distinction is made between Ukrainian refugees and other groups of displaced people because Ukrainian refugees receive differentiated treatment compared to other displaced groups in the Netherlands, as they fall under the protection of the EU Temporary Protection Directive (TPD).

Institutional actors involved in the provision of reception facilities for migrants operate at both national and local levels. At the national level, the State Secretary for Justice and Security is in charge of the asylum and migration portfolio and can propose legislation such as the ‘dispersal’ law or appeal to municipalities to arrange more asylum accommodation. The Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers (COA) is an executive governmental organization responsible for providing accommodation for asylum seekers (Geuijen et al., 2020). The COA manages asylum seekers’ centers. However, arranging a new location is done in collaboration with municipalities. Previously a voluntary responsibility of municipalities, the ‘dispersal’ law made it a legal obligation (COA, n.d.).

The local level has played an increasingly significant role in refugee accommodation since the perceived ‘crisis’ in migration governance in 2015 and 2016 (Jonitz et al., 2024). Municipalities have

a legal duty (in collaboration with the COA) to arrange new COA locations for asylum seekers. In the case of temporary municipal accommodation, municipalities, instead of the COA, also have to provide temporary accommodation for asylum seekers. Furthermore, they have to provide accommodation for status holders and Ukrainian refugees.<sup>2</sup> Not unimportant, dissatisfaction and protests by neighborhood residents regarding the provision of migrant accommodations are also addressed by municipalities (Geuijen et al., 2020). In addition to the municipality, civil society organizations (CSOs) also play a key role at the local level, as they advocate and provide extra services for refugees with the help of volunteers (Larruina et al., 2019). Over the years, the COA and governmental organizations have asked CSOs to assist in asylum reception.

Informal responses to asylum reception are evident in the Netherlands as well. Two different resident mobilizations are apparent in the Netherlands. In 2015 and 2016, individuals organized themselves into supportive ECSOs that assisted with asylum reception. However, there are also resident mobilizations in the Netherlands that are restrictive towards asylum reception. Residents joined anti-migrant patrol groups targeting refugees and protests arose against (intended) asylum seekers' centers (Van der Veer, 2020). However, informal responses do not only include responses by local residents. Dempsey (2022) demonstrates that despite the conditions in asylum seekers' centers, where refugees are supervised, scrutinized, and forced to endure long wait times in their asylum procedures, many asylum seekers and refugees actively challenge these experiences through creating grassroots advocacy networks.

## 2.2 Media Representations

Media representations of migrants involve framing. Framing can be defined as how people, institutions, events, or facts are depicted (e.g. which labels and qualities are attributed to them) in the media. It also relates to how causal links between factors are established and how value judgments are made about the implication of events on society (Brouwer et al. 2017; Çobaner, 2021; Crawley et al., 2016). Furthermore, frames select some aspects of perceived reality, neglect others, and make the selected aspects more salient in a communication context (Brouwer et al., 2017). Due to this salience, the information within the frame becomes more noticeable and memorable for audiences, enhancing the likelihood that receivers will perceive the information in the context of the frame (Entman, 1993). Therefore, framing in the media can influence public opinion and shape dominant narratives surrounding certain topics.

Regarding migrants, the media can shape the news audience's perception, action, and reaction toward different political issues, such as the acceptance of migrants (Gonçalves, 2024; d'Haenens et

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<sup>2</sup> An overview of the numbers can be found in Appendix 1. Overview of Numbers of Migrants in Accommodations Provided by the COA or Municipalities.

al., 2019). For example, Ferwerda et al. (2017) demonstrate that threatening media frames significantly reduce support for both national and local resettlement. Kox et al., (2023) argue that media can both increase public concerns about refugees' arrival and negatively influence the sense of belonging of refugees. However, Zill et al (2020) demonstrate that reactions to asylum accommodation 'have to be understood in relation to localized, direct experiences and not solely as a product of media representation.' (p.3). This means that the possibility for media to affect news audience's behavior occurs when personal and physical encounters between the news audiences and asylum seekers are rare and media constitutes the main source of information on migrants and migrant-related issues (d'Haenens et al. 2019; Finney & Robinson, 2008; Vicsek et al., 2008).

### 2.3 Media Logic

Media logic relates to the process through which media present and transmit information which affects how social and public affairs are perceived (Strömbäck, 2008). Due to a highly competitive media environment, where media compete for audiences and profit, news outlets have shifted their coverage to favor entertainment over factual reporting (e.g. soft news) (Patterson, 2000). Furthermore, their medium is now more served by formats that are quicker, shorter, and more repetitive and include biases such as dramatization, personalization, and a tendency to select negative issues over positive ones (Klijn & Korthagen, 2018; Patterson, 2000; Strömbäck, 2008). The dramatization bias emphasizes drama on a day-to-day level and/or produces (sudden) crises and the personalization bias downplays 'the big social, economic or political picture in favor of the human trials, tragedies, and triumphs.' (Bennett, 2016, p.36). The negativity bias involves negative tones in the story, pessimistic outlooks on the story, and a focus on conflict, incapability, and misconduct (Lengauer et al., 2012).

### 2.4 Media Representations of Migrants

Scholars have identified multiple frames of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers in media representations. Humanitarian media depictions portray asylum seekers and refugees as victims in need of compassion, help, solidarity, and protection from persecution. In these depictions, the state or host society is appealed to for providing support and accommodation (Dimitriadis & Ambrosini, 2024; Crawley et al., 2016; Georgious & Zaborowski, 2017; Hognestad & Lamark, 2017; Lams, 2018). Calabrese et al. (2023) demonstrate that the media differentiate between different groups of migrants as to whether they deserve protection. They note that Dutch-speaking media categorized Ukrainians as more deserving of protection than other groups of asylum seekers. Security media depictions portray asylum seekers as intruders and migration as something that needs to be stopped or limited to protect life in the host society against the socio-economic, socio-cultural, and security threats migration presents (Crawley et al., 2016; Georgious & Zaborowski, 2017; Hognestad &

Lamark, 2017; Lams, 2018; Dimitriadis & Ambrosini, 2024). A socio-cultural threat assumes a threat to the national identity. A security threat presents asylum seekers as illegal immigrants that form a threat of general crime and terrorism. A socio-economic threat relates to the possible economic losses to the host society. (Geuijen et al., 2020; Kadianaki et al., 2018). Humanizing media depictions portray asylum seekers and refugees as normal and human, focusing on everyday situations, spaces, and initiatives (Kox et al., 2023). Scholars also noted that in some articles migrants are only discussed in the context of migratory processes being a challenge for the government or a cause of political contention between political actors. Scholars call this managerial or political contention depictions (Crawley et al., 2016; Dimitriadis & Ambrosini, 2024).

Last, the frames apparent in media representations of migrants are also influenced by the actors who present the frame in the news article.<sup>3</sup> Gonçalves (2024) notes that news articles mainly quote political actors and rarely let migrants speak on migrant-related issues. This links to stereotypical representations of migrants and a negative coverage of migrant-related issues.

## 2.5 Media Representations of Migrants in the Context of Providing Accommodation Locally

The last two sections discussed media logic and media representations of migrants. This section will present previous research on media logic and media representations of migrants in news articles in the context of providing accommodation locally.

### Media Logic

According to Bennett (2016) news favors ‘dramatic and personalized aspects of events over more complex underlying political realities’ (p.33). D’Haenes & de Lange (2001) reiterate this dramatization and personalization in news articles on asylum seekers and asylum seekers’ centers in Dutch regional newspapers. Their research concluded that dramatized and emotionalized attitudes appeared in news articles about boroughs where inhabitants responded positively and negatively to new asylum seekers’ centers. In these news articles, the personal stories and positive or negative emotions of asylum seekers and residents were displayed.

Research by Vicsek et al. (2008) points to a predominance of negative news regarding migrants and migrant-related issues. However, it is unsure if this negativity is also predominant in the context of providing accommodation locally, as the authors did not specify which migrant-related issues were included in their research. However, Kox et al., (2023) do note the presence of negative stories focusing on the inadequacy of governmental actors, such as the lack of capacity of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (IND) and the COA.

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<sup>3</sup> The actors who present the frame are referred to as ‘frame actors’ in this research.

## Media Representations of Migrants

Previous research has pointed to two different positions regarding the provision of accommodation locally in the media. These two positions fit the humanitarian and security frame. Whyte et al. (2019) mention that Danish national media coverage of local reactions to the opening of asylum seekers' centers depicted goodwill and civic humanitarianism versus resentment and xenophobia. Kox et al. (2023) demonstrate the presence of stories that focus on solidarity regarding refugees' arrival in 'Het Parool' and the presence of stories that focus on the negative effects of refugees' arrival, such as a housing shortage, in 'De Telegraaf'. Kox et al. (2023) also note that, in addition to the humanitarian frame, 'Het Parool' also 'gives refugees a voice and presents their histories, everyday lives, leisure, and dreams, which contributes to the normalization and humanization of refugees.' (p. 57). This reflects the humanitarian frame. Furthermore, since 'De Telegraaf' is a national newspaper with a right-wing, conservative signature and 'Parool' a local newspaper of Amsterdam with a left-wing, progressive signature, it will be interesting to see if their frame descriptions match the findings from our sample of regional newspapers.

Finney & Robinson (2008) concluded that asylum reception is framed differently by different local press in different areas. Explanations for varying local discourses can include the construction of local identity and community, as regional newspapers write for their community (Finney & Robinson, 2008; Hudson & Sandberg, 2021). Regarding the humanitarian frame, Finney & Robinson (2008) demonstrate that one local press constructs the local identity of the city as 'being proud to play its part in providing refuge as the capital of a nation with a strong tradition of helping those in need' (p. 410). Regarding the security frame, research has pointed out that within local media in rural areas, negative opinions toward asylum reception are based on the construction of rural areas as 'white spaces'. Therefore, asylum seekers are deviant and 'non-belonging' (Zill et al., 2020). Berg-Nordlie (2018) points to another explanation for varying local discourses on immigration, as he notes that places where larger numbers of asylum-seekers settled in local reception centers are associated with larger numbers of immigration-critical texts.

### *3. Research Design*

This research performed a qualitative content analysis of 512 news articles in the context of providing accommodation locally from six different Dutch regional newspapers. We will start with explaining the scope of this research.

#### 3.1 Scope

First, media representations of migrants are only researched in the context of providing accommodation locally. Other migrant-related contexts are excluded. Researching this context is relevant as the provision of accommodation for migrants locally is highly politicized and frequently covered in recent news. Furthermore, media representations of migrants in this context are less explored than media representations of migrants in general. Also, this research compares media representations of different groups of migrants and compares these representations across different regional newspapers. It would be increasingly difficult to compare findings between different migrant groups and regions if multiple migrant-related issues were discussed.

Second, this research only looks at the local level as the local level has played an increasingly significant role in providing refugee accommodation since the perceived ‘crisis’ in migration governance. The provision of accommodation locally and the related conflicts, protests, support, or cooperation also occur at the local level and often involve local-level actors. Furthermore, as we want to compare media representations across different newspapers’ area of circulation, the exact location of the local level must be within the area of publication of the regional newspaper. For these reasons, articles discussing the topic in general or on the EU or national level are excluded.

Last, the provision of accommodation locally includes all accommodations that are provided by the government locally. This includes accommodation for asylum seekers, Ukrainians (including TCNs from Ukraine), and status holders, but excludes accommodation for groups such as EU migrants.

#### 3.2 Data Collection

This section will first discuss the selection and characteristics of the six regional newspapers and second the criteria for data collection.

The six regional newspapers are: ‘Brabants Dagblad’, ‘De Limburger’, ‘Noordhollands Dagblad’, ‘Provinciale Zeeuwse Courant’, ‘Dagblad van het Noorden’ and ‘De Stentor’. The number six was chosen based on the feasibility of this thesis because the data collection of news articles from six regional newspapers over a three-month time frame already generated over 500 news articles. The newspapers were selected based on an equal distribution between the two main owners of Dutch

newspapers (DPG Media and Mediahuis Nederland), the exclusion of newspapers with significantly low circulation rates and a daily frequency of editions. All regional newspapers under DPG Media are regional editions of the national newspaper ‘Algemeen Dagblad (AD)’ (Stichting Beroepseer, 2021). Information on the political signature or orientation of the regional newspapers was not found. However, the topics of regional newspapers differ from national newspapers, but are similar to each other, as each regional newspaper aims to inform their local audience about matters of local interest (Gant & Dimmick, 2000). Regarding the regional focus, the selected regional newspapers cater to widespread regions (nine out of twelve Dutch provinces) and regions with different rates of provision of accommodation for asylum seekers. Table 1. presents an overview of information on the regional newspapers.

