

The Effect of Newspaper Discourse on the Image Formation Process of Conflict-ridden Areas

A Case Study of Tunisia



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Abstract

News media are considered to be very influential and capable of changing an area's image dramatically in a short period of time. However, the role of media discourses on the image formation process of countries and destinations has not been investigated intensively in the past. The Arab Spring and other political upheaval have caused Tunisia to go from a period where there was little reported about the country to a situation with intensive news media coverage. This shift in media coverage could have had a damaging effect on the image of Tunisia. The aim of this thesis is to identify the Product-Country Image (PCI) and Tourism Destination Image (TDI) sketched of Tunisia within Dutch newspapers. In addition, it wants to investigate how language use and media techniques of the newspapers have played a role in this image formation process. For the purpose, articles from two major Dutch newspapers – *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf* – in a period from January 2009 and April 2015 are analysed by the use of content analysis and critical discourse analysis. The results have shown that it is mainly the Product-Country-Image and not the Tourism Destination Image that is discussed intensively in the newspaper articles. The political stability and safety are the attributes that are damaged the most throughout the whole analysed period, while little attention was given to natural environment attributes such as the scenery, climate or the attractions within Tunisia. The results have also shown that language use and media techniques have influenced the projected image. The two newspapers have emphasized different news topics, primed their readers with unlike words, made use of diverse agent-patient relationships and used different ways to frame their articles.

Keywords: Tunisia, conflict-ridden area, Tourism Destination Image(TDI), Product-Country Image(PCI), Dutch newspapers, newspaper discourse, content analysis, critical discourse analysis

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List of abbreviations

AQIM	Al Quada in the Islamic Maghreb
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
COO	Country-of-Origin
DMO	Destination Marketing Organisation
PCI	Product-Country Image
TDI	Tourism Destination Image

1. Introduction

Tunisia is a North African country located between Algeria, Libya and the Mediterranean sea. Throughout history, the country has been profoundly influenced by a number of significant world cultures, resulting in many culturally interesting attractions for tourists (Bleasdale, 2006). However, it is mainly the seaside character with luxury resorts handling the all-inclusive concept that attracts most tourists (Cortés-Jiménez et al., 2011). Tunisia's economy is heavily dependent on this tourism industry, resulting in several policies and plans conducted by the government over the years to stimulate tourism (Bleasdale, 2006). In 2008, the country experienced a record number of tourists when 7 million people entered the country (Worldbank, 2013). Approximately 75.000 Dutch tourists visited the country that year, a relatively low number compared to other North African tourism destinations (e.g. Egypt, Morocco) (Rijksoverheid, 2015). However, recent events have shown that Tunisia wants to attract more Dutch tourists. The country was present as host country at the Vakantiebeurs 2015 in Utrecht, a two day trade show for the travel market, and is opening a tourist office in The Hague where consumers can come with all their questions about Tunisia as a holiday destination (Vakantiebeurs, 2015).

Tunisia is not only a popular holiday destination, it can also be considered as a conflict-ridden area. Conflict-ridden areas are areas with all sorts of long- or short-term conflicts such as political upheaval, terrorist attacks or wars (Avraham, 2015). The recent political unrest and the terrorist attack have damaged the image of Tunisia, and as a result tourism numbers have dropped from 6.9 million in 2010 to 4.7 million in 2011 (Worldbank, 2013). This is a total decline of approximately 32%, however, when looking at the countries of origin, this decline was not consistent. The amount of Dutch tourists visiting Tunisia that year dropped roughly with 60%, a relatively high number compared to other European tourists from England (-19%) and France (-43%) (Knoema, 2014). Although tourism numbers started to increase again in 2012, the tourism industry has a long way to go to return to their previous state.

Especially for conflict-ridden areas, but also for other destinations or countries, the image is considered to be very important. Images guide and shape behaviour and for a country this can result in a consumer's decision to buy a particular product from that country or visit a destination within the country (MacInnis & Price, 1987; Nadeau et al. 2008). Nadeau et al. (2008) have distinguished between two image that are important for countries: Product-Country Image (PCI) and Tourism Destination Image (TDI). PCI is formed through beliefs about the competence and character of a country and the people living in it, and has an effect on buying and investment decisions of consumers. TDI is considered to be a more holiday-generic image which is created through beliefs about natural and built environment and human related aspects (Nadeau et al., 2008). Although there are many differences between the two images, they can be seen as interlinked (Mossberg & Kleppe, 2005) and it is concluded that PCI has a direct and indirect effect on the travel intentions of consumers (Nadeau et al. 2008)

There is a whole flood of information that contributes to the image formation process (Reynolds, 1965), some are under the direct influence of the destination or country (e.g. promotional material), but the so called 'autonomous agents' cannot be controlled by the region itself (Gartner 1994). News media fall under the autonomous agents category and are considered to play an influential role in the image formation process due to their level of credibility and ability to reach a mass audience (Gartner, 1994). Gartner (1994) even argued that (news) media may be the only image formation agents capable of changing an area's image dramatically in a short period of time. However, is the news media really objective? According to Fowler (2013), news is a practice: a discourse which is far from neutral when reflecting social reality and empirical facts. The news media interprets issues and has the power to give them more or less significance through the amount or type of coverage

provided (Hall, 2003). Not only issue salience, but also the language they use and the way they frame topics has an effect on the opinion of the public (Starks & Trinidad, 2007). Furthermore, journalists are often accused of focusing mainly on negative aspects such as crime, terrorism and political upheaval, while ignoring positive news that could enhance the media image of a destination (Castelltort & Mäder, 2009).

In the recent years, more attention is paid to the effect of conflicts (e.g. terrorist attacks, wars) on the tourism industry of countries or destinations (Araña & León, 2008; Hall et al., 2012; Mansfield & Pizam, 2006; Neumayer, 2004; Pizam & Smith, 2000). These articles are mainly revealing the direct effects of the events on the tourism industry, and also how different agents contribute to this image. However, limited straightforward attention is paid to the effect of language and how different information agents, consciously or unconsciously, use language to create a certain image of a country or destination. Khodadadi (2015) states that the role of societal and media discourse on the image formation process of countries and destinations has not been investigated intensively, even though these factors play a major role in the construction of meanings in a society.

Besides that there is a gap in the literature when looking at the destination image of conflict-ridden areas (Çakmak & Isaac, 2012). As these areas are often the subject of intensive media coverage, newspaper articles could help to give a better representation of the projected image. In the literature it was found that it are mainly the travel sections that are used to analyse the Tourism Destination Images (Hamid-Turksoy, 2013; Hanusch, 2011; Pan et al., 2007; Santos, 2003) and not the regular news items within the newspapers. However, Nadeau et al. (2008) have presented that topics related to the country, such as the political (in)stability or quality of life of the inhabitants also contribute indirect to the Tourism Destination Image and direct to the travel intentions of customers.

Last, Perkins (2004) adds that Tunisia is considered as one of the least studied and least understood countries in North Africa. Although more attention was paid to Tunisia during and after the Arab Spring, there is still a limited amount of information available on the Tourism Destination Image this country.

This thesis wants to address these gaps by the following two research objectives. The first objective is to identify the Product-Country Image (PCI) and Tourism Destination Image (TDI) of Tunisia portrayed by Dutch newspapers in the period of January 2009 until April 2015. To investigate this, two major Dutch newspapers are chosen for analysis: *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf*. These two newspapers represent approximately 33% of the total Dutch newspaper readers, but they differ in content and reader profile (NOM, 2013). Identifying this image can help determining the factors contributing to failure or success of a marketing strategy of a particular destination, consequently allowing the destination to improve its product image in the target market (Ibrahim & Gill, 2005). The second objective is to find out how Dutch newspapers have used their power to form the latter mentioned images through the use of discourse, and how this could result in different portrayed images by the two newspapers. For both objectives, a mix of content and critical discourse analysis is used to analyse the newspaper articles within the given timeframe.

The structure of this thesis is as follows. At first the main concepts, such as PCI and TDI, critical discourse analysis and media discourse are discussed in order to work as a frame for this thesis. This will be followed by the methodology including the research questions, data design, data collection and data analysis process. After that, there will be a result section where the findings will be presented and afterwards there will be a discussion including the limitations of the thesis and ideas for further research. The conclusion gives a small summary of the research and there are also recommendations given for DMOs to help them manage the PCI and TDI of Tunisia. At the end there will be a reference list and appendix.

2. Literature review

2.1 Image

An image can be seen as: “a compilation of beliefs and impressions based on information processing from a variety of sources over time, which result in an internally accepted mental construct” (Crompton, 1979; Gartner 1994). This mental construct, also called ‘mental prototype’ is meaningful to an individual (Tapachai & Waryszak, 2000) and based on beliefs about an object and feelings towards that object (Beerli & Martin, 2004). There is a plenty information sources contributing to the image formation process and therefore people can have different images of the same product or brand (Reynolds, 1965). It should be noted that these images in people’s minds do not have to be ‘true’, they can be either true or false, and real or imagined (Barich & Kotler, 1990). Regardless of this all, it is agreed upon in literature that images are considered to be very important due to their influencing and shaping role in the decision-making process of (potential) consumers (MacInnis & Price, 1987; Nadeau et al, 2008). Two important images that are related to countries or destination and influence the behaviour and decision-making process are Product-Country Image (PCI) and Tourism Destination Image (TDI). They have evolved separately in distinct literature (Nadeau et al., 2008), but the concepts refer to nearly the same area of applied marketing, namely export products to international consumer markets (Mossberg & Kleppe, 2005).

Product-Country Image (PCI)

The (product-)country image can be defined as: “the total of all descriptive, inferential, and informational beliefs about a particular country” (Martin & Eroglu, 1993, p. 93). The image object is the country and it is conceptualised as the attitudes toward products from a given country (that is, made in, designed in, head office in, located in) (Mossberg & Kleppe, 2007; Nadeau et al., 2008). The Country-of-Origin (COO) effect, a popular term in marketing, is related to the Product-Country Image. COO refers to information about the country of origin of the product (Zhang, 1997) and the effect is has on the perceptions consumers form (Roth & Romeo, 1992). Research has shown that attitudes and perceptions towards quality are influenced by the products’ Country-of-Origin (Dinnie, 2004; Gürhan-Canli & Mahaswaran, 2000). Scholars have found a relationship between consumers’ preferences for the products of a country and the perception or image they have of a country’s culture, economy and politics (Roth & Romeo, 1992). When people have a positive perception of a country, they are more likely to buy product from that country, however, it should be noted that attitudes towards products from a given country can vary between different product categories (Agarwal & Sikri, 1996). This process is not only limited to attitudes towards products, but also other decision-making processes, such as organizational buying and looking for an investment location. Due to this all, the concept of PCI is very popular within marketing, and the effect on the information processing stage and eventually the purchasing decision is widely studied within this field (Gertner & Kotler, 2002).

Tourism Destination Image (TDI)

A destination image is defined as: “the sum of beliefs, ideas and impressions that a person has of a destination” (Crompton, 1979 p. 18) and can be seen as a composite of various products (attractions) and attributes which are taken together into a total impression (MacKay & Fesenmaier, 1997). The difference with PCI is that destination image refers to a tourism based image, more related to a perceived image than a market-based image (Li & Vogelsong, 2006). In the tourism sector the importance of destination image is universally acknowledged, mainly because of the influences it has on the individual’s subjective perception and the destination choice (Chon, 1990; Echtner & Ritchie, 1991). The fact that tourism can be seen as an intangible product, meaning that it cannot be evaluated beforehand, has made the concept of Tourism Destination Image even more important. A TDI supports the potential tourists with this evaluation as it transposes representation of an area into

the mind of the potential tourists, which gives him or her a pre-taste of the destination (Fakeye & Crompton, 1991). Destinations with a stronger positive image will have a higher probability to be included in the decision making process (Echtner & Ritchie, 1991; Johnson & Thomas, 1992). So eventually it can be concluded that the success or failure of a destination is largely dependent on images held by potential travellers and the effective destination management of those images by the destination itself (Sirgy & Su, 2000). Therefore tourist boards use advertising or branding to raise awareness and to create an image of their country, city or region as a tourist destination (Mossberg & Kleppe, 2005). But, the image that is projected by the destination itself through promotional material is not always the same as the received image (Gartner, 1993; Young, 1999). There are more information sources that contribute to the image of the potential traveller, and not all these sources are under the direct control of the destination itself.

PCI and TDI

The descriptions above gives an idea of the two different concepts, however, various researcher struggle to clearly differentiate between the two. Martínez & Alvarez (2010) argue that the main distinction is that country image represents a combination of various generic associations, independent of a particular context, while destination image refers to the tourists' perspective and may indicate a specific area, a city, region, but also a country. They also state that a negative PCI does not immediately results in a negative TDI and vice versa. Another distinction is that research on PCI is published mainly in marketing journals whereas research on TDI appears in tourism-specific journals (Li & Wang, 2011). But despite this all, it is argued that the two concepts are obviously related and there is substantial overlap between them with regard to the objects they refer to (Mossberg & Kleppe, 2005). Nadeau et al. (2008) state that both streams have in common that they investigate complex perceived images about places and the effect of it on consumer decisions. They also claim that developments in Product-Country Image can contribute significantly to the Tourism Destination Image.

