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# MASTER THESIS

The influence of media representation on the attitude towards refugees

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# Abstract

This research investigated how media representation of a violent conflict influences the attitudes towards refugees in a host country, by using Syria and Yemen as a comparative case study. A literature review on this topic suggested that much research pointed out that media representation influences the attitude, but less information was found on how this exactly influences the attitude. This is problematic because negative attitudes can have negative consequences for people living in the conflict zone and refugees in the host country. The aim of this research was to provide new insights in the connection between media representation and the attitude towards refugees. I focussed on this under-researched topic by answering the question 'How does media representation of a violent conflict influence the attitude towards refugees in a host country?' In order to answer this question, I used mixed-methods, collecting primary quantitative and qualitative data. I investigated the quantity and length of news articles, conducted a critical discourse analysis by analysing the social, discursive and linguistic practice, did a visual data analysis by looking at the images, the production and consumption, and conducted a cross-sectional survey among Dutch people.

The results show that the media has an influence on the attitudes towards refugees through the gained knowledge about the conflict. Less media coverage lead to less knowledge, which thereafter lead to more negative attitudes towards refugees obtaining a residence permit and the willingness to donate money. Moreover, media representation is largely in line with the gained knowledge of the responders regarding the conflicts.

Even though it is beyond the scope of this research to make conclusions about the general attitude towards refugees in the Netherlands, the results give new insights, which contribute to filling the gap in the literature. I recommend including experiences of refugees with the attitude towards themselves in the host country. Furthermore, future research should investigate who/what determines what is represented in the news.

# Acknowledgements

When I started preparing and writing my master thesis, we were in the middle of the corona pandemic. All my lectures, working groups and supervision sessions were taking place online. Every day, I sat at the same desk, in the same room, with the same view and with the same people (my parents). This was definitely not how I imagined what my master year would look like; I did not even meet most of my fellow students in real life. However, I am happy that I am surrounded by family and friends who have motivated me to work hard during this time. They have supported me and always believed that I was able to finish my master before summer. I am very thankful for their involvement in the process. Even though it was a strange schoolyear for everybody, I want to complement the teachers and other staff how they have handled the situation. It was very difficult to switch from teaching in a large lecture hall to online classes, but I think they did a great job. I have enjoyed the online courses and I learned a lot. Especially the course 'Terrorisme: Beeld en Werkelijkheid', which I followed during my pre-master inspired me to write my master thesis about media/journalism. Also my two favourite books – 'Het zijn net Mensen' from Joris Luyendijk (2006) and 'Op zoek naar de Vijand: het verhaal van een terrorist die een vriend wilde zijn' written by Bette Dam (2019) enhanced my interest in this topic.

I want to thank the following persons who have in a way contributed to the process. Firstly, I want to thank by family and friends. Secondly, I want to thank my supervisor Neta-Paulina Wagner, who really helped me to prepare for my master thesis and to take the right steps. Her critical and supportive comments helped me to finalise my thesis during the final stages of my writings. Thirdly, I want to thank my mentor at my internship at Weekblad Regio Oss. I am very happy that I was able to gain experience at a journalistic medium. As I am very interested in journalism, I was very pleased that I could do my internship at a local newspaper. I have talked to many different people, conducted numerous interviews and wrote interesting articles. My input was very appreciated and I was able to write about topics to my interest. I wrote for example about the life experiences of Syrian refugees in the region, a member of the Parliament (Henk van Gerven from the SP) and about education (because I also graduated as a Geography teacher at the Hogeschool van Arnhem en Nijmegen).

I was able to bring my two biggest interests together: geography and journalism. Hopefully I am able to continue this in my future job.

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# 1. Introduction

News in the media is frequently seen as the reality and the truth, but it is actually a representation of the reality, described from a certain perspective (Romero-Trillo, 2011). Consumers who watch or read the news, are hardly aware of the bias, political agendas and judgements behind the news (D'Alessio, 2003). According to Dutch research, 18% of the sample trusts the media a lot and 49% of the sample somewhat trusts the media. This comes down to two-third of the responders (Pew Research Center, 2018). The Netherlands is largely characterised by relatively high levels of trust in the media and little concern about fake news (Costera Meijer, & Groot Kormelink, n.d.). Thus, consumers are often not aware of the influence media has on their opinion (DAlessio, 2003).

However, in reality media is colouring and filtering representations of the world (Luyendijk, 2006). Media representation has an influence on the public opinion, as the CNN Effect and Manufacturing consent school state (Robinson, 1999; Wintonick, 1994). Journalists often have to make choices what to present in the media and what not. Moreover, it is very difficult for them to remain neutral and provide objective information to its consumers (Luyendijk, 2006). Every day, an average of 63% of the Dutch population watch the NOS news on television (NOS, 2019). Furthermore, around 45% of the Dutch population is regularly visiting the news sites of AD, NOS and Nu.nl (NOBO, 2020). For these consumers, it is important to bring increased awareness about the bias, political agendas, judgements behind the news and the influence it has on their opinion.

A literature review on this topic suggests that much research can be found on how media representation of certain countries, conflicts or groups of people looks like – for example the War on Terror (Shepherd, 2008; Passavant, & Dean, 2001; McSweeney, 2014). Existing research argues that media representation influences the public opinion, however, less information can be found on how this exactly influences the public opinion and attitudes. This is problematic because negative attitudes towards refugees can have negative consequences for people living in the conflict zone and refugees in the host country. For this reason, this thesis focusses on the under-researched topic. The aim of this research is to give new insights in the connection between media representation and the attitude towards refugees, which contribute to filling the gap.

In addition, the attitudes are also felt by refugees, for instance three Syrian refugees who I interviewed separately during my internship at a local newspaper. They all expressed that they feel sad that some Dutch people are against refugees. "We did not come to the Netherlands without a reason. We did not have a choice, it was too dangerous" they mentioned. "I hope that people will understand our reasons one day." One of the refugees explained where – in her opinion – this negative attitude towards refugees comes from: "It is because of how we (refugees) are portrayed in the media." Thus, according to her, media representation of refugees has a negative influence on the attitude towards them.

To fill the gap in the literature and to investigate the problem experienced by the refugees, I am going to answer the research question 'How does media representation of a violent conflict influence the attitude towards refugees in a host country?' In order to answer the research question, the following sub-question have been formulated:

(1) How does the media coverage and representation of a violent conflict look like?

(2) What are the attitudes towards refugees in the host country?

(3) How is the representation of a violent conflict connected to the attitude towards refugees in a host country?

To answer the sub-questions and research question, I take a mixed-methods approach, collecting primary quantitative and qualitative data. Firstly, I investigate the social, discursive and linguistic practice by doing a critical discourse analysis. Secondly, I study the visual data by doing a visual data analysis. And lastly, I conduct a cross-sectional survey among people in the host country. I apply Galtung's theory about peace and war journalism in this research (Galtung, 1998). War journalism is used regularly in the media compared to peace journalism, which fails to understand the subjective reality of the 'other' (dehumanisation) and often ignores the causes of the conflict (Galtung, 1998). To examine how the media representation of a violent conflict looks like, it is relevant to know if the representation of a violent conflict can be framed as war or peace journalism. This can have an influence on the perception and opinion towards the conflict.

Furthermore, I elaborate on the CNN Effect and Manufacturing consent school. Both theories state that the media has an influence on the public opinion (see figure 1 and 2) (Robinson, 1999; Wintonick, 1994). Both theories are suitable and relevant to elaborate on in this research, because I investigate how media representation influences the public opinion and attitude among society.

I choose to analyse the media representation of Syrian and Yemeni refugees in the Dutch media as the comparative case study in the above-described research. The conflicts in Syria and Yemen are both two high intensity wars active in 2020 (Statista, 2019) and in addition are two of the deathliest wars of the 21$^{st}$ century. The Netherlands is (indirectly) engaged in both conflicts, for instance through weapon trade, providing aid and taking in refugees (DRA, 2020; Eurostat, 2021). According to the Manufacturing consent school, this engagement influences the media coverage (Wintonick, 1994). Focussing on the media coverage of both conflicts, a clear difference becomes visible. The quantity of media coverage can influence the knowledge about a conflict, which therefore can have an effect on the attitude towards refugees from the conflict zone. Syria receives relatively more attention in Dutch media compared to Yemen. This becomes obvious when looking at the media coverage at the AD, the Dutch news site with the biggest range (NOBO, 2020); 10.706 articles are written about Syria in contrast to only 1.097 articles about Yemen till April 2021. Therefore Yemen is frequently called 'de vergeten oorlog' (the forgotten war) by numerous news mediums (Shaif, 2017).

Because of the intensity of the conflicts, the differences in media coverage and the Dutch engagement in both countries, I choose to investigate these two countries as the case study of this research.

This research consists of seven chapters. The first chapter is this introduction, in which the social and scientific relevance is explained. Chapter 2 discusses the relevant literature and theories on the topic. Chapter 3 provides background information on the conflicts in Syria and Yemen, the Dutch engagement in both conflict and Syrian and Yemeni refugees in the Netherlands. Chapter 4 explains the methodology of this research. The results of the analysis are presented in chapter 5. Chapter 6 provides a discussion, reflection and suggestions for further research. The conclusion is drawn in the last chapter, by answering the sub-questions and the main research question.

# 2. Literature & Theoretical Framework

*This chapter provides an overview of the relevant theories, current debates of importance and findings present in the literature. Firstly, I start with describing problems in today's journalism. Secondly, I provide information on the social and discursive practice in which the articles are produced, distributed and consumed. After that, I focus on the influence of media by discussing the CNN Effect and Manufacturing consent school. And lastly, I explore Galtung's theory on peace and war journalism.*

## 2.1. Journalism versus the whole picture

Through media consumers have access to information from all over the world, from local news in the Netherlands to international news. A lot of the consumers who watch or read the news, are hardly aware of the bias, political agendas and judgements behind the news (D'Alessio, 2003) and the stereotyping of certain people or areas. According to research of the Pew Research Center, a big part of the Dutch population states that they think the media is trustworthy, honest and accountable (Pew Research Center, 2018). According to this research, 18% of the sample trusts the media a lot and 49% of the sample somewhat trusts the media. This comes down to two-third of the responders. Especially the NOS is trusted by the majority of the sample, namely 89%. Also other Dutch news sites rank high when it comes to trust. For instance, Nu.nl is trusted by 74% of the sample and AD is trusted by 66% of the sample (Pew Research Center, 2018). This means that those consumers are often not too critical about media and as a result take the news as facts. Moreover, the media is frequently seen as a kind of public 'watchdog' (D'Alessio, 2003). In particular the Netherlands is characterised by high levels of trust in the media and little concern about fake news (Costera Meijer, & Groot Kormelink, n.d.).

However, looking at the reality, media is regularly colouring and filtering representations of the world (Luyendijk, 2006). Only certain parts of the reality can be represented in the media, generally written from a Western perspective. Furthermore, journalists have to face difficult choices and problems when striving to provide consumers with trustworthy information. It is impossible for them to be everywhere and hear everything. This means that they have to make choices what to present in the news and what not (Luyendijk, 2006). Joris Luyendijk mentions in his book 'Het zijn net mensen' (2006) that there is a gap between what he saw as a correspondent in the Middle East and what he was able to show in the media. Also journalist Bette Dam describes in her book 'Op zoek naar de vijand: het verhaal van een terrorist die een vriend wilde zijn' (2019) how she was only reporting on terrorist attacks, bombing and violence in Kabul, while in the meantime the biggest part of the city lived in silence and peace. This made it seem like the whole city – and even the whole country – was under attack. However, in reality they were often only individual incidents (Dam, 2019). This shows that the media represents another, incomplete image of the Middle East than what the reality looks like.

Luyendijk (2006) also mentions the 'wet van de schaar' (the law of the scissor). The concept describes that television journalism reduces the content in the media to what is filmable. In other words, events of which no visual footage is available, are frequently not presented in the media. It is often more challenging to gain facts about a conflict zone or dictatorship (Luyendijk, 2006). This is one of the reasons why Yemen receives less media coverage than Syria; it is very difficult for journalists to enter Yemen due to the restrictions (Shaif, 2017), causing less visual footage of the conflict. This gives a

distorted image of the whole picture in the world. Because a lot of Dutch citizens trust the media (Pew Research Center, 2018), they will believe that the image represented by the media is the truth. Believing in the incomplete image of the Middle East described above can lead to misconceptions and stereotyping (Shepherd, 2008). This, in turn, can influence the attitude towards refugees in a host country, which I investigate in this research.

Furthermore, the words picked by the journalists are an important factor when creating an image of the reality. Luyendijk (2006) takes the conflict between Israel and Palestine as an example. He argues that it was sometimes very difficult to name the fighting groups; should he call the one actor Israeli, Jewish or Zionists? And should he call the other actor Palestinians, Muslims or Arabs? He also struggled with naming the places the actors live; should he call it villages or (illegal) settlements? And is the area occupied, disputed or liberated? Luyendijk (2006) concludes that neutral words do not exist. The words picked by the journalists largely determine how the public sees the situation (Luyendijk, 2006). The quote 'One person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter' illustrates what Luyendijk is seeking to explain. Words are never neutral and it is therefore hard for journalists to remain objective. They have to be aware of their chosen words, because it can have an impact on the perceptions and images people have of the conflict zone (Luyendijk, 2006).

## 2.2. Social and discursive context

The linguistic practice, the textual form of news articles used in the media, is produced in a broader social context (Gee, 2005). An important part of the critical discourse analysis are the social and discursive practice of the articles, as the articles are produced in this context, which cannot be separated (Gee, 2005). It is necessary to investigate the social and discursive practice, because they influence the inner dimension, the linguistic practice. For this reasons, I analyse the social context and the production, distribution and consumption (discursive context) of the news articles and the visual data related to the text (Rose, 2007).

After 9/11, the border security in Europe scaled up massively. People felt the need to create a safe place, protected from the outside world. People wanted to control the movements of others coming in and out more than ever (Everaest, 2019). As a result, it became almost impossible to enter a country without the legal documents, visa and a strict security check at the border or airport. The framing and media representation of the War on Terror created more fear in the Western world against 'Arabic terrorists' and led to a 'us versus them' feeling. People from the Middle East and Africa were often represented as dangerous, irrational, religious extremists or terrorists without political agenda (Jackson, et.al., 2011). Dutch media – and elsewhere in Europe – spent relatively a lot of media coverage on Islamic terrorist attacks in the Western world. In reality, Europe experiences more right-wing terrorist attacks (CSIS, 2020). Even though, most Europeans began to perceive Islamic Arabs as the biggest threat.

In 2015, as the wars in Syria and Yemen continued as a result of the Arabic Spring, the so called 'refugee crisis' towards Europe started. From this moment, migration towards Europe became a high security matter (Veebel, & Markus, 2015). More refugees tried to make the crossing by boat to Europe, which

was an enormous challenge for the security sector. Since then, most of these refugees came from Syria, followed by refugees from Iran, Eritrea, Turkey, Nigeria and Morocco (VluchtelingenWerk, 2020). The media represented this flow of refugees as a tsunami, mostly from Arabic and African countries, which would flood all over Europe. A lot of Europeans saw the flow of refugees as a big threat, whereby they would become strangers in their own country, because of the 'massive' number of refugees coming to Europe. Almost every day, the Europeans viewed images of people on boats crossing the Mediterranean Sea towards 'their' homes, taking all 'their' jobs.

During that time, most refugees traveling to Europe came from Syria (VluchtelingenWerk, 2020). Much media coverage was spent on this conflict. Thus, besides the refugee crisis, also the Syrian civil war received much media attention. A large number of news articles were written about the developing situation in Syria, the attacks, the fighting actors and the foreign involvement. Because of this, a lot of Dutch citizens learned about the conflict and gained more knowledge about it (Opgenhaffen, 2007). Moreover, at the same time, numerous articles – including visual data – were published about the terrorist organisation Islamic State, terrorist attacks and numerous other conflicts, such as the Yemeni war. These conflicts and events did not receive as much attention as the Syrian civil war, which might have resulted in less knowledge among society (Opgenhaffen, 2007).

The media coverage concerning violent attacks and terrorist organisations such as Islamic State strengthened the feeling of fear and threat towards Islamic Arabs. The 'us versus them' feeling became stronger among many parts of the Western population. This has led to stereotyping and misconceptions towards refugees who were traveling to Europe (Veebel, & Markus, 2015).

In the years that followed, multiple terrorist attacks were carried out in Europe, such as Paris, Brussels and Manchester. These attacks "confirmed" the misconceptions and stereotypes about Islamic Arabs presented in the media. As one of the refugees mentioned during our interview for my internship, these misconceptions and stereotypes are the reason why the attitude and opinion of a part of the Dutch population are negative towards refugees.

The Dutch population and its politicians were – and still are – very divided when it comes to this discussion. Some political parties, such as the PVV, are strict against migration to the Netherlands, while other parties, such as GroenLinks and D66 are arguing for a more humane migration policy. This shows that Dutch population is divided when it comes to their attitude towards refugees and migration.

The news articles regarding Syria and Yemen were produced, distributed and consumed in the above-described social context. This is called the discursive context or discursive practice. It is an important dimension of critical discourse analysis and visual data analysis, as it influences the linguistic practice and the related visual data (Gee, 2005; Rose, 2007).

Firstly, the articles and images were produced. The news articles from AD, NOS and Nu.nl which I used for this research have the purpose to inform the population about the daily situation in the world. The processes of production can differ per article. When an event happened, the news medium first has to gain information about the specific country or event. They can do this via the correspondents and/or photographers at the location, an (inter)national press agency, other news medium, press releases from a government or company, etcetera. (NOS, 2018). After gaining the necessary information, the

journalist or editor wrote the article or made a news report about it. Thereafter, the article is spread among the different platforms.

The images used in the articles can be made by different people: photographers or journalists who work for the news medium, foreign workers – for example working for an aid organisation – or local people living in the area. They were often eyewitnesses of the events in the country. During the last decades, the images of eyewitnesses have served to inform about the violence of the authority in their country (Mortensen, 2014). Digital technology has made it a lot easier to share photos around the world. Because of that, eyewitnesses' images became more important in nowadays media (Mortensen, 2014). Some of the pictures are not produced because of a specific event; sometimes images can be reused when they are most suitable for the article.

Second, the articles and related visual data were distributed by the news mediums. As described in section 4.3., the AD, NOS and Nu.nl use different platforms to spread their news, for instance via their websites, newspaper, television and social media. By using different platforms, the news sites are able to spread their content among a large part of Dutch society.

Third, after the distribution of the news articles and the related images, it was consumed by the consumers; the Dutch society. As mentioned before, the articles were meant for everyone in the Netherlands (and beyond) who wanted to know more about what was happening in the world. Information about various topics from all over the world was shared. In the case of articles regarding Syria and Yemen, people who wanted to know more about the conflicts in the Middle East would read these texts. The articles were read by a various audience with different ages, genders, political colours and residence (Pew Research Center, 2018)

The used images underpin the textual aspects of the article and make it stronger. The media tried to shock people in the Western world by using certain images as a way of showing them the reality (Volkskrant, 2016). This is the reason why media regularly show armed, dangerous fighters or sick, weak children; those pictures make the most impact on other people (Volkskrant, 2016).

## 2.3. The influence of media on public opinion

Besides the statements made by Luyendijk (2006), different theories can be found which argue that the media influences the public opinion. For instance, the CNN Effect and the Manufacturing consent school both theorise that the news influences the public opinion. However, whether the public opinion influences the government or the government influences the news, is viewed differently.

Representation can produce meaning through text, photographs, images, etc. (Shepherd, 2008). This representation can lead to misconceptions and stereotyping, which can have consequences for the country, conflict and/or people that are represented. For example, the aid a country receives or the migration policy regarding refugees from a specific country. The CNN Effect



Gilboa, E. (2005). The CNN effect: The search for a communication theory of international relations. *Political Communication, 22(1), 27-44.*

Figure 1, CNN Effect (Source: Gilboa, 2005)

states that news has an influence on foreign policy through the public opinion (see figure 1) (Robinson,

1999). For instance, people feel more morally responsible to help when there are multiple different reports and news items regarding that particular conflict zone. This puts pressure on the government to send money and aid to the conflict zone (Robinson, 1999). Inversely, this means that if a country does not receive as much media coverage, people will feel less morally responsible to help. This, in turn, leads to less pressure on the government to send money and aid to the conflict zone, which can have great consequences for the people living in the conflict zones.

In addition, it is noteworthy to mention that there exists another, contrasting, theory that tries to explain the relationship between media and foreign policy. This theory is called the Manufacturing consent school and was founded by Noam Chomsky (Wintonick, 1994). It argues the opposite of the CNN Effect: the government uses the media to influence the public opinion (see figure 2). It states that the media reports news according to the interests of political elites (Robinson, 1999), which then influences the public opinion of its population. For instance, when political elites have interests in a specific country, the news will report on the events happening in that country. This news reports, in turn, will influence the public opinion of the population. Thus, elites can use the media as an instrument to gain support for war and intervention in the country of interest (Wintonick, 1994).

It remains difficult for researchers to fully understand the link between media and foreign policy, and thereby which theory is more accurate in reality. For example, on the one hand, journalists often do not want to admit if they are influenced or steered by the political elite. On the other hand, the political elites and policy makers do not easily admit their influence on/by the media as well. This leaves both theories disputed. However, I believe that not one theory is more accurate than the other. In fact, I believe that the theories can be combined in one triangle or circle: news influences the public opinion – as Luyendijk (2006) argued as well – which influences the government, which thereafter influences the news (see figure 2). The media and journalists largely determine what is on the news (Luyendijk, 2006). However, I believe that the interests of the government play an important role as well (Wintonick, 1994).



Blue = CNN Effect
Green = Manufacturing consent school
Yellow = Hypothesis
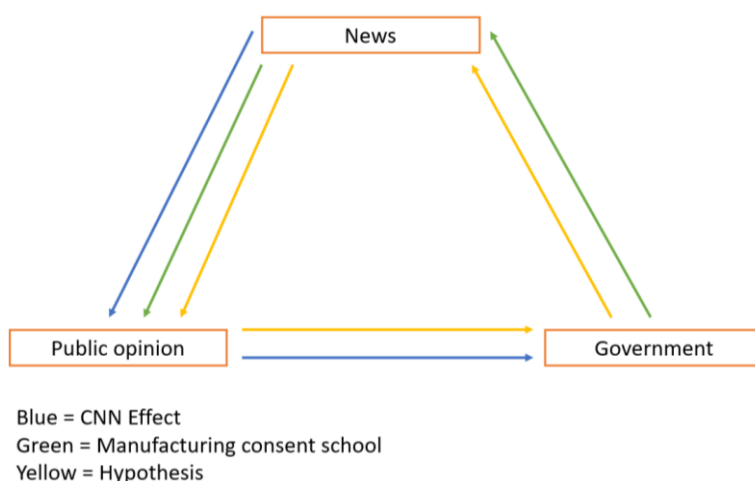
Figure 2, Visualisation influence media

In this research, I focus on two aspects of the CNN Effect and Manufacturing consent school: the news and the public opinion. Both theories are relevant for this research because they confirm that the

media influences the attitude and opinion (Robinson, 1999; Wintonick, 1994). I elaborate and build on the theories by investigating how the news influences the public opinion. Therefore I do not research the role of the government – as both theories do – because I only focus on the media and attitudes.