**Table 1**

*Information on the Regional Newspapers*

<b>Regional Newspaper</b>	<b>Ownership</b>	<b>Area of circulation</b>	<b>Total number of occupied asylum seekers’ accommodation per 1,000 inhabitants (EenVandaag, 2023)</b>
Brabants Dagblad	DPG Media	Noord-Brabant, (South-West) Gelderland	Average of Noord-Brabant and Gelderland: 2,97
De Limburger	Mediahuis	Limburg	Limburg: 2,55
Noordhollands Dagblad	Mediahuis	Noord-Holland (the region above the river Ij)	Noord-Holland: 2,62
Provinciale Zeeuwse Courant	DPG Media	Zeeland	Zeeland: 3,92
Dagblad van het Noorden	Mediahuis	Groningen, Drenthe	Average of Groningen and Drenthe: 7,60
De Stentor	DPG Media	Flevoland, Gelderland, Overijssel	Average of Flevoland, Gelderland and Overijssel: 5.20

Regarding the data collection criteria, the selected timeframe is February 1<sup>st</sup> until May 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2024, as this period is recent and matches the feasibility of this research. Furthermore, no major events dominated the news during this period. However, the sample does include many articles on the sequel of the passing of the ‘dispersal law’ and the penalty the COA receives from the municipality of Westerwolde for exceeding the allowed number of people at the asylum application center in Ter

Apel. Both events took place at the end of January. The database used for obtaining the sample is NexisUni. NexisUni has a collection of both online and printed articles from regional newspapers. This data collection only uses data from printed articles, as the online articles were often the same as the printed ones and there were more printed articles than online articles. The search terms used to select the sample of news articles are: ‘asylum seeker(s)’, ‘refugee(s)’, ‘third-country national(s)’, ‘Ukrainian(s)’, and ‘status holder(s)’. The format of the news story must be a news article or interview by a journalist of at least 90 words. This excludes poems, opinion pieces by readers, columns, or reader polls. These criteria are required to ensure that the content and information are in the same format and not of such a small size that they become insufficient to code properly.

The sample is further purposely selected based on the scope criteria mentioned in the previous section. A detailed description of the data selection criteria is presented in Appendix 2. Data Selection Criteria. In the end, these criteria yielded a sample of 512 news articles with an average of 481 words per article.

### 3.3 Approach to Analysis

This research looks at the extent to which three different migrant frames - humanitarian, security, and humanizing - are present, as well as which actors are presenting the frame, in the context of providing accommodation locally. Therefore, this research codes for frames and frame actors.<sup>4</sup> Two frames can coexist in one news article as the presence of a frame can already be found in one sentence. However, a second frame is only selected if the two frames appear equally. Regarding frame actors, multiple frame actors can be selected per news article.

This research also analyzes the detailed contexts (e.g. the key topics of the news articles) in which the migrant frames do or do not appear. Therefore, this research codes for key topics, key type actors, and key types of migrant accommodation.<sup>5</sup> The code ‘key migrant accommodation type’ is also used to differentiate between the representation of different groups of migrants in the news articles. Regarding key topics, each news article contains a single key topic, as this approach makes it easier to notice differences or similarities in the detailed context in which each migrant frame appears. However, there are limitations concerning this approach, as a distinction between key topics might be difficult. This is especially the case in articles with key topics such as ‘protest’, ‘conflict’, and ‘worry’ or ‘support’ and ‘cooperation’. Regarding key topic actors and key types of migrant accommodation, multiple of these actors and accommodations can be selected per news article.

Furthermore, this research analyzes whether biases are present in the news articles. The personalization and dramatization bias are applied to the level of personalization or dramatization in

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<sup>4</sup> The operationalization of frames and frame actors can be found in Table 2. Operationalization Table.

<sup>5</sup> The operationalization of key topics can be found in Table 2. Operationalization Table.

the whole text. The tone of the story applies to the key topic of the story or the tone of the key topic actors in the story. In Atlas.ti the option of sentiment analysis is available. At first sight, this could be useful for analyzing the negativity bias in news articles. However, as this tool proposes the sentiment of many different text sections in one article, it was more efficient to apply the code manually to the article as a whole.

The codebook used in this research can be found in Appendix 3. Codebook. The codebook is compiled based on both deductive and inductive approaches. The sub-codes of key topics, key migrant accommodation types, key topic actors, and frame actors are inductive as they were drawn from the literature and finalized through in-vivo coding. The sub-codes of the frames and biases are deductive, as these codes are all based on the operationalization of concepts from the theoretical framework or the codebook by Patterson (2000).

In addition to a qualitative content analysis, Chapter 5. Conclusion and Discussion also presents various statistical tests performed to look more detailed into the relationships or strength of associations between different variables such as key topics and frames or frames and biases.

### 3.4 Operationalization

A more detailed operationalization table (with more extensive definitions and explanations of how the operationalization table relates to the codebook) is presented in Appendix 4. Detailed Operationalization Table.

**Table 2**

*Operationalization table*

<b>Concept</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Indicator<sup>6</sup></b>
Media representations of migrants	Media representations of migrants involve framing. Framing is the depiction of people, institutions, events, or facts in the media, including the attribution of labels and qualities. (Çobaner, 2021).	<i>Migrant frames</i> Demonstrates how the people residing in the accommodations are portrayed in the media. This research investigates the following depictions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Humanitarian</li> <li>• Security</li> <li>• Humanizing</li> </ul>	Code 9
		<i>Frame actors.<sup>7</sup></i> Frame actors are linked to each frame. They refer to those who present the frame within the news articles.	Code 10

<sup>6</sup> See codes, sub-codes and descriptions in Appendix 3: Codebook.

<sup>7</sup> E.g the COA, local residents, asylum seekers. See sub-code of code 10. Frame actor one in Appendix 3. Codebook.

Key topic	The key topic is the dominant subject of the news article within the context of providing accommodation locally.	<i>Key topics</i> <sup>8</sup>	Code 6
		<i>Key migrant accommodation types</i> <sup>9</sup> Demonstrates the migrant accommodation type discussed in the key topic.	Code 7
		<i>Key topic actors</i> <sup>10</sup> Key topic actors are linked to each key topic. They refer to those who play a significant active role in the news article.	Code 8
Media logic	Media logic relates to the process through which media present and transmit information which affects how social and public affairs are perceived (Strömbäck, 2008).	Due to a highly competitive media environment, news outlets are now more served by articles that include biases. Three of them will be analyzed in this research. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Dramatization bias</li> <li>● Personalization bias</li> <li>● Negativity bias</li> </ul>	Code 13 Code 14 Code 15

<sup>8</sup> E.g. update on accommodation, support, conflict. See sub-codes of code 6. Key topic in Appendix 3. Codebook.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. new housing for status holders. See sub-codes of code 7. Key migrant accommodation type in Appendix 3. Codebook.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. the COA, local residents, asylum seekers. See sub-codes of code 8. Key topic actor in Appendix 3. Codebook.

### 3.5 Limitations

Last, this research design will discuss its limitations. This study is a single case study. A single case study has the advantage of being empirically rich, but it has the problem of external validity. The scope of this research also brings limitations due to the three-month time frame, the fact that only print media were included instead of, for example, social media, and the selection of only six of the nineteen available regional newspapers. Moreover, as the scope of the research only includes the context of the provision of accommodation locally, other migrant-related issues are excluded. Therefore, the selected data does not provide a full overview of all migrant-related topics in the newspapers and cannot be used to analyze how media framing affects actions and reactions of the local population.

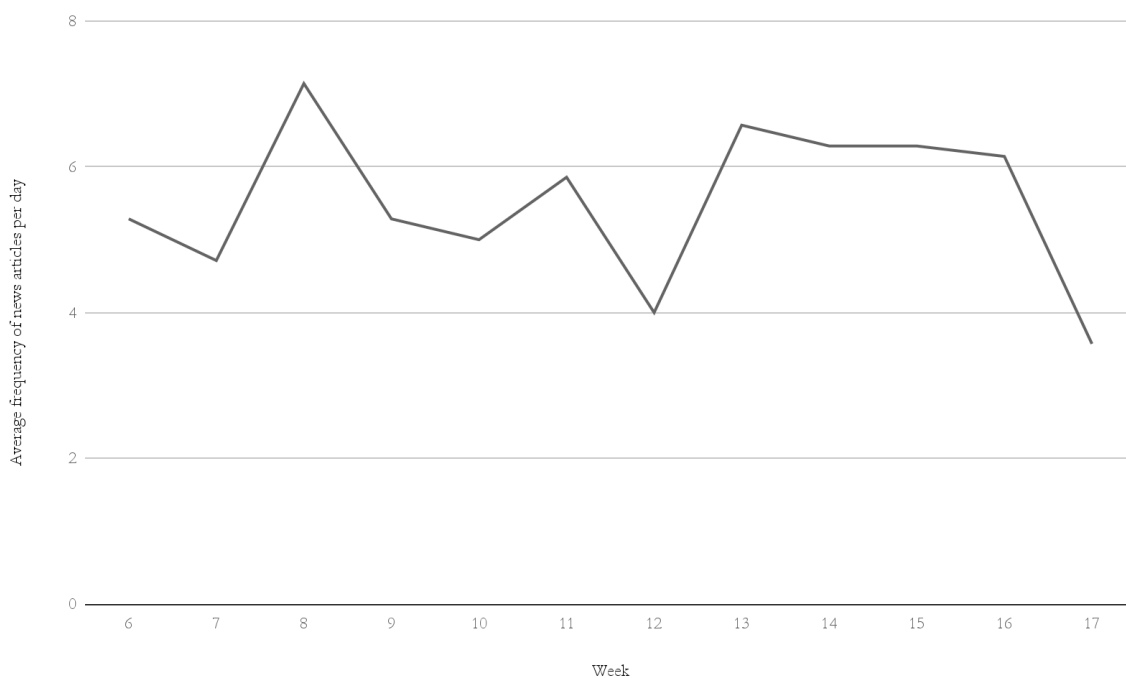
#### 4. Empirical Findings and Analysis

This research analyzed 512 news articles from six different regional newspapers. Before presenting the findings, we will review the characteristics of the different newspapers again. The six regional newspapers are: ‘Brabants Dagblad’, ‘De Limburger’, ‘Noordhollands Dagblad’, ‘Provinciale Zeeuwse Courant’, ‘Dagblad van het Noorden’ and ‘De Stentor’. The selected regional newspapers cater to widespread regions in the Netherlands and regions with different rates of provision of accommodation for asylum seekers (EenVandaag, 2023). Furthermore, the newspapers have an equal distribution between the two main owners of Dutch newspapers (DPG Media and Mediahuis Nederland) but information on the political signature or orientation of the regional newspapers was not found.

Next, some general remarks about the sample. The average word count per news article is 481. The distribution of articles across the timeframe is relatively equal (see Image 1). The sample included 160 different authors and there was no reference to outside sources or authors. Last, 183 different municipalities, cities, and villages, and 10 different regions and provinces were mentioned in the news articles. There were a few locations that occurred above average. In most cases, this indicated a protracted conflict about which many repetitive articles were written.

#### Image 1

*Average Frequency of News Articles Per Day*



The rest of the analysis proceeds as follows. First, we will analyze the differences across the regional newspapers in their frequency of news articles and their media representations of migrants. Second, we will discuss the presence of dramatization, personalization, and negativity biases in the news articles. Third, we will analyze the content of the news articles. This starts with an analysis of the extent to which three different migrant frames - humanitarian, security, and humanizing - are present, as well as which actors are presenting the frame. Then, it will analyze the detailed contexts (e.g. the key topics of the news articles) in which these three different migrant frames do or do not appear.

As this analysis discusses frames and key topics, we will briefly differentiate between them in Table 3.

**Table 3**

*Differences between Frames and Key Topics*

	<u>Frame</u>	<u>Key topic</u>
<i>Operationalization</i>	A frame demonstrates how the people residing in the accommodations are portrayed in the media.	<p>The key topic is the dominant subject of the news article within the context of providing accommodation locally.</p> <p>The key topic is analyzed as part of the detailed context in which the three migrant frames do or do not appear.</p>
<i>Actors</i>	Frame actors are linked to each frame. They refer to those who present the frame in the news articles.	Key topic actors are linked to each key topic. They refer to those who play a significant, active, and dominant role in the news articles.
	<p>Extra note: The key topic actor can, but not necessarily, be the same actor as the frame actor. For example, if the key topic is ‘worries’ and the key topic actors are local residents expressing security-based concerns, the key topic actors are frame actors as well. However, if the key topic is ‘update on accommodation’, the key topic actors can be the COA providing an update on an asylum seekers’ center. If local residents who express security-based concerns are only shortly featured, they are frame actors, but not key topic actors.</p>	

<p><i>Presence of frames and key topics</i></p>	<p>Two frames can coexist in one news article as the presence of a frame can already be found in one sentence. Therefore, the appearance of one frame does not necessarily define how migrants are depicted throughout the entire news article. A second frame is only selected if the two frames appear equally.</p>	<p>Each news article contains a single key topic, as this approach makes it easier to notice differences or similarities in the detailed context in which each migrant frame appears.</p>
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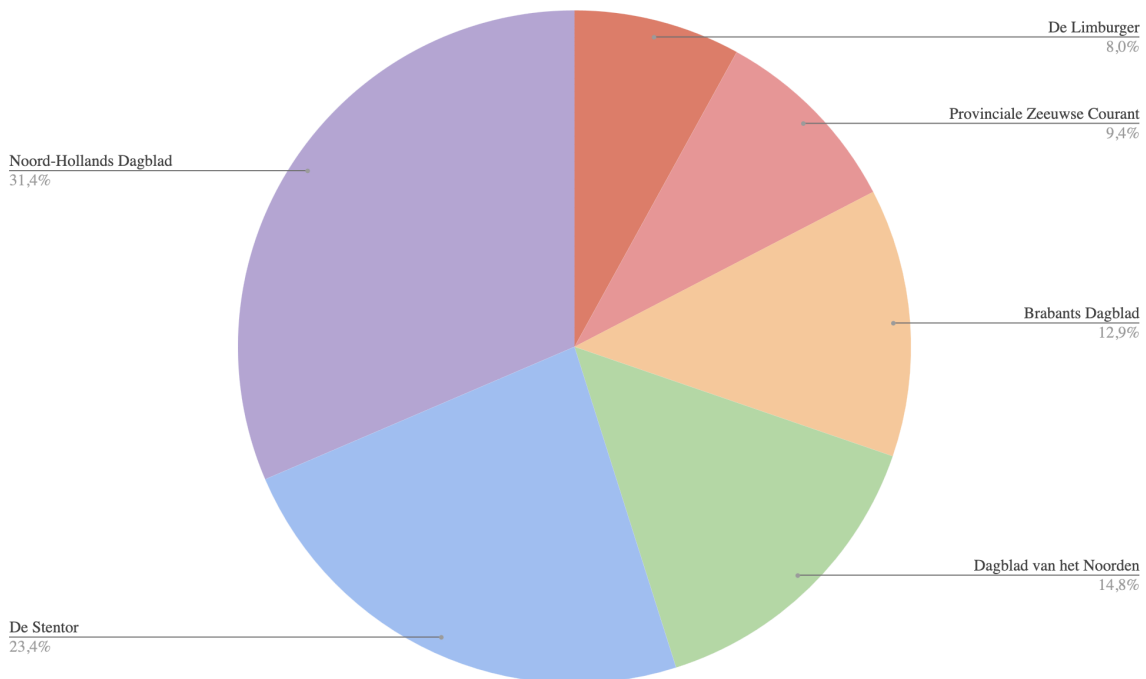
## 4.1 Regional Newspapers

As this research sample included six different regional newspapers, it is important to analyze the differences across the regional newspapers in their frequency of news articles and their media representations of migrants. This also addresses one of the subquestions: ‘To what extent does the representation of migrants in the context of providing accommodation locally differ between regional newspapers in the Netherlands?’