2.2 Image formation

Reynolds (1965) described image formation as: "the development of a mental construct based upon a few impressions chosen from a flood of information." There are two ends of information transmission: the agent that projects the image and the receiver. However, as already mentioned there are several agents contributing to the image formation process. Reynolds (1965) classified these agents in three groups: promotional literature (brochures, posters), the opinion of other (family, friends, travel agents) and the general media (newspapers magazines, television, books). Therefore the projected image by one agent it not similar to the perceived image by the consumers. (Tasci & Gartner, 2007).

Regarding Product-Country Image and Tourism Destination image, the literature has identified four main common characteristics in the formation process: complexity, multidimensionality, relative and dynamic nature (Beerli & Martín, 2004). The most important one is the complexity, stating that the PCI and TDI are multidimensional construct that can be explained through the understanding of attitudes. (Hosany et al., 2006). Attitudes are formed through three stages: cognitive, affective/evaluative and conative. The cognitive one is related to beliefs (Crompton, 1979), the affective one to feelings (Baloglu & McCleary, 1999) and the conative one to behavioural action (Choi et al. 2007). Nadeau et al. (2008) created a conceptual framework based on PCI and TDI formation and how these two influence each other (fig. 1).

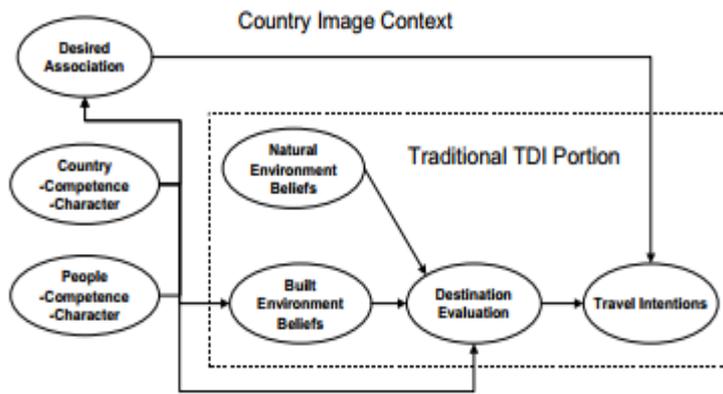


Fig. 1. Product-Country Image and Tourism Destination Image (based on Nadeau et al. 2008)

The figure reveals that the Country Image is formed through beliefs about the competence and character of the country and the people living in it. These factors eventually influence the desired associations people form, such as ‘want to invest in’. The Tourism Destination image is created through natural environment and built environment beliefs which lead to an overall evaluation of the destination. But, as shown in the figure, both the built environment beliefs and the destination evaluation are influenced by Country Image factors. This evaluation will eventually lead to travel intentions, but as shown in the figure travel intentions are also directly influenced by Country Image Factors. Therefore it can be concluded that the formation of PCI and TDI are not totally different processes, but processes that are interlinked and influence each other.

Various types of information accumulated over time can influence PCI and TDI (Martínez & Alvares, 2010). Examples for TDI are: ancient and modern historical events, the degree of economic and political maturity, the culture and tradition and the level of industrialization (Roth & Diamantopoulos, 2009). Dinnie (2011) included also national stereotypes, political figure, sports performances and the behaviour of the country’s citizens. Martínez and Alvarez (2010) state that the information types that lead to a country image can create some kind of stereotypical evaluation. According to Nadeau et al. (2008) a PCI is mainly related to the competence and character of the country and the people living in that country. These country and people beliefs are represented by the use of two groups: ‘character’ and ‘competency’ (Heslop et al. 2004). When looking back at figure 1 it can be concluded that country and people beliefs influence the desired associations. These desired associations can be described as ‘want imports from’, ‘want investments from’, ‘want visitors from’, ‘want political ties with’ etc. (Nadeau et al. 2008). Table 1 gives an overview of the attributes that belong to country character, country competence, people character and people competence. Nadeau et al. (2008) have used this to measure the PCI and TDI of Nepal, in order to get a better understanding of the integration of country image and tourism destination image.

Country character	Country competence	People character	People competence
Quality of life	Workers skill level	Likeability	Work ethic
Rights and freedom	Avail. skilled workers	Friendliness	Industriousness
Wealth	Technology level	Helpful	Individualism
Env/pollution controls	Stability of economy	Courteous	Education level
Role in world politics		Trustworthiness	
Political stability		Honest	

Table 1. Measurement scale PCI (based on Nadeau et al. 2008)

For TDI, the image is composed by the perceptions of individual attributes (e.g. climate, friendliness of the people) as well as more holistic impressions (e.g. mental picture or imagery) of the destination (Echtner & Ritchie, 1993). Nadeau et al. (2008) made a list of factors that contribute to the TDI. These factors can be grouped under ‘natural environment beliefs’, ‘built environment beliefs’ and ‘destination evaluation’. Natural environment includes wildlife, forests, beaches, mountains, lakes,

rivers etc. Built environments are created by humans and include hotels, attractions, services, but also for example safety is important here. The category evaluation of the destination can be seen as an overall rating, but there are also human aspects of the people within the destination included. This evaluation leads to the intention to travel to a particular country or destination. Table 2 gives an overview of the attributes that belong to natural environment beliefs, built environment beliefs and evaluation of people and country.

Natural environment beliefs	Built environment beliefs	Evaluations of people and country
Attractive scenery	Culturally interesting	Enjoy being with the people
Wilderness	Profile of attractions	Overall rating
Climate	Ease of finding interesting places	Knowledge of the country
Variety of activities	Accommodation	Alignment with own country
Peaceful/quiet	Quality of service	
	Selection of restaurants	
	Ease of getting around	
	Shopping facilities	
	Safety	
	For the whole family	
	Sport facilities	
	Nightlife/ entertainment	

Table 2. Measurement scale TDI (based on Nadeau et al. 2008)

2.3 Tourism and (the image of) conflict-ridden areas

Conflict-ridden areas are areas with all sorts of long- or short-term conflicts such as political upheaval, terrorist attacks or wars (Avraham, 2015). While tourists are free to avoid destinations associated with risks, the consequences of disastrous events on the country or tourist destination are inescapable and can be profound (Sönmez et al., 1999). Enders et al. (1992) researched the effect of terrorism on tourism shares in several European nations. They concluded that revenue losses have been identified after a terrorist attack found place in a particular country or destination. They also found out that it is not only the country itself that is affected by incidents like the later one, but when an incident happens in one country it can also affect the tourism industry in the neighbouring countries. Overall there is a whole body of literature that gives attention to terrorist attacks and the effect it has on the tourism industry. The relationship between political instability and the tourism industry on the other hand, has had considerably less attention in the literature (Neumayer, 2004; Seddighi et al., 2001). Seddighi et al. (2001) concluded that there is a strong effect of political instability on the tourism industry. According to them it is mainly the extent and the magnitude of the political instability that are determinant factors modulating the image of a destination in the eye of potential tourists. Political instability does not only have an effect on tourism numbers, perceptions of instability can also have a more long-term effect on tourism development, as foreign and domestic investments in tourism development are less likely to be done (Hall, 1993)

It are especially those areas with ongoing conflict such as political upheaval or terrorist attacks that are repeatedly depicted in the media, often with negative stories. Showing dramatic events, such as conflicts, can make people more conscious about the safety and security in that particular country (Castelltort & Mäder, 2010). And when the safety is not guaranteed, an overall negative impression is likely to result, causing people to chose an alternative destination with similar characteristics but with a more safe environment (Neumayer, 2004; Pizam, Tarlow & Bloom, 1997; Sönmez, 1998). For that reason safety and security are recognized to be the most important and fundamental conditions for the development of a tourism destination (Fletcher & Morakabati, 2008). Areas that are depicted

in the news by negative stories often have a somewhat more negative image attached to them (Castellort & Mäder, 2010). This might seem really simple, but the news stories often have nothing to do with tourism in the areas, just hearing something positive or negative influences people in forming new images about these areas (Rohrer, 2011). Once certain images are formed it is hard to change them as destination or country images tends to be quite stable over time, even if the destination attributed undergoes dramatic changes (Crompton, 1979). Egypt, Peru and Israel are examples of destinations whose images are 'ruined' or tormented by political violence (Sönmez et al., 1999). The task to change a country image or destination image through promotional material is likely to be difficult, time-consuming and very costly (Fakeye & Crompton, 1991).

2.4 Discourse and Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse', as well as 'discourse analysis' are terms that are used in many different disciplines and due to this disciplinary diversity, they have different meanings to scholars in different fields (Cheek, 2004; Frohmann, 1994; Schiffrin, Tannen & Hamilton, 2001; Sharp & Richardson, 2010). For the purpose of this thesis the definition of Foucault is applied: "Discourse is often understood as the sum of communicative interactions. At the simplest level, when we talk to each other, we are engaged in 'discourse'" (Sharp & Richardson, 2010). The focus of discourse lies on action, meaning that it is a wider term than 'text', it is the whole process of social interaction of which a text is part of (Fairclough, 1989). A discourse paints particular pictures of a person, group of persons or an event by representing it in a particular way (Burr, 2003). Therefore it is implied that there are a variety of different discourses, each with a different story to tell about the discussed object (Burr, 2003)

Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is the study of discourse and is concerned with language-in-use, that is, how individuals accomplish personal, social, and political projects through language (Starks & Trinidad, 2009). It is especially 'situatedness' that is important when analysing the content of texts, as spoken word or talk does not have an universal meaning but is assigned particular meanings by both speaker and listener based on the situation in which the language is used (Cheek, 2004). As mentioned by Burck (2005), language is used by people to construct versions of the social world; language is not neutral or transparent, it is constructive. Language both mediates and constructs understanding of reality (Starks & Trinidad, 2009). Discourse analysts are particularly interested in how a story is told, what identities, activities, relationships and shared meanings are created through the use of language (Stark & Trinidad, 2009).

As stated in Hastings (1999), Foucault made some important claims for the relationship between discourse and power. The following two can be seen as rather controversial. First, power is prior to language, meaning that language can be seen as a reaction of power (Fairclough, 1992). Second, power relations are realised through language, which suggests that it is not simply that discourse serves power in the sense that language use is motivated by power, but that discourse serves power in the way that it concretises or makes power real (Hastings, 1999; McHoul & Grace, 1993). As mentioned by van Dijk (1993), power involves control by of one group (or individual) which may pertain in action and cognition. Powerful groups may limit the freedom of actions of others, but they can also influence their mind. Influencing or managing the mind of other is an essential function of talk and text and therefore related to discourse and discourse analysis. As stated by Post (2009) the way social actors represent things and their actions from within the social practices of their culture are inherently constructed upon not only the methods of reproduction, via such means as the media, but also through the power of choice. These actors take certain choices which affect the way people perceive the information they get. Examples of these choices are: the choice of how to manufacture words to depict one reality over another, or the choice of which image to convey reality over another, (Post, 2009).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is interested in the relationships of dominance and power (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). It is a study of relations between discourse, power, dominance, social inequality and the position of the discourse analyst in such social relationship (van Dijk, 2011). CDA analysts try to focus on language and other elements of discursive practice to see how dominant forces in society construct versions of reality (Huckin & Miler, 1997). The following table shows particular aspects Critical Discourse Analysis focuses on, and can therefore work as a guideline.

Concept	Questions to ask	Effect
Structure	How is the text structured? Where is the most important information noted?	With a top-down approach the important information is presented in the beginning, while with a bottom-up approach it is the other way around (van Dijk, 2003).
Framing	How is the content of a text presented? What sort of perspective is used ?	The way in which a text is presented has an influence on how it is understood by the audience (McCombs, 2005).
Visual aid	What kind of photographs, diagrams and formatting devices (e.g. headline) are used?	These aspects are often the first things seen by readers of a text (Huckin 2002)
Foregrounding & Backgrounding	What kind of concepts are (de)-emphasized in the text?	Writers create a perspective by foregrounding and backgrounding things. This view created by the writes influences the perspective of the readers (Huckin, 2002)
Topicalization	What is the text about? What is topic of the sentences?	When something or someone is put in the topic position of the sentence, it is given more prominence (Huckin,2002)
Agent-patient relation	Who is depicted as an agent? Who is doing what to whom?	In most cases, the semantic agents (or actor) in a sentence is depicted as having more power than the patient (Huckin, 2002).
Connotation	What are frequent used words? And how are these words used in a particular context?	When words or expressions are often repeated, it will increase the likelihood that it will come in people's mind when thinking about the subject the words are linked with (Brewer et al., 2003)
Labels	What kind of specific labels or terms are used? e.g.: terrorist vs. freedom fighter or US vs. THEM	Used labels gives an idea of the varying views of a topic (Ruiz & Bataller, 2010).
Naming	Are names or nationalities used? E.g. 'five Asian people involved in armed robbery' vs. 'five young men involved in robbery' (Van Dijk, 2003)	The way in which people are named can perpetuate ideologies (Huckin, 2002).
Quotation	Is there direct or indirect speech used? Is the name of the person mentioned?	Indirect speech ('John said he did it') is more description-like, and direct speech (John: 'I did it') is more depiction like (mental representation) (Clark & Gerrig, 1990).
Active or passive voice	Is the text or sentence written in a passive or active voice? Are the verbs in present or past tense?	The use of an active verb gives a clear picture of who performed a particular action, while a passive verb states what have been done but does not blame anyone in particular (Fowler, 1991).