## 2.4. Galtung's peace and war journalism

As mentioned in the previous section, according to the Manufacturing consent school the media can be used as an instrument to gain support of war and intervention by the political elites (Wintonick, 1994). Media can therefore be a way to spread propaganda, which influences the attitude and behaviour towards the elite's interests (Historiek, n.d.). This is one of the reasons why Johan Galtung – one of the most important founders of peace and conflict studies – criticises the so-called regular 'war journalism'. Besides propaganda, he argues that war journalism among other things frequently focusses on elites, emphasizes differences between the actors, fails to understand the subjective reality of the 'other' (dehumanisation), has a bias towards violence and ignores the underlaying causes of the conflict (see figure 3). This characterisation lead people to believe that violence is the only option or solution for the conflict (Galtung, 1998), such as the Syrian and Yemeni wars. As shown in the visualisation of war journalism in figure 3, these characteristics can lead people to be more supportive for a violent response. As a result, war journalism frequently contributes to violence and will less frequently lead to a non-violent solution. This framing, in turn, influences the perceptions and attitude towards the conflict, the actions that need to be taken and the refugees from the conflict zone (Galtung, 1998). This has a clear connection to this research, as I investigate how media representation of a violent conflict – for example as peace or war journalism – influences the attitude towards refugees. For this reason, it is relevant to examine if the representation of the case studies Syria and Yemen can be framed as peace and war journalism and how this influences the attitudes.



Figure 3, Way in which war journalism induces support military intervention (Source: Neijenhuis, 2014)

According to Galtung, journalism should contribute to solving the conflict and promoting peace instead of contributing to violence responses. As a result of his criticism towards the regular war journalism, he proposed an alternative called 'peace journalism'. In contrast to war journalism, Galtung's alternative peace journalism focusses more on peace initiatives, less emphasizes the ethic and religious differences between actors, gives a voice to people, focusses more on the causes and promotes reconciliation. By doing so, peace journalism makes people think more about non-violent responses to the conflict (Galtung, 1998). This will lead to less violence and more alternative responses.

Galtung's peace journalism provides tools to critically analyse existing reports about conflicts, by looking at the peace and war frames of a report (see figure 4). These indicators are used by various researches to examine the features of media representation regarding a violent conflict. Researchers can use these characteristics of peace and war journalism to investigate if a certain article or news site provides more peace-oriented or war-oriented news (Galtung, 1998). The indicators of peace and war journalism are divided in four main indicators. Firstly, it is important to ask the question if the media coverage is peace/conflict-oriented or war/violence-oriented. This can be examined by looking at for example if conflict formation, all parties and goals are explored, 'us-them' journalism or giving voice to all parties, humanisation of all sides or dehumanisation of 'them', proactive or reactive attitude, etcetera. Second, media coverage can be truth-oriented or propaganda-oriented, as discussed in the previous paragraph. During the analysis, the researcher should investigate if all cover-ups are uncovered and if the untruths on all sides are exposed. Thirdly, it has to be determined if the media coverage is people-oriented or elite-oriented. For instance if it focusses on suffering all over or only 'our' suffering, on people peacemakers or elite peacemakers, etcetera. Lastly, media coverage of a violent conflict can be solution-oriented or victory-oriented. Solution-oriented media coverage focuses on non-violent and creative solutions to create peace, while victory-oriented media coverage focuses on victory and warfare to create peace. It is also relevant to ask the question if the media coverage focusses on highlighting peace initiatives or concealing peace initiatives and if it focuses on the structure, culture and peaceful society or on treaty, institutions and the controlled society (Galtung, 1998).

Galtung's theory of peace and war journalism is very relevant, because it helps to answer the first sub-question on how the media representation of a violent conflict looks like. This theory focusses on this matter as it examines how media representation of a violent conflict is framed. The tools (figure 4) help to investigate the framing of the articles, which in turn have an influence on the perceptions of the conflict that is written about.

| PEACE/CONFLICT JOURNALISM | WAR/VIOLENCE JOURNALISM |
|---|---|
| **I Peace/conflict-orientated**<br>• explore conflict *formation*, *x* parties, *y* goals, *z* issues, general 'win, win' orientation<br>• open space, open time; causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture<br>• making conflicts transparent<br>• giving voice to all parties; empathy and understanding<br>• see conflict/war as a problem, focus on conflict creativity<br>• humanization of all sides; more so the worse the weapon<br>• *proactive*; prevention before any violence/war occurs<br>• focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture) | **I War/violence-orientated**<br>• focus on conflict arena, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war general zero-sum orientation<br>• closed space, closed time, causes and exits in arena, who threw the first stone<br>• making wars opaque/secret<br>• 'us-them' journalism, propaganda, voice, for 'us'<br>• see 'them' as the problem, focus on who prevails in war<br>• dehumanization of 'them', more so the worse the weapon<br>• *reactive*: waiting for violence before reporting<br>• focus only on visible effects of violence (killed, wounded and material damage) |
| **II Truth-orientated**<br>• expose untruths on all sides<br>• uncover all cover-ups | **II Propaganda-orientated**<br>• expose 'their' untruths<br>• help 'our' cover-ups/lies |
| **III People-orientated**<br>• focus on suffering all over; on women, the aged, children, giving voice to the voiceless<br>• give name to all evil-doers<br>• focus on people peacemakers | **III Elite-orientated**<br>• focus on our suffering; on able-bodied elite males, being their mouthpiece<br>• give name to their evil-doers<br>• focus on elite peacemakers |
| **IV Solution-orientated**<br>• peace = non-violence + creativity<br>• highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war<br>• focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society<br>• aftermath: resolution, reconstruction, reconciliation | **IV Victory-orientated**<br>• peace = victory + ceasefire<br>• conceal peace initiatives, before victory is at hand<br>• focus on treaty, institution, the controlled society<br>• leaving for another war, return if the old war flares up again |

Figure 4, Indicators of peace and war journalism (Source: Ottosen, 2010)

It can be concluded that peace journalism has various positive aspects as it contributes to more non-violent responses to a conflict. As peace journalism frames conflicts in a different way than war journalism, it can change the perceptions towards the conflict. This, in turn, can influence people's attitude, which I investigate in this research.

As promising as Galtung's peace journalism might seem, there is also criticism towards this alternative form of journalism (Ottosen, 2010). Firstly, peace journalism has failed to become a popular mainstream approach in nowadays media. Newspapers are still most likely to use war frames, such as the victory- or propaganda-oriented indicators shown in figure 4. This often contributes to more violent responses in the represented country. Secondly, peace journalism has a bias towards peace and is often not objective. Objectivity is a very important value when writing about different events in

a conflict zone or dictatorship (Luyendijk 2006), but peace journalism fails to observe a conflict 'from the sidelines'; it is often not neutral. Because objectivity is such an important value, news media are less likely to use peace frames. In addition, peace journalism frequently underestimates the visual aspects of war journalism and the effect it has on the audience. For example, images of fighters, weapons and bombings, or sick wounded children – which are often depicted in images – make a lot of impact on the consumers (Ottosen, 2010). The media tries to shock people as a way of showing the reality in certain countries (Volkskrant, 2016), such as Syria and Yemen.

Despite these critiques, I choose to apply Galtung's theory on peace and war journalism in this research, because it contributes to investigate what the media representation of a violent conflict looks like. Framing a conflict as peace or war journalism can affect people's perceptions and image regarding the conflict zone, and therefore influence the attitude towards refugees. For this reason, I apply this theory in this research.

# 3. Overview Syria and Yemen

*As this research uses the media representation of Syria and Yemen in Dutch media as a comparative case study, this section provides a brief overview of both conflicts. First, I provide an overview of the historical background of conflicts in Syria and Yemen. Second, the Dutch (indirect) engagement in both countries is discussed. And third, I zoom in on the Netherlands as host country for Syrian and Yemeni refugees.*

## 3.1. Yemeni war

The conflict in Yemen is a highly complicated proxy war (Dutch Relief Alliance, n.d.). Multiple internal and external actors are involved, such as the Houthis, the Yemeni government and army, the Southern movement, rivals Iran and Saudi Arabia, the International coalition and Al Qaeda/ISIS. The timeline below (figure 5) shows the most important events before and during the Yemeni war.
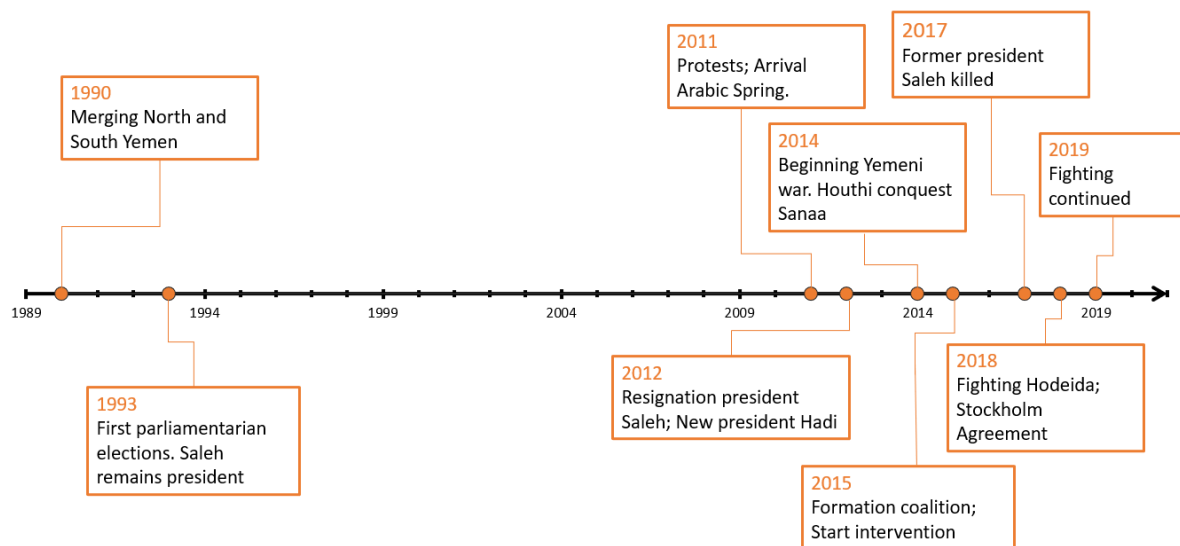


Figure 5, Timeline of Yemen

## 3.1.1. Formation Republic of Yemen

Before 1990, Yemen was divided in two parts: North and South Yemen. South Yemen had been a British colony and protectorate for more than eighty years (1888 – 1967), while North Yemen had been a part of the Ottoman Empire till 1918 and became independent after that. The former North-Yemen has known multiple wars. The tensions regarding the unmarked border between Saudi-Arabia and North-Yemen led to the Saudi-Yemeni war in 1934. After the formation of the Yemeni Arabic Republic by the republicans in 1962, a further war followed in North-Yemen between loyalists (supported by Saudi-Arabia) and the republicans (supported by Egypt) (Brehony, 2015).

The president of the Northern part of Yemen, Ali Abdullah Saleh, wanted to unite North and South Yemen as one country. At that time, South-Yemen was a communist state, but after 1889, when the Soviet Union lost a lot of power, this aggregation seemed possible. On May 22, 1990, North and South Yemen became officially one nation state: the Republic of Yemen. Ali Abdullah Saleh became the first president of the Republic of Yemen (Brehony, 2015).

## 3.1.2. Yemen before the Yemeni war

After the aggregation of Yemen, tensions concerning the deviation of political power among the Northern and Southern part of Yemen arose. The first parliamentarian elections took place in 1993, however the power between north and south was not fairly divided; only 20% of the southern politicians was given a seat in the Yemeni parliament. As a result, the southern Yemenis felt occulated by the north (Brehony, 2015). Former president Saleh won the first elections in 1993 as well as the second elections in 1999. The opposition is still in doubt about the trustworthy of these elections (Dorcas, 2019).

The tensions rose even higher after 2011, when the Arab Spring arrived in Yemen. A lot of Yemeni citizens – including the Houthis – were not pleased about the government and started protests. The Houthis, a Shia movement, had lived in peace with the mainly Sunni population in the north since the 9th century. However, they felt betrayed by president Saleh. The protests among Yemeni society eventually led to the resignation of the former president Saleh in 2012. Abd Rabbuh Mansur Al-Hadi became the new president of Yemen.

During this period of unrest, the terrorist organisation Al Qaeda profited from the instability in the country and gained ground in the eastern part of Yemen (Dorcas, 2019). The Houthis, the Yemeni army, the United States, Saudi-Arabia and the Southern Movement fought against Al Qaeda (Dorcas, 2019). In the years that followed, the Houthis became military more powerful and gained ground in the northwest of Yemen. The movement received support from Iran and the former president Saleh. Saleh thought that he could gain more power by supporting the Shia movement.

## 3.1.3. Chronology of the Yemeni war

In 2014, the march of the Houthi movement towards the southern part of Yemen began. This year is marked as the beginning of the Yemeni civil war. In the same year, the Houthis conquered the capital Sanaa and in the year that followed, they conquered the important city Aden. These conquests led to the fleeing of the president Al-Hadi to Saudi Arabia in that same year (Brehony, 2015).

In March 2015, a number of Arabic countries (UVE, Sudan, Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, Egypt, Jordan and morocco) formed a coalition led by Saudi Arabia, in response to the conquests by the Houthis. These countries mostly provided Saudi Arabia with planes, ships and troops (HuffPost, 2015). The purpose of this intervention was to keep President Hadi in power and to stop the growing power of the Houthis in the south. The mostly Sunni Saudi Arabia was afraid that Yemen would fall under Iranian influence and that the influence of the Shias would increase in the Middle East under the leadership of the Houthis (Sharp, 2017). To counter this, Saudi Arabia supported President Hadi against the Houthi movement. In the months that followed, the coalition and the Houthis carried out multiple attacks. The United Nations tried to mediate between the fighting parties, but without result. Besides soldiers, also many civilians died, according to the United States (Sharp, 2017).

Moreover, in the southern part of Yemen another actor was fighting for its own interests: the Southern Movement. This movement wanted to return to the former independent state of South-Yemen. During the instability in Yemen, this actor gained ground in the southern part of the country (Sharp, 2017).

In 2017, president Saleh ended his support to the Houthis and wanted to talk with the International coalition. The Houthis felt betrayed and killed Saleh in December 2017.

The situation between the Houthis and Saudi Arabia escalated further in 2018. The parties fought for the important city Hodeida in the western part of the country. The UN tried to mediate between the actors. It seemed like the peace negotiations would work out this time; the fighting parties made an agreement on December 31th, 2018, the Stockholm Agreement. This agreement stated that the fighting must end and the parties had to withdraw from Hodeida. In this way, humanitarian aid was able to enter the country. In other parts of the country the war continued, where the Southern Movement, Al Qaeda and ISIS fought for their own goals and interests.

A month after signing the Stockholm Agreement, in the beginning of 2019, the Houthis carried out an attack on an important event of the Yemeni government. The war between the Houthis, the Yemeni government and Saudi Arabia continued after this. In addition, the United States carries out multiple attacks against Al Qaeda and ISIS in the eastern part of Yemen (VRT Nieuws, 2019).

Currently, the actors are still carrying out attacks against each other. It is clear that the negotiations led by the UN have not been enough to resolve the conflict. At the same time, a humanitarian crisis is taking place in Yemen. A lot of Yemenis do not have enough food and drinking water. 80% of the population (24,3 million people) are at risk of hunger and disease, of which around 14,4 million are in acute need of assistance (World Bank, 2020). It is very difficult for humanitarian NGOs to provide aid in Yemen because of the restrictions to import aid goods and services into the country (Metro, 2018).

## 3.2. Syrian war

In Syria an ongoing, violent war is taking place whereby a lot of violence is committed by the various actors, such as pro-Assad groups and the army, the Kurds, various rebellion groups, ISIL, Russia, Turkey and the US. As a result, around 6,6 million Syrian have fled their home country (UNHCR, 2020). The timeline below (figure 6) provides an overview of the most important events before and during the Syrian war.
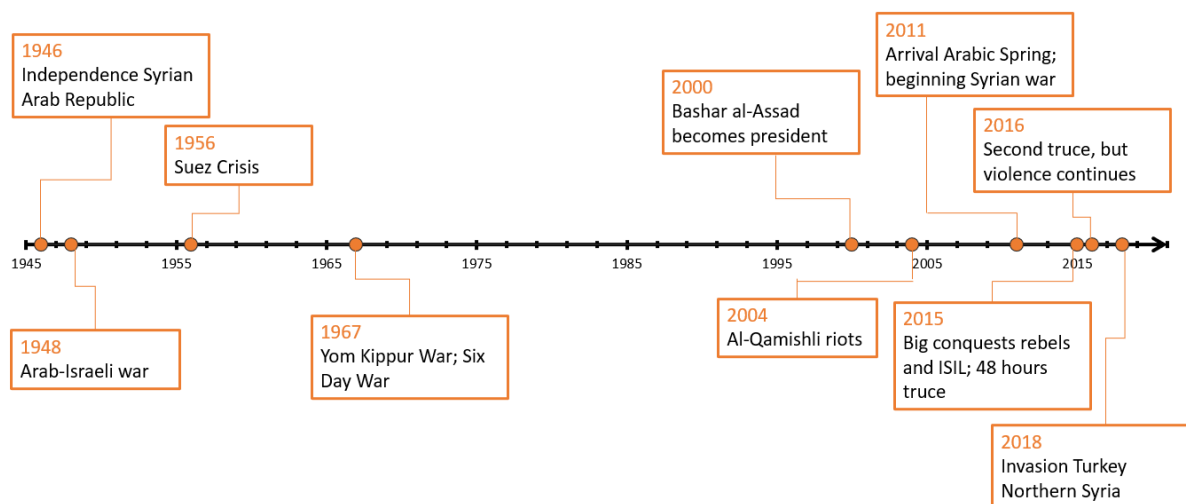


Figure 6, Timeline of Syria

### 3.2.1. Formation of the Syrian Arab Republic

For more than 400 years, from 1516 to 1919, Syria was part of the Ottoman Empire. After one year of independence as the Arab Kingdom of Syria, the kingdom became part of the France colonial empire for 26 years (1920 – 1946). During this period, France and Syria negotiated multiple times about conditions of independence, but the country only became fully independent after World War two, in 1946.

### 3.2.2. Syria before the Syrian war

After the independence of the Syrian Arab Republic, instability followed. Within ten years Syria had twenty different cabinets. Furthermore, Syria was involved in multiple conflicts, such as the Arab-Israeli war – a conflict about the Golan Heights – in 1948 – 1949, the Suez Crisis in 1956, the Six-Day War in 1967, the Yom Kippur War in 1976, the Lebanese civil war in 1976 among others.

The coming into power of president Hafez al-Assad's son Bashar al-Assad in 2000 was initially connected with new hopes of reform of the authoritarian regime of Hafez al-Assad. However, these hopes did not come true. Instead, the instability and tensions within the country rose. Around that same time, the tensions concerning the strong relationship between Syria, Hamas and Hezbollah increased between the United States and Syria. According to the US, the European Union and Israel, Hamas and Hezbollah are both terrorist organisations (Khan, & Khan, 2017).

In 2004, the unrest increased further as a result of the al-Qamishli riots. Kurds protested against the violence carried out by the Syrian government. As well as the Kurds, the dissatisfaction about the government started to grow among other parts of the Syrian society. This feeling of dissatisfaction became more visible after the arrival of the Arabic Spring in 2011 (Bhardwaj, 2012).

### 3.2.3. Chronology of the Syrian war

The arrival of the Arabic Spring in 2011 is seen as the beginning of the Syrian civil war. People went to the streets to protest, which led to shootings by the Syrian army. The protest became more violent and developed into what is known as the Syrian Civil War (Care, n.d.). The Syrian army of president Assad and pro-Assad armed groups fought against the rebels, with the support of Russia. The Syrian army lost more ground as the rebels gained more areas in the country. In 2015, the rebels conquered big parts of the northeast and southeast of Syria. Also the Kurds gained more ground in the country and conquered a big part of the northeast.

During this period of violence, terrorist organisation Islamic State (ISIL) profited from the chaotic situation. They carried out numerous terrorist attacks and conquered a big part of Syria and Iraq. As a result, numerous Syrians fled to other parts of the country, neighbouring countries or Europe (Khan, & Khan, 2017).

As the war continued, more external actors got involved in the conflict, such as Russia, Iran, Turkey and the US. These foreign countries carried out multiple attacks against different enemies in Syria, such as Islamic State. This involvement led to major air attacks and a large death toll (Khan, & Khan, 2017).

Furthermore, the conflict between Israel and Syria continued further, whereby numerous attacks were carried out. The UN tried to mediate between the involved parties and managed to come to an agreement between the actors. This led to a truce, which lasted only for 48 hours.

In 2016, new peace negotiations led by the UN took place. Again, a truce between the government and the opposition followed. After a few weeks, the violence in Syria continued. Numerous attacks with chlorine gas were carried out against Syrian inhabitants, which led to many civilian deaths. Multiple actors accuse the Syrian government of these deathly attacks, but they deny any involvement (Trapp, 2017).

In the meantime, various internal and external actors fought against ISIL. As a result, the once so powerful Islamic State had been reduced to a number of small areas in Syria.

The Kurds – who had fought against ISIL together with other actors – became under attack. In 2018, Turkey invaded northern Syria to fight against the Kurds. Turkey wanted to create a 'buffer zone' for Syrian refugees and gained ground at the Turkish Syrian border. One month after the Turkish invasion, Russia invaded the north as well to fight against the Kurds. In response, the Russian soldiers were beaten back by the US. At the end of this year, President Trump announced that the American soldiers were going to withdraw from Syria because they achieved their goal (New York Times, 2019).

Currently, the war is continuing and there is still no sustainable solution to the conflict. Islamic State is reduced to a few small areas in Syria, but the Syrian government and the opposition are still engaged in the violent civil war. This led to a relatively large flow of refugees to neighbouring countries and Europe (Eurostat, 2021).

## 3.3. Dutch engagement

As mentioned in the introduction, the Netherlands is in multiple ways indirectly engaged in the Syrian and Yemeni wars. Firstly, the Netherlands is indirectly engaged in the conflicts as one of the 193 members of the United Nations since 1945, which tries to negotiate and mediate between fighting actors. Secondly, the Netherlands is one of the leading countries in the export of major weapons between 2016 and 2020 (Statista, 2021). The country's share in the international arms export is 1,9%. This does not seem like much, but the Netherlands is the 11th country when it comes to arms exports (Statista, 2021). It mostly exports arms to the United States and numerous countries in the Middle East, such as Syria and Saudi Arabia. These countries use these weapons in Syria and Yemen among other places (StopWapenhandel, 2018). The weapon trade contributes to the violence in the Syrian and Yemeni civil wars. Therefore, the Netherlands is indirectly military involved in the conflicts.