The frequency of news articles in the context of providing accommodation locally differs quite substantially across the regional newspapers. Depicted in Image 2, ‘De Limburger’ has the lowest frequency of news articles (8,0%), while ‘Noord-Hollands Dagblad’ has the highest frequency (31.4%).

### Image 2

*Frequency of News Articles per Regional Newspaper<sup>11</sup>*



<sup>11</sup> This percentage is calculated by splitting the frequency of news articles of one regional newspaper with the total frequency of news articles of all regional newspapers.

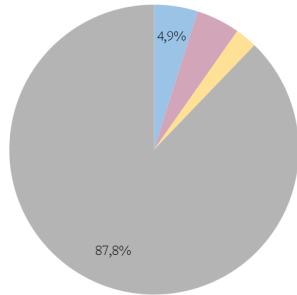
Regarding the representation of migrants, Images 3-8 present that the regional newspapers, except ‘De Limburger’, have a similar distribution of frames.<sup>12</sup>

### Images 3-8

*Distribution of Frames per Regional Newspaper<sup>13</sup>*

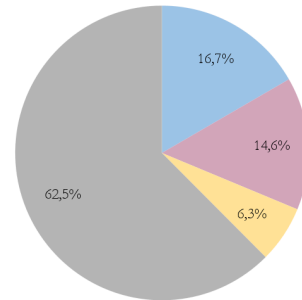
De Limburger

- Humanitarian
- Security
- Humanizing
- Other



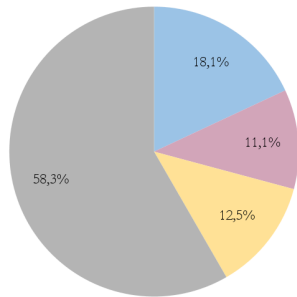
Provinciale Zeeuwse Courant

- Humanitarian
- Security
- Humanizing
- Other



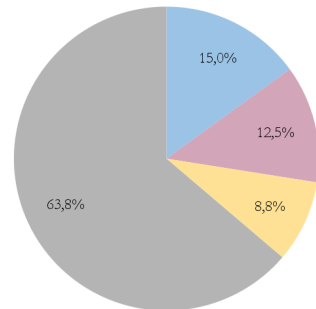
Brabants Dagblad

- Humanitarian
- Security
- Humanizing
- Other



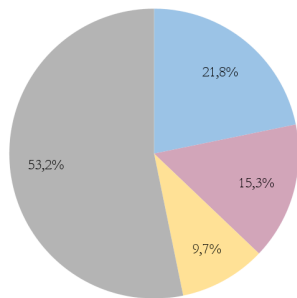
Dagblad van het Noorden

- Humanitarian
- Security
- Humanizing
- Other



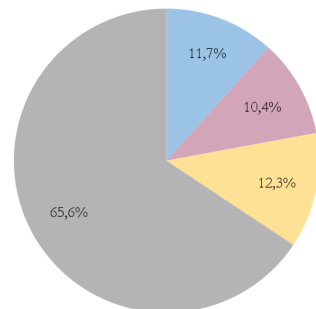
De Stentor

- Humanitarian
- Security
- Humanizing
- Other



Noord-Hollands Dagblad

- Humanitarian
- Security
- Humanizing
- Other



<sup>12</sup> The images also indicate a percentage of ‘other’. Other means that the humanitarian, security and humanizing frame are not applicable. The news articles that are coded ‘other’ are not removed from the sample, but discussed in the analysis under subsection 4.4.3 Contexts the Three Migrants Frames Do Not Appear.

<sup>13</sup> These percentages are calculated by splitting the frequency of one frame of one regional newspaper with the total frequency of all frames of that regional newspaper.

Section 3.2 Data Collection detailed the characteristics of the six regional newspapers and presented differences in ownership and different rates of provision of accommodation for asylum seekers in the newspapers' area of circulation. Chapter 5. Conclusion and Discussion will present if these differences correlate with differences in their frequency of news articles and their media representations of migrants.

As this research also looked at the prevalence of key topics in the sample, we have data on the distribution of key topics per regional newspaper. Although this distribution is not the main focus of this research, this distribution is informative. Therefore, a table with these results is presented in Appendix 5. Distribution of Key Topics per Regional Newspaper.

#### 4.2 Biases

As the content of news articles might be influenced by media logic, it is important to consider whether media logic is present in the news articles. This addresses the subquestion: To what extent is media logic reflected in news articles in the context of providing accommodation locally in regional newspapers in the Netherlands?

This research found that high levels of dramatization were more frequent than medium or low levels (54% v. 29% v. 17%). This means that in 54% of news articles, the stories were sensationalized and presented as something unsettling or remarkable using personal and emotional quotes, imagery, and metaphors. For example, some articles sensationalized stories by focusing on the highly charged emotions of various actors about the arrival of a new asylum seekers' center.

This research found that high personalization appeared more often than medium or small personalization (64% v. 18% v. 18%). This means that most news articles were mainly based (>50%) on a human interest story, quotes, or a text interview. For example, some articles reported on a new reception center for Ukrainians and interviewed the location manager and Ukrainian residents about this new center.

This research found that a negative tone of the story appeared most (39%) in comparison to mixed (18%), positive (21%) and neutral (22%) tones of stories. This means that most news articles focus on inadequacy and misconduct or feature key actors that have a pessimistic outlook. For instance, many articles by 'Noord-Hollands Dagblad' reported on the inadequacy of the municipality Castricum in providing accommodation for status holders.

These findings demonstrate the presence of biases in the sample, yet their presence is not evenly distributed across all articles. Appendix 6. Distribution of Frames per Bias demonstrates that the three frames appear relatively more in articles with high levels of dramatization or personalization compared to articles with medium or low levels. Furthermore, the tone of the story is more often

positive in articles where a humanitarian or humanizing frame appears, negative or mixed in articles where a security frame appears, and neutral in articles where one of the three frames does not appear.

Although the distribution of key topics per bias is not the main focus of this research, we also have informative data on the distribution of key topics per bias. Therefore, a table with these results is presented in Appendix 7. Distribution of Key Topics per Bias.

### 4.3 Migrant Frames

The following two sections will explore the content of the news articles in detail. First, this section addresses the subquestion: To what extent are humanitarian, security, and humanizing frames present in the representation of migrants in the context of providing accommodation locally across regional newspapers in the Netherlands?

A frame demonstrates how the people residing in the accommodations are portrayed in the media. In the beginning of this chapter frames, key topics and the differences between frames and key topics are explained in detail (see Table 3). It might be useful to keep this in mind in the proceeding sections. We will present three examples of instances when the three frames can be applied. A humanitarian frame can be applied when the author describes the people residing in the accommodation as ‘war refugees’ or when local residents discuss the reason for which they are here in detail. A security frame can be applied when local residents advocate for more security cameras in their village. A humanizing frame can be applied when a COA spokesperson briefly mentions that ‘living in a hotel is not as luxurious as it seems’, or when an article extensively covers the daily lives of young asylum seekers at a summer camp.

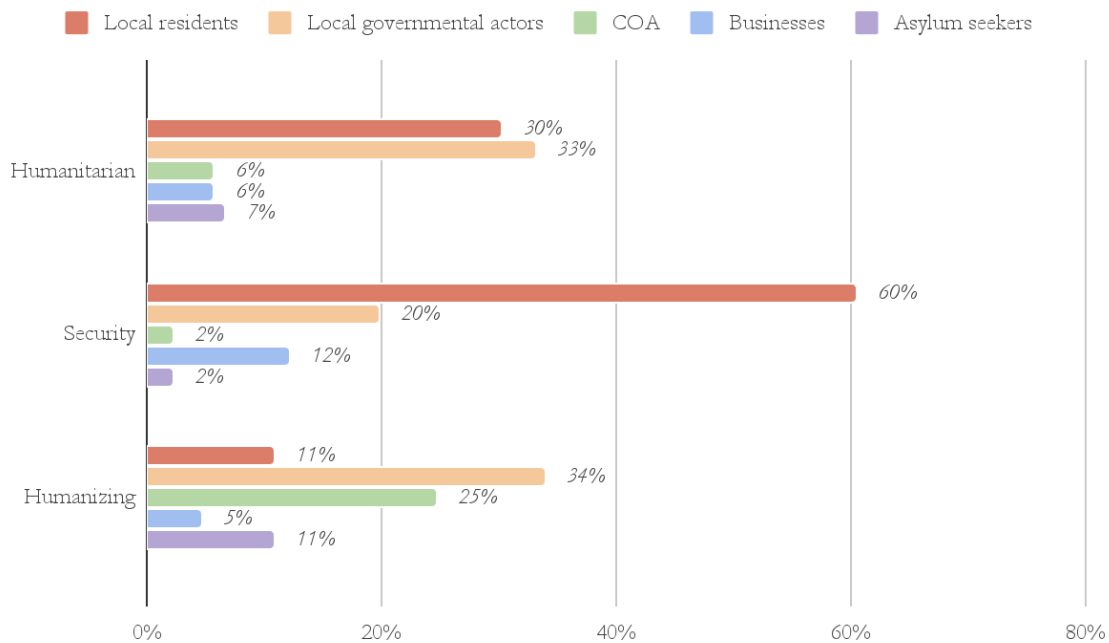
This research identified one or two frames in 34% of the articles. Consequently, these three frames were not present in 66% of the articles.<sup>14</sup> The distribution among the three frames is as follows: humanitarian (41.3%), security (32.1%), and humanizing (26.5%). The frame actors are those who present the frame in the news articles. It is important to investigate the frame actor as this information can reveal whether actors repeatedly portray themselves or others in particular manners. The top five frame actors across all three frames are local residents, local governments, the COA, businesses, and asylum seekers. Interestingly, Image 9 demonstrates that the distribution of these top five frame actors varies per frame. Information on the distribution of all frame actors per frame can be found in Appendix 8. Distribution of All Frame Actors per Frame. The next part will analyze each frame and its respective top frame actors in detail.

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<sup>14</sup> The news articles in which the frames did not appear are not removed from the sample but are discussed in the analysis under subsection 4.4.3 Contexts the three migrants frames do not appear.

## Image 9

*Distribution of Frame Actors per Frame*<sup>15</sup>



The humanitarian frame was most prevalent in the news articles. When this frame was present, it was mainly used by local residents (30%) and local governmental actors (33%). Both actors linked the arrival of migrants to the reason for which they are here (fleeing war and violence), which connects to ‘our’ moral plight to help them. To illustrate how this frame occurred, some quotes from local politicians and local residents have been added below.

‘We do not abandon refugees’ - Local politician.

[Author's translation, original in Dutch] (Sorgdrager, 2024)

‘These people are fleeing war violence. It is important that they feel at home in the Netherlands.’ - Local resident.

[Author's translation, original in Dutch] (Blank, 2024)

‘It is a dire necessity, these people have fled war and violence. That may well be underlined.’ - Local politician.

[Author's translation, original in Dutch] (de Kam, 2024)

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<sup>15</sup> These percentages are calculated by splitting the frequency of one frame actor of one frame (humanitarian, security or humanizing) with the total frequency of all frame actors of that frame.

Similarly to the humanitarian frame, the security frame was most used by local residents and local governmental actors. However, while the humanitarian frame was used equally by both actors, the security frame was used three times more frequently by local residents (60%) compared to local governmental actors (20%). Local residents and businesses associated the arrival of migrants with worries about their own safety and socio-economic threats. For example, they worried about a possible decrease in home value or a decline in income from tourism if a new local accommodation for migrants was established nearby. Furthermore, local residents also compared treatment between themselves and migrants. This resulted, for example, in the claim that their ‘own people’ are treated unfairly as migrants are prioritized in receiving housing by the municipality. To illustrate how this frame occurred, two quotes from local residents have been added below. The second quote also reflects stereotypical concerns by local residents about solo men.