Table 3. Concepts Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Visual analysis as part of Critical Discourse Analysis

As Berger wrote: "Seeing comes before words. The child looks and recognizes before it can speak" (Berger, 1972 p.7.). People are constantly surrounded by different sorts of visuals (Rose, 2012) and depictions and pictures are ubiquitous features of the processes by which most humans come to know the world as it really is for them (Fyfe & Law, 1988). However, these images are never innocent or transparent, as they interpret the world through the way they display and represent it (Rose, 2012). Certain things are made visible in particular ways, while other things are not shown or placed in the background (Rose, 2001). Although it is hard to gauge the way images are distributed, experienced and understood, it can be suggested that visual technologies increasingly form part of many individuals' everyday experiences (Feighey, 2003). According to Rose (2001) it is possible to think of visuality as a sort of discourse too and discourse analysis can be used to explore how images construct a specific view of the social world. Rose's (2001) book about visual methodologies gives an guideline existing of seven steps about how to perform a discourse analysis on images. It is highlighted that discourse analysis really depends on reading or looking with great care for detail. Questions that are important to keep in mind are: How are particular images given specific meaning? What are key words that belong to the particular image? What are connections between the images?

2.5 News media discourse

News is a perishable commodity and because it is collected globally and broadcasted almost instantaneously, most items are covered in an increasingly brief and superficial way (Newton, 1999). There is a continuous selection process done by the media and the public is presented with a ceaseless flow of fast changing and barely explained events (Newton, 1999; McQuail, 1979). Most people are heavily dependent on the mass media for information about international affairs. Therefore, the media can play an important role in shaping mass perceptions of other nations (Brewer et al., 2003). These perceptions can affect the image people have of certain destinations, whether it is a whole country or a particular place. Besides that, the public depends on news media to expand their horizons of lived experiences; such as the notions of danger (Smith, 2005). People also expect the mass media to give an order of importance and structure to the world they portray (McQuail, 1979). Tasci & Gartner (2007) state that because of the high credibility and ability to reach a mass audience, news media is playing a major role in the information process and tend to be more influential than other information sources. The credibility of a news outlet perceived by their audience is considered as vital to success of that given news outlet. Meaning that consumers who consider a news outlet more rather than less credible tend to rely more on those media.

According to van Dijk (1996), the news media has some kind of power, this power is generally symbolic and persuasive, in the sense that the news media primarily have the potential to control to some extent the minds of readers of viewers. Fowler (1991;2013) argues that the 'content' of newspapers is not facts about the world, but in a very general sense 'ideas'. News is a practice: a discourse that is far from neutral, and reflects social reality. Like every other discourse, it is a representation in language, and as language is a semiotic code, it imposes a structure of values, social and economic in origin, on whatever is represented; and so inevitably news, like every other discourse, constructively patterns that of which it speaks (Fowler, 1991). It is expected that news media give an order of importance and structure to the world they portray (McQuail, 1979).

One technique used by the media is framing. This technique is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in the news reports, has an influence on how it is understood by audiences (McCombs, 2005; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Two elements involved in framing are 'selection' and 'salience', as framing means selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a text. Therefore these aspects will be more noticeable, meaningful and memorable to the audience (Entman, 1993). A news media frame refers to words, images, phrases and presentation

styles that an author uses when relaying information about an issue or event to an audience. The chosen frame reveals what the speaker sees as relevant to the topic at hand (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Chong & Druckman, 2007).

Another technique is priming. Priming is related to the accessibility of an issue in people's memory and is partly determined by frequency and recency (Higgins et al. 1985). The news media are often accused of distorting images by means of news items that focus mainly on negative events, such as crime, violence and societal problems, while ignoring positive events (Avraham, 2000). According to Heath & Gilbert (1996), by over-representing more severe, intentional and gruesome incidents, the media creates perceived reality and overestimations within the public. Exposure to media coverage tends to make issues more accessible in people's mind. When things are often repeated, it will increase the likelihood that people will base subsequent evaluations on their thoughts about an issue, person, event or country (Brewer et al. 2003). This all can be crucial for the destination that is discussed, as it is important to consider that a destination with a discourse that is associated with and conjures negative meanings could prevent potential tourists from other societies to visit that particular destination (Khodadadi, 2012; 2015).

2.6 (Online) Newspapers

Throughout history, newspapers have accomplished important functions in society (Anderson, 1991) by providing valuable knowledge about various affairs (Schudson, 2008). However, in the last decades newspapers are facing more difficulties due to loss of revenue from advertisements and declining patterns of print newspaper (Siles & Boczkowski, 2012). Together with these economic difficulties, there is also the role of the internet that caused a decline of printed newspaper use (Compton & Benedetti, 2010). Online news is not only obtained via websites from newspapers, but also via various new formats and media, such as news aggregators, blogs, and more recently, social network sites (Siles & Boczkowski, 2012). The advantage of these new sources is that they provide free and real-time news which makes the information provided in printed newspaper relatively outdated (Downie & Schudson, 2009). According to Boczkowski (2004), the reason why newspapers started with online news operations was to react to prior moves by new competitors rather than to seek new horizons. They wanted to defend their existing territory instead of conquering new ones.

Despite all these changes, Europe is still characterized by high numbers of printed newspaper readers compared to the rest of the world (Elvestad & Blekesaune, 2008). Nevertheless, in Europe there is also a decline noticeable in printed newspaper consumption. In the Netherlands this decline started in 1998 (Mediamonitor, 2013). In 2002, there were in total 1.1 billion newspapers distributed to people with a subscription and 110 million pieces were sold in the stores. In 2011 the numbers showed that 890 million were distributed to subscribed people (decrease of 19%) and 59 million were sold in stores (decrease of 47%) (Mediamonitor, 2013). On the other hand free newspapers and the internet as news source become more popular among Dutch people. The number of people that visit the website of a newspaper to obtain news has increased enormously in the last years. In 2007 4.8 million people visited at least once a month a newspaper online, while in 2012 this was already doubled (Mediamonitor, 2013). In general it can also be concluded that there is a large and expanding audience for online news (Althaus & Tewksbury, 2000). It should be noted that there are substantial differences between the print edition of the newspaper and the online website. Readers of online newspapers have more power as they can navigate through the online site, clicking on sections that interest them. In a printed edition the editor has more power because they determine where the articles are placed within the newspaper (Tewksbury, 2003). In the online version, the number of articles is greater than the print version as they have not the same space limitations (Althaus & Tewksbury, 2000)

In the literature (online) newspaper articles are often used in research related to images, however, it is most of the time not the direct tourism destination image that is retrieved from regular newspaper articles. Within some studies different newspapers are taken as one group, but in other articles researchers look at how different newspapers represent particular topics. According to Reichart and Hischier (2001), there are a lot of differences between newspapers as you have highly emotional boulevard papers with lots of coloured pictures and very serious papers with hardly any pictures at all. Antecol and Endersby (1999) studied the linkage between types of news papers read by Canadians and the overall feelings towards Quebec and Canada. They found out that consumers of French-language newspapers have significantly more positive feelings toward the province of Quebec and more negative assessments of the nation of Canada. Analyzing (online) newspapers articles to get a better understanding of the image of a destination is also not a new phenomenon in the literature. Stepchenkova and Eales (2011) analysed three UK newspapers by the use of content analysis to quantify the message about Russia as tourist destination. They coded the articles regarding to seven broad categories that were determined beforehand and looked if the topics in the newspaper articles were negative, neutral, or positive. Mawdsley (2008) did a textual analysis of six UK 'broadsheet' newspapers to see how the newspaper represents China's complex relations in Africa. She looked for patterns in term of content, the semantics and images deployed and what was (de-) emphasized. Peel and Steen (2007) used content analysis to see how Australia's print media depicts backpackers. A list of content categories was created and the study revealed chronicle key stages in the development of the backpacker segment in Australia. Castellort and Mäder (2010) examined the extent, source and nature of reporting about Spain as a tourist destination among Swiss German language newspapers. Hammett (2011) presented a discourse analysis of representations of South Africa within four British print media outlet during the FIFA World Cup. He concluded that The British Media's negative portrayal of South Africa undoubtedly perpetuated perceptions/ images of South Africa.

2.7 Background - Tunisia

Tunisia is situated halfway between Gibraltar and Suaz, and has two windows on the Mediterranean, one opening towards Europe and the other opening towards the Middle East (Perkins, 2004). Therefore the country occupies a strategic position where African, Arabic and European culture can meet and interact (Bleasdale, 2006). This position as 'meeting point' has caused the country to have a wealth of cultural heritage based on Roman, Phoenician and Islamic civilizations, which in combination with the temperate weather and the graphic position, make it an attracting destination for tourists (Choyakh, 2008; Gan & Smith, 1992). The main religion in Tunisia is the Islam, and these Islamic principles thus underpin tourism policy, development objective, and the management and operation of the Industry (Timothy & Olsen, 2006). However, the European influences are clearly noticeable and some even mention that Tunisia often feels more 'Mediterranean' (Alexander, 2010). Tunisia can be considered as a small country with approximately 10 million inhabitants and a total land area of 163.600 km², that is comparable to the United Kingdom without Scotland (Alexander, 2010). Perkins (2004) highlighted, that although it is a popular destination for tourists, Tunisia is perhaps one of the least studied and least understood countries in North Africa.

In Tunisia the tourism industry was developed and designed after the country gained independence from France in 1956 and with this early developments it can be considered as one of the first Muslim countries that started to explore the potential of tourism (Carboni, et al., 2014; Poirier,1995). In the very beginning, culturally oriented tourism arose in Tunisia with small numbers of European artists and intellectuals centred in Hammamet (Bleasdale, 2006). However, this changed quickly when the government noticed the crucial role of tourism in economic growth and started to promote tourism internationally (Bouzahzah & Menyari, 2013; Bleasdale, 2006). As mentioned by Poirier (1997), Tunisia is well known for aggressive policies that are designed by the government to increase tourism numbers and revenues and make the sector a major factor in the national economic profile. In the

1960s the idea of President Habib Bourguiba was to create a more 'open country'. He argued that "reorientation of Tunisia towards the West would represent progress and prosperity" (Hazbun, 2003). From the mid-1960s till the late 1980s there was an enormous increase of mass package tourism focused on sun, sand and sea in Tunisia. During this period, the construction of a large number of hotels and resorts took place throughout the country, and places such as Sousse, Monastir were added as major resort areas in addition to Hammamet and Djerba (Bleasdale, 2006). The resorts and hotels built were mainly to serve the European market, and more specific one-week or two-week package tourists (Cortés-Jiménez et al., 2011). Tourism started to play an important role in Tunisia's economic development as it contributed to the commercial deficit and the growing unemployment (Ouerfelli, 2008). From the late 1980s until the 1990s the government sought for ways to diversify tourism, looking at new forms and new regions (Bleasdale, 2006). The South of Tunisia became more popular, and a promotion plan was established that was called "Le Tourism Saharienne". Regarding new forms of tourism, more promotional attention was given to golf tourism and heritage tourism (Bleasdale, 2006). Despite the efforts to diversify, coast and beach tourism stayed the popular forms of tourism in Tunisia, attracting mainly tourists from other Arabic countries (e.g. Libya and Algeria), North European countries (e.g. The United Kingdom, Germany, Italy and France) and more recently from East European countries (Poland, Russia, Czech Republic) (Bleasdale, 2006; Burns & Novelli, 2008; Carboni, et al., 2014). The amount of Dutch tourists is still relatively small, especially when comparing it with other popular holiday destinations in North Africa (e.g. Egypt) (CBS 2013; Rijksoverheid, 2015). Dutch tour operators offer holidays to the main touristic areas in Tunisia (e.g. Hammamet and Djeba) and promote the country as a sunny beach destination.

However, the tourism market in Tunisia has experienced a collapse since the beginning of the twenty-first century, mainly because of to 9/11, the Djerba terrorist attack and the Arab spring (Al-Hamarneh & Steiner, 2004; Anderson, 2011; Choyakh, 2008). The recent terrorist attacks that took place in Tunis on the 18th of March 2015 can be added to this list. Due to these events, Tunisia partially lost its reputation as a safe destination (Al-Hamarneh & Steiner, 2004). In April 2002 a suicide attack took place by Al Qaeda against the Ghriba synagogue on the Tunisia island of Djerba and the 21 people that died during that day were mainly German and French tourists, spending their holiday on the island (Filiu, 2009; Sudar, 2004; Yoo & Ho, 2013). This terrorist act, combined with others (e.g. Yemen, Pakistan, Bali) had shown that the terrorist network is alive, active and functioning (Al-Hamarneh & Steiner, 2004). After this event, a decrease of tourism numbers in Tunisia was noticeable, however, as mentioned by Al-Hamarneh & Steiner (2004), the predicted wide ranging collapse of the tourism industry in the Arab countries did not take place as within-region promotions and marketing tactics were used by the tourism industry to respond to the negative publicity. As mentioned by Hazbun (2003), after 9/11, North African regions have seen a growing flow of regional Arab tourists, as they avoided travelling to Europe and North America.