Thirdly, the Netherlands engages in the conflicts through providing aid. Both Syria and Yemen receive aid from multiple Dutch organisations, such as the Dutch Relief Alliance. The DRA is a coalition of 15 Dutch aid organisations (CARE, Cordaid, Dorcas, Oxfam Novib, Plan International, Help a Child, Save the Children, SOS Children's Villages, Stichting Vluchteling, Tearfund, Terre des Hommes, War Child, World vision and ZOA) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs working together at major international crises (DRA, 2020).

To give an example of the amount of aid both countries receive, figure 7 shows the budget that is spent in both countries by the DRA. While Syria received around 6,9 million euros from the DRA (joint

response Syria and Northwest Syria), Yemen received almost 4,2 million euros in 2019 (DRA, n.d.). The DRA reached more than 170.000 Yemenis and 400.000 Syrians with their responses in 2019 (DRA, 2020). This are two noteworthy differences, in particular taking into account that Yemen has a much bigger population – around 29,2 million people – compared to Syria, which has a population of 17 million people.



| Budget | We've implemented joint responses in FIFTEEN COUNTRIES: | People reached |
|---|---|---|
| 5,146,540 | Afghanistan | 88,665 |
| 2,000,000 | Cameroon | 71,625 |
| 4,436,756 | Central African Republic | 110,330 |
| 5,132,490 | Democratic Republic of Congo | 203,690 |
| 728,811 | Iraq | 131,141 |
| 3,500,000 | Malawi and Mozambique | 133,637 |
| 5,923,341 | Nigeria | 147,388 |
| 6,322,282 | Somalia | 359,613 |
| 6,050,010 | South Sudan | 100,600 |
| 3,638,288 | Sudan | 296,340 |
| 6,914,124 | Syria | 279,952 |
| 3,000,000 | Northwest Syria | 118,135 |
| 602,617 | Ukraine | 9,316 |
| 4,000,000 | Venezuela | 138,990 |
| 4,175,721 | Yemen | 173,518 |
| € 61,570,980 | | 2,362,940 |

Figure 7, Expenses DRA (Source: DRA, 2020)

Lastly, the Netherlands is taking in refugees from various conflict zones, including Syria and Yemen. The following section discusses the role of the Netherlands as a host country for refugees.

## 3.4. Syrian and Yemeni refugees in the Netherlands

As mentioned before, the Netherlands is (indirectly) engaged in both conflicts as it takes in refugees. It is the host country for a number Yemeni and Syrian refugees and every year, refugees apply for asylum in the Netherlands.

The number of Yemeni refugees who applied for asylum in the last two years in the Netherlands is a relatively small group compared to Syrian refugees; 460 Yemenis applied for asylum in 2019 and 645 Yemenis in 2020, in contrast to 2160 Syrians in 2019 and 4170 Syrians in 2020 (Eurostat, 2021). In recent years, the biggest part of the asylum applications in the Netherlands were from Syrian refugees (Vluchtelingenwerk, 2020).

The number of rejected asylum applications of Syrian refugees in the Netherlands shows that more Syrian asylum applications were rejected compared to Yemeni (Eurostat, 2021) (see figure 8). Especially in 2019, relatively more Syrian applications were rejected. In this year, 2160 Syrian applied for asylum in the Netherlands, of which 1685 people were approved to stay. This comes down to 78% of the Syrian applications in 2019 (Vluchtelingenwerk, 2020). In 2020, 4635 Syrian refugees applied for asylum, of which 4170 of them were allowed to stay. This is almost 90% of the Syrian applications (Eurostat, 2021). To compare, 92,4% of the Yemeni asylum applications in 2019 were approved (Vluchtelingenwerk, 2020) and 93% in 2020 (Eurostat, 2021). Especially looking at 2020, the results shows that relatively more Syrian asylum applications were rejected compared to Yemeni applications in the Netherlands, namely 22%.
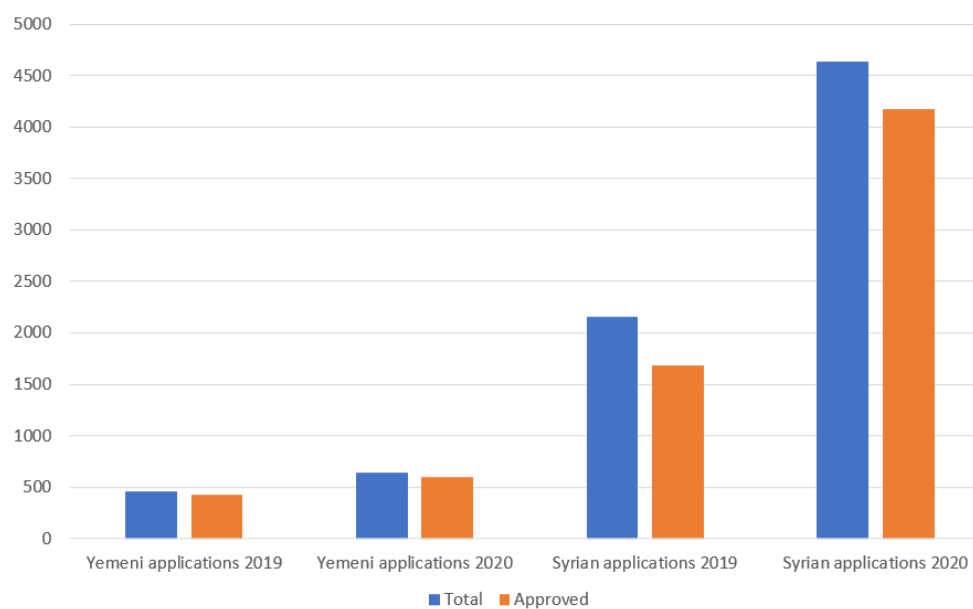
Figure 8, Asylum applications the Netherlands (Source: Vluchtelingenwerk, 2020; EuroStad, 2020)

# 4. Methodology

*This chapter elaborates the methodology, methods and techniques of this thesis. First, I describe the methodological approach of this research. Second, I discuss the media coverage. Third, I provide information on the critical discourse analysis, followed by the visual data analysis. Thereafter, the selection of the news sites and articles is provided. And lastly, I delve into the analysis of the survey.*

In this research, I investigated how media representation of a violent conflict influences the attitude towards refugees in a host country. I used the media representation of Syria and Yemen in Dutch media as the comparative case study. As mentioned before, this thesis aimed to filing the gap in the literature about how media representation influences the attitude. To do so, I formulated the research question 'How does media representation of a violent conflict influence the attitude towards refugees in a host country?' and three sub-questions: (1) 'How does the media coverage and representation of a violent conflict look like?'; (2) 'What are the attitudes towards refugees in the host country?' and (3) 'How is the representation of a violent conflict connected to the attitude towards refugees in a host country?' In order to answer these questions, I took a mixed-methods approach, collecting and analysing primary quantitative data (cross-sectional survey) and qualitative data (critical discourse analysis and visual data analysis).

## 4.1. Media coverage

To investigate what the media coverage of a violent conflict looks like, I analysed the quantity and the average length of the articles regarding the case studies Syria and Yemen. It was necessary to do this analysis for a number of reasons. Firstly, the quantity showed how much attention the media spent on each conflict and therefore how often Dutch people heard/read about it. Secondly, the length of the articles showed how much information about the situation is shared with the consumers. These aspects could have an influence on the knowledge, perceptions and attitudes towards the conflict zone and people from the area (Luyendijk, 2006).

To examine how many articles were published about the two conflicts, I searched the words 'Syria' and 'Yemen' on the three selected news sites (see section 4.5.). By doing so, I was able to examine how much media coverage was spent on Syria and Yemen.
Analysing the quantity of news articles can be time consuming, as the news sites did not always show the total amount of articles regarding the topic. Even though, it was the only way to investigate the quantity of the articles, which gave relevant insights about the media coverage regarding a violent conflict.

In addition, I determined the average length of the news articles, by calculating the average word count of the analysed articles. In this way, I was able to investigate how much information about the conflicts is shared with the Dutch population. The results of this analysis can be found in section 5.1.

## 4.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

In order to investigate what media representation of a violent conflict looks like, I analysed 126 news articles regarding Syria and Yemen from the three selected websites (see section 4.4.). By doing so, I used the method critical discourse analysis, because it enables the researcher to collect information about the message of the text and its influence on the reader. It takes the social and discursive context into account, in contrast to various other methods (Busch et al., 2012).

According to Gee (2005), a discourse is the way language is used in a social context, for example through articles, documents and other texts. Critical discourse analysis is an approach for studying the expressive practices and social and political context. It focusses on daily actions and contextual discursive structures (Gee, 2005).

I conducted a critical discourse analysis by looking at the three practices shown in figure 9 (Gee, 2005). It is necessary to investigate these three dimensions, because the outer layers influence the inner dimension (Gee, 2005). Firstly, the linguistic practice, the core of the model, is the textual form of the discourse, for example the text and title of an article (Gee, 2005). Secondly, the discursive practice is focussing on the question for whom the text is produced (the audience) and what the purpose of the text is (Gee, 2005). It is about the production, distribution and consumption of the linguistic practice (Lawson, 2008). Lastly, the social practice, the outer dimension of the model, is about the broader discourses, social structures and context, which influence the other two dimensions (Gee, 2005).
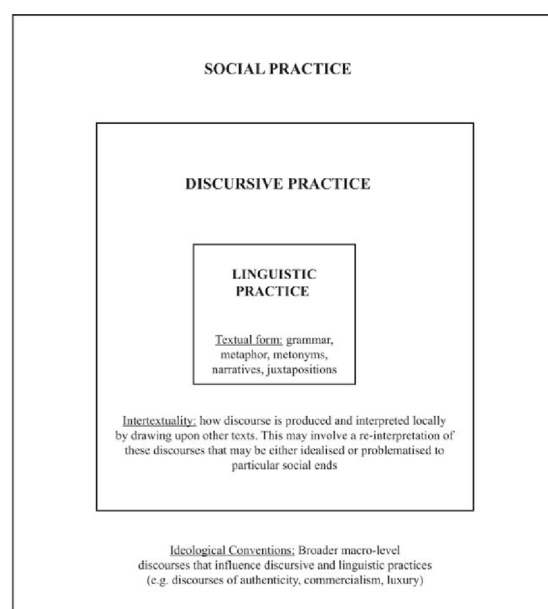


Figure 9, Critical discourse analysis (source: Lawson, 2008)

Critical discourse analysis has several disadvantages that should be taken into account. Firstly, it is a time consuming method when collecting and analysing data (Busch et al., 2012). For this reason, I limited my research to three news sites (see section 4.4.). Secondly, the analyst cannot separate its own subjective values and beliefs from the research. Therefore, during the process of analysing, the analyst may give meaning to the discourse based on its own preconceptions (Nguyen, 2014).

Even though, the main reason why I choose to conduct a critical discourse is that – in contrast to content analysis and other methods – critical discourse analysis does not ignore the cultural, historical, social and political contexts of the text and its impact on the consumers (Nguyen, 2014). By using this method, the researcher takes the context of the texts into account by analysing the social, discursive and linguistic practice. Other methods, such as content analysis, regularly tend to ignore this context (Busch et al., 2012).

I started the critical discourse analysis by focussing on the linguistic practice. To collect the necessary data for the analysis, I coded the words in the selected news articles related to the conflict, such as oorlog (war), wapens (weapons), verwoesting (devastation), strijders (fighters), etcetera. I did this by

open coding in Atlas.ti version 9. In this way, I was able to investigate what the linguistic practice of the news articles looked like. In total, I coded 233 different codes and 2433 quotations of the 63 articles regarding Syria and 199 different codes and 2240 quotations of the 63 articles regarding Yemen. The results are shown in section 5.2.

After collecting the necessary data, I was able to make a start with the analysis. The analysis of the critical discourse analysis consisted of the investigation of the linguistic, discursive and social practice of the articles regarding Syria and Yemen. Language (the linguistic practice of the articles) is always used in a social context and cannot be separated (Gee, 2015). For this reason, I first focussed on the social and discursive practice of the articles, by looking at the broader social context and the processes of production, distribution and consumption (see section 2.2.). Thereafter, I analysed the coding results from the critical discourse analysis in Atlas.ti (the linguistic practice). When analysing the linguistic practice, I first analysed the codes of each news site individually. In this way, I was able to see differences which stood out between the news sites. After that, I merged all codes and compared the coding results of Syria and Yemen to see if there were relevant differences. I, for example, analysed if there were words that were coded more often in one country in comparison to the other. To make the coding results more visually, I created word clouds regarding the coding of both Syria and Yemen. The results of the critical discourse analysis can be found in section 5.2.

Furthermore, I analysed the codes according to the peace and war frames as explained in Galtung's theory on peace and war journalism (Galtung, 1998). I examined if the news articles of Syria and Yemen can be framed as war-oriented or peace-oriented. To define how the articles can be framed, I analysed the codes in Atlas.ti by looking at the indications shown in figure 4. The results of this analysis can be found in the discussion section.

## 4.3. Visual Data Analysis

A part of the representation of a violent conflict is depicted in the visual data of the articles. The images are related to the events discussed in the news articles and underpin its textual form. Due to the increased use of internet, mobile phones and social media, visual data has become more important in the 20th and 21th century. As a result, communication more regularly takes place through images (Rose, 2007). For this reason, to investigate how the media representation of a violent conflict looks like, it is relevant to analyse the used images. Therefore, I choose to conduct a visual data analysis – also called content analysis of visual images (Leeuwen, & Jewitt, 2001) – because images are an important part of the media representation, which can influence the perceptions and attitudes towards the visualised events or people.

Three different aspects of visual data are important when conducting a visual data analysis. Firstly, the production of the visual data, for instance the context in which, and by whom, the images are produced. Secondly, the image itself and its meaning. This is about what is visualised on the images, the characteristics and its meaning. Lastly, the consumption of the image, such as the audience and the given meaning (Rose, 2007). The production and consumption of the visual data are largely in line with the discursive practice of the critical discourse analysis, which is discussed in section 2.2. The

image itself largely corresponds with the inner dimension of critical discourse analysis, whereby the analyst analyses the characteristics of the content.

When analysing the visual data of the articles, it is of importance to focus on different levels of interpretation. The first level that has to be investigated is the scene description. The scene description is about what can be observed in the image. It is an 'objective' observation about the composition, perspective and framing of the image (Rose, 2007). The second level of interpretation is the meaning of the image. This is about what the image tells us. These two levels are largely in line with the aspect 'the image itself and its meaning' described above. The last level is the symbolic meaning, which is focussing on the hidden message and the purpose of the image and the audience for whom it is meant (Rose, 2007). I take these levels of interpretation into account when coding the characteristics in Atlas.ti.

As for critical discourse analysis, a disadvantage of visual data analysis is that it is often subjective. When interpreting the characteristics of the images, the analyst often bases the interpretations on its own given meaning and preconceptions (Leeuwen, & Jewitt, 2001). Moreover, content analysis of visual data does not by itself show that, and how, viewers are affected in a certain way. Claims about the effect of visual data cannot be made, but need to be addressed by further, different kinds of research (Leeuwen, & Jawitt, 2001). To overcome this limitation, I took a mixed-method approach. Furthermore, visual data analysis is a time consuming method (Rose, 2007).

Despite these drawbacks, I choose to conduct a visual data analysis as part of my mixed-method approach because it is a simple method to investigate the meaning of media and allows for general statements about aspects of representation (Leeuwen, & Jewitt, 2001). In addition, as visual data plays a more important role in today's media, it is necessary to investigate what the media representation through images looks like.

When collecting the necessary data and coding the visible characteristics, I focussed on the above-described aspects; the production, the image itself and its meaning and the consumption. I coded the visual aspects of the images according to the method by open coding in Atlas.ti. I coded all characteristics depicted in the images, such as mannen (men), gebouwen (buildings), kinderen (children) verwoesting (devastation), etcentra. This provided me a clear overview on what the images 'objectively' look like. In total, I coded 119 different codes and 80 quotations of the articles regarding Syria and 96 codes and 72 quotations of the articles regarding Yemen. All analysed articles visualised the text with at least one related image. A few articles depicted more than one image, up to five images in one article.

The analysis of the collected data consisted of the analysis of the production, consumption and the image itself. Firstly, I focussed on the production and consumption of the image by investigating the discursive context. This information is described in section 2.2. After that, I analysed the coded the characteristics visible in the images by open coding in Atlas.ti. To make the coding results more visually, I created word clouds about the coding of Syria and Yemen.

When analysing the coding results of the visual data, I firstly analysed the codes of each news site separately, to investigate if there were differences between the websites. Thereafter, I combined the codes of the three news sites to create an overview of all codes depicted in the images. I compared the coding results of Syria with the results of Yemen, to see if the visual data is different according to the coding. For instance, I investigated if a certain image is more common in one country in comparison to the other. The results of the visual data analysis are provided in section 5.3.

## 4.4. Selection of news sites and articles

In this research, I analysed 126 news articles regarding Syria and Yemen from the news sites NOS, AD and Nu.nl. I chose these particular news sites because they had – according to the NOBO (Nederlands Online Bereiks Onderzoek) – the biggest range among Dutch society in June 2020 (NOBO, 2020). As such, the news site AD reached 46,3% of the active devices within the Netherlands, Nu.nl 45,2% and NOS 42,7% in June 2020 (NOBO, 2020) (see table 1). Analysing the three biggest media platforms gave a clear overview of the content that a large part of the Dutch population – between 46,3 and 42,7% – heard and read.

In addition, the three platforms use different forms; AD is a much-read newspaper and website, the NOS is active on the internet, radio and television and Nu.nl is mainly focussing on online content. The news mediums are also using social media, on which they have a large follower-base. The NOS has by far most followers on both Instagram and Facebook (see table 1). Thus, besides sharing information via their websites, the news media also use other platforms to reach their consumers in the Netherlands. Moreover, it is relevant to mention the media bias of the news sites, because right biased news media might represent events in a different way compared to left biased news media. The news sites do not have a far-right or far-left political colour. AD is positioned in the center, which means that this news site does not have a clear left or right orientation; it is the least biased. The NOS is positioned in the center as well, however, has a slight right political colour (Mediabiasfactcheck, n.d.). No information regarding the media bias of Nu.nl could be found.

|  |  |  |
|---|---|---|
| Circulation website: 46,5%, 7.396.000 devices June 2020 | Circulation website: 42,7%, 6.819.000 devices in June 2020 | Circulation website: 45,2%, 7.220.000 devices in June 2020 |
| Followers social media: Instagram 173.000, Facebook 560.000 | Followers social media: Instagram: 696.000, Facebook 939.000 | Followers social media: Instagram 353.000, Facebook 719.000 |
| Political colour: center | Political colour: right-center | Political colour: unknown |
| Founded in 1946, Rotterdam | Founded in 1969, Hilversum | Founded in 1999, Hoofddorp |

Table 1, Portrait AD, NOS and Nu.nl (Source: NOBO, 2020; Mediabiasfactcheck, n.d.; Pew Research Center, 2018)

To sample the articles from these news mediums, I randomly selected three articles about each conflict per year, from 2015 till 2021. I decided to analyse news articles from these years because this time is marked by a noticeable uptick in interest in migration in general, mainly due to the refugee crisis (Veebel, & Markus, 2015).

There is no universal accepted sample for discourse analysis. It has become common to look at samples used by other researchers in the field of discourse analysis (Neuendorf, 2002). I chose n= 126 articles based on previous research in the field. Yang (2009) analysed n= 34 articles, Siraj (2007) analysed n= 135 articles and Shinar analysed n= 277 articles. I decided to take a sample that is around the average sample from the above-mentioned previous research. As I analysed articles from three news sites written in a period of seven years, the total number of articles regarding each conflict was 63. This comes down to n= 126 in total (see Appendix 1). It is noteworthy to mention that in a number of years, relatively few articles were published about the conflict in Yemen. For example, the news site Nu.nl published only 7 articles about Yemen in 2020 and only 5 articles in 2021 till April (see Appendix 4).

## 4.5. Cross-sectional survey

To investigate what the attitudes towards refugees in the host country are and how the representation of a violent conflict is connected to the attitude towards refugees in a host country, I choose to conduct a survey among Dutch people. I want to know if the attitude towards Syrian and Yemeni refugees differ among Dutch society, for example the perceptions and acceptance towards refugees. Moreover, I want to investigate how media representation is connected to the attitude. To answer the above-mentioned sub-questions, I am conducting a cross-sectional survey (see Appendix 3). This kind of survey collects information about the population at one point in time, for instance, the current attitudes towards political issues (Hackett, 1981), such as migration and refugees.

The survey that I conducted has a number of limitations. Firstly, a cross-sectional survey allows bias to affect the results (Gaille, 2018). In the case that characteristics of those who do not respond to the survey are different than those who do, it will lead to different results. As a consequence, no generalized conclusions can be made (Gaille, 2018). Even though, the survey gives new insights and knowledge about the attitude towards refugees and the connection with media representation. In addition, this type of survey is generally quick and easy to perform (Gaille, 2018). As I want to know what the attitudes towards refugees are at one point in time, the cross-sectional survey fits well with the information I wanted to gain.

Before generating the participants for the survey, I formulated the survey questions. With the sub-questions in mind, I formulated the questions I wanted to ask the responders (see Appendix 3). The survey questions are in Dutch, because I wanted to conduct the survey among Dutch people. I chose to use mostly closed ended questions, such as multiple-choice questions and statements (whereby the responders answer with totally agree, agree, neutral, disagree, totally disagree), because this is easier to analyse and compare (Fowler Jr., & Fowler, 1995).

After formulating the survey questions, I selected and generated the participants (Dutch people) for the cross-sectional survey. There were different ways to select and generate this sample. Hackett

(1981) mentions that "If some form of probability sampling is employed, it is very likely that survey results will accurately reflect the actual behaviour of the population." (Hackett, 1981, p. 601). For this reason, I wanted to select the sample for the survey through probability sampling. However, I did not have the means to reach a random sample among Dutch society. For this reason, I chose for snowball sampling (or chain-referral sampling) (Hackett, 1981). This method is based on referrals.

There are three different types of snowball sampling: Linear, Exponential Non-Discriminative and Exponential Discriminative snowball sampling. This research relied on exponential non-discriminative snowball sampling (see figure 10), because it allowed spreading the survey by multiple referrals of the first subject (QuestionPro, n.d.). For instance, I spread the survey among my family members, friends and colleagues via social media, such as Facebook and WhatsApp. My referrals then spread the survey further and so on. In this way, I tried to conduct as many surveys as possible.
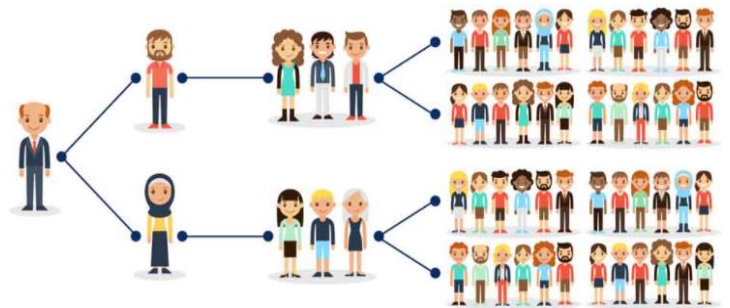


Figure 10, Non-Discriminative Snowball Sampling (source: QuestionPro, n.d.)