‘People fear that refugees will stroll across their property uninvited, steal, jump out of bushes, attack their daughters or carry knives and other weapons.’ - Local resident.

[Author's translation, original in Dutch] (n.a. a, 2024)

‘They are men without work. What are they going to do all day?’ [...] ‘If they were families, it would have been different. But they are all men. I don’t want to lump them together, but it makes me feel unsettled.’ - Local resident.

[Author's translation, original in Dutch] (de Leeuw, 2024)

When the humanizing frame occurred, it was especially used by local governmental actors (34%) and the COA (25%). These actors demonstrated the simple ambitions of migrants and shared details about their everyday routines and living spaces. To illustrate how this frame occurred, three quotes from local governmental actors and a spokesperson of the COA have been added below.

‘Now, they can immediately start building their own lives, looking for work, playing sports or building a network.’ - Spokesperson of the COA.

[Author's translation, original in Dutch] (van der Sluis, 2024)

‘In fact, they had organized a movie night on Valentine’s Day. We’re always trying to come up with something new.’ - Local governmental actor.

[Author's translation, original in Dutch] (Muller, 2024)

‘And in each room, we made a window that can be opened, so that air can be ventilated. Deliberately, doors and walls were painted in ‘cheerful’ and varied colors.’ - Local governmental actor.

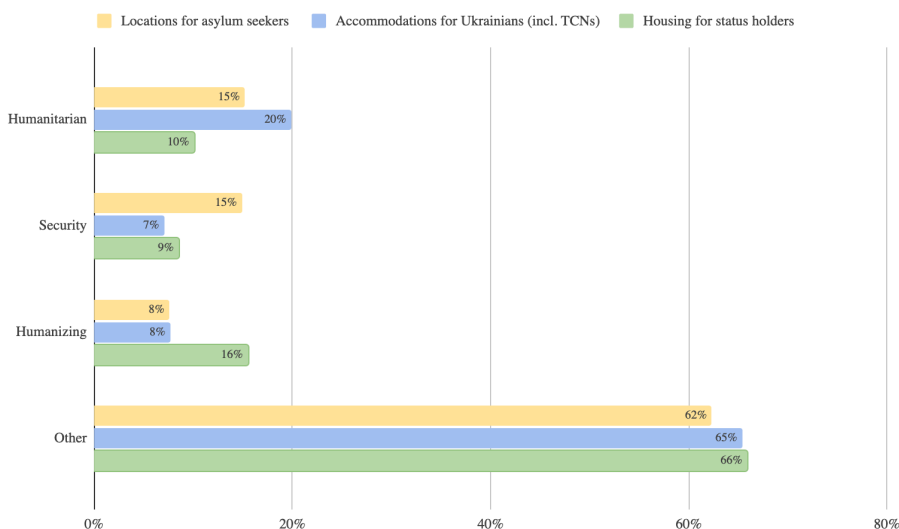
### 4.3.1 Migrant Groups

In the context of providing accommodation locally, news articles do not only discuss the provision of accommodation locally for asylum seekers but also for Ukrainians (including TCNs from Ukraine) and status holders. The code 'key migrant accommodation types' in the codebook is used to differentiate between the representation of different groups of migrants in the news articles. This also answers the following subquestion: To what extent does the representation of different groups of migrants - asylum seekers, Ukrainians (including TCNs from Ukraine) and status holders - differ in the context of providing accommodation locally in regional newspapers in the Netherlands?

The last three rows of Appendix 9. Distribution of Local Migrant Accommodation Types demonstrate that locations for asylum seekers appeared most frequently (53%) in the sample in comparison to accommodations for Ukrainians (incl. TCNs) (25%) and housing for status holders (20%). Furthermore, Image 10 demonstrates that compared to the other two accommodation types, the humanitarian frame applied more, and the security frame applied less to articles that discussed accommodation for Ukrainians (incl. TCNs). Also, compared to the other two accommodation types, the humanizing frame applied more to articles that discussed housing for status holders.

#### Image 10

*Distribution of Frames per Local Migrant Accommodation Type<sup>16</sup>*



<sup>16</sup> These percentages are calculated by splitting the frequency of one frame in an article that features one type of local migrant accommodation with the total frequency of all frames of all articles that feature that type of local migrant accommodation.

#### 4.4 Contextual Factors Influencing the Appearance of the Three Migrant Frames

The last section discussed the presence of three different migrant frames (humanitarian, security, and humanizing). This section will analyze the detailed contexts (e.g. the key topics of the news articles) in which these migrant frames do or do not appear. By doing so, we aim to provide a better understanding of the contextual factors influencing the ways migrants are framed in the media. This addresses the subquestion: What key topics related to providing accommodation locally are prevalent in news articles with or without the presence of the humanitarian, security, or humanizing frame in regional newspapers in the Netherlands?

##### 4.4.1 Key Topics

The key topic is the dominant subject of the news article within the context of providing accommodation locally. This study identified eight different key topics. Examples of each key topic can be found under code 6 ‘Key topic’ in Appendix 3. Codebook. Each news article only contains one key topic. However, this approach also has limitations. Sometimes, a specific key topic is selected, although other topics might also apply.<sup>17</sup> This was often the case in articles with key topics such as ‘protest’, ‘conflict’, and ‘worry’ or ‘support’, and ‘cooperation’. This was often the case in articles with key topics such as ‘protest’, ‘conflict’, and ‘worry’ or ‘support’ and ‘cooperation’. Therefore, the results should be considered as broad indicators of prevailing topics in news articles in the context of providing accommodation locally. The distribution of the key topics in the sample is demonstrated in Image 11.

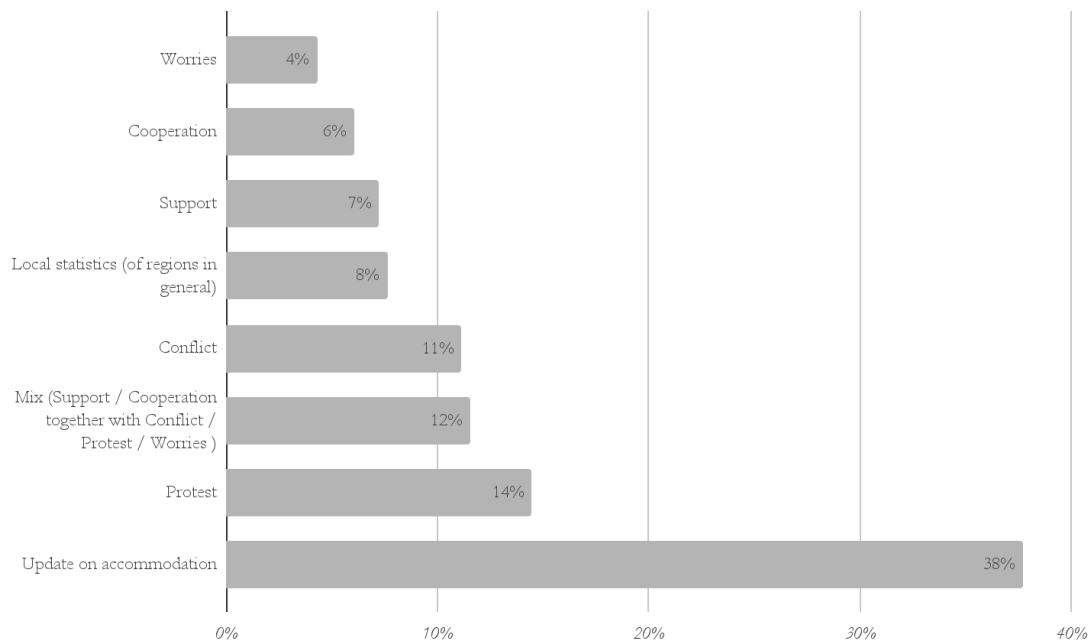
Furthermore, this research also analyzed the prevalence of key topic actors, which are those who play a significant and active role in the news articles. The distribution of all key topic actors per key topic is presented in Appendix 10. Distribution of All Key Topic Actors per Key Topic.

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<sup>17</sup> As mentioned before, this approach makes it easier to notice differences or similarities in the detailed context in which each migrant frame appears.

## Image 11

### *Distribution of Key Topics<sup>18</sup>*



#### 4.4.2 Contexts the Three Migrant Frames Appear

After presenting the general distribution of the key topics in the sample, the next two subsections will discuss the detailed context (e.g. the key topics of the news articles) in which the migrant frames do or do not appear. Image 12 demonstrates which key topics are most prevalent in articles in which the three frames do or do not appear.

The key topics ‘protest’ (27%), ‘mix’<sup>19</sup> (27%), ‘conflict’ (24%), and ‘worries’ (16%) are most prevalent in articles that feature a security frame. This makes sense, as the security frame relates to these topics. The key topics ‘mix’ (30%), ‘update on accommodation’ (28%), ‘support’ (17%), and ‘cooperation’ (9%) are most prevalent in articles that feature a humanitarian frame. While the humanitarian frame relates closely to key topics ‘support’ and ‘cooperation’, the key topic ‘update on accommodation’ is also prevalent. This result means that short features of humanitarian frames also appear in news articles that do not specifically revolve around support or cooperation, but just give updates on accommodation. Furthermore, the key topics ‘protest’ (4%), ‘conflict’ (4%), and ‘worries’ (4%) also appear, albeit in a small frequency, in articles featuring the humanitarian frame. In this case,

<sup>18</sup> These percentages are calculated by splitting the frequency of one key topic with the total frequency of all key topics.

<sup>19</sup> Key topic ‘mix’ is a combination of support or cooperation together with conflict, protest, or worries.

protests or conflicts regarding the provision of accommodation locally are based on concerns about the suitability of the location for the residents of the location themselves. For example, local residents have been concerned with the living conditions of new residents in outdated buildings and small rooms with no privacy. They call these living conditions ‘not humane’ and proclaim that ‘refugees deserve better’.

The key topic ‘update on accommodation’ (40%) is most prevalent in articles that feature the humanizing frame. This key topic aligns with the humanizing frame, as it focuses on updates regarding new local accommodation plans, which can easily include details about living conditions and the daily lives of new residents at these locations. The key topics ‘support’ (15%) and ‘cooperation’ (12%) are also prevalent in articles featuring the humanizing frame. In these news articles, actors such as the COA and local governmental actors discuss ‘normalizing’ aspects of migrants' everyday routines and living spaces to substantiate their support or cooperation for the provision of local accommodations.

#### 4.4.3 Contexts the Three Migrant Frames Do Not Appear

In nearly 66% of the news articles, the humanitarian, security, and humanizing frames were not applicable. This suggests that these three frames that were identified as important, may not be significant in the representation of migrants in news articles within this context. However, another likely explanation for the absence of these frames lies in the detailed context of these news articles as 44% of the articles have the key topic ‘update on accommodation’ and 10% of the articles have the key topic ‘local statistics (of regions in general)’. As these articles mostly provide readers with objective updates on specific local migrant accommodations or current statistics on general accommodation numbers in the municipality or province overall, they do not enable an emphasis on migrants’ humanity or (un)desirability related to migrants’ ‘anticipated criminal activities’ or ‘need for protection’. This explains why humanitarian, security, or humanizing frames are not present.

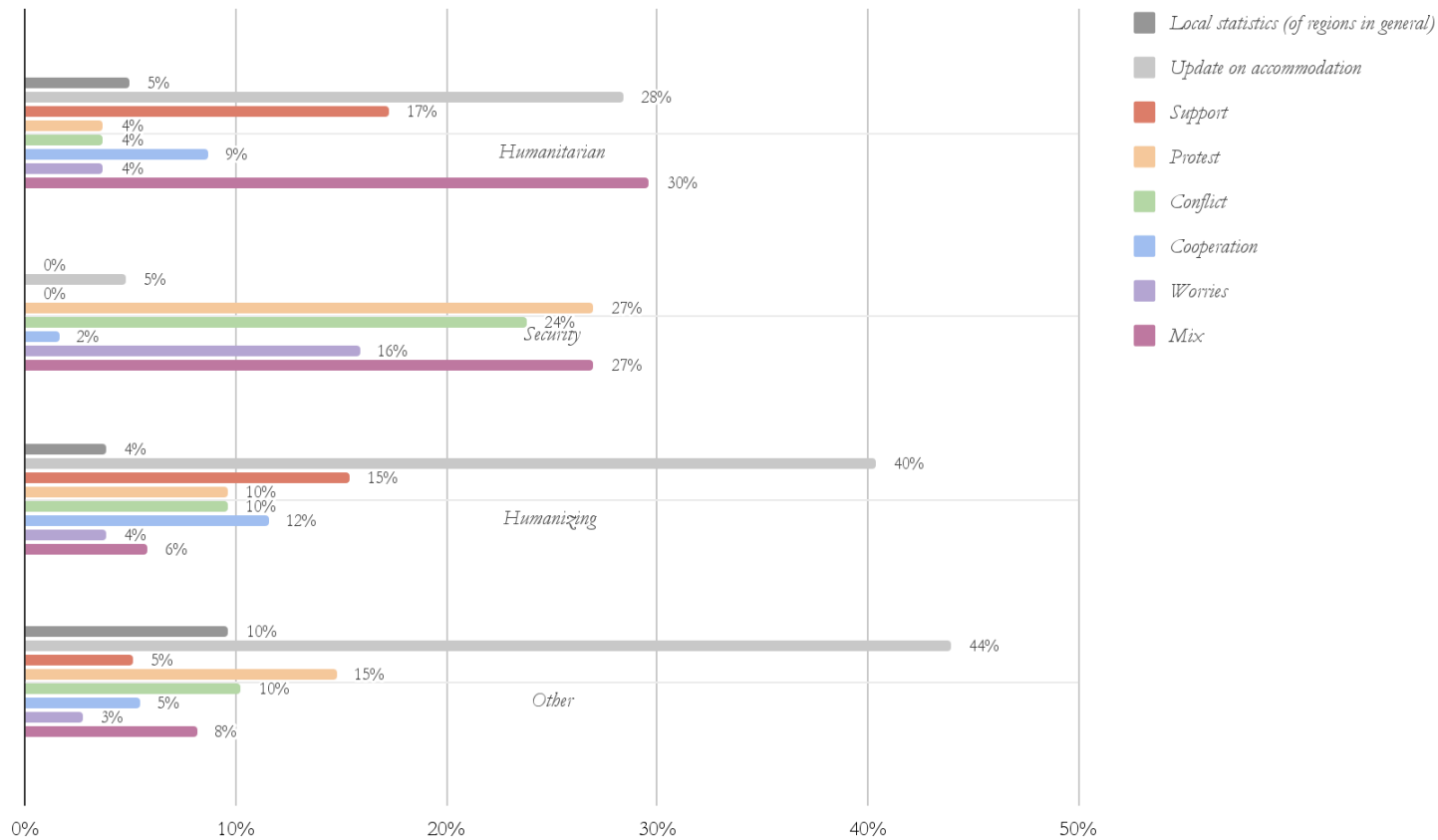
However, the prevalence of the key topics ‘update on accommodation’ and ‘local statistics (of regions in general)’ do not only explain the absence of the humanitarian, security, and humanizing frame in the sample. Interestingly, the key topics ‘protest’ (15%), ‘conflict’ (10%), ‘support’ (5%), and ‘cooperation’ (5%) are also prevalent in articles that did not feature any of the three frames. Instead of presenting opposing opinions based on security frames or supporting opinions based on humanitarian frames, these news articles feature other arguments that seem to not relate to migrants themselves. The following two paragraphs provide an overview of these arguments.