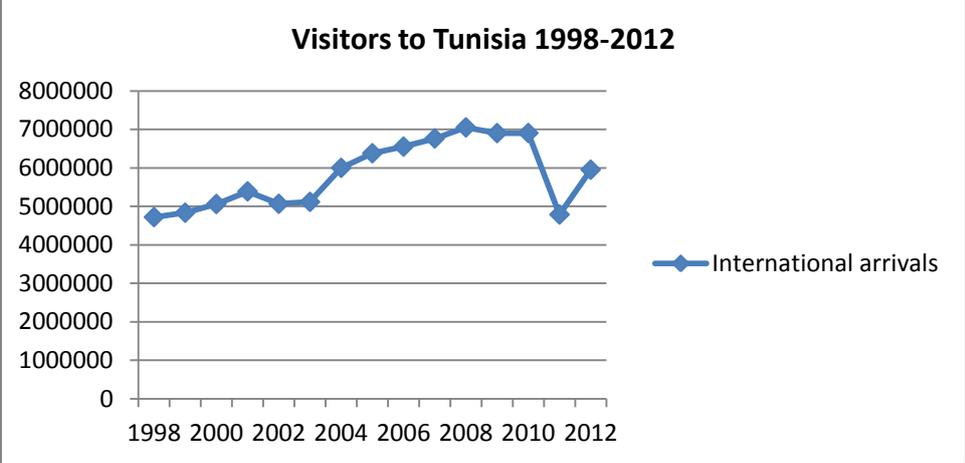


Fig. 2. International arrivals Tunisia (Worldbank, 2013)

In figure 2 it is revealed that a more serious decrease of tourism number took place during the Arab Spring that started in December 2010 in Tunisia when a street vendor, called Mohamed Bouazizi, set himself on fire to protest against the authorities. This could be seen as the 'spark' that started it all, as it resulted in demonstrations by opposition groups against the lack of freedom of speech, corruption, high unemployment, poor living standards and lack of political freedom in Tunisia (Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict, 2011). The protests started first in the poor and rural areas in the west of Tunis, but it did not take long before the protests had spread across the country (Ottaway & Hamzawy, 2011). The intensity of the protests were so high that they quickly caused a destabilization of the regime and soon drove the long-standing president Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali from power in January 2011 (Hess, 2013). Because of the extreme protests, a lot of people died in clashes between demonstrators and security forces who used instruments such as tear gas and rubber bullets (Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict, 2011). Between December 2010 and January 2011, approximately 150 citizens were killed and more than 500 were injured. During the following years the conflict between the opposition groups and the government de-escalated, but remained at a violent level. Different parties and people have ruled since Ben Ali, such as human right activist Moncef Marzouki. In 2014 the first constitution was made since the ousting of the former president Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali (Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict, 2014) and the current president, Beji Caid Essebsi, won the elections.

Besides the terrorist attacks and the Arab Spring, there are also the pro-al-Qaeda groups that have been active on the Algerian border since 2011 (Heidelberg institute for International Conflict, 2012). According to Heidelberg institute for International Conflict (2013), it is a conflict over national power between Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), militant Islamists linked to Ansar al-Sharia, and other various militant groups against the government. This causes tensions across the border with regular violent actions such as gunfights, roadside bombing and airstrikes.

On March 18th 2015 another terrorism attack found place in Tunisia, this time in the capital Tunis. In the Bardo National Museum, a popular place among tourists, three terrorist killed twenty-two people. ISIS claimed responsibility for the terrorist attack and several men were arrested afterwards (CNN, 2015). Due to the recentness, there is no specific information available about the effect of this attack on the tourism industry.

For countries with terrorist attacks and other political instability the concept of tourism crisis is not a new phenomenon (Steiner, 2007). According to Al-Mahadin & Bums (2006), violent conflicts hinder the development of tourism and the occurrence of frequent crises (e.g. terrorist attack) can cause the destination to be perceived as "violent", "dangerous" and harboring "coward terrorists or fundamentalists". Among the Arab countries, Tunisia can be seen as one of the biggest losers as it is a country with limited orientation in market and tourist activities (Al-Hamarneh & Steiner, 2004). They have developed a risky over-dependence on a small number of European countries, mainly specialized in all-inclusive packages in seaside resorts (Carboni et al., 2014).

3. Methodology

3.1 Research questions

As already mentioned, the first objective of this thesis is to identify the PCI and TDI of Tunisia sketched by Dutch newspapers. The main research question and sub research questions designed to address this topic are as follows:

Main RQ: ***“What kind of Product-Country Image and Tourism Destination Image of Tunisia is sketched by the Dutch newspapers from January 2009 until April 2015?”***

Sub RQ 1: *How are the PCI and TDI factors discussed in Nadeau’s et al. (2008) paper processed in the newspaper articles about Tunisia?*

Sub RQ 2: *Are these PCI and TDI factors discussed positively or negatively?*

Sub RQ 3: *Are potential tourists directly or indirectly warned to visit Tunisia?*

Sub RQ 4: *Is there a change in reporting on key issues during the research period?*

Sub RQ 5: *What are the noticeable differences between the two studied newspapers?*

The second objective is related to the image formation process of the newspapers and language and media techniques they used to influence it. The following main research question and sub research questions are designed to deal with this topic:

Main RQ 2: ***“How have certain media techniques and particular language use played a role in this image formation process?”***

Sub RQ 1: *Which terms are used for Tunisia during this period, and how do they differ over time?*

Sub RQ 2: *Which aspects are (de-)emphasized by journalists?*

Sub RQ 3: *What is (not) shown on the pictures that are placed in the newspapers ?*

Sub RQ 4: *How did the newspapers make use of framing and priming techniques within their articles?*

Sub RQ 5: *What are the noticeable differences between the two studied newspapers?*

3.2 Research design

The research design of this thesis is a case study: “in a case study, the researcher purposively selects one or a few individuals, groups, organizations, communities, events, or the like and analyses the selected case(s) within their social context(s)” (Adler & Clark, 2011, p. 178). The type of study used is an instrumental case study, which is explained as: “a case study that describes specific people or places, but can help understand more general categories of the social world” (Stake, 2003). Although the results are about the PCI and TDI of Tunisia, the purpose of the thesis is to also give more general information about the way in which newspapers contribute to the image formation process through the way they frame words, sentences or paragraphs and the language they use.

3.3 Data collection

In this thesis the following two newspapers are examined: *De Telegraaf* and *De Volkskrant*. These newspapers can be considered as two of the most popular newspapers in the Netherlands with approximately 1.8 million (*De Telegraaf*) and 730.000 (*Volkskrant*) readers per day (*De Telegraaf Media Groep*, 2014; *Persgroep Nederland*, n.d.). Although it are two of the most read newspapers they can also be considered as very diverse. The following section will explain the diversity by examining the focus of the newspaper and the reader profile.

De Volkskrant

De Volkskrant can be considered as the number one newspaper when looking at quality, primarily due to their catchy reportages, in-depth interviews and impressive photography. The main focus of

the newspaper lies on: art, culture, literature, science and politics (Persgroep Nederland, n.d.). *Volkscrant* readers are curious people, interested in the world around them. They like art, culture, literature, science and politics and because of their above average income, they are willing to pay more for quality. The division between men and women is almost equal and with a main target group between 20 – 49 years old, the average age of the newspaper can be considered relatively young compared to other newspapers (Persgroep Nederland, n.d.). More than 60 % of the readers are highly educated with at least a higher education degree and often they have management positions in the following sectors: service sector, medical sector and education. Also the number of readers that work for the government can be considered to be quite high. Regarding political preference, the readers are mainly left oriented (23% PVDA, 20% GroenLinks, and 14% D66) (NOM Print & Doelgroep Monitor, 2010; Persgroep Nederland, n.d.).

De Telegraaf

De Telegraaf can be categorised as a 'popular newspaper' (Atteveldt et al., 2014) and is specialized in news, sport, finance and entertainment (De Telegraaf Media Groep, 2014). Sometimes specials related to travelling, art, movies or reportages are published and there is also a magazine included during the weekends. Since 1996, the newspaper has its own website where they publish their online newspaper. According to De Telegraaf Media Groep (2014), approximately 2 million people visit the homepage of this website daily. Lombard Media (2003) researched the reader profile of *De Telegraaf* based on approximately 29000 respondents. They concluded that the division between men and women is almost equal and more than half of the readers are above 50 years old. The provinces that are mostly represented are North and South Holland followed by North Brabant. Regarding education most of the readers are segmented in the group 'intermediate education' (23.8%) or 'lower education' (22.2%) while the groups 'University' (6.4%) and 'higher education' (14.6%) are less represented. However, most of them (37.4%) have an income that is above average. According to De Telegraaf Media Groep (2014), the newspaper is mainly popular among people who work in commercial, financial and sales sector and they are mainly right oriented regarding politics.

The data used for this thesis is obtained via the online database of the two Dutch newspapers, *De Telegraaf* and *De Volkskrant*, by using the search term 'Tunisia'. To narrow down the number of articles that were found, a time period of January 2009 - April 2015 was chosen. This time period captures a shift from a period where there was little reported about Tunisia, to a situation with much more coverage (Arab Spring, Murder of politicians Belaid and Brahmi and terrorist attack in Tunis). The database of *De Telegraaf* only showed articles that were really focused on Tunisia, mostly with Tunisia, Tunisian, Tunis or another word related to Tunisia in the headline. In total 143 articles were found in *De Telegraaf's* database and all of them were used in the quantitative analysis. This was not the case for *De Volkskrant*, in their online database 1809 articles were found in the given timeframe. Due to the limited amount of time it was impossible to include all the articles in this thesis. Beyond that, the articles found in *De Volkskrant* were often about other countries, and included only one or two times the word Tunisia in their text. These articles were considered as less relevant, because they were not particularly about Tunisia. Therefore a selection was made, and the first selection was based on a technique used by Stepchenkova and Eales (2011) in their paper about the depicted destination image of Russia in several newspapers from the UK. The amount of found articles was narrowed down by only choosing articles with Tunisia, Tunisian or Tunis in the headline. Due to this technique, the number of articles decreased enormously and only 261 articles remained. All these 261 articles were used in the quantitative analysis (histogram with coverage period and word frequency). For the qualitative analysis it was not possible to include this large amount of articles and another technique to narrow them down had to be used. This technique was based on Mossberg and Kleppe's (2005) article where newspapers were used as data source for exploring country images. He scanned the articles quickly and afterwards determined if the article would be useful for the analysis. The criterion for including an article was the degree to which it provided relevant and substantive

information for further in-depth analysis. In total 98 articles from De Volkskrant and 75 articles from De Telegraaf were used for the qualitative analysis (textual and visual analysis).

3.4. Quantitative analysis

NVivo 10 (a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software) was used to do a word frequency analysis of the newspaper articles. To get interpretable results some technical operations were done. First of all, words such as 'the' 'are' 'those' were removed from the results. Second, within the settings it was chosen that when looking for matches the program looked for 'stemmed words', such as party and parties or government and governments, and grouped these under one word or phrase. Last, the program was run once again to further exclude terms that are very frequently used in newspapers articles, but not meaningful for the results. Examples of these excluded words are: 'ANP', 'year' and 'photo'. Both newspapers were analysed separately and because of the huge amount of text, it was chosen to only list the words and phrases that were at least 60 times (Volkskrant) and 30 times (Telegraaf) mentioned in the newspaper articles. The reason behind the deviating numbers is the amount of articles analysed of both newspapers. The number of Volkskrant articles was almost twice as high as the used amount of Telegraaf articles.

3.5. Qualitative analysis

To analyse the data obtained from the newspaper articles, both content analysis and critical discourse analysis (CDA) are applied as methods. In the literature both methods are often used in studies about country and destination image. Content analysis is a systematic and replicable technique for compressing many words of texts into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding (Berelson, 1952; Stemler, 2001; Weber, 1990). Content analysis is used to answer the first research question and is based on the principles of *deductive coding*. The factors related to PCI and TDI explained by Nadeau et al (2008) were used as codes to analyse the newspaper articles of both newspapers. Second, critical discourse analysis, discussed elaborately in the literature review, is applied to answer the second research question. Again *deductive coding* found place, but instead of the factors related to PCI and TDI, the elements described in table 2 are used as codes. Examples of used codes within this process are: 'agent-patient relationship', 'topicalization' and 'naming'.

The photographs that were displayed together with the articles were analysed by using the seven steps described by Gillian Rose's book *Visual Methodologies* (Rose, 2001). The steps are as follows: 1) Look at the sources with fresh eyes, 2) Immerse yourself in your source, 3) Identify key themes in your sources, 4) Examining their effects of truth, 5) Paying attention to their complexity and contradictions, 6) Looking for the invisible as well as the visible, 7) Paying attention to details. In addition, the differences between the two newspapers were outlined.