Exponential non-discriminative snowball sampling has a number of disadvantages. As mentioned before, the results of the survey do not accurately reflect on the actual behaviour of the population (Hackett, 1981) As a result, no general conclusions about the outcome can be made. In addition, (over)sampling a particular network or 'bubble' can lead to biased outcomes (Dudovskiy, n.d.). For instance, having mostly left-wing responders will lead to other outcomes than having mostly right-wing responders. Despite these disadvantages, snowball sampling is the most suitable way to recruit participants for the survey, as I do not have the means to reach a random sample. Exponential non-discriminative snowball sampling allows me to get in contact with more people via my referrals and collect primary data (Dudovskiy, n.d.). Furthermore, snowball sampling can be completed in a short duration of time and little planning is required to start the data collection process (Dudovskiy, n.d.).

In total, 62 Dutch people responded to the survey. A few characteristics of the responders stood out when analysing the results (see Appendix 5). Firstly, almost three quarters of the responders were female: 43 out of 62. Thus, only 19 responders were men. Secondly, around half of the responders were aged between 22 and 26 years old, namely 32 people of the total of 62. Thirdly, the vast majority of the responders voted left-wing for the parliamentarian elections in March 2021, with exception of the VVD voters. Looking at the top 4 (see Appendix 5), the most responders voted for the political party D66, namely 19 out of 62, followed by VVD, SP and GroenLinks. One responder did not vote.
None of the responders' surveys were incomplete, which means that all surveys are analysed.

The analysis of the collected data consisted of analysing the answers of the cross-sectional survey. First, I analysed characteristics of the responders, such as their gender, age and voting behaviour described above. Thereafter, I analysed and compared the given answers by the responders. I started with analysing each question separately by looking how many responders had given the same answer.

The fact that I mostly used closed-ended questions allowed for a simple comparative analysis (Fowler Jr., & Fowler, 1995). An overview of the given answers is shown in Appendix 5. After analysing the questions separately, I compared the questions regarding Syria with the questions regarding Yemen, to see if the responders answered questions regarding Syria and Yemen differently. I divided the survey questions in four main topics, which relate to the sub-questions: influence of media; media coverage and knowledge; residence permit; and lastly, aid and willingness to donate. This allowed me to provide clear overviews of the given answers per topic. The results of the analysis can be found in section 5.3.

The following chapter describes the results from the analysis described above.

# 5. Results

*In this chapter, I provide the results from the analyses. First, I focus on the analysis of the media coverage by looking at the quantity and length of the news articles. Second, the media representation is discussed through the critical discourse analysis and visual data analysis. And lastly, I explain the attitude towards refugees and the connection between representation and attitude by analysing the survey results.*

## 5.1. Media coverage

To investigate what the media coverage of a violent conflict looks like, I examined how many articles were written about Syria and Yemen and what the average length of the articles was. Comparing the search results on Syria and Yemen till April 2021, there was a striking asymmetry in the media coverage of the conflicts. Firstly, while the search term 'Syria' showed 10.706 results on the website of AD, 'Yemen' only showed 1.097 results. Thus, it can be concluded that the AD wrote more articles on Syria compared to Yemen. Secondly, looking at the search results on the Nu.nl website, a similar disparity became visible: 4.004 articles regarding Syria and 822 articles regarding Yemen appeared till April 2021 (see figure 11 and Appendix 4). Lastly, the same outcome appears looking at the search results from the NOS website; 6.576 articles were published about Syria in contrast to only 1.053 articles when searching 'Yemen.'
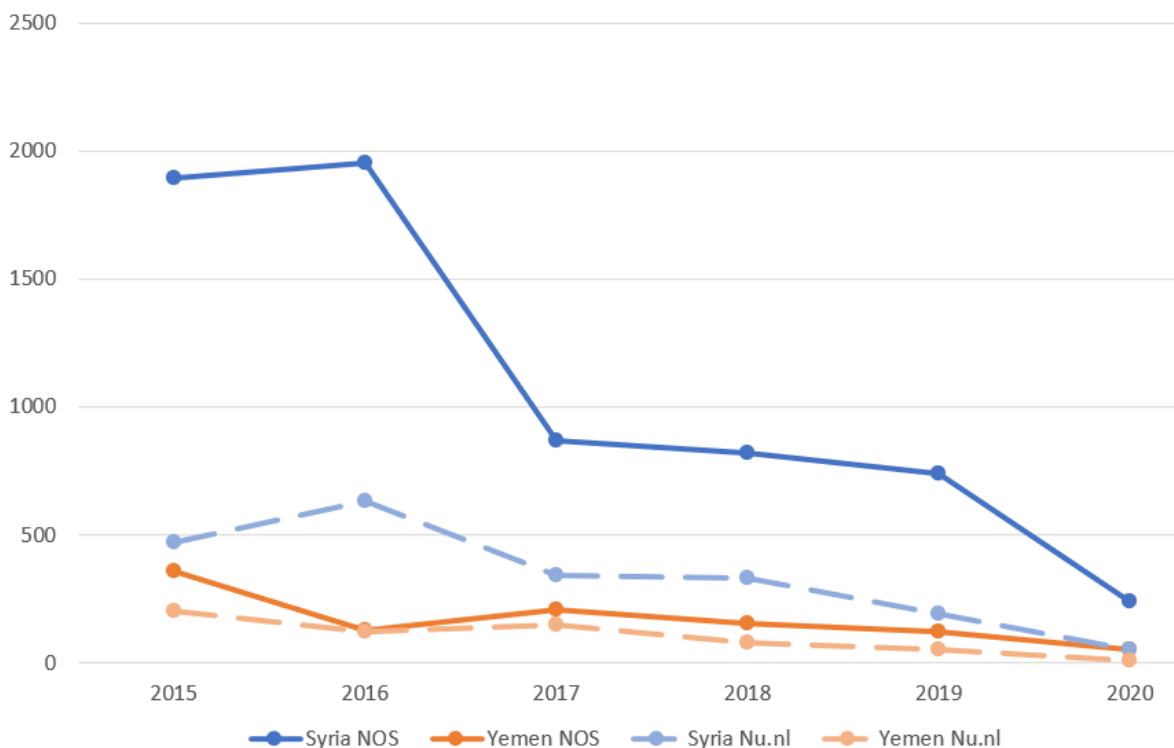


Figure 11, Total number of articles about Syria and Yemen from NOS and Nu.nl, 2015-2020

Zooming in on the search results of NOS and Nu.nl (shown in figure 11), it can be concluded that the NOS generally wrote far more articles compared to Nu.nl. Especially the number of articles regarding Syria showed that this conflict received a lot of media coverage on this news site. Looking at the search results about Yemen, a difference between the results from Nu.nl and NOS became visible. Comparing

the search results regarding Yemen and Syria, it suggests that more articles were written about Syria on both news sites. Especially in 2016 the difference between articles on Syria and articles on Yemen was relatively large. Overall, it can be concluded that the Dutch media – AD, NOS and Nu.nl – focussed more regularly on the conflict in Syria than on the conflict in Yemen.

Besides the number of articles concerning the violent conflicts, I analysed the length of the articles to see how much information was shared with the consumers. Table 2 below shows the average word count of the articles (see Appendix 4 for more details). Zooming in on the average word count of the articles regarding both conflicts, it can be concluded that Nu.nl frequently wrote shorter articles compared to AD and NOS. This became visible when comparing the average word count of the AD, NOS and Nu.nl. For instance, the articles regarding Syria from Nu.nl had an average word count of 268,28 words, in comparison to an average word count of 323,23 words on the AD website and 344,24 words on the NOS website. According to this average word count, the NOS wrote the longest articles. The same result became visible when analysing at the average word counts of the articles about Yemen.

Comparing the average word count of the articles regarding Syria and the articles regarding Yemen, a slight difference became noticeable. On average, the three news sites wrote more words per article concerning Syria; AD wrote 45,47 words more about Syria, the NOS 22,38 more and Nu.nl 27,99 words more compared to articles about Yemen. The difference between Syria and Yemen is the largest on the news site of AD and the smallest on the website of the NOS.

| News site | Average word count Syria | Average word count Yemen | Difference (words) |
|-----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| AD        | 323,23                   | 277,76                   | 45,47              |
| NOS       | 344,24                   | 321,86                   | 22,38              |
| Nu.nl     | 268,28                   | 240,29                   | 27,99              |

Table 2, Average word count articles Syria and Yemen

To summarize, it can be concluded that the conflict in Syria received more media coverage in the Dutch media (AD, NOS and Nu.nl) in comparison to the conflict in Yemen (see figure 11). Especially the NOS wrote more articles regarding the Syrian war compared to the Yemeni war.

Besides the number of articles, the length of the articles regarding Syria were on average longer than the articles concerning Yemen (see table 2). Thus, it can be assumed that more information per article regarding Syria was shared with the reader. As a result, Dutch people did not only read more often about the conflict in Syria, they also received more information per article about this conflict.

## 5.2. Media representation: Critical Discourse Analysis

This section provides an explanation of the linguistic practice of the articles regarding Syria and Yemen. The aim is to investigate what the media representation of a violent conflict looks like. I first focussed on the coding of each news sites separately. Thereafter, I combined the results to provide an overview of the media representation through textual form.

Zooming in on each news site separately, there were no significant differences between the number of codes regarding Syria. The most coded words on the articles regarding Syria were very similar. The

articles mostly focussed on the fighting actors involved in the conflict. For instance, AD mentioned Syria, Syrian, Islamic State, Turkey and the Netherlands most frequently in its articles. NOS mentioned Syria, Russia, Islamic State, bombing and United States most regularly. And lastly, Nu.nl mentioned Syria, Turkey, United States, attack and Kurds most frequently. Despite these similarities, there were also a number of differences. Firstly, AD focussed more on the role of the Netherlands in both conflicts, namely 33 times, while it is coded 20 times by NOS and only 9 times by Nu.nl. Secondly, Nu.nl focussed more on ceasefire, namely 22 times, while it was coded only 3 times by both NOS and AD. Lastly, NOS focussed more on the living circumstances and illness of the Syrian population, especially in comparison with Nu.nl; NOS mentioned hospital and help both 14 times, while Nu.nl mentioned hospital 3 times and help 5 times. AD mentioned hospital 6 times and help 11 times.

The most coded words regarding the articles on Yemen were very similar as well. AD mentioned Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Houthi, rebels and United Nations most often in its articles. NOS mentioned Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Houthi, United Nations and rebels most frequently. And lastly, Nu.nl mentioned Yemen, Houthi, rebels, United Nations and Saudi Coalition most regularly. Especially looking at the most coded words of AD and NOS, it can be concluded that they were almost the same. The codes regarding the articles of Nu.nl were very similar as well. What stood out was that AD focussed more on the current situation regarding the corona virus (coded 12 times) compared to the NOS, which mentioned corona only ones. Nu.nl mentioned the corona virus 8 times.

The word cloud below (figure 12), shows the combined codes about Syria from the three news sites (AD, NOS and Nu.nl). Focussing on the words that were mentioned most frequently in the articles regarding Syria – and thus are the biggest in the word cloud – it was striking that the biggest words were mostly the involved actors, such as Syrië/Syria (mentioned 227 times), Islamitische Staat/Islamic State (mentioned 95 times), Turkije/Turkey (mentioned 94 times), Rusland/Russia (mentioned 84 times), Verenigde Staten/United Nations (mentioned 79 times) and Koerden/Kurds (mentioned 68 times). Thus, it can be concluded that the majority of the articles mentioned the above-mentioned actors. Besides the actors, words such as aanval/attack (70 times), militair/military (44 times), rebellen/rebels (44 times) and bombardement/bombing (43 times) were mentioned frequently. This means that a lot of the articles discussed the attacks, bombings and other military actions, which all were related to the Syrian war.

Zooming in further, it became apparent that most codes were related to the conflict in Syria. Words such as strijders/fighters (mentioned 41 times), vluchtelingen/refugees (mentioned 39 times), luchtaanval/air strike (mentioned 37 times), overleden/passed away (mentioned 33 times), doelwit/target (mentioned 33 times), aanslag/terrorist attack (mentioned 32 times), terreurorganisatie/terrorist organisation (mentioned 30 times), doden/deaths (mentioned 26 times), strijd/battle (mentioned 25 times), jihadisme/jihadism (mentioned 20 times) and gewonden/wounded (mentioned 20 times) were related to the violence in the country.

Figure 12, Word Cloud Syria critical discourse analysis

The articles mentioned words regarding aid and peace as well, such as steun/support (46 times), hulp/aid (30 times), staakt-het-vuren/truce (28 times), akkoord/agreement (27 times), hulporganisatie/aid organisation (16 times), gesprekken/ (11 times), oplossing/solution (10 times), vredesonderhandelingen/peace negotiations (6 times) and vrede/peace (four times). Still, words describing the violence in the country were mentioned more often.

Furthermore, words concerning the living circumstances and illness of Syrians, such as burgers/civilians (42 times), kinderen/children (40 times) Syriërs/Syrians (37 times), ziekenhuis/hospital (23 times), mensenrechtenschendingen/human right violations (11 times), voedsel/food (11 times), humanitaire hulp/ humanitarian help (6 times) and ziekte/disease (2 times) were not mentioned as often as words regarding the violent conflict.

Focussing on the results regarding Yemen, there were no significant differences between the number of codes of each news site separately. In addition, the most common words mentioned the articles regarding Yemen were very similar. The articles mostly focussed on the fighting actors involved in the Yemeni war. For instance, AD mentioned Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Houthi, rebels and the United Nations most frequently in its articles. NOS mentioned Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Houthi, the United Nations and rebels most regularly. And lastly, Nu.nl mentioned Yemen, Houthi, rebels, United Nations and Saudi coalition most frequently. Especially AD and NOS showed similar coding results. Despite these similarities, there were also a number of differences. Firstly, AD focused more on children, as it mentioned this 29 times. In comparison, children were mentioned 16 times by NOS and zero times by Nu.nl. Secondly, AD and Nu.nl both mentioned famine 12 times, while NOS mentioned this only 6 times.

The word cloud below (figure 13) shows the combined characteristics of the articles regarding Yemen from the three news sites. Similar to the word cloud regarding the articles on Syria, it shows that the most mentioned words about Yemen are the involved actors. Jemen/Yemen (276 times), Houthi (154 times), rebellen/rebels (121 times), Saudi-Arabië/Saudi Arabia (110 times), Verenigde Naties/ United Nations (107 times), Saudische coalitie/Saudi coalition (84 times) were the most mentioned words in

the news articles. Furthermore, Iran (60 times) and the Verenigde Staten/United Nations (44 times) were mentioned frequently as well. Thus, most articles regarding the conflict in Yemen discussed the involvement of the various actors. In addition, the words oorlog/war (mentioned 66 times), overleden/passed away (62 times), aanval/attack (57 times), kinderen/children (55 times), burgers/civilians (53 times), doden/deaths (52 times), voedsel/food (48 times), luchtaanval/air strike (48 times), burgeroorlog/civil war (35 times), militair/military (31 times) and hongersnood/famine (30 times) were mentioned in many of the articles. Compared to the codes from the articles regarding the Syrian war, fewer codes dealt with the violence in the country. The articles concerning Yemen seemed to be more focussed on children, civilians and food. Where food is only mentioned twice in the articles regarding Syria, this word is mentioned 48 times in the articles on Yemen. Moreover, the word 'hongersnood' (famine) is mentioned a more frequently in the articles regarding Yemen (30 times) compared to the articles regarding Syria, where this word is only mentioned ones.

Zooming in further, the articles on the Yemeni conflict paid more attention to aid and peace compared to the articles regarding the Syrian conflict. The words aid and truce were mentioned around the same amount, however, humanitaire hulp/humanitairian help was mentioned 15 times in articles regarding Yemen and 6 times in articles regarding Syria, ziekte/disease was mentioned 15 times in the articles concerning Yemen and 2 times in articles concerning Syria, vredesonderhandelingen/peace negotiations was mentioned 15 times in articles on Yemen and 6 times in articles on Syria, vrede/peace is mentioned 6 times in articles regarding Yemen and 4 times in articles regarding Syria and medical help and medical care were together mentioned 10 times in articles regarding Yemen and only 3 times in articles regarding Syria.



Figure 13, Word Cloud Yemen critical discourse analysis

To summarize, the articles regarding the Syrian and Yemeni conflicts mentioned the involved actors the most frequently (with exception of a few codes). Articles on both countries regularly discussed the violent situation in the countries. What stood out was that the articles concerning the Yemeni conflict paid more attention to the living circumstances and illnesses of the Yemeni population compared to the articles concerning the Syrian conflict. The articles about the Syrian conflict were more focussed

on the violence of the war, where articles on the Yemeni war were more focussed on the consequences of the conflict on Yemeni citizens, such as famine and disease.

## 5.3. Media representation: Visual Data Analysis

In this section, the results from the visual data analysis are discussed in order to answer the question what the media representation of a violent conflict looks like. I explain the image itself and its meaning by providing an overview of the coding results. First, I zoom in on each news site separately. After that, I combine the results to provide an overview of the media representation through visual data.

Zooming in on each news site separately, there were no significant differences between the depicted images of the news articles regarding Syria. The most common codes of the images regarding Syria were very similar. The visual data of Syria on the AD website mostly visualised men, street, devastation, camouflage clothing and weapons. NOS mostly visualised children, buildings, devastation, men and broken pieces. Nu.nl mostly visualised men, camouflage clothing, fighters, weapons and children. AD and Nu.nl have the most similarities, as they both frequently showed men in camouflage clothing with weapons. NOS differs the most from AD and Nu.nl, as it most often depicted children in the images. There were no other significant differences between the images regarding Syria.

The most common coded characteristics of the images regarding Yemen were very similar as well. The images regarding Yemen on the AD website mostly depicted men, children, camouflage, fighters and flags. The images on NOS mostly depicted children, men, buildings, collapsed and devastation. Nu.nl frequently depicted men, children, buildings, weapons and street. On all three news sites, men and children were visualised most frequently. In addition, the other coding results regarding the visual data did not show significant differences.

The combined results of all characteristics visible in the images on the three news sites regarding Syria are shown in figure 15. The most common visual data showed men (mannen coded 32 times) – often fighters (strijders coded 17 times) – with weapons (wapens coded 19 times), camouflage clothing (coded 19 times). Some of them had a beard (baard coded 8 times) and a turban (tulband coded 8 times). Furthermore, in numerous images on Syria children were visible (kinderen coded 21 times).

Besides that, devastation (verwoesting coded 18 times), mostly devasted buildings (gebouwen coded 16 times), was depicted frequently. A lot of debris (puin coded 11 times), broken pieces (brokstukken coded 11 times) and dust (stof coded 8 times) made this devastation more visible. When zooming in further, also characteristics as attack (aanval coded 8 times), smoke (rook coded 8 times), abandoned (verlaten coded 7 times), desert (woestijn coded 6 times),



Figure 14, Images Syria (Source: NOS, 2020; AD, 2017)

bulletproof vest (kogelvrij vest coded 6 times) and black clothing (zwarte kleding coded 6 times) were often depicted in the images. Most of these characteristics were related to the conflict in Syria, such as fighters, weapons, devastation, etcetera. This creates a violent, dangerous image of Syria, which can be seen as a threat.



Figure 15, Word Cloud Syria visual data analysis

Focussing on the visual data regarding the Yemeni war, the number of codes of news sites separately did not show significant differences. The most common words depicted in the images regarding Yemen were quite similar as well. Even though, there were also a number of differences The visual data on AD mostly visualised men (mannen coded 12 times), children (kinderen coded 7 times), camouflage (coded 6 times), fighters (strijders coded 5 times) and flags (vlag coded 5 times). NOS most frequently visualised children (kinderen coded 10 times), men (mannen coded 8 times), buildings (gebouwen coded 7 times), collapsed (ingestort coded 7 times) and devastation (verwoesting coded 6 times).

Lastly, Nu.nl mostly depicted men (mannen coded 12 times), children (kinderen coded 11 times), buildings (gebouwen coded 7 times), weapons (wapens coded 7 times) and street (straat coded 6 times). The news sites all depicted men and children most frequently. NOS showed more frequently the visual consequences of the conflict, such as the devastation and collapsed buildings. Nu.nl more often depicted weapons, while AD more regularly visualised flags and camouflage clothing.

The coding results of the visual data analysis regarding Yemen are visible in figure 17. Similar to the visual data analysis of Syria, men (mannen coded 32 times) – often fighters (strijders coded 12 times) – with camouflage clothing (coded 12 times) and weapons (wapens coded 12 times) were the most common depicted in the articles



Figure 16, Images Yemen (Source: NOS, 2018, AD, 2017)

concerning Yemen. Furthermore, numerous children were depicted in the visual data (kinderen coded 28 times). Buildings (gebouwen coded 18 times), devastation (verwoesting coded 13 times), broken pieces (brokstukken coded 10 times), collapsed (ingestort coded 10 times) and debris (puin coded 10 times) were frequently visible as well. These characteristics regarding Yemen largely correspond to the characteristics depicted on the images about Syria. They mostly showed the violence as a result of the conflict that is going on in Yemen, such as fighters and weapons, as well as the consequences of this violence, for instance devastation, collapsed and debris.

Despite the similarities between the visual data of Syria and Yemen, there are also differences. As described in the results of the critical discourse analysis, the articles regarding Yemen paid more attention to the living circumstances and illnesses of the population compared to the Syrian articles. This pattern was also visible when analysing the visual data. Malnutrition/ondervoeding is 11 times depicted in the images on Yemeni and only 1 time in the images on Syrian, medical care/medische zorg and medical help/medische hulp combined were visible 14 times in the articles concerning the Yemeni war and only 3 times in images used to depict the Syrian war.

Emaciated/uitgemergeld was coded 8 times in articles regarding Yemen and only one time in articles regarding Syria, weak/zwak was coded 6 times in articles on Yemen and zero times in articles on Syria, hospital was depicted 5 times in articles about Yemen and 3 times in articles about Syria.



Figure 17, Word Cloud Yemen visual data analysis

To summarize, in the most common images of Syria and Yemen were men depicted, frequently with weapons and camouflage clothing. Other depictions of Syria and Yemen showed children and devastated buildings with debris, broken pieces and dust.

The biggest difference that stood out was that the articles on Yemen and its images paid more attention to the living circumstances and illnesses of the population compared to Syrian articles and images. Health problems, such as malnutrition, medical care and help, emaciated and weak are more visible in images of Yemen compared to images of Syria.

## 5.4. Attitudes & connection representation: survey

In this section, I discuss the results of the cross-sectional survey. First, I focus on the influence of media on the opinion and perceptions. Second, I discuss the media attention and knowledge about the conflicts. Third, I zoom in on the attitudes towards refugees obtaining a resident permit. And lasty, I provide the results on the attitude towards aid and the willingness to donate.