Articles with key topics ‘support’ or ‘cooperation’ can also emphasize the ‘social duty’ of the municipality itself. In this case, the provision of accommodation is not a moral plight concerning migrants, but a societal expectation among municipalities. As the Netherlands is facing a ‘crisis’, they plead that every municipality, including theirs, must do its part.

Articles with key topics ‘protest’ or ‘conflict’ can also feature protests against local migrant accommodation by local residents based on a perceived negligence by local governmental actors or the COA during decision-making processes. This occurs especially when time constraints are involved. This negligence may arise from failed promises of public participation or a lack of governmental transparency. Second, protests by local residents are also based on failed promises by local governmental actors or the COA regarding agreed-upon migrant accommodation sizes and durations. In these cases, actors argue that big migrant accommodations undermine the livability of the local community. Third, protests can also be based on feelings of inequality, not between local residents and migrants, but between the contribution their municipality is making towards the provision of accommodation locally compared to other municipalities. For example, local residents and local governmental actors claim that their municipality has long fulfilled their ‘duty’ and that it is now time for other municipalities to step up. Fourth, the expected effects of a location on the (living) environment of local residents, businesses, animals and nature in general are also used as an argument against the provision of accommodation locally. For example, local residents have argued that new accommodations for migrants obstruct the view from their houses or cause a main street to become too busy, chaotic, and unsafe. Businesses object to asylum seekers being hosted in nearby hotels as it would affect their ability to offer overnight stays to clients. Interestingly, in some instances, these actors also explicitly state that their opposition has nothing to do with an opposition towards migrants themselves. Phrases like ‘I personally have nothing against this group, but [...]’ or ‘this group must, of course, be accommodated somewhere, but [...]’ are commonly featured.

**Image 12**

*Distribution of Key Topics per Article that Features a Humanitarian, Security, Humanizing Frame or Other<sup>20</sup>*



<sup>20</sup> These percentages are calculated by splitting the frequency of one key topic in an article that features one frame (humanitarian, security, humanizing or other) with the total frequency of all key topics of all articles that feature that frame.

## 5. Conclusion and Discussion

The previous chapter presented the results of this research. This chapter will summarize the findings, discuss them with reference to the theoretical framework and introduce new theories to explain unexpected results. Furthermore, it will present various statistical tests performed to look more detailed into the relationships or strength of associations between different variables.

### Regional Newspapers

As the research sample included six different regional newspapers, it is important to analyze the differences across the regional newspapers. This research found differences in the frequency of news articles per regional newspaper and a similar distribution of the three frames across the regional newspapers, except for 'De Limburger'.

Specific details regarding the political signature or orientation of each newspaper were not found but the newspapers have differences in ownership and different rates of provision of accommodation for asylum seekers in the newspapers' area of circulation (see Table 1 in section 3.2 Data Collection). Therefore, this research performed several independent sample t-tests<sup>21</sup> to compare the frequency of news articles and the frequency of frames between the two newspaper owners, DPG Media and Mediahuis (see Appendix 8.11 and 8.12). This research did not find a significant difference in frequency of news articles between DPG Media ( $M = 92.67$ ,  $SD = 61.71$ ) and Mediahuis ( $M = 78.00$ ,  $SD = 37.47$ );  $t(4) = .352$ ,  $p = .743$ . This research also did not find a significant difference in frequency of the humanitarian<sup>22</sup>, security<sup>23</sup> and humanizing<sup>24</sup> frame and other<sup>25</sup> between DPG Media and Mediahuis. So, the differences in the frequency of news articles and the frequency of frames across regional newspapers cannot be explained by differences in ownership.

In the theoretical framework, Berg-Nordlie (2018) noted that places where larger numbers of asylum-seekers settled in local reception centers were associated with larger numbers of immigration-critical texts. Therefore, a Pearson correlation was conducted to assess the relationship between the rates of provision of accommodation for asylum seekers in one newspapers' area of circulation and the frequency of the security frame in that same newspaper (as the security frame connects to immigration-critical texts). In contrast to Berg-Nordlie (2018), this research only found an insignificant weak positive correlation between the two variables,  $r(6) = .232$ ,  $p = .659$  (see Appendix

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<sup>21</sup> The independent sample t-tests were performed after a check of normality (Shapiro-Wilk) and homogeneity of variances (Levene's Test for Equality of Variances) (see Appendix 8.11 and 8.12)

<sup>22</sup> DPG Media ( $M = 11.00$ ,  $SD = 8.54$ ); Mediahuis ( $M = 16.00$ ,  $SD = 9.85$ );  $t(4) = -.664$ ,  $p = .543$ .

<sup>23</sup> DPG Media ( $M = 9.67$ ,  $SD = 7.51$ ); Mediahuis ( $M = 11.33$ ,  $SD = 6.66$ );  $t(4) = -.288$ ,  $p = .788$ .

<sup>24</sup> DPG Media ( $M = 9.33$ ,  $SD = 9.71$ ); Mediahuis ( $M = 8.00$ ,  $SD = 4.58$ );  $t(4) = .215$ ,  $p = .840$

<sup>25</sup> DPG Media ( $M = 64.67$ ,  $SD = 37.42$ ); Mediahuis ( $M = 46.00$ ,  $SD = 18.33$ );  $t(4) = .776$ ,  $p = .481$

8.13). This result can perhaps be explained by an imprecise overlap between the newspapers' area of circulation and the exact areas showing high rates of the provision of accommodation for asylum seekers.

Furthermore, this research only looked at the correlation between the frequency of news articles or the frequency of frames and differences in ownership or differences in rates of provision of accommodation for asylum seekers in the newspapers' area of circulation. Further research could look into correlations between news article content and other regional newspaper characteristics in more detail.

### Biases

Due to a highly competitive media environment, where media compete for audiences and profit, news outlets are more served by articles that include biases such as dramatization, personalization, and a tendency to select negative issues over positive ones. Considering the prevalence of this, it is important to consider whether these biases are present in the news articles.

Research by D'Haenes & de Lange (2001), Vicsek et al. (2008) and Kox et al., (2023) demonstrated the presence of the dramatization, personalization and negativity bias in news articles about migrants and migrant-related issues. In accordance with these authors, this research found a presence of these three biases as well. However, they do not appear equally across all articles.

Humanitarian, security, and humanizing frames appear relatively more in articles with high levels of dramatization or personalization compared to articles with medium or low levels. A Spearman's correlation was conducted to evaluate the relationship between the use of frames (security, humanitarian and humanizing frames combined) and the level of personalization and dramatization. This research found a significant positive relationship between the use of frames and the level of dramatization,  $r_s(528) = .298, p < .001$ , and personalization,  $r_s(528) = .396, p < .001$  (see Appendix 8.14 and 8.15). This means that the presence of one of the three frames in a news article is associated with a higher level of dramatization or personalization. These results can be explained by the congruence between the use of frames and high levels of dramatization and personalization as frames often depict the emotions and personal situations of asylum seekers and local residents.

Furthermore, this research found a prevalence of the security frame in articles with a negative tone of the story (e.g. negativity bias). Therefore, this research used a Phi coefficient to test the strength of association between the use of the security frame and the negativity bias. This test revealed that the effect size is statistically significant but small in magnitude,  $\phi = .218, p < .001$  (see Appendix 16). This means that if the security frame is present in a news article, there is a tendency toward a negative tone in the story, although the association is relatively small. This result can be explained by the congruence between the use of the security frame and a negative tone of the story, as the security frame focuses on conflict, worries and negative emotions.

## Migrant Frames

In accordance with research by Whyte et al., (2019), Kox et al., (2023), Finney & Robinson (2008), and Zill et al. (2020) this study also found a presence of humanitarian, security, and humanizing frames of migrants in news articles related to the provision of accommodation locally. Furthermore, the examples found in this study are almost all aligned with the ways the frames have been described by literature in the theoretical framework (Georgious & Zaborowski, 2017; Hognestad & Lamark, 2017; Lams, 2018, Geuijen et al., 2020, Kox et al., 2023). One exception is that descriptions of socio-cultural threats (threats to the national identity) were not found in the sample.

Three interesting extra remarks can be made regarding the representation of migrants in news articles related to the provision of accommodation locally. First, literature in the theoretical framework pointed out that local discourses on the accommodation of asylum seekers in regional newspapers can include the construction of local identity and community (Finney & Robinson, 2008; Hudson & Sandberg, 2021; Zill et al., 2020). They pointed out that, regarding the security frame, the local press has constructed rural communities as ‘white spaces’ and asylum seekers as ‘non-belonging’. However, this community construction was not found in our sample. The aforementioned authors also pointed out that, regarding the humanitarian frame, the local press constructed the local identity of a community as being ‘proud of providing refuge to those in need’. References to such community construction were found in our sample albeit infrequently and quite implicit. For example, one article featured a site manager of a temporary migrant accommodation in Dronten who referred to Dronten as the ‘asylum capital of the Netherlands’ (Bosch, 2024). However, although he was positive about the temporary migrant accommodation, he did not specifically express any pride in this identity.

Second, literature in the theoretical framework found that citing mainly political actors in news articles is linked to stereotypical representations of migrants (Gonçalves, 2024). The analysis presented that the security frame was used frequently by ‘local governmental actors’ (20%) and that local politicians presented stereotypical representations of migrants. For example, news articles featured local politicians opposed to migrant accommodations for ‘solo men’ because ‘they cause the most nuisance’. However, in our sample, the security frame was used three times more frequently by local residents (60%) as compared to local governmental actors (20%).

Third, compared to the other migrant accommodation types, the humanitarian frame was applied more frequently and the security frame less frequently to articles that discussed accommodation for Ukrainians (including TCNs) (see subsection 4.3.1 Migrant Groups). This result aligns with research by Calabrese et al. (2023), which revealed that Dutch-speaking media depict Ukrainians as more deserving of protection than other groups of asylum seekers. Additionally, compared to the other migrant accommodation types, the humanizing frame was more prevalent in articles discussing housing for status holders. This result can be explained by status holders having a relatively more secure future in the Netherlands compared to Ukrainians or asylum seekers.

Consequently, their future in the Netherlands, including their dreams and ambitions, are featured more frequently.

### Key Topics

This research not only looked at the extent to which three different migrant frames - humanitarian, security, and humanizing - are present in the sample but also analyzed the detailed contexts (e.g. the key topics of the news articles) these three different migrant frames do or do not appear. Linking the representation of migrants to key topics in the context of providing accommodation locally provides a better understanding of the contextual factors influencing the ways migrants are framed in the media. This is a relevant contribution to the literature.

The next part summarizes the results from the analysis on the prevalence of key topics in articles that feature a humanitarian, security, humanizing frame or other (a full overview of this distribution is presented in Image 12 at the end of section 4.4). This research used a Cramer's V coefficient to test the strength of correlation between the use of key topics and frames. The effect size is statistically significant and medium in magnitude,  $\phi_c = .301$ ,  $p < .001$  (see Appendix 17). This result implies that there is a medium-level association between the use of key topics and frames which suggests that specific frames are associated with particular key topics in the news articles more often than by chance.