4. Results and analysis

4.1 Coverage Frequency Analysis Newspapers

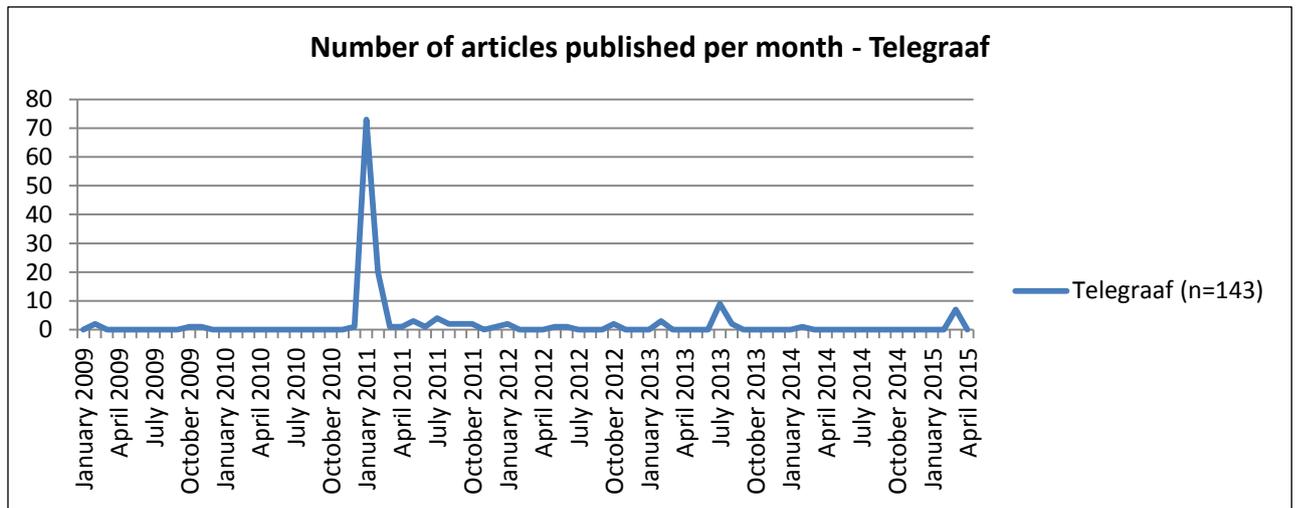


Fig 3. Number of articles published about Tunisia per month – Telegraaf

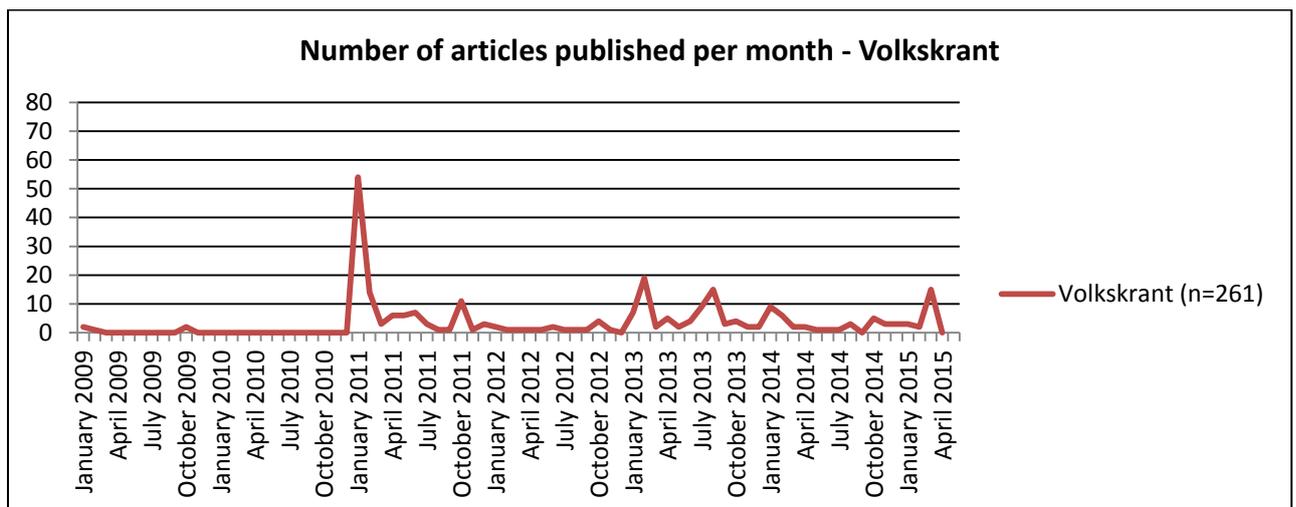


Fig 4. Number of articles published about Tunisia per month – Volkskrant

Figure 3 and figure 4 give a representation of the number of articles published by De Telegraaf (n=143) and De Volkskrant (n=261) in the chosen timeframe. The tables show that the total number of articles reporting Tunisia fluctuated over the period under study. In the beginning there is almost no attention paid to Tunisia in both newspapers, and the few articles that appeared were mainly about sports (both newspapers) and radicalism or freedom (Volkskrant). An enormous increase in coverage in both newspapers was recorded in 2011 during the Arab Spring and some smaller peaks were visible in July 2013 (murder of politician Belaid) and March 2015 (terrorist attack Tunis).

The table also reveals that De Volkskrant had more smaller peaks throughout the period after the Arab Spring and articles published then were about the first free election (October 2011), murder of opposition leader Belaid (February 2013), and the new government and constitution (January 2014).

Most remarkable is the high amount of articles that appeared in de Volkskrant in January and February 2013 (n= 26) compared to the amount published by De Telegraaf (n=3).

Overall it is noteworthy that De Telegraaf published 65% of its articles during the period of the Arab Spring, while De Volkskrant only published 25% of its articles in this period. This means that the coverage related to Tunisia in De Telegraaf was very extensively during this one particular period but weakened over time. Therefore Telegraaf readers are not constantly primed with articles about Tunisia, while the table shows this is the case for Volkskrant readers. Beyond that, the peaks of De Telegraaf only appeared when there were negative events (e.g. revolutions, terrorist attacks), and less or no attention is given to more positive news items. De Volkskrant on the other hand did discuss these more positive news articles (e.g. new president or new constitution) and as mentioned by Castellort & Mäder (2009) focusing positive news could enhance the image of a destination.

4.2 Word frequency analysis newspapers

This analysis gives an overview of the topics journalists wrote about based on the most frequently used keywords within De Volkskrant (at least 60 times) and De Telegraaf (at least 30 times). As already mentioned in the methodology section, these different numbers are based on the number of analysed articles: Volkskrant (n=261) and Telegraaf (n=143). The two complete tables with all the frequencies can be found in appendix I, but within this result section the keywords are classified into categories to make it more transparent. The categories that will be further discussed here are: disturbances, countries, cities, race & religion, governance, and political figures & parties. The reasoning behind the categories are the most frequently occurring themes within the newspapers and the link with PCI and TDI factors.

As mentioned in the literature review, repeated media coverage of an issue or topic makes it more accessible in people’s mind and will increase the likelihood that people will base their subsequent evaluations on it (Brewer et al. 2003). Being repeatedly exposed to certain words in relation to Tunisia will increase the likelihood that people get these words in their head when thinking about Tunisia.

Disturbances			
Volkskrant (n=261)		Telegraaf (n=143)	
Keyword	Frequency	Keyword	Frequency
Murder	195	Police	67
Manifestations	186	Manifestations	47
Police	176	Dead	47
Revolution	162	Demonstrations	34
Opposition	128	Fire	32
Violence	116	Protests	30
Demonstrations	115		
Attack	93		
Dead	84		
Unrest	68		

Table 4. Word frequency – Disturbances

Table 4 gives a representation of the different words referring to disturbances identified in articles about Tunisia. This category is meant to give an overview of all the unbalance or disorder within the country such as demonstrations and violence but also words linked to the terrorist attack or the murder of the two opposition leaders. The table presents that on the one hand there are similarities between the two newspapers. Words related to the Arab Spring and other demonstrations are present in both newspapers, however, De Volkskrant refers often to the period of the Arab Spring as ‘revolution’ while this word is not found in the list of De Telegraaf. But on the other hand there are also difference noticeable when looking at the words ‘murder’ and ‘fire’. The word murder is only present in the list of De Volkskrant, and is even the most occurring word related to disturbances in this newspaper. This word is probably most of the times used in newspaper articles about the murder of two opposition leaders in 2013. The term ‘fire’, on the other hand, is only present in the list of De Telegraaf. This word is often used in the end period of the Arab Spring when president Ben Ali is ousted and inhabitants of Tunisia start to loot and set fires.

Countries, cities, races and religions			
Volkskrant		Telegraaf	
Keyword	Frequency	Keyword	Frequency
Tunisia	1517	Tunisia	461
Tunis	526	Tunis	181
Country	450	Country	110
Islamic	251	North Africa(n)	52
Arabic	212	Capital	32
North Africa(n)	208	Arabic	31
Capital	164		
Libya	126		
Egypt	121		
Secular	88		
City	83		
Muslims	68		

Table 5. Word frequency – Countries, cities, race and religions

The second table presents the countries, cities, races and religions most often mentioned in both newspapers. This table can be linked to the TDI factor ‘culturally interesting’, because it gives an identification of the different races and religions within Tunisia. Besides that, the table gives an overview of the most mentioned cities within Tunisia and the countries Tunisia is linked with in the articles.

The table shows that both Tunisia and Tunis occur most frequently in articles published by De Volkskrant and De Telegraaf. Although the appearance of the word Tunisia is very logical, this is not the case for Tunis. This high amount indicates that a lot of the disturbances, mentioned in the previous table, occur in Tunis. This is the same for the word capital which is also present in both lists. No other destinations appear in the table, which means that holiday destination such as Hammamet, Sousse or Djerba are not often discussed within the newspaper articles.

The table also reveals that De Volkskrant refers more to races, religions and other countries within North Africa. The list of De Telegraaf only contains the word Arabic, and no (neighbouring) countries are present. As identified in the literature, situations or events in a country can have an effect on the

perceived image of neighbouring countries (Enders et al. 1992). Of course the table on its own does not show how the other countries are depicted in the news and how they are linked to Tunisia, and therefore it is impossible to give a real indication of the precise effect of the mentioned countries on the image of Tunisia.

Governance			
Volkskrant (n=261)		Telegraaf (n=143)	
Keyword	Frequency	Keyword	Frequency
Government	483	Government	112
Political	280	Minister	56
Minister	256	Premier	51
Elections	249	Political	38
Premier	226	Elections	30
Constitution	173		
Party	105		
Dictator	94		
Regime	93		
Democracy	89		
Parliament	78		

Table 6. Word frequency – Governance

The table above gives an indication of the used keywords that can be related to governance. This category can be linked to the ‘political stability’ category within PCI. However, the table is called governance because the words alone do not always give an identification of the political stability within the country.

The table reveals that the five first words referring to governance are the same for both newspapers. This means that they are discussed frequently within the articles of both De Telegraaf and De Volkskrant. However, De Volkskrant has some other words that do not occur in the list of De Telegraaf, such as constitution and democracy. These words are important for the image of Tunisia, because they imply that the country is growing into a democracy. The fact that these words are not present in the list of De Telegraaf, means that the readers are possibly less informed about the changing political situation in the country.

Political figures and parties			
Volkskrant (n=261)		Telegraaf (n=143)	
Keyword	Frequency	Keyword	Frequency
President Ben Ali	636	President Ben Ali	118
Ennahda	224	Ghannouchi	51
Brahmi	144		
Ghannouchi	133		
Chroki Belaid	99		
Trabelsi	90		
Marzouki	62		

Table 7. Word frequency – Political figures and parties

The last table gives an indication of the political figures and parties mentioned by both newspapers. According to Dinnie (2013) political leaders can contribute significantly to the PCI of a country. This effect is even strengthened when the country is far away or relatively unknown. In both tables it is

former President Ben Ali who is mentioned most frequently and also Ghannouchi, a key figure in Tunisia's political transition after the Arab Spring, occurs often in both newspapers. However, the list of De Telegraaf is very short, while the list of De Volkskrant presents many other political figures and parties. This is related to the huge amount of articles published by De Telegraaf in the period of the Arab Spring, and the limited attention given to the country and the events in the period afterwards. However, Trabelsi, the wife of president Ben Ali, is a name that occurred most often during the Arab Spring, and this name is not present in De Telegraaf. Brahmi and Belaid are the names of the opposition leaders murdered in 2013. From the table it can be concluded that these murders are less intensively discussed by De Telegraaf compared to De Volkskrant. This is also the case of Ennahda, a governmental party that was accused of the murder of the two opposition leaders Brahmi and Belaid. Marzouki is the name of the interim-president between 2011 and 2014.

The complete tables with all the frequencies (Appendix I) show some words that are not present in these latter discussed tables because they cannot be grouped into a certain category or are not really relevant for this study (e.g. Family or Woman). However, one word occurring frequently in both newspapers is noteworthy to mention. The word 'tourists' occurred 134 times in De Volkskrant and 35 times in De Telegraaf. This shows that tourists are often discussed in the articles of both newspapers, however, it does not give an indication of the way they are discussed.

4.3 Textual analysis newspapers

This textual analysis gives a more in-depth explanation of the PCI and TDI factors that are most discussed by the two newspapers. In addition attention is paid to the language use to see how this could have affected the image. The section is divided into two parts, one looking at the Product-Country Image and one looking at the Tourism Destination Image. At the end of the section a figure will be presented offering a quick overview of the sketched image by both newspapers.

4.3.1 Product-Country Image (PCI)

Country character

Quality of life

At the start of the Arab Spring it is clear through the expressions of the newspapers that the inhabitants of Tunisia are not satisfied with their quality of life and therefore start to revolt. Both newspapers emphasize that it are mainly young people (students) who are demonstrating because of their 'frustration' (Volkskrant) and 'dissatisfaction' (Telegraaf) with the corruption, high unemployment numbers, inflation and high food prices. In De Telegraaf it is also written that the inhabitants are discontented with the large investments going to the touristic areas instead of the poor inlands. The following quote gives an example of the socially unequal situation within Tunisia.