## 5.4.1. Influence of media

Looking at the results, it can be concluded that the media influences the opinion of the responders. Statement 10 'What I see/read in the media influences my opinion', statement 15 'The image I have about Syria and Yemen is created by what I have seen/read in the media' and statement 23 'My opinion about refugees in the Netherlands is created by what I have seen/read in the media' showed that most responders think that the image and opinion they have, was created/influenced by the media (see figure 18). As is shown in the pie charts below, almost three quarters (71%) of the responders agreed
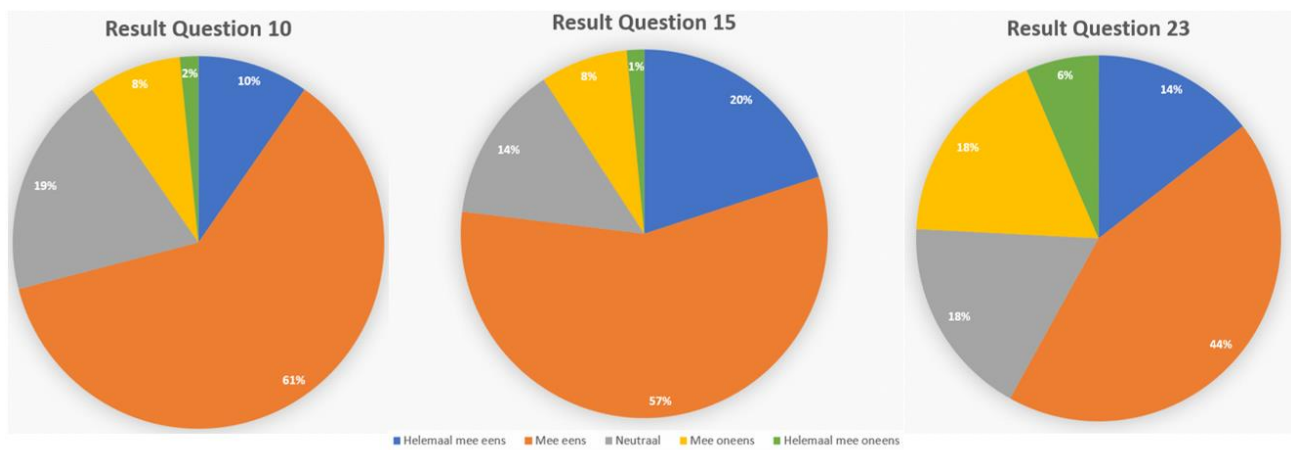


Figure 18, Pie charts results question 10, 15, 23

(61%) or totally agreed (10%) with the statement 10 that the media influences their opinion. More than three quarters – namely 77% of the responders – agreed (57%) or totally agreed (20%) with the statement of question 15 that the image they have is created by the media (see Appendix 5). In addition, more than half of the responders (58%) thought that their opinion about refugees in the Netherlands was created by the media (statement 23). A relative bigger part disagreed (18%) or totally disagreed (6%) with this statement compared to statement 10 and 15.

## 5.4.2. Media coverage and knowledge

One of the biggest differences between the statements about Syria and Yemen was that the responders seem to feel they know a lot more about Syria compared to Yemen. Looking at the answers of statement 11 'I have heard/read often about Syria through the media' and statement 12 'I have heard/read often about Yemen through the media', the responders heard/read a lot more frequently about Syria in the media than Yemen. 44% agreed and 32% totally agreed with statement 11 about Syria (in total 76%) and only 16% agreed and 3% totally agreed with statement 12 about Yemen (in total 19%). Most responders disagreed (45%) or totally disagreed (21%) with this statement. This means that the majority of the responders thought that they did not hear/read often about Yemen.

Zooming in on statement 13 'I know what's going on in Syria' and statement 14 'I know what's going on in Yemen' – see the pie charts below (figure 19) – a clear difference between the answers regarding Syria and Yemen became visible. The data suggested that most responders thought they know more about the situation in Syria than the situation in Yemen. 47% agreed and 19% totally agreed with the statement that they know what is going on in Syria in (total 66%). Only 18% agreed and 7% totally agreed with the statement that they know what is going on in Yemen (total 25%). Thus, 75% does not seem to know what is going on in Yemen, or answered this question neutral.
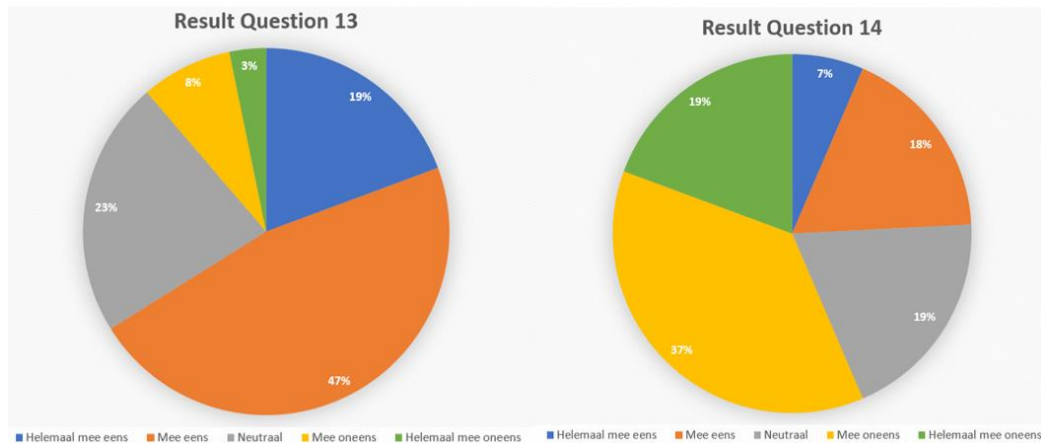


Figure 19, Pie charts results question 13, 14

The responders were also asked to write down words that came to mind when thinking about Syria and Yemen respectively (question 6 and 7). Looking at these results, it seems to confirm that the participants did indeed know more about Syria compared to Yemen, as questioned in question 13 and 14. The 62 responders wrote down 85 different words regarding Syria, mentioned 261 times in total. On average, the responders mentioned 4 words about Syria. In comparison, the responders wrote down 51 different words regarding Yemen, mentioned 126 times in total. That is an average of two different words about Yemen per person. Thus, the responders mentioned more different words, and double the number of words per person about Syria.

## 5.4.3. Residence permit

As shown in figure 20, 47% of the responders agreed and 27% totally agreed that refugees from a violent conflict should be able to obtain a residence permit in The Netherlands among other countries (statement 16). This is around three quarters of the responders (74%). 21% of the responders answered this question as neutral. Only a very small part of the responders disagreed (2%) or totally disagreed (3%) with the statement.

Looking at statement 17 'Syrians should be able to obtain a residence permit in The Netherlands among other places' and statement 18 'Yemenis should be able to obtain a residence permit in The Netherlands among other places', it can be observed that there were no significant difference between the answers regarding Syria and Yemen (see figure 21).
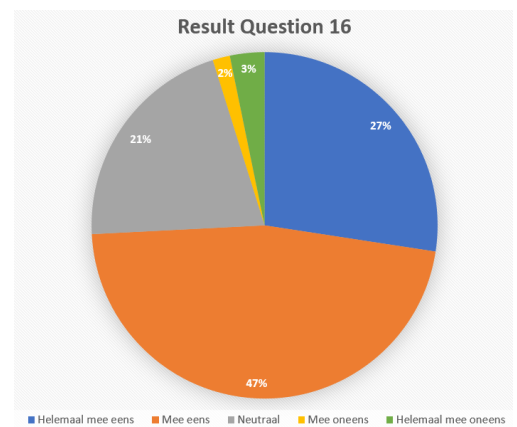


Figure 20, Pie chart results question 16

45% of the responders agreed and 24% of them totally agreed with statement 17 about Syrian refugees obtaining a residence permit. This result is quite similar compared to the result of statement 16 discussed above, with a difference of 5% (3 people). What stood out was that a larger percentage of the responders disagreed with statement 17 about Syrian refugees, namely 15%. This is a big difference with statement 16, whereby only 2% disagreed.

Comparing the pie chart of statement 17 with the pie chart of statement 18 about Yemeni refugees obtaining a residence permit, it can be concluded that there was a difference between the outcomes. Part of the responders changed from agree/totally agree to neutral/disagree. In total 69% of the responders totally agreed or agreed with statement 17 about Syrian refugees, where 62% totally agreed or agreed with statement 18 about Yemeni refugees. This comes down to a difference of 4 people.



Figure 21, Pie charts results question 17, 18

Question 24 and 25 were about why the responders agreed/disagreed with statement 17 and 18 about Syrian and Yemeni refugees obtaining a residence permit. Zooming in on the answers of question 24 'Explain why you agree/disagree with the statement 'Syrians should be able to obtain a residence permit in The Netherlands among other places', most responders answered that refugees should be able to obtain a residence permit under a number of conditions (see Appendix 5). The conditions that were mentioned most frequently by the responders were: firstly, the refugees should come from a conflict zone or unsafe area (mentioned 16 times). Secondly, refugees should receive a temporary residence permit. When the country of origin becomes safe, the refugees should go back (mentioned 6 times). Thirdly, refugees have to integrate in Dutch society. For example, they have to learn the Dutch language, to take over the Dutch culture, norms and values (mentioned 6 times). Lastly, the refugees should not be economic migrants (mentioned 5 times). Besides these conditions, the responders mentioned that everyone has the right to go to a safe place (mentioned 16 times), with a better future and a good life (mentioned 11 times).

Thus, most responders agreed that refugees from a conflict zone or unsafe place should be able to obtain a residence permit in the Netherlands among other places.

Comparing the answers of question 24 about Syria with the answers of question 25 about Yemen, it can be concluded that they were very similar. 19 of the 62 responders mentioned 'zie vorige antwoord' (see previous answer). They referred back to their answer regarding Syrian refugees obtaining a residence permit. Their opinion about a residence permit for Syrian and Yemeni thus does not differ

much. Only few responders thought differently regarding Yemeni refugees obtaining a residence permit in comparison to Syrian refugees.

## 5.4.4. Aid and willingness to donate

Focussing on the question if the Dutch government should send more aid to both Syria and Yemen (statement 19 and 20), it can be concluded that there was not a significant difference between the responders' answers. 34% agreed and 5% totally agreed that we should send more aid to Syria (total 39%). 29% agreed and 8% totally agreed that we should send more aid to Yemen (total 37%). This was a difference of only one person. A large part of the responders answered both questions neutral, namely 40% to statement 19 and 42% to statement 20.

Furthermore, looking at the results the statement 21 'I would donate money for people in Syria' and statement 22 'I would donate money for people in Yemen' a clear similarity became visible. A relatively large part of the responders answer both questions as neutral. 35% of the responders answered neutral to statement 21 about Syria and 37% to statement 22 about Yemen. This means that one person changed its opinion. Even though, a slight difference between the willingness to donate money for people in Syria and people in Yemen became visible (see figure 22). 26% of the responders agreed and 6% totally agreed that they would donate money for people in Syria (32% in total). In comparison, 21% of the responders agreed and 6% totally agreed that they would donate money for people in Yemen (in total 27%). Thus, 5% of the responders (3 people) would donate money for people in Syria but not for people in Yemen.
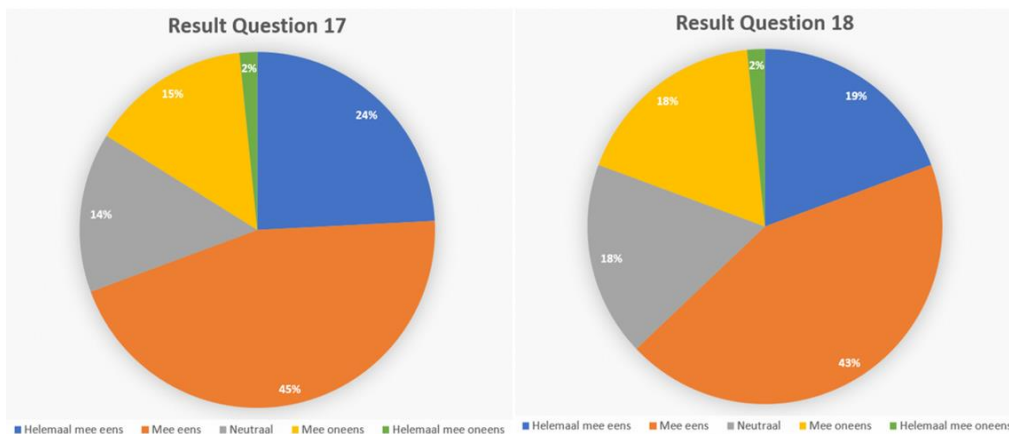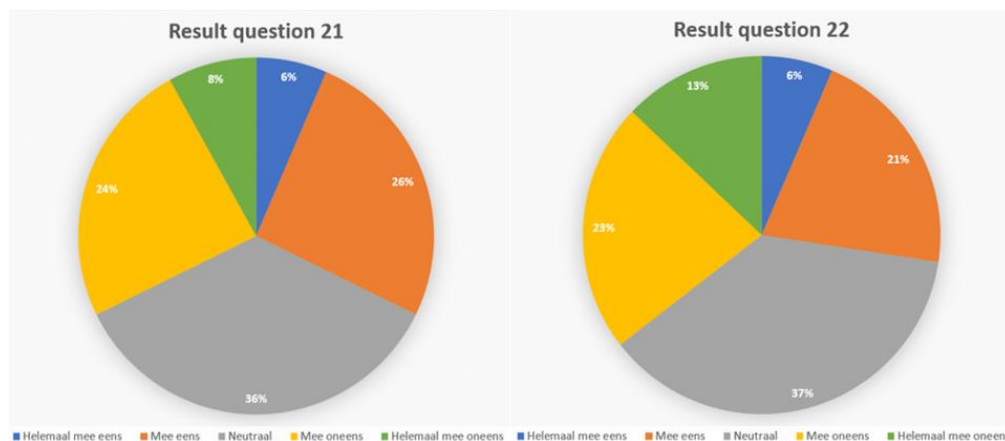


Figure 22, Pie charts results question 21, 22

Question 26 and 27 were about why the responders agreed/disagreed with statement 21 and 22 about the willingness to donate money for people in Syria and Yemen. Most responders (13 of 62 people) would rather donate money to people from their own country than for people in Syria. Moreover, the responders mentioned conditions in which they would donate money for people in Syria (see appendix 5). The most common condition was that it is often not clear what exactly happens with the money and where it is spend on (mentioned 10 times). The responders would only donate money when they know what happened with their donation (mentioned 9 times).

Most responders who were willing to donate money mentioned different reasons why. Syrians need the money more than we do (mentioned 6 times), to help someone in need (mentioned 4 times), to offer opportunities and a better life (mentioned 4 times) and to support reconstruction of the country

(mentioned 3 times) were mentioned most frequently. The responders mentioned why they would not donate money to Syria as well; as mentioned before, it is often unclear what happened to the donated money and where it was spent. Moreover, some responders do not have enough money to donate. They need it to pay for their student debt, rent and other expenses (mentioned 3 times). Besides that, it is impossible to donate to every aid organisation, country or goal (mentioned 3 times). Some responders rather donate to medical research (mentioned 2 times).

Comparing these results with the answers to question 27 about the willingness to donate money for Yemenis, it can be concluded that there were some similarities. 16 of the 62 responders referred to their answer to question 26. In addition, some responders gave the same answer to both questions. They did not distinguish between Syrians and Yemenis when deciding to donate money or not. Again, some responders mentioned that they would rather donate money to people from their own country (mentioned 8 times) and would only donate money for Yemen when they know what happens with their donation (mentioned 5 times).

Despite these similarities, there were two differences that stood out when analysing the results. Four responders answered 'no opinion' to question 27 about Yemen, where only 2 people answered 'no opinion' to question 26 about Syria. Thus, two more people did not have an opinion regarding donating money for Yemenis compared to Syrians. Besides that, five responders mentioned that they did not know enough about the situation in Yemen to donate money. In comparison, only one responder wrote this same answer down to question 26 concerning Syria. Some responders were more willing to donate money to Syrians because they know more about their situation than Yemenis.


To summarize, according to the answers of the responders, what they read/heard in the media had an influence on their general opinion, the image they had about Syria and Yemen and their opinion towards refugees in the Netherlands. Most responders agreed that they heard more often about Syria in the media rather than Yemen. As a result, these responders know more about the conflict in Syria compared to Yemen.

Looking at the questions about obtaining a residence permit, four responders changed their perspective from agree/totally agree in the case of Syria to neutral/disagree in the case of Yemen. Thus, fewer responders think that Yemeni refugees should be able to obtain a residence permit in the Netherlands among other places compared to Syrian refugees.

The answers about the government sending aid are very similar. There is no big difference between the aid that should be send to Syria and to Yemen. Focussing on the willingness to donate money, there is a slight difference. What stood out is that three responders would donate money for people in Syria, but not for people in Yemen. Also question 26 and 27 show that some responders are more willing to donate for people in Syria, because they know more about the situation.

# 6. Discussion

*This chapter connects the literature and relevant theories to the results of this thesis and reflects on the problems and choices that were made during the research. First, I reflect on the theories by connecting it to the results of the analysis. Second, I discuss suggestions for further research. And lastly, I reflect on the research, the problems and choices that I made.*

## 6.1. Reflection on theory

### 6.1.1. Interpretations and implications

This research contributes to filling the gap in the literature on how media representation of a violent conflict influences the attitudes towards refugees by answering the research question 'How does media representation of a violent conflict influences the attitude towards refugees in a host country?' I used the media representation of Syria and Yemen in Dutch media as a comparative case study for this research.

The results indicate that media representation influences the knowledge about a violent conflict, which thereafter influences the perceptions and attitude. The data from the survey suggests two main findings about the attitude towards refugees; First, fewer responders thought that Yemeni refugees should be able to obtain a residence permit in the Netherlands among other places compared to Syrian refugees. Second, fewer responders were willing to donate money for people in Yemen compared to people in Syria. They felt less morally responsible to help, because they did not gain as much knowledge about the Yemeni situation.

The amount of media coverage regarding Syria and Yemen is in two ways clearly connected to the knowledge people have about both conflicts. Firstly, the responders agreed that they heard more often news regarding Syria compared to news concerning Yemen. This is largely in line with the media coverage (see figure 11), as the media paid more attention to the Syrian conflict. Secondly, the results of the survey showed that the responders know less about the situation in Yemen. In contrast, they more frequently answered that they acknowledge what is happening in Syria. This corresponds with the media coverage, as Syria was more often discussed in the media. This led people to gain more information about this conflict.

The media representation has a clear connection to the knowledge people have regarding the conflicts. As Luyendijk states (2006), words picked by journalists largely determine what the public sees in a situation. The results from the critical discourse analysis are largely in line with the results of the survey questions regarding the knowledge of both conflicts. The words coded most frequently in the critical discourse analysis (see figure 12 and 13), were often the most common words mentioned by the responders of the survey. This means that the responders mentioned words that were often discussed in the articles. For instance, famine was discussed frequently in the articles on Yemen, but not as much in the articles on Syria. As a result, the responders only wrote this word down in the case of Yemen.

Furthermore, as discussed in the theoretical framework (paragraph 2.3.), Galtung distinguish between war and peace journalism (Galtung, 1998). According to the theory on peace and war journalism, the words regarding Syria and Yemen coded in the critical discourse analysis can mostly be framed as war-oriented (Galtung, 1998). However, there are a number of differences between the representation of Yemen and the representation of Syria.

The first indicator shows that the representation of Syria and Yemen are more war/violence-oriented rather than peace/conflict-oriented journalism, although they both have few characteristics of peace/conflict-oriented journalism. The articles did frequently not explore the conflict formation and all goals of the involved parties. They often assumed that the actors had one goal: winning the war. As a result, the articles did not focus on how all parties could 'win'; what is necessary for the parties to reconcile. Moreover, the Western world was regularly clearly taking side in foreign conflicts, which was visible in news articles as well. Terms such as rebels and terrorists showed that these groups are 'our' enemy. This created clearly 'us versus them' journalism towards countries outside the West.

In addition, an important factor of today's journalism is the fact that journalism is often reactive; journalists are often waiting for a violent event to happen before reporting on the conflict (Galtung, 1998; Luyendijk, 2006; Dam, 2019). The articles regarding Syria and Yemen were often reporting on violence that already happened, instead of prevention before any violence occurs.

The second indicator suggests that, from the perspective of the reader, it is difficult to determine whether the articles are truth- or propaganda-oriented. Looking at the news articles, the events that were reported on can be seen as the truth, because these events really took place. However, the role of the Western world was often left out (for example weapon trade). Moreover, when reporting on the conflict, the author already took side. For instance, calling a specific group 'terrorists' is not neutral reporting, because to other people they are not terrorists, but their freedom fighters.

The third indicator shows that there is a difference between the representation of Syria and Yemen when focussing on the people-oriented versus the elite-oriented journalism. The articles on Yemen are more people-oriented, while the articles on Syria are more elite-oriented. As concluded in section 5.2. and section 5.3., the articles regarding Yemen focussed more on the suffering of its population, such as women and children, compared to the articles about Syria. The articles regarding Yemen discussed more frequently the diseases, malnutrition and other consequences of the war in Yemen. The articles regarding Syria focussed more on the actors, elites and the battle that is going on in the country. Less attention was spent on the suffering of the population.

The last indicator suggests that articles concerning both conflicts were more victory-oriented journalism than solution-oriented journalism. Even though some articles discussed peace negotiations and agreements, their aim was not to discuss in-depth solutions to the conflict. The emphasis was mostly on violence and ceasefire, instead of non-violent alternatives. Moreover, the articles focussed on the differences between the actors instead of looking at their shared history, cultural aspects and other similarities.

The results from the survey are largely in line with existing theories as the CNN Effect and the Manufacturing consent school, as well as the statements of Luyendijk. Almost three quarters of the survey responders agreed that media had an influence on their general opinion and the images they

have about Syria and Yemen. In addition, more than half of the responders agreed that their opinion about refugees in the Netherlands is created by the media. As the CNN Effect, Manufacturing consent school and Luyendijk state, it can be concluded that media influences the opinion and attitude.

The outcomes of the survey showed that, in comparison to the answers about Syria, fewer responders thought that Yemeni refugees should be able to obtain a residence permit in the Netherlands among other places. Moreover, they were less willing to donate money for people in Yemen compared to Syria. One of the main reasons mentioned by the responders is that they seem to know less about the Yemeni situation. Thus, people feel less morally responsible to help when a conflict does not receive as much media coverage. This confirms the CNN Effect, Manufacturing consent school and Luyendijk's statements.

As described above, the results confirm existing theories as the CNN Effect and the Manufacturing consent school, as well as the statements of Luyendijk. In addition, the results build on these existing theories, as it investigated how media representation of a violent conflict influences the attitude towards refugees. The results indicate that there is a clear connection between media representation – including the media coverage – and the attitude towards refugees. Media representation about a violent conflict influences the knowledge about that conflict, which thereafter influences the perceptions and attitude, especially towards refugees obtaining a residence permit and the willingness to donate money. These results contribute to a clearer understanding of how media representation influences the attitude, fill the gap in the literature and give new insights regarding the topic.