### Contexts the Three Migrant Frames Appear

Most of the results on the prevalence of key topics in articles that feature a humanitarian and/or security frame align with research presented in the theoretical framework. Specifically, the prevalence of the key topics 'protest', 'mix', 'conflict', and 'worries' in articles that feature a security frame and the prevalence of the key topics 'mix', 'support', and 'cooperation' in articles that feature a humanitarian frame (Whyte et al. 2019; Kox et al., 2023; Finney & Robinson, 2008 and Zill et al. 2020). New findings were made as well. The prevalence of the key topic 'update on accommodation' in articles that feature a humanitarian frame was unexpected. This result means that short features of humanitarian frames also appear in news articles that do not specifically revolve around support or cooperation, but just give updates on accommodation. Furthermore, the prevalence of the key topics 'protest', 'conflict', and 'worries' in articles that feature a humanitarian frame indicate that humanitarian frames are also used by local residents that base their protest against migrant accommodations on concerns about the suitability of the location for the residents of the location themselves.

Furthermore, since there is no specific literature identifying which articles feature humanizing frames, this research adds information about the key topics in articles that feature a humanizing frame. First, the key topic 'update on accommodation' is most prevalent in articles that feature a humanizing

frame. This indicates that updates on new local accommodation plans often include details on the living conditions and daily lives of new residents. Second, the key topics ‘support’ and ‘cooperation’ are also prevalent in articles featuring the humanizing frame. This indicates that elements of a humanizing frame, such as ‘normalizing’ details about the everyday routines and living spaces of migrants, can be used to substantiate support or cooperation for local accommodations.

#### Contexts the Three Migrant Frames Do Not Appear

First of all, the humanitarian, security, and humanizing frame were not featured in 66% of the news articles. This suggests that these three frames that were identified as important in the theoretical framework, may not be significant in the representation of migrants in news articles within this context. However, another likely explanation for the absence of these frames lies in the detailed context of these news articles as 44% of these articles have the key topic ‘update on accommodation’ and 10% of the articles have the key topic ‘local statistics (of regions in general)’. As these articles mostly provide readers with objective updates or current statistics, they do not enable an emphasis on migrants’ humanity or (un)desirability which explains why humanitarian, security, or humanizing frames are not present. The absence of an emphasis on migrants (un)desirability in news articles in the context of migratory processes is also noted in research by Crawley et al., (2016) and Dimitriadis & Ambrosini (2024). Furthermore, the prevalence of key topics like ‘update on accommodation’ and ‘local statistics (of regions in general)’ in the sample can be attributed to the aim of regional newspapers to inform their local audience about matters of local interest (Gant & Dimmick, 2000).

Even in news articles covering key topics such as ‘protest’, ‘conflict’, ‘support’, and ‘cooperation’, which could emphasize migrants’ humanity or (un)desirability, this emphasis did not always occur. Instead of presenting opposing opinions based on security frames or supportive opinions based on humanitarian frames, these news articles also featured arguments unrelated to migrants themselves. For example, articles with key topic ‘support’ or ‘cooperation’ can also emphasize that the provision of accommodation is not a moral plight concerning migrants, but a societal expectation among municipalities. For example, articles with key topic ‘protest’ or ‘conflict’ can also feature protests based on a lack of trust in the government and its decision-making processes. This finding aligns with research by Faure et al. (2019), who demonstrated the importance of institutional legitimacy in the context of providing rapid accommodation to displaced persons.

At first glance, protests based on a lack of trust in the government and its decision-making processes do not seem to be related to migrants, as they do not depict migrants directly in the news article. However, these arguments can still involve opinions and attitudes regarding migrants. For example, protests by local residents based on failed promises by local governmental actors regarding agreed-upon migrant accommodation sizes might reflect local residents’ desire to have fewer migrants in their neighborhoods. This desire, in turn, may be related to security-based attitudes toward

migrants. Nevertheless, in some instances, these actors do explicitly state that their opposition has nothing to do with an opposition towards migrants themselves. Phrases like ‘I personally have nothing against this group, but [...]’ or ‘this group must, of course, be accommodated somewhere, but [...]’ are commonly featured. These explicit disclaimers point out that objectors do not always want to be classified as ‘anti-immigrant’ and that they understand the need for shelter. This then relates to the concept of NIMBY (Not in My Backyard), a spatial collective action problem that occurs ‘[...] when people oppose developments in their vicinity despite accepting the necessity for such developments elsewhere.’ (Ferwerda et al., 2017, p.1).

## *6. Recommendations*

The security frame was present in just 12% of the news articles. However, scholars have argued that threatening media frames significantly reduce support for both national and local resettlement. Therefore, it is important that journalists and local governmental actors remain cautious in using security frames. Especially as worries about migrant behavior in security frames are often based on invalid expectations, such as an expected increase in disturbances following the presence of migrants in a village. The COA argues that these expectations are based on news about two COA locations with many irregularities (Budel and Ter Apel). However, in the remaining 99% of asylum-seeker locations, no significant change in the living environment occurs (Keijzer & Groeneveld, 2024).

To stop stereotypical media representations of migrants, instead of reporting on short-term incidents using security frames, regional newspapers should report more on long-term and positive developments of these remaining 99% asylum-seeker locations. This kind of reporting is already featured in news articles by Dutch NGOs like VluchtelingenWerk. However, in a highly competitive media environment, where quick and short articles reporting on negative issues are preferred, it might be difficult for regional newspapers to cover long-term and positive developments. More government funding of regional newspapers could ease this competitiveness and encourage a different kind of reporting.

This research did not aim to investigate how opposition to the provision of migrant accommodation locally can be addressed or prevented. However, the sample does provide some insights regarding the featured opposing arguments. The opposing arguments were not only based on security frames. They were also based on perceived negligence by local governmental actors or the COA during decision-making processes. As this negligence arose from failed promises of public participation or a lack of governmental transparency, local governmental actors should try and improve local residents' trust and public participation in the government and their decision-making processes. Furthermore, opposition often occurred when time constraints were involved. These time constraints are caused by the current shortage of accommodation for migrants. Therefore, the national government should sustain the 'dispersal law' as this would help solve the shortage of accommodation and result in fewer last-minute temporary decisions and accompanying resistance.

This research only included news articles in the context of the provision of accommodation locally. If the scope expands to various migrant-related issues, the data is more useful for researching the effect of media representations of migrants on the actions and reactions of local populations. Furthermore, this research investigated the provision of accommodation for three different groups of migrants. Expanding the scope to provisions of non-migrant accommodations as well would make interesting comparisons. Last, the results demonstrated the prevalence of local governmental actors and the COA as frame actors. Comparing their use of frames in news articles with their use of frames in official statements may yield interesting results as well.

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## 8. Appendices

### 8.1 Appendix 1. Overview of Numbers of Migrants in Accommodations Provided by the COA or Municipalities

The COA accommodates 50,650 asylum seekers and 18,838 status holders (Rijksoverheid, n.d. b; Rijksoverheid, n.d. c).<sup>26</sup>

Municipalities are required to provide suitable housing for 25.151 status holders (Rijksoverheid, n.d. b; Rijksoverheid, n.d. c).<sup>27</sup>

Municipalities provide accommodation for 91,810 refugees from Ukraine with a Ukrainian nationality and 2540 TCNs from Ukraine in the ‘Gemeentelijke Opvang Oekrainers’ (GOO) (Rijksoverheid, n.d. d).<sup>28</sup> However, 750 TCNs from Ukraine have applied for asylum, entitling them to accommodation by the COA (NOS, 2024).

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<sup>26</sup> Number stems from April 22, 2024.

<sup>27</sup> Number stems from April 1, 2024.

<sup>28</sup> Numbers stem from April 19 and April 2, 2024 respectively.

## 8.2 Appendix 2. Data Selection Criteria

Justifications for these selection criteria are mentioned under section 3.1 Scope and 3.2 Data Collection.

Selection criteria	Include	Exclude
Scope: the context of providing accommodation locally	The story of the news article has to center around the provision of migrant accommodation. This includes stories about (new) asylum seekers' centers, the accommodation of Ukrainians and TCNs from Ukraine, and the housing of status holders. Examples of included articles are articles about updates on and protests or lawsuits against new asylum seekers' centers, interviews with local residents on the accommodation of Ukrainians, or updates on a new housing project that includes housing for status holders.	This selection criterion excludes news articles about the interaction between local residents and asylum seekers or refugees, reports of individual (violence) incidents within asylum seekers' centers, or new work provisions for asylum seekers in asylum seekers' centers.
Scope: the local level	The story of the news article has to take place at the local level. Furthermore, the exact location of the local level has to be within the area of publication of the regional newspaper. For example, news articles about Ter Apel will only be included if they are published by 'Dagblad van het Noorden' as this newspaper is the only one whose area of publication includes Ter Apel.	This selection criterion excludes articles discussing the topic at the national or the EU level. For example, articles interviewing academics or experts on the topic or articles describing the general state of refugee and asylum seekers' accommodation in the Netherlands are excluded.

Scope: accommodations for migrants	An article is included if it discusses the provision of accommodation locally for asylum seekers, Ukrainians, TCNs from Ukraine, and status holders.	This criterion excludes articles about the provision of accommodation locally for other migrants, such as EU migrants.
Format	The format of the news story has to be a news article or interview by a journalist of at least 90 words.	This criterion excludes poems, opinion pieces by readers, columns, short updates of less than 90 words, or reader polls.
Double news articles	<p>Some newspapers have published their articles two or three times with a small difference in title or word count. Of these different articles, only the latest publication is included as this publication is probably the one available for the readers.</p> <p>Occasionally, the three selected regional newspapers owned by DPG Media (Brabants Dagblad, de Stentor, and Provinciale Zeeuwse Courant) published the same article. Often, these articles do not meet the scope of the local level and are excluded from the data collection. In a few instances, the article did match the scope of the local level in one of the three regional newspapers. These news articles are included in the sample.</p>	

### 8.3 Appendix 3. Codebook

Code	Sub-code	Description	Example
<b>General</b>			
0. Words		Number of words	w454
1. Date		DD/MM	d07/02
2. Author(s) <sup>29</sup>		Name Last name	nZed Fasel
3. Location(s) <sup>30</sup>		Location name	lRosmalen
4. Regional newspaper <sup>31</sup>	4.1 Brabants Dagblad		
	4.2 De Limburger		
	4.3 Noord-Hollands Dagblad		
	4.4 Provinciale Zeeuwse Courant		
	4.5 Dagblad van het Noorden		
	4.6 De Stentor		

<sup>29</sup> Multiple authors can be coded.

<sup>30</sup> Multiple locations can be coded.

<sup>31</sup> The articles can mention specific versions of the regional newspaper. For example, the 'Noord-Hollands Dagblad' can mention the 'Helderse Courant'. This specific version is not coded.

5. Internal or external author	5.1 Internal author	News article from an author employed by the same newspaper as selected in code 4.	If the news article mentions the name of the author, it is an internal author.
	5.2 External author	News article from an author that is not employed by the same newspaper as selected in code 4.	If the news article mentions sources like ANP news or RTL.
	5.3 Unclear	It is unclear if the author is internal or external.	If the news article does not mention an author or another news source. If the news article mentions both an internal and external author.
<b>Detailed context</b>			
6. Key topic <sup>32 33</sup>	6.1 Local statistics (of regions in general)	The story informs the reader by presenting objective statistical information (of regions in general) on the provision of accommodation locally.	News articles that discuss the local effect of the dispersal law, requirements for municipalities in the context of providing accommodation locally, and a municipality being 'on track' or not in their task for providing accommodation locally.
	6.2 Update on accommodation	The story features an update on the provision of accommodation locally. These news articles provide the reader with objective updates instead of featuring opinions regarding the developments.	News articles that discuss updates of migration processes such as updates on the development of new local accommodation plans by the municipality or ongoing discussions on development plans in a municipality between local governmental actors and other actors such as businesses or the COA.

<sup>32</sup> The key topic is the dominant subject of the news article within the context of providing accommodation locally. Only one key topic can be coded.

<sup>33</sup> Code 7 and 8 specify the key type of migrant accommodation and key actors that correspond to the key topic.

	6.3 Support	The story features support or supportive opinions in regard to the provision of accommodation locally.	News articles that cover local governmental actors and local residents that express their positive attitudes to existing local accommodations and voice their gratitude for neighborhood support. Other news articles cover local residents providing a 'counter voice' to current or past opposing attitudes towards local accommodations.
	6.4 Protest	The story features protests or protesting opinions in regard to the provision of accommodation locally. The key topic in these news articles is not 'conflict' as the news articles discuss protesting opinions instead of formal objections or commencements of legal proceedings.	News articles that cover protests by local residents or local politicians against local accommodations for migrants.
	6.5 Conflict	The story features conflict (lawsuits) or conflicting opinions in regard to the provision of accommodation locally and requires at least two actors.	News articles that cover formal objections and lawsuits between local governmental actors and local residents in the context of new local accommodations.

	6.6 Cooperation	The story features cooperation, or cooperating opinions in regard to the provision of accommodation locally, and requires at least two actors.	News articles that discuss the cooperation between the COA and Fletcher Hotels in regard to the establishment of new local accommodations.
	6.7 Worries	The story features the worries of actors in regard to accommodation. Worries are different from protesting opinions because the actors expressing worries do not necessarily protest against the provision of accommodation locally.	News articles that cover community gatherings organized by the COA or municipalities, addressing concerns, worries, and questions regarding new migrant accommodations.
	6.8 Mix (support or cooperation together with conflict, protest, or worries)	The story features a mix of support or cooperation together with conflict, protest, or worries in regard to the provision of accommodation locally. The key topics in these news articles are not ‘protest’ or ‘support’ because these articles discuss both supportive and protesting attitudes towards new local accommodations equally.	News articles that cover protesting and supporting opinions by different local council members.
	6.9 Other	The story features a different key topic than the key topics mentioned above. Use in-vivo in atlas.ti.	
	6.10 Unclear	The key topic of the story is unclear.	
7. Key migrant accommodation type <sup>34</sup>	7.1 New location for asylum seekers		News articles that discuss the building of a new asylum seekers’ center.