"Besides the corruption of the elite around president Ben Ali and the unemployment, there is also dissatisfaction about the unfair distribution of investments. The majority of the money goes to the touristic towns close to the coast while the inlands pauperize and suffer from severe unemployment." (Telegraaf, January 2011)

During the Arab Spring both newspapers foreground that disturbances are not only happening once, but that they can be seen as reoccurring events: "*Again food riots in Tunisia*" (Volkskrant, January 2011). The same emphasis is used when revealing articles about the inhabitants killed during the demonstrations. From these articles it becomes clear that many people died within this short period. "*Again protesters killed during riots in Tunisia*" (Telegraaf, January 2011).

After the ousting of president Ben Ali a different situation occurred, but according to the newspapers it was not an improved one. From the articles it can be extracted that the situation became even more chaotic and the people were afraid due to the 'dangerous power vacuum'. The following quote from a local woman is placed in both newspapers "*Please God, bring us peace. We cannot live in fear any longer*" (January, 2011). It is mainly De Telegraaf that starts to sketch a situation with a lot of looting, arson, and chaos. Followed by articles which indicate that thousands of Tunisians start to flee to European countries, with as main destination Italy. Afterwards both newspapers do not publish much that can be related to the quality of life of the Tunisian people.

Rights and freedom

In January 2009 De Volkskrant published a criticizing article about the rights and freedom of the people living in Tunisia, called: '*The Tunisian dog wants to bark freely*'. Some points that are mentioned in the article are: the limited amount of freedom (of the press) compared to other North African countries (e.g. Morocco) and the punishments that result from it. The article portrays an image of a country with a small wealthy elite and a large middle class, but with a lot of oppression and limited amount of freedom among the inhabitants. The following quote of a Tunisian intellectual is placed in the text to emphasize this situation of oppression which can be seen as a social problem within the country. Before the quote is published it is accentuated that the 'Tunisia intellectual' wants to remain anonymous, because he is afraid that he and his family will be in danger when his name is published. This again indicates that the people living in Tunisia cannot speak freely and are afraid of the consequences when criticizing the government.

"Tunisia is a façade, a movie. The government beliefs in democratic principles but not in applying them. You like the movie when you are on the side of the elite, the middle class stays in the room as long as the economy continues to go well, and the rest would like to quickly leave the room. But the room is locked."

From the same article it can be concluded that the Tunisian leader Zine El Abidine Ben Ali is depicted as the cause of the oppression, expressed through clear agent-patient relationships. As mentioned by Huckin (2002), in most cases the semantic agent in a sentence is depicted as having more power than the patient. In the case of De Volkskrant, president Ben Ali is seen as 'agent', having the power over the Tunisian people (patients). Before the Arab Spring it is only president Ben Ali who is depicted as an agent, but during and after the Arab Spring the newspapers also portray his wife and other family members as agents. The following quote of Tunisian student, again without name, refers to the family members of the president and his wife.

"The people want freedom, but this new government mainly consists of people who have oppressed us for 23 years" (Volkskrant, January 2011).

The following table gives an impression of the terms used by both newspapers for Ben Ali in the period of the Arab Spring. The terms most of the time occurred in combination with his name, like: 'Dictator Ben Ali'.

Term Ben Ali	Telegraaf (n=34)	Volkscrant (n=28)
Dictator	14	11
Authoritarian	15	6
Mafia leader	1	2
General	0	1

Table 8. Terms used for Ben Ali in the period around the Arab Spring

The table reveals that De Telegraaf used more negative words in relation with Ben Ali compared to De Volkskrant. However, De Telegraaf only used these words in the period of the Arab spring, while De Volkskrant already did it from the beginning of the analysed period (January 2009). De Telegraaf has not published any news articles about the oppressive situation in Tunisia before the start of the Arab Spring, but during the Arab Spring the newspaper refers back to the ongoing oppressive situation: *"Tunisia is ruled by a despot ever since 1987"* (January, 2011). The following quote of a Tunisia expert from the USA indicates that the oppression is going on for a long time:

"Tunisian people are quite relaxed, but when people are long enough oppressed and deprived of their freedom, things will automatically explode" (Telegraaf, January 2011).

However, overall Ben Ali and his family are less often depicted as 'agents' in De Telegraaf compared to De Volkskrant. The language used in De Telegraaf can be considered as quite neutral, speaking from the third person: *"Many Tunisians see Trabelsi as the sinister force behind the corrupt regime of her husband."* This, and many other statements against the regime are written from the perspective of others using words like 'they find'. De Volkskrant writes from the perspective of others as well, but a lot of their statements are written from the perspective of the journalist or De Volkskrant. The following sentence, published in an article called: *'Mafia state Tunisia,'* can work as an example.

" 'The Family', as the entourage of the president is known, is getting more corrupt. Tunisia is openly ruled by the mafia. The shameless self-enrichment and corruption, continuing high unemployment and inflation are the breeding ground for frustration. " (January, 2011).

De Telegraaf does not talk much about the rights and freedom of the local inhabitants of Tunisia in the period after the Arab Spring, and there are also no special articles published about the upcoming constitution. De Volkskrant on the other hand has written a lot about the new constitution, and from the used words it can be concluded that they are quite positive about it : *"New constitution Tunisia can be seen as a model for the region"* and *"The constitution is in the making, and a whole range of human rights can be found in it"* (July, 2013). Since the transitional period towards a democracy, the tone of De Volkskrant changes and the articles are less criticizing and cynical.

Stability of the economy

In the period prior to the Arab Spring there is nothing written in De Telegraaf about the economic situation in Tunisia. In de Volkskrant on the other hand, it is indicated that Tunisia is a stable and prosperous country. However, these articles can be considered as somewhat cynical, containing sentences like the following: *"Tunisia is stable and prosperous, but it goes hand in hand with a lack of*

freedom” (January, 2009). In the same article it is mentioned that Ben Ali wants to bring forth a certain image of his country: *“The visible prosperity gives the Tunisian leader Ben Ali the chance to show how he wants to have his country portrayed: stable and prosperous.”* During the Arab Spring, social problems related to the economy, such as high unemployment numbers, corruption and high food prices are indicated by both newspapers. Table 10 gives an indication of the words used for the unrest during the period of the Arab Spring.

Terms unrest	Telegraaf (n=34)	Volkskrant (n=28)
Disturbances	15	11
Riots	15	6
Food riots	2	1
Protests	13	23
Clashes	1	0
Confrontations	3	6
Fights	2	1
Demonstrations	11	11
Manifestation	8	1

Table 9. Terms used for the unrest in the period around the Arab Spring

The table reveals that De Telegraaf most often used the words: ‘riots’ and ‘disturbances’ in their articles. The word riot immediately indicates that there are fights between two or more groups, while this is not the case with words such as protests or demonstrations. Therefore, readers can get a more violent image in their head of the situation in Tunisia when reading De Telegraaf compared to De Volkskrant. The words ‘protests’ and ‘demonstration’ on the other hand also contain different meanings. The media conveys a more negative image of those advocating for something when they paint them as protesting. By referring to protest, the newspaper gives the readers the idea that the people ‘disagree with the ongoing situation’, while the definition of demonstration is: ‘giving their opinion’.

In De Volkskrant it was written that *“Tunisia was considered as a signboard for the economic success in the Arab world”* (January 2011). The sentence is written in the past tense, implying that it was the case, but it no longer applies. Although there is a lot written about the (in)stability of the economy as cause of the revolution, less attention is paid to the effect the revolution could have/ has on the economy of the country. One article of De Volkskrant indicates that the Arab Spring has an effect on the stability of the country: *“Besides the euphoria that resulted from the regained freedom, there are also concerns about the impact of the turmoil on the economy”* (January, 2011). No direct link with tourism is made here, however, in two other articles published in De Volkskrant it is stated that the decreasing number of tourists, as a result from the revolution, has an effect on the economy of the country. The following quotation is from derived an article published by De Volkskrant (February 2013) and implies that the economic situation is instable since the ousting of president Ben Ali.

“The Tunisian economy grew last year by 2.6 percent, after shrinking nearly 2 percent in 2011. In that year a revolution ended the regime of authoritarian president Ben Ali. Since that time, the North African country has a lot of trouble to stabilize the political and economic situation.”

New information about the economic situation is given after the terrorist attack in The Bardo Museum in Tunis. Again this topic is mainly discussed by de Volkskrant, while De Telegraaf only gives general information about the attack. When reading the articles published in de Volkskrant it

becomes clear that Tunisian people are really worried about the tourism numbers after the attack. In these articles it is also written that tourism is an important source of income for Tunisia. *“We, the Tunisian people, are the real victims”* is the headline of an article published in De Volkskrant (March, 2015). Expressions like *“Je suis Tunis”* and *“Je suis Bardo”* are used in this article, stating that the Tunisian people want to refer to the terrorist attack in Paris on Charlie Hebdo. From one article in De Volkskrant it can be concluded that the economic situation was finally improving after the chaotic situations during the Arab Spring and the murder to two politicians:

“The image people in other countries have of Tunisia as tourism country is essential. In the last months, the economic confidence returned after successful elections and the arrival of the beautiful constitution. And then this happens...” (March, 2015).

In the articles published by De Telegraaf there is nothing mentioned about the effect the terrorist attack on the economy in general, or more specific on the amount of tourists coming to the country.

Political stability

Before the Arab Spring, De Volkskrant depicts Tunisia as a stable and wealthy country with a large middle class (January 2009). However, De Volkskrant has published some criticising articles about the political and economic situation of Tunisia in 2009, and one of them contains the following sentence *“Tunisia is certainly not the island of stability the West thinks it is.”* This article states that many people think that Tunisia is prosperous and stable, but in reality there is a lot of oppression, corruption and a growing unemployment. By referring to ‘the West’ instead of ‘the world’, the author creates a situation of US (the West) vs. THEM.

At the end of 2010 the dissatisfaction with the regime of Ben Ali starts to grow, and the Tunisian people begin to protest, demanding that Ben Ali resigns. During the Arab Spring both newspapers often refer to the regime of Ben Ali with words such as ‘authoritarian’ or ‘corrupt’. Table 11 gives an indication of the words used for the regime before and during the Arab Spring.

Term Regime	Telegraaf (n=34)	Volkskrant (n=28)
Authoritarian	8	2
Corrupt	11	15
Oppression	0	2
Dictatorship	13	23
Mafia state	2	4
Clan	0	4
Monopoly position	0	2
Ruled with a ‘ring of steel’	2	0
Ruled with ‘the utmost severity’	1	0
Presidential guard	0	2

Table 10. Terms used for the regime in the period around Arab Spring

From the table it can be concluded that De Volkskrant refers most often to the regime of Tunisia with a negative word. Although there are less articles analysed of De Volkskrant, the table shows that they used 54 times a word with a negative meaning, while De Telegraaf did this 37 times. The word that is most often used by both newspapers is dictatorship. This word, and most of the other words are often used in combination with Ben Ali. However, corruption is mainly linked to Tunisia itself and not to a particular president or government.

The turbulence continues: “Tunisia is already into turmoil for weeks, due to continuing protest against the government” (Telegraaf January, 2011). “Until now, approximately 50 people died in the country that for decades was known as a stable country” (Volkskrant, January 2011). The following sentence published in De Volkskrant shows that the country is seen as politically unstable:

“Tunisia has long been a synonym for a stable and secular state in the Muslim world, but Tunisia is no longer Tunisia” (Volkskrant, January 2011)

The period around the murder of the two politicians is characterized by political instability and political crisis. In February 2013 it is written in De Volkskrant: “Last months Tunisia has ended up in a political crisis”, stating that the crisis was already there before the murder of Belaid. This is also indicated in an article written by De Telegraaf: “The already tense political relations are heightened” (July, 2013). From other articles it becomes clear that the political situation is already unstable since the ousting of President Ben Ali. However, it is mainly De Volkskrant who constantly refers back to the Arab Spring to highlight the political instability. In the period of the murders, words such as ‘political chaos’ and political unrest’ are often used. Table 12 shows an overview of all the words used for the situation in the two different newspapers. From the table it can be concluded that the word ‘political crisis’ is very often used by De Volkskrant. Both the words ‘crisis’ and ‘chaos’ refer to a more severe situation compared to ‘unrest’ Again it can be concluded that the Volkskrant used considerably more words with a negative meaning, however, in this case there are also more articles analysed of De Volkskrant.

Term political situation	Telegraaf (n=14)	Volkskrant (n=27)
Tense political relations	2	1
Political chaos	2	2
Political unrest	2	2
Political crisis	1	12

Table 11. Terms used for the political situation after the murder of two politicians in 2013

In March 2013, De Volkskrant starts to refer to Tunisia as a polarised country: “Unrest in polarised Tunisia.” This is a reoccurring term for Tunisia in this period in De Volkskrant. De Telegraaf on the other hand does not use this word, however, they sometimes refer to Tunisia as ‘divided.’

Term	Telegraaf (n=22)	Volkskrant (n=39)
Polarisation	0	11
Division	2	2

Table 12. Terms used for Tunisia

Both terms are used to indicate the division between Islamic supporters and opponents. In the articles it is written that the government (Islamic) is accused of the murder of both politicians. Therefore many Tunisians start to protest and demand the government to leave. In October 2014 an article appeared in de Volkskrant named: “Tunisians to the ballot box for historical elections.” In other articles it is also emphasized multiple times that the elections are very important for Tunisia, because it is the first time they can choose a representative of the people since the ousting of president Ben Ali.