## 6.1.2. Limitations

It is beyond the scope of this research to make conclusions about the general attitude towards refugees in the Netherlands. This study investigated how media representation of a violent conflict influences the attitudes towards refugees in a host country by using mixed-methods, including a cross-sectional survey among Dutch people. This thesis did not investigate how refugees experience the attitudes towards themselves and if this is any different than the responders view.

In addition, the survey results did not reflect the actual behaviour of the population for a number of reasons. Firstly, 43 of the 62 responders were female and only 19 were male. This dissimilarity between male and female responders can be explained by the fact that I have more female friends, who shared the survey more regularly with their female friends. This might have influenced the results, because men might have another opinion towards various topics than women. Secondly, close to half of the responders were aged between 22 and 26 years old. An explanation for this is that I am around that age and most of my friends – with whom I shared the survey with – are around that age as well. Older or younger people might think differently towards the topics posted in the questions, which could have led to another outcomes. Moreover, most responders voted left-wing during the Dutch parliamentarian elections in March 2021. Especially the political party D66 was popular among the responders: 31% of the responders (19 people) voted for this party. This can be explained by the left-oriented 'bubble' I live and study in. The results might have been be different if more responders voted for the PVV, who are more often inclined to be against refugees.

Furthermore, as mentioned in the methodology, the critical discourse analysis and visual data analysis are often subjective analyses, as the analyst cannot separate its own values and believes when interpreting the text and visual data. This means that the analyst may have given meaning to text and images based on their preconceptions (Nguyen, 2014). Nonetheless, despite the limitations of this research, it gave new insights and provided knowledge about the influence of media on the attitude and contributed to filling the gap in the literature.

## 6.1.3. Recommendations

This section provides a number of recommendations for further research regarding this topic. Firstly, including surveys/interviews of refugees living in the host country would be relevant for two reasons: to investigate how the attitudes towards them are experienced and to examine if there are any dissimilarities compared to the Dutch responders.

Secondly, it would be interesting to include more countries in the analyses. For instance, how do Russia, Saudi Arabia, the United States or neighbouring countries report on the conflicts in Syria and Yemen? Do they report differently on these conflicts compared to the Dutch media?

Thirdly, another suggestion is to analyse news articles in countries which take opposite sides in a conflict. For instance, a country which is pro Assad's regime and another country which is against Assad's regime, or – focussing on another conflict in the Middle East – a country which is pro-Israel and a country that is pro-Palestine. In my opinion, it would be relevant to do research about how countries frame a conflict from contrasting perspectives. In this way, it clearly becomes visible how the media frames specific events or conflict and how this is influencing the public opinion and attitude among society.

Fourthly, it is relevant for this research to tweak the research question a bit. I focussed on the media coverage and representation of a violent conflict, but further research could also focus on media representation of refugees in the host country. As this research focussed on the attitudes towards refugees in a host country, it could be applicable to focus only on articles about those refugees living in the host country. The research question would then change to 'How does media representation of refugees in a host country influence the attitudes towards these refugees in that country?' In that case, the research would be focussed on articles about Syrian and Yemeni refugees already living in the Netherlands. The focus would shift from the country of origin – the conflict zone – to the host country of the refugees.

Lastly, a new sub-question could be added to this research. I investigated how the media coverage and representation of a violent conflict looks like and how this influences the attitude towards refugees. However, it would be relevant to examine why the media coverage and representation looks the way it does and who/what determines what is represented. For example, what is the role of the government in media representation? Why did the journalists report on the conflict the way they did? Which choices did they have to make? Why are conflicts differently represented? Answering these questions would contribute to this research and give new insights.

## 6.2. Reflection on research

In this section, a reflection on this research and the problems and choices made during this research are provided in chronological order.

To answer the question what the media coverage of a violent conflict looks like, I researched how many articles were published regarding the conflicts in Syria and Yemen. This went well, but I experienced some difficulties when I wanted to count the search results per year on the website of AD. On the news sites of NOS and Nu.nl it was possible to scroll back through all articles about a specific topic, which made it possible for me to analyse how many articles were published in each year, from 2015 till 2021. On the news site of AD, it was not possible to scroll back to articles about Syria published before 2018, because the website would only show a limited number of articles per topic. This made it not possible to include AD in the analysis of the quantity of articles per year (as shown in figure 10). I was only able to see the total amount of articles published regarding Syria and Yemen.

In addition, it was difficult to search for articles concerning Syria on the AD website from before 2018. To overcome this problem I had to find a different way to collect articles from AD. I used Google and typed 'AD Syria" as the search term. After that, I clicked on 'tools' and selected a specific year, for example 2015. When searching in this way, Google only showed articles on Syria from the AD website in 2015. As a result, I was able to collect the articles from AD for the critical discourse analysis and visual data analysis.

The next problem I experienced was during the data collection of the articles. I wanted to randomly select the news articles. When using 'Syria' and 'Yemen' as search terms, all articles showed up in which these countries were mentioned. This meant that I also selected articles which had nothing to do with the Syrian and Yemeni war. I selected, for example, an article about malnutrition in Africa. In particular the situation in Sudan and Somalia was discussed in this article, where Yemen was only mentioned ones. Because this article was not about the Yemeni situation, conflict or refugees, it would not help me to answer the sub-question 'how does media coverage and representation of a violent conflict looks like?' For this reason, I decided to not let this article be part of this research and replace it with another randomly selected article.

The analysis of the articles went well and I did not experience any major problems. I analysed and coded the articles from each news site in a separate file on Atlas.ti. Therefore, I was able to observe differences between the news sites. Subsequently I combined the files to create an overview of all codes. After doing so, the files merged well. However, I experienced a minor issue while merging the codes in Atlas.ti. For instance, I had the codes 'oorlog', 'oorlog (1)' and 'oorlog (2)', which were obvious the same codes, but from different files. Because I am not very familiar with merging codes on Atlas.ti, I had to merge all codes by hand. This worked fine, but it took a lot of time to merge all codes.

Conducting the survey among my referrals and collecting the answers went better than I had expected beforehand. I searched on the internet for the right tool to create the survey, which worked well. Spreading the survey through exponential non-discriminative snowball sampling and collecting the answers exceeded my expectations, as I researched 62 Dutch people. Besides that, all surveys were completed. I did not experience any problems when analysing the results of the survey.

# 7. Conclusion

*This chapter answers the main research question 'How does media representation of a violent conflict influences the attitude towards refugees in a host country?', summarises and reflects on the research and provides recommendations.*

This research aimed to investigate how media representation of a violent conflict influences the attitudes towards refugees in a host country. Based on the analysis of news articles, visual data and survey questions regarding the attitude, it can be concluded that the news – consisting of the media coverage and representation – influences the attitude towards refugees through knowledge (see figure 23).



Figure 23, Influence on attitude

Firstly, the media coverage – the quantity and length of the articles – regarding a violent conflict largely corresponds with the amount of gained knowledge about the conflict zone. The results suggest that less media coverage results in less knowledge about the conflict. The results of the survey show that less knowledge, in turn, leads to more negative attitudes towards refugees obtaining a residence permit and the willingness to donate money for people in the conflict zone. In contrast, more media coverage leads to more knowledge about the conflict, which, in turn, leads to more positive attitudes towards refugees.

Secondly, the media representation – linguistic practice and visual data – has a clear effect on the gained knowledge of people in the host country. This means that the words picked by journalists are often in line with how people perceive the conflict and which words came to mind when thinking about the conflict. This, thereafter, influences the perceptions and attitude towards the conflict and its refugees.

To answer the research question, I took a mixed-method approach. I examined the media coverage, conducted a critical discourse analysis, a visual data analysis and a cross-sectional survey. Despite the limitations of these methods discussed in the methodology and discussion, the methods allowed me to gain the necessary information to answer the research question. I was able to provide new knowledge regarding what the representation of a violent conflict looks like, what the attitudes towards refugees are in the host country and what the connection is between representation and the attitude.

As expected, the results clearly confirm that the news influences the public opinion and attitude, as the CNN Effect, Manufacturing consent school and Luyendijk argue. Moreover, the results confirm that most news articles can be framed as war journalism rather than peace journalism, as discussed in section 2.4. This framing influences the perceptions and attitudes towards the conflict.

In addition, this research builds on these existing theories. It provides new insights and contributes to filling the gap on how media representation influences the attitude towards refugees. It brings increased awareness about the bias, political agendas and judgements behind the news and the

influence it has on people's opinion. This knowledge contributes to overcome the problem regarding the negative attitudes, also experienced by the three Syrian refugees.

Based on these conclusions, practitioners should consider broadening this research to further contribute to filling the gap in the literature. For instance, including an analysis regarding refugees' experiences with the attitudes towards themselves in a host country would be a relevant addition.

Moreover, further research is needed to investigate who/what determines how the media coverage and representation looks like. For instance, does the government influence the content represented on the news – as the Manufacturing consent school stated – or are other factors involved? And what is the role of journalists? These insights will further contribute to filling the gap in the literature and solving the problem.

What can be learned from this thesis is that people have to be more critical towards the bias, political agendas and judgements behind the news, as it influences their knowledge and attitude. Moreover, the media itself has to become more aware of their influence on their consumers. The words picked by journalists influence the perceptions and opinion towards the conflict and refugees. Media should be more careful when framing a conflict, because it can have serious consequences for the people living in the conflict zone and the refugees. To overcome this, further research is needed on this topic.

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# Appendix 1, Links articles

## Syria

| Website | Year | No. | Link |
|---|---|---|---|
| AD | 2015 | 1 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/is-kan-valse-syrische-paspoorten-maken~a69e3335/ |
| | | 2 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/tienduizenden-europeanen-aangesloten-bij-is~af9d888a/ |
| | | 3 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/cia-20-000-buitenlandse-strijders-uit-90-landen-bij-is~ada10b2d/ |
| | 2016 | 1 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/bloedbad-in-zuiden-syrie~a90f5954/ |
| | | 2 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/mortiergranaten-ingeslagen-bij-paleis-assad-in-syrie~add39274/ |
| | | 3 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/toenadering-maar-nog-geen-concreet-akkoord-over-syrie~a210cc88/ |
| | 2017 | 1 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/syrisch-jongetje-4-vertrok-vanaf-station-van-de-waanzin~a2aec4c5/ |
| | | 2 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/syrische-burgeroorlog-trof-kinderen-in-2016-harder-dan-ooit~a95527e9/ |
| | | 3 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/onderzoek-naar-fraude-met-hulpgeld-voor-syrie~a80c81e3/ |
| | 2018 | 1 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/vs-voert-samen-met-bondgenoten-raketaanval-uit-in-syrie~a0d29157/ |
| | | 2 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/nederland-gaf-steun-aan-jihadisten-in-syrie~a4794eb9/ |
| | | 3 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/is-vecht-voor-zijn-laatste-stukje-kalifaat~afb0acce/ |
| | 2019 | 1 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/vrees-voor-nieuwe-vluchtelingenstroom-uit-syrie~ab7b7a67/ |
| | | 2 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/rellen-en-geloofsruzies-in-is-kampen-in-syrie~abb02ecd/ |
| | | 3 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/koerden-en-syrisch-leger-willen-oprukkende-turken-samen-stoppen~a606c499/ |
| | 2020 | 1 | https://www.ad.nl/binnenland/syrische-asielzoeker-vrijgesproken-van-deelname-aan-jihadgroep~a462a35d/ |
| | | 2 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/israel-valt-militaire-doelen-in-syrie-aan~a5d76c4b/ |
| | | 3 | https://www.ad.nl/politiek/nederland-stelt-syrie-aansprakelijk-voor-mensenrechtenschendingen~ab8010e7/ |
| | 2021 | 1 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/patienten-syrisch-ziekenhuis-waaronder-een-kind-gedood-bij-aanval~a9415d3e/ |
| | | 2 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/turkse-luchtmacht-valt-koerdische-troepen-aan-in-syrie~a012bd71/ |
| | | 3 | https://www.ad.nl/binnenland/syrische-vluchteling-vrijgesproken-van-terrorisme-hij-beschermde-eigen-huis-en-haard~a5a9bd0b/ |
| NOS | 2015 | 1 | https://nos.nl/collectie/5043/artikel/2069211-syriegangers-nemen-barbaars-geweld-mee-naar-europa |
| | | 2 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2060437-russische-aanvallen-in-syrie-begonnen.html |
| | | 3 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2079156-hulp-onderweg-voor-uitgehongerde-syriers.html |
| | 2016 | 1 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2135858-ruzie-rusland-en-vs-over-syrie-doet-denken-aan-koude-oorlog.html |
| | | 2 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2132719-vn-beschuldigt-assad-van-gebruik-chloorgas.html |
| | | 3 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2145478-is-heeft-duizenden-plannen-voor-aanslagen-in-het-westen.html |

| | 2017 | 1 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2203876-syrische-is-leden-wilden-aanslag-plegen-op-kerstmarkt-in-essen.html |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | | 2 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2189300-ook-in-raqqa-gaat-de-strijd-tegen-is-straat-voor-straat.html |
| | | 3 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2205299-unicef-syrische-oorlogswinter-bedreigt-miljoenen-kinderen.html |
| | 2018 | 1 | https://nos.nl/nieuwsuur/artikel/2249806-nederland-steunde-terreurbeweging-in-syrie.html |
| | | 2 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2238331-new-york-times-bewijs-betrokkenheid-assad-bij-gifgasaanval.html |
| | | 3 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2222162-syrische-burgers-verlaten-de-hel-op-aarde.html |
| | 2019 | 1 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2282496-meeste-asielzoekers-komen-nog-steeds-uit-syrie-toename-uit-iran-en-nigeria.html |
| | | 2 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2308733-doden-en-gewonden-bij-aanslag-met-autobom-in-veiligheidszone-noord-syrie.html |
| | | 3 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2305977-rusland-bombardeerde-bewust-vier-syrische-ziekenhuizen.html |
| | 2020 | 1 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2340389-akkoord-in-vn-veiligheidsraad-over-hervatting-hulp-aan-syrie.html |
| | | 2 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2323366-assad-herovert-dertig-plaatsen-in-regio-aleppo.html |
| | | 3 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2362581-zeker-28-doden-bij-aanslag-op-bus-in-syrie-vermoedelijk-gepleegd-door-is.html |
| | 2021 | 1 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2369249-corona-veroorzaakt-flinke-terugval-in-asielaanvragen-eu.html |
| | | 2 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2364204-tientallen-doden-bij-israelische-aanvallen-in-syrie.html |
| | | 3 | https://nos.nl/nieuwsuur/artikel/2369849-duitse-rechtbank-oordeelt-over-assads-martelgevangenissen-het-was-de-hel.html |
| Nu.nl | 2015 | 1 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/4081569/groot-offensief-leger-en-hezbollah-west-syrie.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 2 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/4141681/landen-rond-syrie-beloven-betere-opvang-vluchtelingen.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 3 | https://www.nu.nl/isis/4125838/franse-bombardementen-in-syrie-onvermijdelijk.html?redirect=1 |
| | 2016 | 1 | https://www.nu.nl/syrie/4371939/strijdende-partijen-syrie-bereiken-wapenstilstand.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 2 | https://www.nu.nl/syrie/4329830/vn-onderzoekt-dodelijke-aanval-hulpkonvooi-syrie.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 3 | https://www.nu.nl/syrie/4336653/rebellen-starten-aanval-dabiq-in-syrie.html?redirect=1 |
| | 2017 | 1 | https://www.nu.nl/syrie/4696455/verantwoordelijk-aanslag-in-vluchtelingenkamp-syrie.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 2 | https://www.nu.nl/syrie/4805958/zenuwgas-sarin-gebruikt-bij-chemische-aanval-syrie-in-april.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 3 | https://www.nu.nl/syrie/4826574/nieuw-staakt-vuren-lijkt-stand-houden-in-syrie.html?redirect=1 |
| | 2018 | 1 | https://www.nu.nl/syrie/5378837/regering-syrie-noemt-evacuatie-hulpverleners-criminele-operatie.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 2 | https://www.nu.nl/syrie/5257814/israel-voert-nieuwe-luchtaanvallen-doelen-in-syrie.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 3 | https://www.nu.nl/syrie/5237819/nederland-trekt-120-miljoen-euro-noodhulp-syrie.html?redirect=1 |

| | 2019 | 1 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/6012149/israelische-leger-voert-raketaanval-uit-op-groot-aantal-doelen-in-syrie.html?redirect=1 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | 2 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/6004860/vs-deal-met-turkije-over-wapenstilstand-in-grensgebied-syrie.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 3 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/6007774/nieuwe-veilige-zone-garandeert-vooralsnog-geen-rust-in-noordoost-syrie.html?redirect=1 |
| | 2020 | 1 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/6073036/vn-nog-meer-dan-tienduizend-is-strijders-actief-in-syrie-en-irak.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 2 | https://www.nu.nl/politiek/6078310/nederland-stelt-syrie-aansprakelijk-voor-mensenrechtenschendingen.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 3 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/6031695/vn-300-doden-bij-luchtaanvallen-op-ziekenhuizen-en-kampen-in-syrie.html?redirect=1 |
| | 2021 | 1 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/6120038/60-procent-syriers-kan-volgens-rode-kruis-niet-genoeg-voedzaam-eten-kopen.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 2 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/6118692/vs-voert-luchtaanvallen-op-iraanse-doelen-in-syrie-uit.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 3 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/6123128/turkse-luchtmacht-zou-koerdische-troepen-hebben-aangevallen-in-syrie.html?redirect=1 |

# Yemen

| Website | Year | No. | Link |
|---|---|---|---|
| AD | 2015 | 1 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/jemen-gaat-ten-onder-aan-oorlog-en-honger~a2e493b9/ |
| | | 2 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/vn-zeer-ontstemd-over-staatsgreep-jemen~a5cb3189/ |
| | | 3 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/tientallen-doden-na-aanval-op-saudi-arabie~a115c23f/ |
| | 2016 | 1 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/president-jemen-staakt-het-vuren-tijdens-vredesbesprekingen~ade5024f/ |
| | | 2 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/kliniek-van-azg-in-jemen-getroffen-door-bom~a26a70231/ |
| | | 3 | https://www.ad.nl/nieuws/vn-komen-miljoenen-tekort-voor-humanitaire-hulp-jemen~a1134969/ |
| | 2017 | 1 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/floortje-dessing-ontsnapt-uit-jemen~a4cd3962/ |
| | | 2 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/jemen-half-miljoen-kinderen-op-randje-van-de-dood~a55e7559/ |
| | | 3 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/22-doden-door-raketaanval-op-legerbasis-jemen~aadd3c29/ |
| | 2018 | 1 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/tienduizenden-kinderen-jemen-doodgehongerd~adc20773/ |
| | | 2 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/vredesoverleg-jemen-mislukt~a40739dd/ |
| | | 3 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/zeker-19-doden-bij-luchtaanvallen-in-jemen~a11128e5/ |
| | 2019 | 1 | https://www.ad.nl/binnenland/nederland-doet-niet-mee-aan-vn-missie-jemen~aa53e157/ |
| | | 2 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/na-tien-jaar-hulpverlening-aan-de-frontlinie-is-het-tijd-om-te-stoppen~a01f9a95/ |
| | | 3 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/houthi-s-waarschuwen-voor-nieuwe-aanval-iran~a911e6dd/ |

| | 2020 | 1 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/saoedische-coalitie-in-jemen-kondigt-bestand-van-twee-weken-aan~a60aabd0/ |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | 2 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/oliemarkten-extreem-nerveus-na-aanval-op-saoedi-arabie~aaaf1e16/ |
| | | 3 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/zeker-25-regeringssoldaten-in-jemen-gedood-bij-raketaanval~af92ca9d/ |
| | 2021 | 1 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/doden-en-zeker-170-gewonden-door-brand-in-vluchtelingenkamp-in-jemen~a3ac0139/ |
| | | 2 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/jemen-zes-jaar-oorlog-hongersnood-en-weinig-hoop~ad041f56/ |
| | | 3 | https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/rode-kruis-corona-maakt-voedselnood-wereldwijd-nog-erger~a8d078a9/ |
| NOS | 2015 | 1 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2045723-miljoenen-jemenieten-kunnen-door-bombardementen-geen-kant-op.html |
| | | 2 | https://nos.nl/nieuwsuur/artikel/2034302-humanitaire-ramp-dreigt-in-jemen.html |
| | | 3 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2072541-al-qaida-neemt-twee-steden-jemen-in.html |
| | 2016 | 1 | https://nos.nl/op3/artikel/2131606-het-leed-van-jemen-zwaar-ondervoede-kinderen.html |
| | | 2 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2128714-meer-dan-vijftig-doden-bij-zelfmoordaanslag-in-jemen.html |
| | | 3 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2093343-dodental-bombardement-noord-jemen-bijna-verdubbeld.html |
| | 2017 | 1 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2204085-honderden-hulpverleners-jemen-gestrand-door-blokkade.html |
| | | 2 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2182476-cholera-jemen-kan-alleen-worden-aangepakt-als-oorlog-stopt.html |
| | | 3 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2198355-vs-doodt-tientallen-is-strijders-in-jemenitische-trainingskampen.html |
| | 2018 | 1 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2261410-rem-op-nederlandse-wapenhandel-naar-doelen-in-jemen.html |
| | | 2 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2262790-strijdende-partijen-jemen-voor-het-eerst-samen-aan-tafel.html |
| | | 3 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2257614-opnieuw-bommen-op-jemen-ondanks-alle-druk-op-saudi-arabie.html |
| | 2019 | 1 | https://nos.nl/nieuwsuur/artikel/2268592-in-jemen-is-er-wel-voedsel-maar-niemand-kan-erbij-komen.html |
| | | 2 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2297092-zuidelijke-separatisten-plegen-coup-in-jemen.html |
| | | 3 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2301718-vs-niet-houthi-s-maar-iran-achter-drone-aanvallen-op-saudi-arabie.html |
| | 2020 | 1 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2354064-vn-luidt-noodklok-over-ondervoede-kinderen-in-jemen-zoals-samar-8-van-9-5-kilo.html |
| | | 2 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2325815-aanslag-met-explosieven-op-olietanker-voor-kust-jemen-verijdeld.html |
| | | 3 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2323252-vn-meer-dan-30-burgerdoden-bij-luchtaanvallen-in-jemen.html |
| | 2021 | 1 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2366243-nergens-ter-wereld-meer-landmijnen-dan-in-jemen-mijn-been-vloog-door-de-lucht.html |
| | | 2 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2364420-vn-waarschuwt-voor-hongersnood-in-jemen.html |
| | | 3 | https://nos.nl/artikel/2371752-saudi-arabie-bevestigt-houthi-aanval-op-olie-installatie-aramco.html |

| Nu.nl | 2015 | 1 | https://www.nu.nl/politiek/4114526/kabinet-maakt-585-miljoen-euro-vrij-hulp-midden-oosten.html?redirect=1 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | 2 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/4018139/president-hadi-ontvlucht-jemen-vanwege-opmars-houthi-rebellen.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 3 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/3986973/al-qaeda-leider-jemen-gedood-amerikaanse-drone.html?redirect=1 |
| | 2016 | 1 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/4207053/oorlogscoalitie-saudi-arabie-doet-onderzoek-burgerdoden-jemen.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 2 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/4235736/enorme-hongersnood-dreigt-in-jemen-oorlog.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 3 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/4265504/regering-jemen-gaat-toch-weer-in-vredesoverleg-met-rebellen.html?redirect=1 |
| | 2017 | 1 | https://www.nu.nl/weekend/4860513/cholera-in-jemen-geopolitiek-conflict-uitmondt-in-ramp.html |
| | | 2 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/4426674/tientallen-doden-helikopteraanval-jemen.html |
| | | 3 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/4996661/verenigde-naties-eisen-opheffen-blokkade-van-havens-en-vliegvelden-in-jemen.html |
| | 2018 | 1 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/5395763/zeker-26-doden-bombardement-jemen.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 2 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/5307170/vn-waarschuwt-250000-mensen-in-gevaar-strijd-havenstad-jemen.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 3 | https://www.nu.nl/weekend/5536016/oorlog-in-jemen-armste-land-wordt-platgegooid-en-bevolking-verhongert.html |
| | 2019 | 1 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/5984614/regeringstroepen-jemen-trekken-door-separatisten-ingenomen-aden-binnen.html |
| | | 2 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/5674703/meerdere-doden-droneaanval-houthi-rebellen-legerbasis-jemen.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 3 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/5747955/partijen-jemen-bereiken-eerste-akkoord-over-terugtrekken-uit-stad-hodeidah.html?redirect=1 |
| | 2020 | 1 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/6031146/vn-minstens-dertig-burgers-omgekomen-bij-luchtaanvallen-in-jemen.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 2 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/6043608/saoedische-coalitie-kondigt-wapenstilstand-jemen-aan-mede-om-coronavirus.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 3 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/6043933/jemen-getroffen-door-coronavirus-en-beperkte-voedsellevering-in-het-land.html?redirect=1 |
| | 2021 | 1 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/6121106/dodental-door-brand-in-vluchtelingenkamp-in-jemen-stijgt-naar-tachtig.html |
| | | 2 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/6114737/regering-vs-haalt-houthi-rebellen-in-jemen-van-terreurlijst.html?redirect=1 |
| | | 3 | https://www.nu.nl/buitenland/6031146/vn-minstens-dertig-burgers-omgekomen-bij-luchtaanvallen-in-jemen.html?redirect=1 |