<sup>34</sup> Multiple key migrant accommodation types can be coded.

	7.2 Existing location for asylum seekers		News articles that feature opinions on an existing asylum seekers' center.
	7.3 Discontinued location for asylum seekers		News articles that feature an announcement about an asylum seekers' center that will be discontinued.
	7.4 New accommodation for Ukrainians (incl. TCNs)		
	7.5 Existing accommodation for Ukrainians (incl. TCNs)		
	7.6 Discontinued accommodation for Ukrainians (incl. TCNs)		
	7.7 New housing for status holders		
	7.8 Existing housing for status holders		

	7.9 Discontinued housing for status holders		
	7.10 Other	The story features a different key migrant accommodation type than the key migrant accommodation types mentioned above. Use in-vivo in atlas.ti.	
	7.11 Unclear	The key migrant accommodation type of the story is unclear.	
	7.12 Not applicable		
8. Key topic actor <sup>35 36</sup>	8.1 the COA	Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers	News articles that feature a spokesperson of the COA explaining the need for a new asylum seekers' center in a town.
	8.2 National governmental organizations	National governmental organizations such as the Ministry of Justice and Security. The main spokesperson of a national governmental organization on this topic is the state secretary of justice and security.	News articles that feature the state secretary of justice and security urging a municipality to build a new asylum seekers' center.

<sup>35</sup> Multiple key topic actors can be coded.

<sup>36</sup> Key topic actors are linked to each key topic. They refer to those who play a significant active role in the news article. For example, if the key topic is 'worries', the corresponding key topic actors are those expressing concerns. If the key topic is 'update on accommodation', the key topic actor would be the actor that gives the update or has a dominant role in the update.

	8.3 Court		News articles that feature a conflict in court about the development of a new asylum seekers' center.
	8.4 Local governmental actors	Local governmental actors such as political actors from municipalities or provinces.	News articles that feature municipality council members advocating against a new asylum seekers' center.
	8.5 CSOs	CSOs that assist or review the provision of accommodation locally, such as VluchtelingenWerk or Red Cross.	News articles that feature a CSO arguing the conditions for children in an asylum seekers' center are insufficient.
	8.6 Local residents	Individual local residents or groups of local residents.	News articles that feature the opinion of local residents on a discontinued asylum seekers' center.
	8.7 Asylum seekers <sup>37</sup>	Individual asylum seekers or networks of asylum seekers.	News articles that feature a conflict between an asylum seeker and the COA about the transfers to new COA locations.
	8.8 Ukrainians (incl. TCNs)	Individual Ukrainians or networks of Ukrainians (including third-country nationals from Ukraine) living in the Netherlands.	News articles that feature an interview with Ukrainians about their new accommodation.
	8.9 Status holders	Individual status holders or networks of status holders.	News articles that feature a conflict between the municipality and status holders about long waiting lists for housing.

<sup>37</sup> This sub-code does not include Ukrainian refugees or TCNs from Ukraine that apply for asylum.

	8.10 Businesses	Businesses or other non-governmental organizations (excluding CSOs).	News articles that discuss the cooperation between a hotel owner and the municipality.
	8.11 Author	The author of the news article.	News articles that discuss local statistics (of regions in general) on the provision of accommodation locally and do not name key actors that are actively involved in these statistics.
	8.12 Other	The story features a different key actor than the key actors mentioned above. Use in-vivo in atlas.ti.	
	8.13 Unclear	The key actor of the story is unclear.	
	8.14 Not applicable		
<b>Frame</b>			
9. Frame one <sup>38</sup>	9.1 Humanitarian	Depictions of migrants as victims, in need of help and protection from persecution (Georgious & Zaborowski, 2017; Hognestad & Lamark, 2017; Lams, 2018, Geuijen et al., 2020, Kox et al., 2023).	News articles that cite actors that support the arrival of migrants because they are fleeing war and violence.

<sup>38</sup> A migrant frame demonstrates how the people residing in the accommodations are portrayed in the media.

	9.2 Security	Depictions of migrants as intruders. Relating the arrival of migrants in the Netherlands to socio-economic, socio-cultural, and security threats (Georgious & Zaborowski, 2017; Hognestad & Lamark, 2017; Lams, 2018, Geuijen et al., 2020, Kox et al., 2023).	News articles that cite actors that connect the arrival of migrants to worries about their personal safety.
	9.3 Humanizing	Depictions of migrants as normal and human due to a focus on everyday situations, spaces, and initiatives (Kox et al. 2023).	News articles that cite actors that demonstrate details about migrants' everyday routine and living spaces, such as a birthday they recently celebrated.
	9.4 Unclear	The frame that is used in the story is unclear.	
	9.5 Other	The humanitarian, security, or humanizing frame is not applicable.	News articles that only talk about the mismanagement of housing for status holders by a municipality.
10. Frame actor one <sup>39</sup> 40	10.1 the COA		

<sup>39</sup> Multiple actors can be coded.

<sup>40</sup> Frame actors are the actors that present the frame.

(see code 8. Key topic actors for descriptions of the frame actors)			
	10.2 National governmental organizations		
	10.3 Court		
	10.4 Local governmental actors		
	10.5 CSOs		
	10.6 Local residents		
	10.7 Asylum seekers <sup>41</sup>		
	10.8 Ukrainians (incl. TCN)		
	10.9 Status holders		
	10.10 Businesses		
	10.11 Author		
	10.12 Other		
	10.13 Unclear		
	10.14 Not applicable		

<sup>41</sup> This sub-code does not include Ukrainian refugees or TCNs from Ukraine that apply for asylum.

11. Frame two <sup>42</sup> (see code 9. Frame one)			
12. Frame actor two (see code 10. Frame actor one)			
<b>Biases</b>			
13. Dramatization bias <sup>43</sup>	13.1 High dramatization	The story is exaggerated, sensationalized, and presented as something earthshaking, unsettling, or remarkable (Patterson, 2000). Often, personal sensational emotional quotes, imagery, and metaphors are used to attract the reader's view.	News articles focusing on the highly charged emotions of various actors about the arrival of a new asylum seekers' center.
	13.2 Medium dramatization	The story is not exaggerated or sensationalized. However, the story does include personal sensational emotional quotes, imagery, and metaphors used to attract the reader's view.	News articles discuss the time frame for the arrival of a new asylum seekers' center. However, they mention briefly that there has been some critique in regard to this time frame, featuring a quote by a resident who is very surprised and shocked by it all.

<sup>42</sup> A second frame is only selected if the two frames appear equally.

<sup>43</sup> The dramatization bias is applied to the appearance of dramatization in the whole text.

	13.3 Small or no dramatization	The story is not exaggerated, sensationalized, or presented as something earthshaking, unsettling, or remarkable and does not use personal sensational emotional quotes, imagery, and metaphors. Instead, it uses neutral words to make the story clear.	News articles stating objective facts about the arrival of a new asylum seekers' center.
	13.4 Unclear	It is unclear to what extent the dramatization bias applies.	
14. Personalization bias <sup>44</sup>	14.1 High personalization	The story is mainly based (>50%) on a human interest story, quotes, or a text interview. A human interest story puts a 'human face' on the issue of the story. It can give a human example or address the personal lives of the actors in the story (Patterson, 2000). It can also feature a lot of opinions that are very emotional, personal, or dramatic.	News articles that present interviews with local residents about a new asylum seekers' center.
	14.2 Medium personalization	The story is not based on a human interest story or text interview. However, the story does include some interviews or features. These features are not very emotional, personal, or dramatic.	News articles that discuss a lawsuit or only feature one short opinion by the municipality on this lawsuit.

<sup>44</sup> The personalization bias is applied to the appearance of personalization in the whole text.

	14.3 Small or no personalization	The story is not based on a human interest story or text interview and does not or very little include features. If there are some features, they are not emotional, personal, or dramatic.	News articles that discuss the number of status holders a municipality has to provide housing for.
	14.4 Unclear	It is unclear to what extent the personalization bias applies.	
15. Negativity bias <sup>45</sup>	15.1 Negativity	The story and actors within the story have a pessimistic outlook on the story. Or the story focuses on worries, conflict, inadequacy, insufficiency, incapability, and misconduct (Kox et al., 2023; Lengauer et al., 2012).	News articles that discuss the inadequacy of communication tactics by the COA in regard to a news asylum seekers' center.
	15.2 Mixed between positivity and negativity	The story features both negative and positive outlooks and focuses on both conflict and cooperation, (in)capability, (in)adequacy and (in)sufficiency.	News articles that discuss both conflict and cooperation in regard to the development of a new asylum seekers' center.
	15.3 Positivity	The story and actors within the story have a positive outlook on the story. Or the story focuses on support, adequacy, sufficiency, and capability.	News articles that discuss support by local residents in regard to the development of a new asylum seekers' center.
	15.4 Neutral (no positive or negative tone of the story)	The story does not or includes very little pessimistic or positive outlooks on the story. The	News articles that discuss the number of status holders a municipality has to provide housing for.

<sup>45</sup> The negativity bias is applied to the general tone of the whole text.

		<p>story does not feature conflict, cooperation, (in)capability, (in)adequacy and (in)sufficiency.</p> <p>The story is more focused on updates or facts.</p>	
	15.5 Unclear	The tone of the story is unclear.	

#### 8.4 Appendix 4. Detailed Operationalization Table

Concept	Definition	Dimension	Indicator <sup>46</sup>
Media representations of migrants	Media representations of migrants involve framing. Framing is the depiction of people, institutions, events, or facts in the media, including the attribution of labels and qualities. It also relates to how causal links between factors are established and how value judgments are made about the implication of events on society (Brouwer et al. 2017; Çobaner, 2021; Crawley et al., 2016).	<p><i>Migrant frames</i></p> <p>Demonstrates how the people residing in the accommodations are portrayed in the media.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Humanitarian depictions portray migrants as victims and in need of help and protection from persecution.</li> <li>● Security media depictions portray migrants as intruders, linking their arrival in the Netherlands to socio-economic, socio-cultural, and security threats.</li> <li>● Humanizing media depictions portray migrants as normal and human by focusing on everyday situations, spaces, and initiatives.</li> </ul> <p>(Georgious &amp; Zaborowski, 2017; Hognestad &amp; Lamark, 2017; Lams, 2018, Geuijen et al., 2020, Kox et al., 2023; Crawley et al., 2016; Dimitriadis &amp; Ambrosini, 2024).</p>	See the description of the sub-codes of code 9. Frame one.

<sup>46</sup> See codes, sub-codes and descriptions in Appendix 3: Code book.

		<p>The operationalization of the humanitarian, security, and humanizing frame is included in the code book. The news articles in which the three frames do not appear are not removed from the sample but discussed in the analysis as well.</p>	
		<p><i>Frame actors.</i><sup>47</sup></p> <p>Frame actors are linked to each frame. They refer to those who present the frame within the news articles.</p> <p>The list of frame actors was drawn from the literature and finalized through in-vivo coding (see section 3.3 Approach to Analysis).</p>	<p>See the sub-codes of code 10. Frame actor one.</p>
Key topic	<p>The key topic is the dominant subject of the news article within the context of providing accommodation locally.</p>	<p><i>Key topics</i><sup>48</sup></p> <p><i>Key migrant accommodation types</i><sup>49</sup></p> <p>Demonstrates the migrant accommodation type discussed in the key topic. The selection of a key migrant accommodation type in the news articles is used to differentiate between the</p>	<p>See the sub-codes and descriptions of the sub-codes of code 6. Key topic, code 7 Key migrant accommodation type,</p>

<sup>47</sup> The COA, national governmental organizations, Court, local governmental actors, CSOs, local residents, asylum seekers, Ukrainians (including TCNs from Ukraine), status holders, businesses and authors.

<sup>48</sup> Local statistics (of regions in general), update on accommodation, support, protest, conflict, cooperation, worries, mix (support or cooperation together with conflict, protest or worries).

<sup>49</sup> New, existing or discontinued locations for asylum seekers, accommodation for Ukrainians (including TCNs from Ukraine) and housing for status holders.

		<p>representation of different groups of migrants in the news articles.</p> <p><i>Key topic actors</i><sup>50</sup></p> <p>Key topic actors are linked to each key topic. They refer to those who play a significant active role in the news article. For example, if the key topic is ‘worries’, the corresponding key topic actors are those expressing concerns.</p> <p>The lists of key topics, key migrant accommodation types, and key topic actors were drawn from the literature and finalized through in-vivo coding. (see section 3.3 Approach to Analysis).</p>	and code 8, Key topic actor
Media logic	Media logic relates to the process through which media present and transmit information which affects how social and public affairs are perceived (Strömbäck, 2008). Due to a highly competitive media environment, news outlets are now more served by articles that are quicker, shorter and more repetitive and include biases such	<p><i>Dramatization bias.</i></p> <p>The dramatization bias emphasizes drama on a day-to-day level and/or produces sudden crises (Bennett, 2016).</p> <p>The codebook by Patterson (n.d.) serves as the basis for the sub-codes of this bias.</p>	See description of the sub-codes of code 13 Dramatization bias.