Two paragraphs published in different articles are a bit contradictory about the political situation in Tunisia. In the first article it is said that it is getting better: *“The transition to a democratic system was initially hard, but meanwhile the tranquillity slowly returned.”*(Volkskrant, October 2014). While the second article stated that there is still no transition to a democratic system noticeable: *“While Ben Ali is enjoying his pension in Saoedi Arabia, the corrupt and inefficient regulations are still insufficiently addressed”*(Volkskrant, December 2014). In December 2014 a new president is chosen called Beji Caid Essebsi and after this, the first articles that give an indication about the political situation of the country are published after the terrorist attack on the 18th of March 2015. From these articles it can be concluded that Tunisia is still relatively unstable: *“Tunisia is very vulnerable”, “Tunisia is a young and fragile democracy”* (Telegraaf, March 2015) and *“Tunisia has spilt a necessary amount blood and the political relations are still on edge”* (Volkskrant, March 2015).

People character

It was decided not to use a sub headline based on Nadeau’s et al. (2008) framework in the case of people character, because it is hard to grasp which character is affected mostly through the discussed elements. Throughout the whole period there is limited attention paid to the character of the people living in Tunisia. However, the discussed events (e.g. demonstrations) could have indirectly influenced the character of the Tunisian people in the minds of the readers. At the end of the analysed period, Tunisian people were often linked to IS fighters: *“Approximately 1500 – 3000 Tunisian inhabitants have aligned with the IS”* (Telegraaf, March 2015) *“Tunisia has been struggling with more and more Islamic extremists”* (Volkskrant, March 2015). This link could also have an indirect effect on the projected people character of the Tunisian people. However, is it also related with the category ‘safety’ which is discussed in TDI part of this analysis.

People competence

Education level

The education level of Tunisian inhabitants is mentioned several times during the Arab Spring, mainly because the high unemployment numbers were considered to be one of the reasons for students to start this revolution. According to De Volkskrant, Tunisian people are better educated compared to other Muslim countries, however, the level of education is at the same time criticized.

“The education effort is bigger than in any other Muslim country, as more than 30% goes to university after high school. [...] The problem is that their degrees are as good as worthless. Like most developing countries, Tunisia is full of ‘diploma factories’ handing out worthless degrees to semi-skilled students” (January, 2011).

Although De Volkskrant argues that the Tunisian people are better educated than people from other Muslim countries, they do not refer to them as ‘highly educated’. The same counts for De Telegraaf: *“The upheavals were mainly fuelled by the chronic unemployment. In Tunisia it were the young, fairly well educated unemployed inhabitants who unleashed the uprising”* (September 2011).

Overall conclusion

Overall it can be concluded that the negative portrayal of Tunisia undoubtedly affected the Product Country Image. When looking at the factors presented by Nadeau et al. (2008), it is essentially the country character of Tunisia which is damaged the most through the newspaper coverage. Within this category, a remarkably high amount of attention is given to the political (in)stability of the country, and especially within De Volkskrant a lot of attention is paid the rights and freedom of the inhabitants. The people character and people competence of Tunisia are less affected, because there is almost no direct attention paid to these attributes in the newspapers. However, the events the inhabitants are participating in (e.g. protests), could have an indirect effect on their character.

Regarding language use and media techniques, there are a lot of negative words published for Ben Ali, the regime of Tunisia, and the political upheaval during the Arab Spring in both newspapers. However, the meaning and the frequency of these words differ among the newspapers. Within the articles published by De Volkskrant, a changing tone is noticeable during the coverage of their newspaper articles related to Tunisia. In the beginning the tone could be considered as quite cynical, and also some headlines contained offensive words or sentences. However, there is more positive coverage of the country after the Arab Spring and this is mainly related to Tunisia's transitional period towards a democracy. The tone of the Telegraaf could be considered as more objective, referring often to other's opinions instead of framing it like it is their own opinion.

4.3.2 Tourism Destination Image (TDI)

Natural environment beliefs

Attractive scenery

According to De Telegraaf, the country is characterized by many different forms of landscapes. You can find desert in the Sahara, beaches at the coast and a forest in the North of peninsula 'Cape Bon'. It is mainly the beauty of the Sahara, described with a lot of imagery, that is emphasized by the newspaper:

"The sun is slowly sinking into the sand dunes which creates a wonderful shadow play. The desert colours from dazzling white, to orange and mauve" (January, 2010).

When looking more closely at the used words, it can be concluded that the text tends to be more promotional. The source of the article indicates that it is written in the travel section of De Telegraaf, a section with somewhat more 'promotional' travel advice. It should be noted that almost all the information related to TDI is found in this travel section of De Telegraaf and not in the regular news sections. De Volkskrant on the other hand, has not described any elements that could fall under the heading of 'attractive scenery' in the analysed articles.

Climate

According to De Telegraaf (2013), the nice weather is something that contributes to the popularity of Tunisia as a tourism destination. *"It is almost never below 20 degrees Celsius"* (De Telegraaf, 2013). De Volkskrant refers two times to Tunisia as a 'Mediterranean country'. In De Telegraaf it is also

mentioned that Tunisia is perfectly suitable as beach destination because of the 'pleasant temperatures' (2011).

Built environment beliefs

Culturally interesting

In the newspapers Tunisia is depicted as a popular travel destination with both Arabic and European influences. *"Tunisia is fully Arabic, but with enough European influences to feel at ease"* (De Telegraaf, 2011). According to De Telegraaf (2013), there is a whole wealth of culture in the North African region. The French culture is in particular very explicitly present, due to the period of colonization. This period has led to many classical art pieces which are mainly situated and collected in museums in the capital Tunis. Culturally interesting are also the ruins, palaces and other buildings which descend from the Roman Empire. *"The country is influenced by many old cultures"* (Volkskrant, 2015).

Profile of attractions

The profiles of attractions in Tunisia are mainly found in De Telegraaf in five articles published between 2010 and 2013. One of the articles is called 'Tunisia, there is something for everyone', meaning that the country offers a diverse range of attractions. One of the other articles is a list of 'miracles in the Middle East', and Carthago, an old trading city from the Roman Empire, is included in the list on number 8. In this small piece De Telegraaf mentioned twice that Carthago is an UNESCO World Heritage Site. Other attractions that are listed in the articles of De Telegraaf are: the ruins created during the Roman Empire, architecture, the UNESCO World Heritage Site Carthago, the Medina, Bardo Museum, jeep safari, the oasis of Tozeur, cave dwellings of the Berbers and camel rides through the desert. The island Djerba is depicted as a more expensive destination, with attractions such as: golfing at the beach, sailing trips and visiting an old pirate fort. A cultural attraction that is not mentioned by De Telegraaf, but present in an article published by De Volkskrant, is the village 'Mos Espa', a pilgrimage place for millions of Star Wars fans, and according to De Volkskrant one of the most important places of cultural heritage in Tunisia. In their article it is written that this attraction is very important for the local economy and tourism in the region. The museums in Tunisia get some special attention in De Telegraaf, as they state that there is a whole collection of Roman, Moorish and Carthagener art treasures in Tunisia, which can be mainly found in the Museums. In particular The Bardo Museum is mentioned and is depicted as the largest museum in Tunisia with beautiful art pieces from many different cultures. In De Volkskrant nothing is mentioned about The Bardo Museum until the terrorist attack in 2015.

After the terrorist attack, De Volkskrant published a whole article about The Bardo Museum. The article starts with the following sentence: *"It was pre-eminently a place where visitors could become hopeful about the possibilities of merging cultures."* (March, 2015). Assuming that this was the case before the attack in March. The article associates the museum with the attack stating that it is:

"The place where hostage takers killed 21 people and where survivors experienced nerve-racking hours."

It should be noted that the words terrorist and terrorist attack are not mentioned in the article and they only talk about 'hostage taker'. As mentioned by Ruiz & Bataller (2010), using different labels gives an idea of the varying views of a topic. The above depicted sentence does not really seem like a promotional text, however, later in the article the text becomes more promotional, describing it as the most important attraction for Tunis. And some art pieces of their collection are highlighted such as the enormous wall mosaic of the Roman god of the sea Neptune. Nevertheless, the photographs that are placed in the article are not promotional and only show police men with big guns waiting outside the building and victims on stretchers.

Ease of getting around

In the beginning of the period, during the Arab Spring, both newspapers discuss military people monitoring on the street. According to De Volkskrant there are military vehicles at every street corner in Tunis. *"All the streets to the main square in Tunis were occupied and closed off by the military"* (January, 2011). De Telegraaf on the other hand does not discuss where the military people are monitoring. An identical situation occurs later when both newspaper talk about the curfew that prohibits people to be at the street from eight in the evening until six in the morning. This are the two headlines announcing the curfew in both newspapers:

"Curfew after riots in capital Tunisia" (Volkskrant, January 2011)

"Curfew after fights in Tunisia" (Telegraaf, January 2011)

In the headline of De Volkskrant it is already brought up that the curfew only applies in Tunis, while this cannot be concluded from the headline of De Telegraaf. When readers are scanning the articles in the newspaper by only looking at the headlines, the headline of De Telegraaf can give the wrong impression. In addition, De Telegraaf referred three times to the curfew as: *'a prohibition to go out,'* this could also get misinterpreted by readers. This is not the only time De Telegraaf omits a significant detail from the headline. In 2013, during the disturbances after the murder of politician Brahmi, there is a general strike announced during one particular day. On this day, the airport is closed and there are no incoming or outgoing flights. This are the two headlines announcing the cancelled flights:

"All flights to Tunisia are cancelled" (Telegraaf, July 2013)

"Tunisair does not flight to Tunisia on Friday" (Volkskrant, July 2013)

Also the words 'cancelled' and 'does not fly' differ in modality. When people read the word 'cancel' they could think about people who had to cancel their trip because there were no flights. Of course De Telegraaf refers to the same thing, however, the phraseology could evoke other perceptions in the minds of the readers.

Safety

In the period of the Arab Spring, words such as 'demonstrations' 'unrest' 'tear gas' 'gunshots' are often used by both newspapers to explain the situation in Tunisia. Both newspapers emphasize the big groups of protesting people by using quantities: *"thousands of people were protesting"* (Telegraaf, January 2011), *"In Tunis twenty people were on the streets to protest"* (Volkskrant,

January 2011). However, there are differences between the newspapers when looking at the portrayed agents during the disturbances.

“The police has fired tear gas at demonstrators in two western cities.” (Telegraaf, January 2011)

“Hundreds of protestors appeared on the streets and threw stones at the police, who responded with tear gas” (Volkskrant, January 2011).

In both cases there is a different topicalization, which means that the newspaper used their power to create a perspective or slant that influences the readers perception. In the case of the Telegraaf, de police men are depicted as the agent, as they are the ones throwing rocks at the protestors. For De Volkskrant this is the other way around, the police men respond with tear gas, meaning that they were not the first ones attacking. Moreover, the word protestor conveys a more negative image compared to demonstrator, which can also influence the reader. This all can have an influence on the reader’s perception of the Tunisian people and their character. Depicting the inhabitants as agents, could give people the idea that Tunisian people are aggressive or rebellious, while in the case of De Telegraaf it can be understood as people ‘fighting’ for their freedom.

During the Arab Spring it is often reported in the newspapers that demonstrators or protestors died. No direct cases of injured or dead tourists are found in the newspapers, however, De Telegraaf has published an article called: *“Swedish hunters attacked in Tunisia.”* From the article it can be concluded that the Swedish people are tourists, because it is written that they have booked their trip via a travel organization. But De Telegraaf did not use the label ‘tourists’. Labelling them as tourists could have had greater implications for Tunisia and the image as a safe tourism destination.

Articles about cancelled flights and holidays to Tunisia are mainly present in a later phase of this period. Around the end of January both newspapers start to write about tour operators who are repatriating tourists from Tunisia, mainly because they perceive the situation as too dangerous. In De Telegraaf they do not only mention that tour operators repatriate the tourists, but also that tourists ‘flee’ from Tunisia due to the unsafe situation. Again there is a case of topicalization. In the eye of De Volkskrant reader the tour operators perceive the situation as not safe, while in the eyes of De Telegraaf readers it are also the tourists who perceive the situation to be unsafe and therefore flee back home.

During the period after the terrorist attack, De Volkskrant published a lot of quotes from tourists and other people who witnessed and survived the shootings. De Telegraaf on the other hand published more general information and made almost no use of quotes. De Volkskrant tried to reconstruct what happened during the attack by making use of these quotes in combination with screenshots of camera footage and a timeline of the events. For the following quote, published in De Volkskrant, direct speech is used. As mentioned by Clark & Gerrig (1990), direct speech is depiction like, creating a mental representation in people’s mind. Therefore, Volkskrant readers could get a better mental representation of the situation during the terrorist attack compared to Telegraaf readers.

“We were with approximately forty people in a room. We heard a lot of yelling, gunshots and then more gunshots. The shots resonated through the halls because the rooms were so large. Oh god oh my god” (March, 2015)

Together with this quotes there are also small pieces about the victims or survivors, containing information such as their full name, nationality, age, reason for this trip, and of course the survivors told a story about what they had witnessed during the attack, placed in De Volkskrant.

“Noriko Yuki (35) a Japanese tourist on a journey together with her mom, hears literally how the bullets fly over her head and drops on the ground. Her mother is beside her and Yuki touches the body to see if she’s still alive, but the woman does not respond. Then a bullet scrapes her own cheek and she is hit in her ear and hand. Later it turns about that her mother was hit in the neck but survived the attack” (Volkskrant, March 2015).