# Appendix 2, Translation codes Atlas.ti

| Dutch Coding | English Translation |
|---|---|
| (Sociale) media | Social media |
| Aanhangers | Adherents |
| Aanslag | Attack (Terrorist attack) |
| Aanval | Attack |
| Achterstandswijk | Disadvantaged neighbourhood |
| Afghanistan | Afghanistan |
| Akkoord | Agreement |
| Alertheid | Alertness |
| Al-Qaida | Al Qaeda |
| Angst | Fear |
| Arabisch | Arabic |
| Arabische Lente | Arabic Spring |
| Armoede | Poverty |
| Asiel | Asylum |
| Asielaanvraag | Asylum application |
| Asielzoekers | Asylum seeker |
| Asielzoekerscentrum | Asylum center |
| Bahrein | Bahrain |
| Barbaars | Barbaric |
| Basisvoorziening | Basic provision |
| Belegerd | Siege |
| België | Belgium |
| Bloedbad | Bloodbath |
| Blokkade | Blockage |
| Bolwerk | Bastion/stronghold |
| Bom | Bomb |
| Bombardement | Bombing/bombardment |
| Bommenwerper | Bomber |
| Bondgenoot | Ally |
| Brand | Fire |
| Brussel | Brussels |
| Burgerdoel | Civilian target |
| Burgeroorlog | Civil war |
| Burgers | Civilians |
| Burgerslachtoffers | Civilian victim |
| Catastrofaal | Catastrophic |
| Chaos | Chaos |
| Chemisch | Chemical |
| Chemische wapens | Chemical weapons |
| Chloorgas | Chlorine gas |
| Cholera | Cholera |
| Coalitie | Coalition |
| Conflict | Conflict |
| Confrontatie | Confrontation |
| Corona | Coronavirus |
| Corridor | Corridor |
| Corruptie | Corruption |

| | |
|---|---|
| Coup | Coup |
| Crimineel | Criminal |
| Criminele organisatie | Criminal organisation |
| Crisis | Crisis |
| Dieptepunt | Nadir |
| Doden | Deaths |
| Doelwit | Target |
| Dreiging | Threat |
| Drone | Drone |
| Drone-aanval | Drone-attack |
| Duitsland | Germany |
| Egypte | Egypt |
| Epidemie | Epidemic |
| Eritrea | Eritrea |
| Europa | Europe |
| Evacuatie | Evacuation |
| Explosie | Explosion |
| Explosieven | Explosives |
| Extremisten | Extremists |
| Faylak al-Raham | Faylak al-Raham |
| Financiering | Financing |
| Frankrijk | France |
| Frontlinie | Front line |
| Gasaanval | Gas attack |
| Geallieerden | Allies |
| Gesprekken | Conversations |
| Getraumatiseerd | Traumatised |
| Gevaarlijk | Dangerous |
| Gevechten | Fights |
| Gewapend | Armed |
| Geweld | Violence |
| Gewonden | Injured/Wounded |
| Gifgas | Chemical gas |
| Gifgasaanval | Chemical gas attack |
| Golanhoogte | Golan Heights |
| Granaten | Grenades |
| Griekenland | Greece |
| Groepering | Group |
| Grondtroepen | Ground troops |
| Groot-Brittannië | Great Britain |
| Grootmacht | Superpower |
| Hardverscheurend | Heart breaking |
| Hel | Hell |
| Helikopter | Helicopter |
| Herkomstland | Country of origin |
| Herovering | Recapture |
| Het Westen | The West |
| Hezbollah | Hezbollah |
| Honger | Hungry |
| Hongersnood | Famine |

| | |
|---|---|
| Houthi | Houthi |
| Hulp | Aid/relief |
| Hulpgoederen | Relief supplies |
| Hulpkonvooi | Relief/aid convoy |
| Hulporganisatie | Aid organisation |
| Hulpverleners | Rescuers/assistants |
| Humanitair | Humanitarian |
| Humanitaire crisis | Humanitarian crisis |
| Humanitaire hulp | Humanitarian help |
| Humanitaire ramp | Humanitarian disaster |
| Ideologie | Ideology |
| Illegaal | Illegal |
| Inhumaan | Inhumane |
| Invoer/import | Import |
| Irak | Iraq |
| Iran | Iran |
| IS-kampen | Camps of Islamic State |
| Islamitisch | Islamic |
| Islamitische Staat | Islamic State |
| Isolement | Isolation |
| Israel | Israel |
| Jabhat al-Shamiya | Jahat al-Shamiya |
| Jabhat Fatah al-Sham | Jabhat Fatah al-Sham |
| Jiash al-Islam | Jiash al-Islam |
| Jemen | Yemen |
| Jemenieten | Yemenis |
| Jemenitisch | Yemeni |
| Jihadisme | Jihadism |
| Jordanië | Jordan |
| Kalifaat | Caliphate |
| Kernwapens | Nuclear weapons |
| Kerstmarkt | Christmas market |
| Khashoggi | Khashoggi |
| Kinderen | Children |
| Koerden | Kurds |
| Koeweit | Kuwait |
| Koude Oorlog | Cold War |
| Leed | Sorrow/suffering |
| Leefomstandigheden | Living conditions |
| Leger | Army |
| Levensbedreigend | Life threatening |
| Libanon | Lebanon |
| Libië | Libya |
| Logistiek materieel | Logistic equipment |
| Luchtaanval | Air strike |
| Macedonië | Macedonia |
| Machteloos | Powerless |
| Martelgevangenis | Torture prison |
| Medicijnen | Medicine |
| Medisch | Medical |

| Medische hulp | Medical help |
|---|---|
| Medische zorg | Medical care |
| Menselijk schild | Human shield |
| Mensensmokkelaar | People smuggler/human trafficker |
| Mensenrechtenschendingen | Human rights violations |
| Migratie | Migration |
| Militair | Military |
| Mishandeling | Abuse |
| Moslim | Muslim |
| Moslimterroristen | Muslim terrorists |
| Nareizigers | Follow-up migrant |
| Nederland | The Netherlands |
| Nigeria | Nigeria |
| Nijpend | Pressing |
| Noodhulp | Emergency relief |
| Noodsituatie | Emergency |
| Noodtoestand | State of emergency |
| Offensief | Offensive |
| Ondervoeding | Malnutrition/innutrition |
| Onrust | Unrest |
| Onschuldig | Innocent |
| Ontheemd | Displaced |
| Oorlog | War |
| Oorlogsmisdaad | War crime |
| Oorlogswinter | War winter |
| Oplossing | Solution |
| Opmars | March |
| Oppositie | Opposition |
| Opstand | Protests |
| Oud-president Saleh | Old President Saleh |
| Overleden | Passed away |
| Paniek | Panic |
| Parijs | Paris |
| Politiek | Politics |
| President Assad | President Assad |
| President Hadi | President Hadi |
| Procedure | Procedure |
| Propaganda | Propaganda |
| Radicaliseren | Radicalisation |
| Raketten | Rocket/missiles |
| Rebellen | Rebels |
| Regering | Government |
| Regeringsleger | Governmental army |
| Rellen | Riots |
| Rode Kruis | Red Cross |
| Rusland | Russia |
| Ruzie | Fight |
| Salafisme | Salafism |
| Samenwerken | Collaborate |
| Sancties | Sanctions |

| Saudi-Arabië | Saudi Arabia |
|---|---|
| Saudische coalitie | Saudi coalition |
| Schokkend | Shocking |
| School | School |
| Schrijnend | Poignant |
| Separatisten | Separatists |
| Sharia-les | Sharia lessons |
| Sjiitisch | Shia |
| Slachtoffers | Victims |
| Sluipschutters | Sniper |
| Soennitisch | Sunni |
| Spanningen | Tensions |
| Staakt-het-vuren | Ceasefire/truce |
| Steun | Support |
| Straaljager | Fighter aircraft |
| Strategisch belang | Strategic importance |
| Strijd | Battle |
| Strijden | Battling |
| Strijdende partijen | Warring/battling parties |
| Strijders | Fighters |
| Syrië | Syria |
| Syriëganger | Foreign fighter to Syria |
| Syriërs | Syrians |
| Syrisch | Syrian |
| Terreurorganisatie | Terrorist organisation |
| Terrorisme | Terrorism |
| Terroristen | Terrorists |
| Toenadering | Approaching |
| Tragedie | Tragedy |
| Trainingskamp | Training camp |
| Tunnels | Tunnels |
| Turkije | Turkey |
| Uitbuiting | Exploit |
| Uitgehongerd | Starved |
| Uitgemergeld | Emaciated |
| Unicef | UNICEF |
| Vals paspoort | False passport |
| Valse identiteit | False identity |
| Vechten | Fighting |
| Veilig | Safety |
| Veiligheidszone | Safety zone |
| Verdachten | Suspects |
| Verenigde Arabische Emiraten | United Arab Emirates |
| Verenigde Naties | United Nations |
| Verenigde Staten | United States |
| Verminkt | Mutilated |
| Vermoorden | Murder |
| Verwoestingen | Destruction/devastation |
| Vijand | Enemy |
| Vluchtelingen | Refugee |

| | |
|---|---|
| Vluchtelingencrisis | Refugee crisis |
| Vluchtelingenkamp | Refugee camp |
| Vluchtelingenstroom | Refugee flow |
| Vluchten | Flee |
| Voedsel | Food |
| Voedselpakket | Food packages |
| Vrede | Peace |
| Vredesonderhandelingen | Peace negotiations |
| Vrees | Fear |
| Vrije Syrische Leger | Free Syrian Army |
| Vrouwen | Women |
| Vuur | Fire flames |
| Waanzin | Madness |
| Wapenhandel | Weapon trade |
| Wapens | Weapon |
| Witte Helmen | The White Helmets |
| Zelfmoordaanslag | Suicide attack |
| Zenuwgas | Nerve gas |
| Ziekenhuis | Hospital |
| Ziekte | Disease |
| Zuidelijke Separatisten | Southern Separatists |
| Zwitserland | Switzerland |

Note: The survey is in Dutch, because I have conducted the survey among Dutch people.

| |
|---|
| 1. Wat is uw geslacht? Vrouw / man / anders<br>*(What is your gender? Woman / man / other)* |
| 2. Wat is uw geboortedatum?<br>*(What is your day of birth?)* |
| 3. Op welke partij heeft u gestemd bij de Tweede Kamerverkiezingen afgelopen maart?<br>VVD / D66 / PVV / CDA / SP / PvdA / GroenLinks / FvD / PvdD / CU / Ik heb niet gestemd / anders,<br>namelijk….<br>*(Which party did you vote for in the parliamentary elections last March? VVD / D66 / PVV / CDA /*<br>*SP / PvdA / GroenLinks / FvD / PvdD / CU / I didn't vote/ other, namely….)* |
| 4. Hoe vaak volgt u het nieuws per week? (TV, online, radio, etc.)<br>Dagelijks / 6-5 dagen / 4-3 dagen / 2-1 dag(en) / minder dan 1 dag per week<br>*(How often do you follow the news per week? Daily / 6-5 days / 4-3 days / 2-1 days / less than one*<br>*day per week)* |
| 5. Via welk kanaal volgt u het nieuws het vaakst?<br>Televisie / nieuwssites / sociale media / radio / anders, namelijk ….<br>*(Through which channels do you follow the news most often? Television / news sites / social media*<br>*/ radio / other, namely…)* |
| 6. Welke woorden komen in u op als u aan Syrië denkt? Schrijf zoveel mogelijk losse woorden op.<br>*(What words come to mind when thinking about Syria? Write down as many single words as*<br>*possible)* |
| 7. Welke woorden komen in u op als u aan Jemen denkt? Schrijf zoveel mogelijk losse woorden op.<br>*(What words come to mind when thinking about Yemen? Write down as many single words as*<br>*possible)* |
| 8. Ken je persoonlijk iemand met een Syrische achtergrond? Ja / nee<br>*(Do you personally know someone with a Syrian background? Yes / no)* |
| 9. Ken je persoonlijk iemand met een Jemenitische achtergrond? Ja / nee<br>*(Do you personally know someone with a Yemeni background? Yes / no)* |
| Geef aan in hoeverre u het eens bent met onderstaande stellingen.<br>Helemaal mee eens / mee eens / neutraal / oneens / helemaal oneens<br>*(Please indicate to what extent you agree with the statements below. Totally agree / agree /*<br>*neutral / disagree / totally disagree)*<br>10. Wat ik zie/lees in de media heeft invloed op mijn mening.<br>*(What I see/read in the media influences my opinion)*<br>11. Ik heb vaak over Syrië gehoord/gelezen via de media (TV, nieuwssites, sociale media, radio,<br>etc.).<br>*(I have often heard/read about Syria through the media (TV, news sites, social media, radio, etc.))*<br>12. Ik heb vaak over Jemen gehoord/gelezen via de media (TV, nieuwssites, sociale media, radio,<br>etc.).<br>*(I have often heard/read about Yemen through the media (TV, news sites, social media, radio, etc.))*<br>13. Ik weet wat er in Syrië aan de hand is.<br>*(I know what's going on in Syria)*<br>14. Ik weet wat er in Jemen aan de hand is.<br>*(I know what's going on in Yemen)*<br>15. Het beeld dat ik van Syrië en Jemen heb is ontstaan door wat ik in de media heb<br>gezien/gelezen.<br>*(The image I have about Syria and Yemen is created by what I have seen/read in the media)* |
| Geef aan in hoeverre u het eens bent met onderstaande stellingen.<br>Helemaal mee eens / mee eens / neutraal / oneens / helemaal oneens |

16. Vluchtelingen uit een gewelddadig conflict moeten een verblijfsvergunning kunnen krijgen in o.a. Nederland.

*(Refugees from a violent conflict should be able to obtain a residence permit in The Netherlands, among other places)*

17. Mensen uit Syrië moeten een verblijfsvergunning kunnen krijgen in o.a. Nederland.

*(Syrians should be able to obtain a residence permit in The Netherlands, among other places)*

18. Mensen uit Jemen moeten een verblijfsvergunning kunnen krijgen in o.a. Nederland.

*(Yemenis should be able to obtain a residence permit in The Netherlands, among other places)*

19. De Nederlandse overheid moet meer hulp naar Syrië sturen.

*(The Dutch government should send more aid to Syria)*

20. De Nederlandse overheid moet meer hulp naar Jemen sturen.

*(The Dutch government should send more aid to Yemen)*

21. Ik zou geld doneren voor mensen in Syrië.

*(I would donate money for people in Syria)*

22. Ik zou geld doneren voor mensen in Jemen.

*(I would donate money for people in Yemen)*

23. Mijn mening over vluchtelingen in Nederland is ontstaan door wat ik over hen in de media heb gezien/gelezen.

*(My opinion about refugees in the Netherlands is created by what I have seen/read in the media)*

24. Leg uit waarom u het eens/oneens bent met de stelling 'Syriërs moeten een verblijfsvergunning kunnen krijgen in o.a. Nederland.'

*(Explain why you agree/disagree with the statement 'Syrians should be able to obtain a residence permit in The Netherlands, among other places')*

25. Leg uit waarom u het eens/oneens bent met de stelling 'Jemenieten moeten een verblijfsvergunning kunnen krijgen in o.a. Nederland.'

*(Explain why you agree/disagree with the statement 'Yemenis should be able to obtain a residence permit in The Netherlands, among other places')*

Leg uit waarom u het eens/oneens bent met de stelling 'Ik zou geld doneren voor mensen in Syrie.'

*(Explain why you agree/disagree with the statement 'I would donate money for people in Syria')*

Leg uit waarom u het eens/oneens bent met de stelling 'Ik zou geld doneren voor mensen in Jemen.'

*(Explain why you agree/disagree with the statement 'I would donate money for people in Yemen')*

# Appendix 4, Media coverage

Amount of articles Syria and Yemen NOS

| Year | Syria | Yemen |
|------|-------|-------|
| 2015 | 1.895 | 356 |
| 2016 | 1.953 | 130 |
| 2017 | 868 | 209 |
| 2018 | 822 | 154 |
| 2019 | 741 | 123 |
| 2020 | 243 | 53 |

Amount of articles Syria and Yemen Nu.nl

| Year | Syria | Yemen |
|------|-------|-------|
| 2015 | 469 | 203 |
| 2016 | 633 | 122 |
| 2017 | 344 | 147 |
| 2018 | 330 | 82 |
| 2019 | 194 | 51 |
| 2020 | 51 | 7 |

(Note: there is no overview per year available of the AD news site)

Word count per article (from article 1 2015 till article 3 2021)

| AD | | NOS | | Nu.nl | |
|----|----|-----|-----|-------|-------|
| Syria | Yemen | Syria | Yemen | Syria | Yemen |
| 91; 203; 83; 135; 176; 307; 626; 262; 279; 396; 718; 518; 398; 450; 222; 530; 267; 172; 323; 186; 446 | 478; 202; 115; 151; 195; 215; 183; 256; 80; 269; 247; 147; 121; 566; 276; 227; 522; 177; 293; 524; 589 | 210; 251; 330; 424; 181; 200; 202; 558; 283; 828; 452; 345; 416; 208; 395; 244; 190; 146; 274; 387; 705 | 351; 504; 150; 312; 157; 215; 264; 348; 139; 171; 268; 662; 227; 251; 383; 543; 214; 291; 702; 290; 317 | 111; 246; 127; 399; 324; 159; 131; 482; 184; 182; 231; 559; 122; 468; 572; 169; 223; 266; 279; 218; 186 | 216; 267; 110; 248; 167; 154; 156; 172; 432; 171; 230; 828; 142; 281; 200; 223; 197; 210; 148; 271; 223 |
| Total: 6.788 | Total:5.833 | Total: 7.229 | Total: 6.759 | Total: 5.638 | Total 5.046 |
| Average: 323,23 | Average: 277,76 | Average: 344,24 | Average: 321, 86 | Average: 268,48 | Average: 240,29 |