<sup>50</sup> For examples, see footnote 42.

	as dramatization, personalization and a tendency to select negative issues over positives ones (Klijn & Korthagen, 2018; Patterson, 2000; Strömbäck, 2008).	<p><i>Personalization bias.</i></p> <p>The personalization bias downplays ‘the big social, economic or political picture in favor of the human trials, tragedies and triumphs’ (Bennett, 2016, p.36).</p> <p>The codebook by Patterson (n.d.) serves as the basis for the sub-codes of this bias.</p>	See description of the sub-codes of code 14 Personalization bias.
		<p><i>Negativity bias.</i></p> <p>The negativity bias involves negative tones within the story, pessimistic outlooks and a focus on conflict, incapability and misconduct (Lengauer et al., 2012).</p>	See description of the sub-codes of code 15 Negativity bias.

### 8.5 Appendix 5. Distribution of Key Topics per Regional Newspaper

These percentages are calculated by splitting the frequency of one key topic of one regional newspaper with the total frequency of all key topics of that regional newspaper.

	<i>Local statistics (of regions in general)</i>	<i>Update on local accommodation</i>	<i>Support</i>	<i>Protest</i>	<i>Conflict</i>	<i>Cooperation</i>	<i>Worries</i>	<i>Mix</i>
Brabants Dagblad	3%	39%	11%	8%	17%	11%	0%	12%
De Limburger	17%	39%	5%	20%	10%	2%	0%	7%
Noord-Hollands dagblad	8%	35%	6%	16%	11%	7%	6%	11%
Provinciale Zeeuwse Courant	17%	33%	2%	25%	2%	2%	10%	8%
Dagblad van het Noorden	7%	43%	8%	7%	8%	8%	3%	17%
De Stentor	3%	38%	9%	15%	15%	4%	5%	11%

### 8.6 Appendix 6. Distribution of Frames per Bias

These percentages are calculated by splitting the frequency of one frame in an article that features one bias (e.g. ‘Dramatization bias - High’) with the total frequency of all frames of all articles that feature that bias.

	<i>Humanitarian</i>	<i>Security</i>	<i>Humanizing</i>	<i>Other</i>
Dramatization bias - High	19%	18%	12%	51%
Dramatization bias - Medium	15%	6%	9%	69%
Dramatization bias - Small or no	2%	2%	5%	91%
Personalization bias - High	21%	17%	12%	49%
Personalization bias - Medium	5%	4%	10%	81%
Personalization bias - Small or no	2%	1%	0%	97%
Tone of the story - Negative	6%	21%	5%	69%
Tone of the story - Mixed between positivity and negativity	23%	18%	13%	47%
Tone of the story - Positive	34%	2%	23%	41%
Tone of the story - Neutral	6%	1%	4%	89%

### 8.7 Appendix 7. Distribution of Key Topics per Bias

These percentages are calculated by splitting the frequency of one key topic in an article that features one bias (e.g. 'neutral title') with the total frequency of all key topics of all articles that feature that bias.

	<i>Local statistics (of regions in general)</i>	<i>Update on local accommodation</i>	<i>Support</i>	<i>Protest</i>	<i>Conflict</i>	<i>Cooperation</i>	<i>Worries</i>	<i>Mix</i>
Dramatic title	8%	29%	5%	19%	16%	3%	6%	14%
Neutral title	7%	48%	10%	9%	6%	9%	3%	8%
Personalization bias - High	5%	28%	7%	19%	15%	5%	6%	15%
Personalization bias - Medium	11%	42%	12%	8%	7%	10%	2%	9%
Personalization bias - Small	13%	70%	3%	3%	2%	5%	1%	1%
Tone of the story - Negative	6%	22%	1%	33%	27%	0%	8%	5%
Tone of the story - Mixed between positivity and negativity	3%	23%	2%	6%	3%	7%	6%	50%
Tone of the story - Positive	6%	42%	30%	0%	0%	20%	0%	2%
Tone of the story - Neutral	16%	73%	2%	3%	1%	3%	2%	2%

## 8.8 Appendix 8. Distribution of All Frame Actors per Frame

These percentages are calculated by splitting the frequency of one frame actor per frame with the total frequency of all frame actors in that frame.

	<i>The COA</i>	<i>National governmental organizations</i>	<i>Court</i>	<i>Local governmental actors</i>	<i>CSOs</i>	<i>Local residents</i>	<i>Asylum seekers</i>	<i>Ukrainians (including TCNs)</i>	<i>Status holders</i>	<i>Businesses</i>	<i>Author</i>
Humanitarian	6%	1%	1%	33%	3%	30%	7%	3%	2%	6%	9%
Security	2%	1%	1%	20%	1%	60%	2%	0%	0%	12%	0%
Humanizing	25%	0%	0%	34%	2%	11%	11%	0%	11%	5%	3%

### 8.9 Appendix 9. Distribution of Local Migrant Accommodation Types

These percentages are calculated by splitting the frequency of each local migrant accommodation type with the total frequency of all local migrant accommodation types.

<b>Local migrant accommodation type</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Discontinued housing for status holders	0%
Discontinued accommodation for Ukrainians (incl. TCN)	1%
Existing housing for status holders	2%
Discontinued location for asylum seekers	3%
Existing accommodation for Ukrainians (incl. TCN)	8%
Existing location for asylum seekers	15%
New accommodation for Ukrainians (incl. TCN)	17%
New housing for status holders	17%
New location for asylum seekers	35%
<b>Total</b> new accommodations	69%
<b>Total</b> existing accommodations	25%
<b>Total</b> discontinued accommodations	4%
<b>Total</b> housing for status holders	20%

<b>Total</b> accommodations for Ukrainians (incl. TCNs)	25%
<b>Total</b> locations for asylum seekers	53%

#### 8.10 Appendix 10. Distribution of All Key Topic Actors per Key Topic

These percentages are calculated by splitting the frequency of one key topic actor per key topic with the total frequency of all key topic actors in that key topic.

	<i>The COA</i>	<i>National governmental organizations</i>	<i>Court</i>	<i>Local governmental actors</i>	<i>CSOs</i>	<i>Local residents</i>	<i>Asylum seekers</i>	<i>Ukrainians (incl. TCNs)</i>	<i>Status holders</i>	<i>Businesses</i>	<i>Author</i>
Local statistics (of regions in general)	15%	11%	0%	72%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Update on accommodation	18%	4%	0%	62%	1%	6%	3%	1%	0%	3%	1%
Support	17%	2%	0%	36%	2%	32%	4%	0%	0%	4%	2%
Protest	2%	1%	0%	30%	0%	54%	0%	1%	4%	7%	0%
Conflict	9%	3%	19%	32%	1%	23%	1%	0%	4%	8%	0%
Cooperation	17%	3%	0%	45%	10%	5%	0%	2%	0%	18%	0%
Worries	0%	0%	0%	22%	0%	70%	0%	0%	4%	4%	0%
Mix	4%	3%	1%	42%	2%	38%	2%	1%	1%	4%	0%

8.11 Appendix 11. Independent Sample T-Test, Frequency of News Articles Between DPG Media and Mediahuis

Before the independent sample t-tests were performed, this research performed a check of normality (Shapiro-Wilk) and homogeneity of variances (Levene's Test for Equality of Variances). Levene's test showed equal variances for the frequency of news articles between DPG Media and Mediahuis ( $F = 1.001, p = .374$ ). The Shapiro-Wilk test did not show evidence of non-normality in the data on the frequency of news articles of DPG Media ( $W(3) = .945, p = .549$ ) and Mediahuis ( $W(3) = .923, p = .463$ ).

Table 1A. Levene's Test for Equality of Variances

	F	Sig.
Frequency of news articles	1.001	.374

Table 1B. Shapiro-Wilk Test of Normality

	Owner	Statistic (W)	df	Sig.
Frequency of news articles	DPG Media	.945	3	.549
	Mediahuis	.923	3	.463

Table 1C. Independent Samples T-Test Results

	Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Frequency of news articles	DPG Media	3	92.67	61.712	35.629
	Mediahuis	3	78.00	37.470	21.633

Table 1D. Independent Samples T-Test

t-test for Equality of Means								
							95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		t	df	Sig (2-tailed)	Mean difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper

Frequency of news articles	Equal variances assumed	.352	4	.743	14.667	41.683	-101.063	130.396
	Equal variance not assumed	.352	3.298	.746	14.667	41.683	-111.452	140.786

8.12 Appendix 12. Independent Sample T-Test, Frequency of Frames between DPG Media and Mediahuis

Before the independent sample t-tests were performed, this research performed a check of normality (Shapiro-Wilk) and homogeneity of variances (Levene's Test for Equality of Variances). Levene's test showed equal variances for the frequency of humanitarian, security, humanizing frames and other between DPG Media and Mediahuis respectively ( $F = .151, p = .717$ ), ( $F = .000, p = 1.000$ ), ( $F = 1.877, p = .243$ ) and ( $F = 2.419, p = .195$ ). The Shapiro-Wilk test did not show evidence of non-normality in the data on the frequency of humanitarian frames of DPG Media ( $W(3) = .990, p = .806$ ) and Mediahuis ( $W(3) = .930, p = .490$ ), data on the frequency of security frames of DPG Media ( $W(3) = .999, p = .927$ ) and Mediahuis ( $W(3) = .812, p = .144$ ), data on the frequency of humanizing frames of DPG Media ( $W(3) = .957, p = .600$ ) and Mediahuis ( $W(3) = .964, p = .637$ ), and data on the frequency of other of DPG Media ( $W(3) = .900, p = .385$ ) and Mediahuis ( $W(3) = .964, p = .637$ ).

Table 2A. Levene's Test for Equality of Variances

	F	Sig.
Frequency of humanitarian frame	.151	.717
Frequency of security frame	.000	1.000
Frequency of humanizing frame	1.877	.243
Frequency of other	2.419	.195

Table 2B. Shapiro-Wilk Test of Normality

	Owner	Statistic (W)	df	Sig.
Frequency of humanitarian frame	DPG Media	.990	3	.806
	Mediahuis	.930	3	.490

Frequency of security frame	DPG Media	.999	3	.927
	Mediahuis	.812	3	.144
Frequency of humanizing frame	DPG Media	.957	3	.600
	Mediahuis	.964	3	.637
Frequency of other	DPG Media	.900	3	.385
	Mediahuis	.964	3	.637

Table 2C. Independent Samples T-Test Results

	Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
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Frequency of humanitarian frame	DPG Media	3	11.00	8.544	4.933
	Mediahuis	3	16.00	9.849	5.686
Frequency of security frame	DPG Media	3	9.67	7.506	4.333
	Mediahuis	3	11.33	6.658	3.844
Frequency of humanizing frame	DPG Media	3	9.33	9.713	5.608
	Mediahuis	3	8.00	4.583	2.646
Frequency of other	DPG Media	3	64.67	37.421	21.605
	Mediahuis	3	46.00	18.330	10.583

Table 2D. Independent Samples T-Test

t-test for Equality of Means								
							95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		t	df	Sig (2-tailed)	Mean difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
Frequency of humanitarian frame	Equal variances assumed	-.664	4	.543	-5.000	7.528	-25.900	15.900
	Equal variance not assumed	-.664	3.922	.544	-5.000	7.528	-26.066	16.066
Frequency of security frame	Equal variances assumed	-.288	4	.788	-1.667	5.793	-17.750	14.416

	Equal variance not assumed	-.288	3.944	.788	-1.667	5.793	-17.840	14.507
Frequency of humanizing frame	Equal variances assumed	.215	4	.840	1.333	6.200	-15.882	18.548
	Equal variance not assumed	.215	2.848	.844	1.333	6.200	-19.007	21.673
Frequency of other	Equal variances assumed	.776	4	.481	18.667	24.058	-48.128	86.462
	Equal variance not assumed	.776	2.908	.496	18.667	24.058	-59.292	96.626

8.13 Appendix 13. Pearson's Correlation Coefficient, Rates of [...] and Frequency of the Security Frame

		Rates of [...]	Frequency of Security Frame
Rates of [...]	Pearson Correlation	1	.232
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.659
	N	6	6
Frequency of security frame	Pearson Correlation	.232	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.659	
	N	6	6

8.14 Appendix 14. Spearman's Rank Correlation, Use of Frames (Security, Humanitarian and Humanizing Frames Combined) and the Level of Dramatization Bias

This research performed a Spearman's Rank correlation to evaluate the relationship between the use of frames (security, humanitarian, and humanizing frames combined) and the level of dramatization. This research combined the three frames instead of analyzing them separately, due to the prevalence of high levels of dramatization in all three frames.

		Use of the three frames combined	Dramatization bias
Use of the three frames combined	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.298
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<0.001
	N	528	528
Dramatization bias	Pearson Correlation	.298	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<0.001	
	N	528	528

8.15 Appendix 15. Spearman's Rank Correlation, Use of Frames (Security, Humanitarian and Humanizing Frames Combined) and the Level of Personalization Bias

This research performed a Spearman's Rank correlation to evaluate the relationship between the use of frames (security, humanitarian, and humanizing frames combined) and the level of personalization. This research combined the three frames instead of analyzing them separately, due to the prevalence of high levels of personalization in all three frames.

		Use of the three frames combined	Personalization bias

Use of the three frames combined	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.396
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<0.001
	N	528	528
Personalization bias	Pearson Correlation	.396	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<0.001	
	N	528	528

8.16 Appendix 16. Phi Coefficient, Use of the Security Frame and the Negativity Bias

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.218	<0.001
	Cramer's V	.218	<0.001
N of Valid Cases		528	

8.17 Appendix 17. Cramer's V, Use of Key Topics and Frames

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.521	<0.001
	Cramer's V	.301	<0.001
N of Valid Cases		528	