# Appendix 5, Survey results

## 1. Wat is uw geslacht?
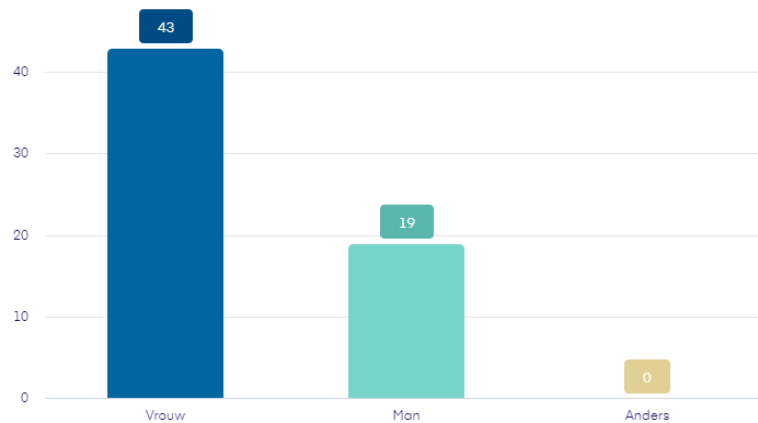


## 2. Wat is uw geboortedatum?
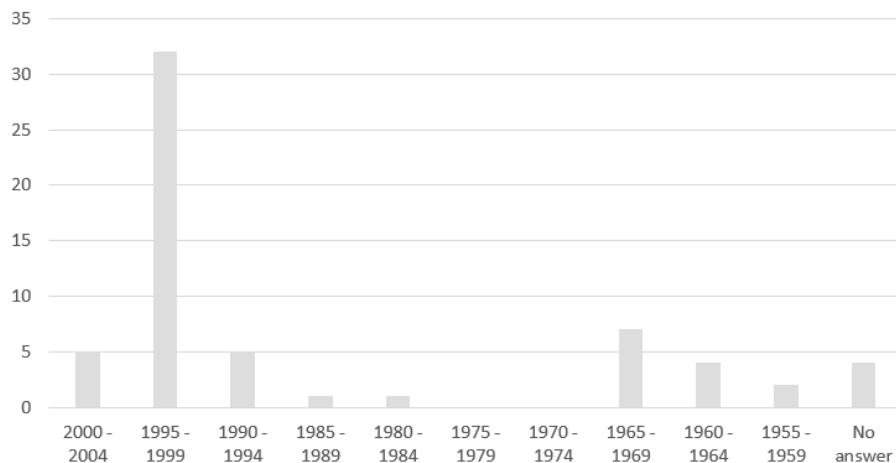


## 3. Op welke partij heeft u gestemd bij de Tweede Kamerverkiezingen afgelopen maart?
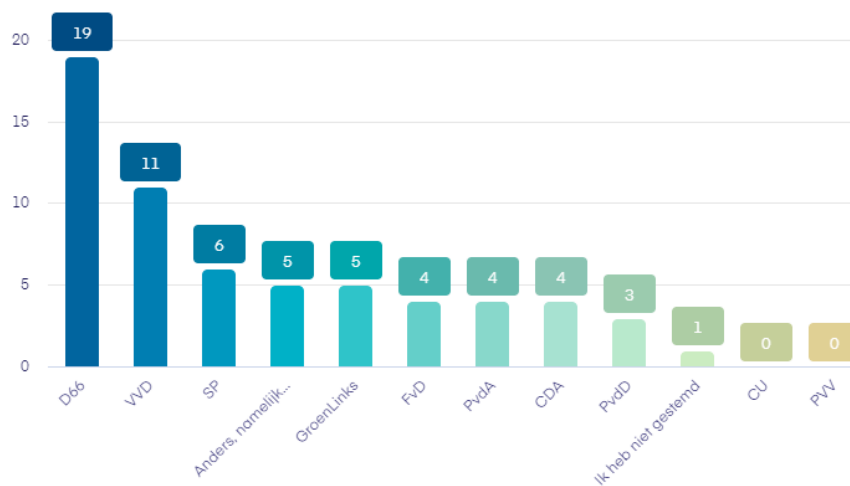
## 4. Hoe vaak volgt u het nieuws per week? (TV, online, radio, etc.).
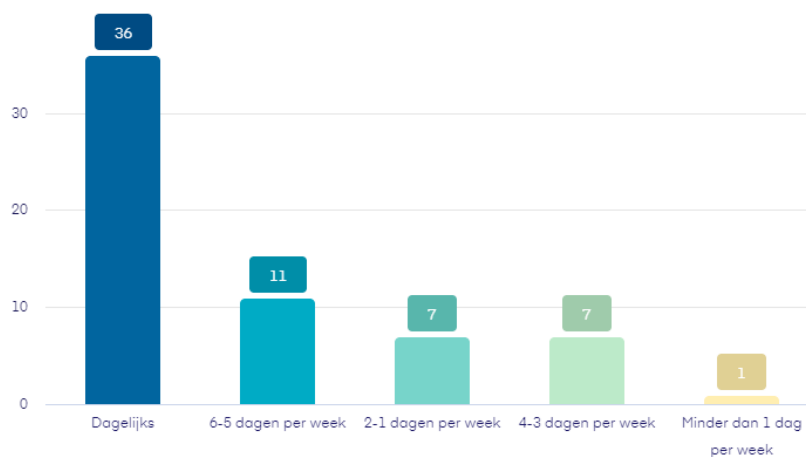


## 5. Via welk kanaal volgt u het nieuws het vaakst?
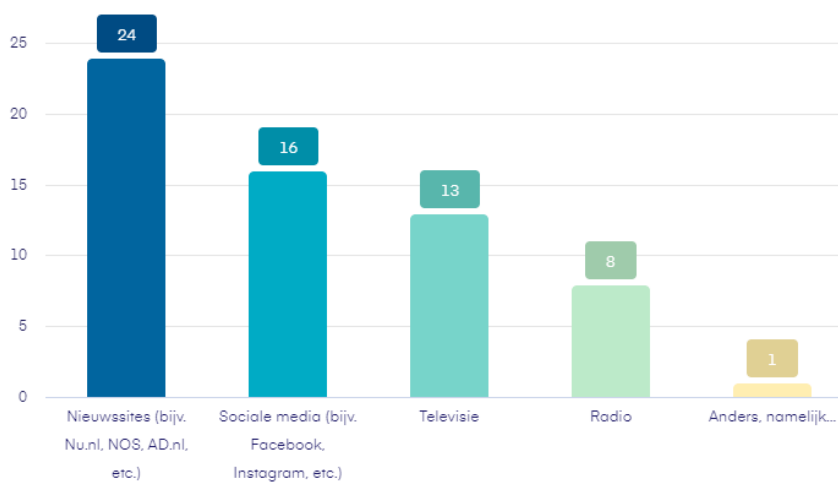


## 6. Welke woorden komen in u op als u aan Syrië denkt?

|    | Mentioned words    | Many times |
|----|--------------------|------------|
| 1  | Oorlog             | 44         |
| 2  | Vluchtelingen      | 39         |
| 3  | Islamitische Staat | 17         |
| 4  | President Assad    | 12         |
| 5  | Armoede            | 9          |
| 6  | Burgeroorlog       | 8          |
| 7  | Midden-Oosten      | 6          |
| 8  | Conflict           | 5          |
| 9  | Vluchten           | 4          |
| 10 | Asielzoekers       | 4          |
| 11 | Verdriet           | 4          |
| 12 | Islam              | 4          |
| 13 | Dictatuur          | 4          |
| 14 | Trauma             | 3          |

| 15 | Angst | 3 |
|---|---|---|
| 16 | Wapens | 3 |
| 17 | Geweld | 2 |
| 18 | Inburgeren | 2 |
| 19 | Asielzoekerscentrum | 2 |
| 20 | Woestijn | 2 |
| 21 | Kalifaat | 2 |
| 22 | Vluchtelingenkamp | 2 |
| 23 | Discriminatie | 2 |
| 24 | Gevaarlijk | 2 |
| 25 | Gelovig | 2 |
| 26 | Koerden | 2 |
| 27 | Terreur | 2 |
| 28 | Turkije | 2 |
| 29 | Hoofddoek | 2 |
| 30 | Onderdrukking | 2 |
| 31 | Irak | 2 |
| 32 | Buitenland | 2 |
| 33 | Bommen | 2 |
| 34 | Cultuur | 2 |
| 35 | Vriendelijk | 2 |
| 36 | Taalhulp | 2 |
| 37 | Vreselijk | 2 |
| 38 | Tien jaar | 2 |
| 39 | Crisis | 2 |
| 40 | Terrorisme | 1 |
| 41 | Syriëganger | 1 |
| 42 | Azië | 1 |
| 43 | Verwoestingen | 1 |
| 44 | Uitzichtloosheid | 1 |
| 45 | Puinhoop | 1 |
| 46 | Voedseltekort | 1 |
| 47 | Erbarmelijke omstandigheden | 1 |
| 48 | Turkijedeal | 1 |
| 49 | Vrouwen | 1 |
| 50 | Klasgenoot | 1 |
| 51 | Ellende | 1 |
| 52 | Arabisch | 1 |
| 53 | Archeologie | 1 |
| 54 | Hechte familie | 1 |
| 55 | Zielig | 1 |
| 56 | Politiek | 1 |
| 57 | Syrisch orthodox | 1 |
| 58 | Gewonden | 1 |
| 59 | Achterstand op school | 1 |
| 60 | Zelfmoordaanslagen | 1 |
| 61 | Moeilijk leven | 1 |
| 62 | Vluchtelingencrisis | 1 |
| 63 | Problemen | 1 |
| 64 | Economie | 1 |
| 65 | Arabische Lente | 1 |
| 66 | Nieuws | 1 |

| 67 | Hoogopgeleid | 1 |
|----|--------------|---|
| 68 | Werkloos in NL | 1 |
| 69 | Plunderingen | 1 |
| 70 | Wil ik niet wonen | 1 |
| 71 | Interventie | 1 |
| 72 | Israël | 1 |
| 73 | Bootjes | 1 |
| 74 | Doden | 1 |
| 75 | Medicijntekort | 1 |
| 76 | Chemische wapens | 1 |
| 77 | Oude beschaving | 1 |
| 78 | Damascus | 1 |
| 79 | Mosul | 1 |
| 80 | Aleppo | 1 |
| 81 | Raqqa | 1 |
| 82 | Homoseksueel | 1 |
| 83 | Zwarte mensen | 1 |
| 84 | Gastvrij | 1 |
| 85 | Zandbank | |

## 7. Welke woorden komen in u op als u aan Jemen denkt?

|    | Mentioned words | Many times |
|----|-----------------|------------|
|    | Niks ingevuld | 8 |
| 1 | Oorlog | 30 |
| 2 | Hongersnood | 10 |
| 3 | Burgeroorlog | 9 |
| 4 | Vluchtelingen | 8 |
| 5 | Midden-Oosten | 7 |
| 6 | Armoede | 6 |
| 7 | Gevaarlijk | 4 |
| 8 | Gelovig | 3 |
| 9 | Onderdrukking | 3 |
| 10 | Saudi-Arabië | 3 |
| 11 | Conflict | 2 |
| 12 | Afrika | 2 |
| 13 | Arabische Lente | 1 |
| 14 | Dictatuur | 1 |
| 15 | Asielzoekers | 1 |
| 16 | Terroristen | 1 |
| 17 | Kinderen | 1 |
| 18 | Houthi-rebellen | 1 |
| 19 | Inzamelingsactie | 1 |
| 20 | Oman | 1 |
| 21 | Woestijn | 1 |
| 22 | Terreur | 1 |
| 23 | Arabisch | 1 |
| 24 | Verdrietig | 1 |
| 25 | Bombardementen | 1 |
| 26 | Humanitaire ramp | 1 |
| 27 | Geweld | 1 |
| 28 | Socatra Drakenbloedboom | 1 |
| 29 | Ellende | 1 |

| 30 | Onrust | 1 |
|----|--------|---|
| 31 | Vergeten oorlog | 1 |
| 32 | Golf van Aden | 1 |
| 33 | Kamelen | 1 |
| 34 | Zandbanken | 1 |
| 35 | Mensenrechten | 1 |
| 36 | Land | 1 |
| 37 | Republiek | 1 |
| 38 | Serie Friends | 1 |
| 39 | Onbekend | 1 |
| 40 | Islam | 1 |
| 41 | Hoofddoek | 1 |
| 42 | Palestina | 1 |
| 43 | Ongelijkheid | 1 |
| 44 | Crisis | 1 |
| 45 | Cultuur | 1 |
| 46 | Sanaa | 1 |
| 47 | Kindersterfte | 1 |
| 48 | Grote stad | 1 |
| 49 | LHBTI-problemen | 1 |
| 50 | Vakantie | 1 |
| 51 | Noord en Zuid | 1 |

## 8. Kent u persoonlijk iemand met een Syrische achtergrond?
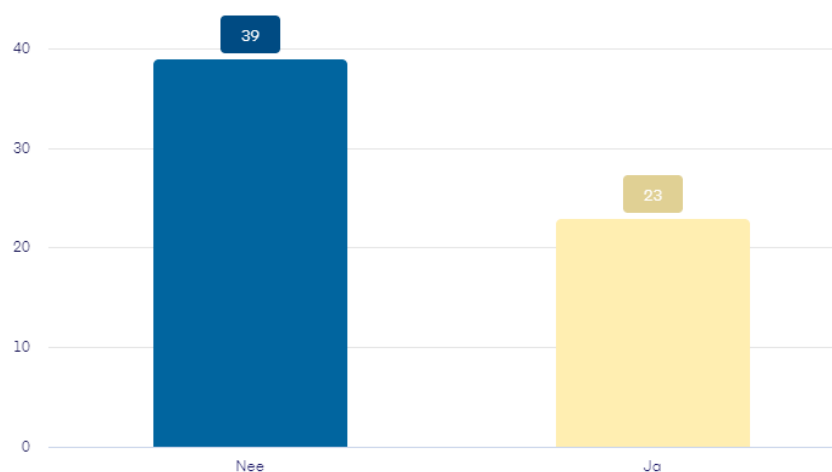
## 9. Kent u persoonlijk iemand met een Jemenitische achtergrond?
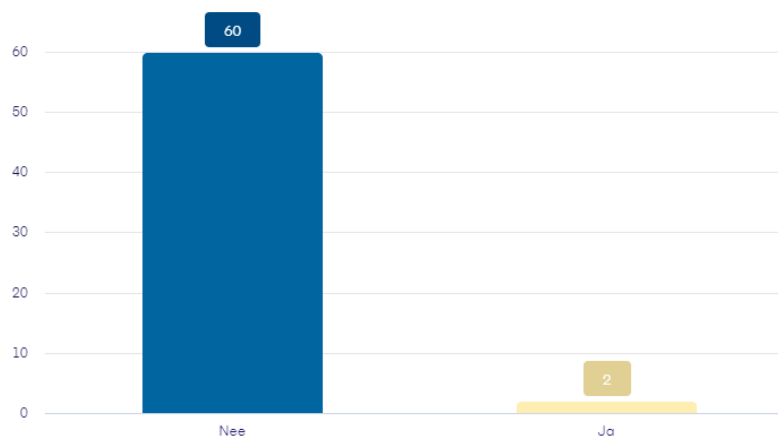


## 10. Wat ik zie/lees in de media heeft invloed op mijn mening.
(2 = helemaal mee eens, 1 = mee eens, 0 = neutral, -1 = mee oneens, -2 = helemaal mee oneens)

|  | -2 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Helemaal mee oneens | 1 | 5 | 12 | 38 | 6 | Helemaal mee eens |

## 11. Ik heb vaak over Syrië gehoord/gelezen via de media (TV, nieuwssites, sociale media, radio, etc.).

|  | -2 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Helemaal mee oneens | 2 | 6 | 7 | 27 | 20 | Helemaal mee eens |

## 12. Ik heb vaak over Jemen gehoord/gelezen via de media (TV, nieuwssites, sociale media, radio, etc.).

|  | -2 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Helemaal mee oneens | 13 | 28 | 9 | 10 | 2 | Helemaal mee eens |

## 13. Ik weet wat er in Syrië aan de hand is.

|  | -2 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Helemaal mee oneens | 2 | 5 | 14 | 29 | 12 | Helemaal mee eens |

## 14. Ik weet wat er in Jemen aan de hand is.

|  | -2 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Helemaal mee oneens | 12 | 23 | 12 | 11 | 4 | Helemaal mee eens |

## 15. Het beeld dat ik van Syrië en Jemen heb is ontstaan door wat ik in de media heb gezien/gelezen.

|  | -2 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Helemaal mee oneens | 2 | 1 | 9 | 37 | 13 | Helemaal mee eens |

## 16. Vluchtelingen uit een gewelddadig conflict moeten een verblijfsvergunning kunnen krijgen in o.a. Nederland.

|  | -2 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Helemaal mee oneens | 2 | 1 | 13 | 29 | 17 | Helemaal mee eens |

## 17. Mensen uit Syrië moeten een verblijfsvergunning kunnen krijgen in o.a. Nederland.

|  | -2 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Helemaal mee oneens | 1 | 9 | 9 | 28 | 15 | Helemaal mee eens |

## 18. Mensen uit Jemen moeten een verblijfsvergunning kunnen krijgen in o.a. Nederland.

|  | -2 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Helemaal mee oneens | 1 | 11 | 11 | 27 | 12 | Helemaal mee eens |

## 19. De Nederlandse overheid moet meer hulp naar Syrië sturen.

|  | -2 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Helemaal mee oneens | 3 | 10 | 25 | 21 | 3 | Helemaal mee eens |

## 20. De Nederlandse overheid moet meer hulp naar Jemen sturen.

| | -2 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Helemaal mee oneens | 3 | 10 | 26 | 18 | 5 | Helemaal mee eens |

## 21. Ik zou geld doneren voor mensen in Syrië.

| | -2 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Helemaal mee oneens | 5 | 15 | 22 | 16 | 4 | Helemaal mee eens |

## 22. Ik zou geld doneren voor mensen in Jemen.

| | -2 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Helemaal mee oneens | 8 | 14 | 23 | 13 | 4 | Helemaal mee eens |

## 23. Mijn mening over vluchtelingen in Nederland is ontstaan door wat ik over hen in de media heb gezien/gelezen.

| | -2 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Helemaal mee oneens | 4 | 11 | 11 | 27 | 9 | Helemaal mee eens |

## 24. Leg uit waarom u het eens/oneens bent met de stelling 'Syriërs moeten een verblijfsvergunning kunnen krijgen in o.a. Nederland.'

| Mentioned categories | Many times |
|---|---|
| Voorwaarde: Alleen als ze land ontvuchtten door onveilige situatie/oorlog | 16 |
| Iedereen heeft recht op een veilige plek | 16 |
| Iedereen heeft recht op een betere toekomst/goed leven | 12 |
| Voorwaarde: Als het veilig is in herkomstland terugkeren/tijdelijke vergunning | 6 |
| Voorwaarde: Integreren/taal spreken, cultuur, normen en waarden overnemen | 6 |
| Voorwaarde: geen economische vluchtelingen | 5 |
| Ligt aan situatie/persoon | 5 |
| Iedereen moet gelijke kansen krijgen | 4 |
| Wij zouden andersom ook naar veilig gebied willen | 4 |
| Goede achtergrondcheck vluchtelingen doen | 3 |
| Geen mening | 2 |
| Meer begeleiding in Nederland | 2 |
| Plicht mensen in nood helpen | 2 |
| Voorwaarde: geen oorlogsmisdadigers | 2 |
| Niet nodig/oplossing zoeken in eigen land | 2 |
| Voorwaarde: vluchteling moet werk hebben | 2 |
| Er is een woningtekort in Nederland | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Wij hebben geluk dat we in NL opgegroeid zijn | 1 |
| Ze vluchten niet zonder reden | 1 |
| Respect tegenover mensen in nood | 1 |
| Flexible aanpasen | 1 |
| We halen een hoop ellende binnen | 1 |
| Eerst Nederlanders helpen, daarna anderen | 1 |
| Zorgt voor meer criminaliteit | 1 |
| Voorwaarde: goede geestelijke gezondheid | 1 |
| Meer richten op oorzaken (regionale aanpak conflict) i.p.v. gevolgen | 1 |
| Verdeelsleutel EU | 1 |
| Ònder juiste voowaarden | 1 |
| NL geen goede fundatie voor opvang vluchtelingen | 1 |

## 25. Leg uit waarom u het eens/oneens bent met de stelling 'Jemenieten moeten een verblijfsvergunning kunnen krijgen in o.a. Nederland.'

| Mentioned categories | Many times |
|---|---|
| Zie vorig antwoord | 19 |
| Voorwaarde: Alleen als ze land ontvuchtten door onveilige situatie/oorlog | 11 |
| Iedereen heeft recht op een veilige plek | 11 |
| Iedereen heeft recht op betere toekomst/goed leven | 5 |
| Geen mening | 5 |
| Iedereen moet gelijke kansen krijgen | 4 |
| Weet te weinig van de situatie/te weinig kennis | 3 |
| Ligt aan de situatie/persoon | 3 |
| Voorwaarde: Integreren/taal spreken, cultuur, normen en waarden overnemen | 3 |
| Wij zouden andersom ook naar veilig gebied willen | 3 |
| Voorwaarde: geen economische vluchtelingen/gelukszoekers | 3 |
| Geen kansen/toekomstperspectief eigen land | 2 |
| Niet iedereen kan opgevangen worden | 1 |
| Oplossing zoeken in eigen land | 1 |
| Meer richten op oorzaken (regionale aanpak conflict) i.p.v. gevolgen | 1 |
| Armoede | 1 |
| Goede achtergrondcheck vluchtelingen doen | 1 |
| Respect tegenover mensen in nood | 1 |
| Plicht om mensen in nood te helpen | 1 |
| Ze vluchten niet zonder reden | 1 |
| Voorwaarde: vluchteling moet werk hebben | 1 |
| Voorwaarde: geen oorlogsmisdadigers | 1 |
| Eerlijke verdeling vluchtelingen | 1 |
| Internationale coalitie moet helpen hongersnood | 1 |
| Onder juiste voorwaarden | 1 |
| Land van herkomst maakt niet uit, gaat om persoon | 1 |
| Meer hulp nodig door minder globale aandacht | 1 |

## 26. Leg uit waarom u het eens/oneens bent met de stelling 'Ik zou geld doneren aan mensen in Syrië.'

| Metnioned categories | Many times |
|---|---|
| Ik zou eerder geld doneren aan doel voor eigen land | 13 |
| Onoverzichtelijk wat er met het geld gebeurt | 10 |
| Voorwaarde: weten wat er met het geld gebeurt | 9 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Betere alternatieven om te helpen | 6 |
| Zij hebben het harder nodig dan wij | 6 |
| Iemand willen helpen | 4 |
| Kansen/beter leven bieden | 4 |
| Ondersteuning bij wederopbouw | 3 |
| Kan het geld momenteen niet missen | 3 |
| Kunt niet aan elk doel doneren | 3 |
| Geen mening | 2 |
| Overheid moet in actie komen | 2 |
| Doneer liever aan medische doelen | 2 |
| Wordt eraan herinnerd/ziet het vaak op het nieuws | 2 |
| Afhankelijk van doelgroep | 1 |
| Eerder aan Syrië doneren, ken situatie | 1 |
| Voorwaarde: geen politiek georiënteerde stichting | 1 |
| Beter om vluchtelingen in NL te helpen | 1 |
| Nederland heeft genoeg geld | 1 |
| Zodat kinderen kunnen studeren | 1 |
| Steun al ander doel | 1 |
| Er gaat al veel geld naar Syrië | 1 |
| Ken de situatie niet goed genoeg | 1 |
| Voorwaarde: als het echte vluchtelingen zijn | 1 |
| Te indirect | 1 |
| Medeleven voelen | 1 |
| Ik heb niks met het land en de mensen die er wonen | 1 |
| Ondersteunen bij voedsel en medicijnen | 1 |

## 27. Leg uit waarom u het eens/oneens bent met de stelling 'Ik zou geld doneren aan mensen in Jemen'

| Mentioned categories | Many times |
|---|---|
| Zie vorig antwoord | 16 |
| Ik zou eerder geld doneren aan doel voor eigen land | 8 |
| Voorwaarde: weten wat er met het geld gebeurt | 5 |
| Ken de situatie niet goed genoeg om te doneren | 5 |
| Onoverzichtelijk wat er met het geld gebeurd | 4 |
| Geen mening | 4 |
| Doneer liever aan medische doelen | 3 |
| Iemand willen helpen | 3 |
| Kansen/beter leven bieden | 2 |
| Betere alternatieven om te helpen | 2 |
| Meer richten op gevolgen i.p.v. gevolgen | 2 |
| Ik doneer al aan andere doelen | 2 |
| Nederland heeft genoeg geld | 1 |
| Zij hebben het harder nodig dan wij | 1 |
| Ondersteunen bij wederopbouw | 1 |
| Sitatie verbeteren | 1 |
| Kan het geld momenteel niet missen | 1 |
| Te weinig over gehoord in de media | 1 |
| Overheid moet actie ondernemen | 1 |
| Voorwaarde: als het echte vluchtelingen zijn | 1 |
| Bij hongersnood minder snel geneigd te doneren | 1 |
| Afhankelijk van doelgroep | 1 |

| Voorwaarde: concrete plannen | 1 |
|---|---|
| Ik ken geen Jemenieten | 1 |
| Voorwaarde: geen politiek georiënteerde stichtingen | 1 |
| Kan niet aan elk doel doneren | 1 |
| Voorwaarde: alleen via hulporganisaties | 1 |