Both newspapers put the murder of the tourists on the foreground and the other victims on the background. *“During the attack in the museum 21 people were killed, including many tourists”* (Telegraaf). *“Last week during the terrorist attacks in the Bardo Museum 23 people died, among them there were 20 tourists”* (Volkskrant). However, De Telegraaf mentioned in almost all the cases also the other Tunisian victims (cleaning lady and police), while De Volkskrant omitted them in most of the articles.

In the beginning of the period, the victims and the attackers are mentioned separately by both newspapers: *“23 people died, among them were 20 tourists. [...] The two terrorists were shot by the police”* (Volkskrant, March 2015). Later on, the terrorist are mentioned in one sentence together with the tourists and Tunisians who died: *“25 people lost their lives, 20 foreign tourists, 3 Tunisians and 2 Tunisian perpetrators”* (Volkskrant, March 2015). Both newspapers also report several times that there are no Dutch tourists killed, but it is only De Volkskrant who mentioned all the nationalities of the killed tourists in their articles.

Overall conclusion

Regarding Tourism Destination Image, most of the information present in the newspaper is about the safety and the ease of getting around. It are also those attributes that have been portrayed most negatively throughout the whole analysed period. Tourists are both directly and indirectly warned to visit Tunisia because of the unsafe situations that occurred several times. Only a few newspaper articles contained information about the other natural and built environment beliefs. However, almost all of these articles were published in the travel section of De Telegraaf and not the regular news section. Therefore these articles were written in more promotional language, including a lot of imagery and adjectives. Within De Volkskrant the natural and built environments were mentioned in more negative articles, such as those of the terrorist attack in Bardo.

Regarding the language use and media techniques, it was noticeable that De Telegraaf made several times use of a bottom-up approach, meaning that the important information was presented at the end of the text (van Dijk, 2003). However, when people would be only scanning the articles, they could misinterpret the situation because of the ‘hidden’ information. De Volkskrant made use of a lot of quotes, often in direct speech. When direct-speech is used, it gives a more depiction like representation (Clark & Gerrig, 1990). These quotes were often used to reconstruct situations such as the terrorist attack. Within the Telegraaf there were almost no quotes published, and the articles only contained basic information about the attack.

Volkskrant

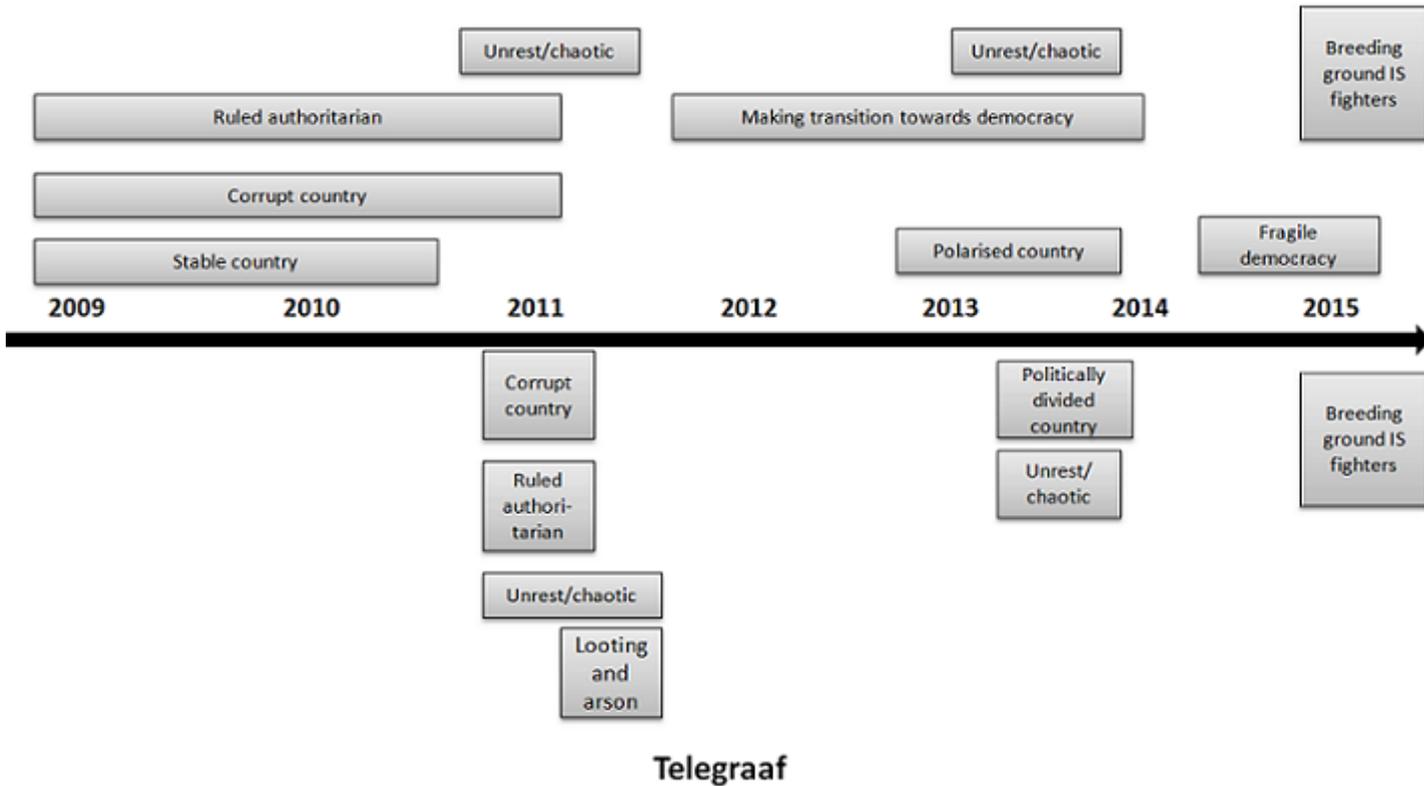


Figure 5. Image sketched of Tunisia throughout the whole analysed period.

The above presented figure gives a clear representation of the words and/or topics related to the image of Tunisia that are most often highlighted by De Volkskrant and De Telegraaf. Within this figure, the information found during the frequency analyses is combined with the results from the textual analysis to give an overall overview. The length of the bars give an indication of the repetition over time, accordingly longer bars mean that the readers are repeatedly primed with the same word or topic within a certain period.

The figure reveals that most of the words and topics readers are frequently exposed to are related to the Product-Country Image and not the Tourism Destination Image of Tunisia. Only the words 'unrest/chaotic' and 'breeding ground for IS fighters' can be linked to the TDI because they propose a certain unsafe situation. There is nothing present in the figure that can be related to the attributes Nadeau et al. described as having an effect on the natural environment beliefs. These attributes are absent because they were only discussed once or twice in the articles, and therefore did not get any repeated attention.

From the length of the bars it can be concluded that De Volkskrant paid prolonged attention to certain topics, resulting in long-standing primes for their readers. As mentioned by Brewer et al. (2003), when things are often repeated, it will increase the likelihood that people will base subsequent evolutions on their thoughts about an issue, person, event or country. De Telegraaf readers on the other hand are only exposed to newspaper articles about events or issues during the time they actually occurred. Therefore the effect of priming applies less to them and their images could be more short-term. However, the figure also reveals that De Telegraaf only projected negative images, while De Volkskrant also captured the transition of Tunisia towards a democracy. Therefore it can be concluded that the image projected by De Telegraaf is only one-sided, focussing on the

negative events but ignoring the positive ones. As mentioned by Khodadadi (2012), it is important to consider that a destination with a discourse that is associated with a negative meaning could prevent potential tourists from other societies to visit that particular destination.

4.4. Visual Analysis Newspapers

4.4.1 Product-Country Image (PCI)

The newspaper articles published in the beginning of the period (2009 until early 2011) do not include photographs to illustrate the accompanied text. The first photographs are published in De Telegraaf on January 11th in 2011, showing the protests during the Arab Spring. On the photographs you can see empty but dirty streets with small fires, smoke and sometimes a police agent or citizen. Later on more people are captured, walking in big groups with their arms in the air, carrying signs and very occasionally a Tunisian flag (see *photograph 1*). It is noteworthy that it are all citizens and no policemen or militaries that are visible on the photos. The photographs that follow display more violent scenes where confrontations are depicted between police agents and citizens (See *photograph 2*). The short texts under the photographs indicate that people are throwing rocks and Molotov cocktails and the police is using gunshots to scare people and tear-gas to drive them away.



Photograph 1 (Source: Telegraaf)



Photograph 2 (Source: Telegraaf)

Some photographs are repeatedly published with a maximum of three times. Although the context of the articles is often similar, mainly about the ongoing unrest in Tunisia, there are also articles which differ in context but have identical photographs. An article with headline “Tunisia reopens airspace” has the same photograph as “Tunisian president fires government”, namely one depicting demonstrating citizens clashing with policemen.

De Volkskrant does not show photographs at all during the Arab Spring, however, the online database shows empty surfaces behind the articles which could indicate that the photographs are deleted. The first photographs are displayed in June 2011 during the conviction of former president Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali and his wife Leila Trabelsi. From this date on, photographs are placed of small protests, ministers or other politicians, citizens voting during elections and of the former president and his wife. Although no photographs are displayed during the Arab Spring, articles that are published later contain photographs of protests during this period, mainly to recapture the events. For example, an article published a year later, with the headline “The United States support Tunisia with 100 million dollar” has a photograph of the protests during the Arab Spring. The corresponding text indicates that the newspaper wants to look back at the chaotic period to show the instability of the country.

After the murder on the politicians Chokri Belaid (February 2013) and Mohamed Brahmi (July 2013), the newspapers display a lot of photographs containing protests. These photographs show similar things: big groups of people with signs and Tunisian flags, clashes between citizens and policemen, firework, smoke, people throwing rocks, portraits of the murdered politicians and running people. In the beginning the photos are mainly taken during the day, but later on there are also photographs with dark sky, which indicates that the protests are also happening during the evening or night. Besides these similarities there are also differences noticeable between the two newspapers. The photographs in De Telegraaf are mainly focused on big groups of people without zooming in (see *photograph 3 and 4*). De Volkskrant also shows photos of big groups, but in some articles they have photographs that zoom in on certain people, showing their explicit facial expression (see *photograph 5 and 6*).



Photograph 3 (Source: Telegraaf)



Photograph 4 (Source: Telegraaf)



Photograph 5 (Source: Volkskrant)



Photograph 6 (Source: Volkskrant)

During and after the terrorist attack, photographs are shown in both newspapers with certain similarities: armed policemen with big guns, black uniforms and balaclavas, running tourists or citizens, people with big cameras, busses with broken glass due to the gunshots, stretchers with wounded or dead people and journalists trying to capture the moment (see *photograph 7*). De Volkskrant also added other types of photographs, such as screenshots from camera footage, photographs from victims taken just before the attack, and also photographs of the parents and the funeral of the perpetrators.

Somewhat later in the period (end of March), photographs are shown of Tunisian people protesting against terrorist. These photographs have many similarities with the photographs taken during the other protests (during Arab Spring and after the murder of politicians Belaid and Brahmi). Again there are big groups of people displayed, with their hands in the air, holding Tunisian flags and other signs (see *photograph 8*). However, a difference between the periods is that the photographs of the

demonstrations after the terrorist attack contained mainly protesting women, while during the two other protests, it were mainly men that were depicted on the photographs.



Photograph 7 (Source: Volkskrant)



Photograph 8 (Source: Telegraaf)

4.4.2 Tourism Destination Image (TDI)

Regarding tourism, there are newspaper articles written about the decreasing tourism numbers and the abandoned tourist attractions. These newspaper articles are strengthened by photographs showing empty market squares or lonely beaches (see *photograph 9*). The articles written in the more stable periods, about the recovering tourism industry, either show no photograph, or photographs about the earlier unrest containing protesting people. Within the whole captured period there are only three photographs that depict happy tourists, and one of them is linked to a more negative article with the headline “Popular holiday destination Tunisia already unsafe for a long period of time” (Volkskrant, March 2015). Regarding natural environment, there is only one photograph, published in De Telegraaf (April 2013). There are 4 photographs that fall under the category built environment, 2 published by De Telegraaf (See *photograph 10*) and 2 published by De Volkskrant. However the photographs published by De Volkskrant are all about the Bardo Museum and are only added in articles relating to the terrorist attack in March 2015. On these photographs there are no, or almost no tourists visible.



Photograph 9 (Source: Telegraaf)



Photograph 10 (Source: Volkskrant)

The photographs shown in the part about PCI could also fall under that category built environment, as they show events that could have an effect on the ‘safety’ and the ‘ease of getting around.’ For example the photographs about the protests, could be understood as unsafe situations or streets that are full of people and possible attractions that could be out of reach.

5. Discussion

5.1 Sketched image

The first objective of this thesis was to identify the Product-Country Image (PCI) and Tourism Destination Image (TDI) of Tunisia portrayed by Dutch newspapers in the period of January 2009 until April 2015. This was done by using the PCI and TDI categories and attributes presented in Nadeau's et al. (2008) paper. In the literature those categories are mainly used in quantitative research, involving tourists who need to fill in questionnaires in order to determine their PCI and TDI of a particular country. In those studies it is the perceived image of the country and not the projected image that is researched. This thesis has shown that it is also possible to use the categories and attributes in qualitative research. The PCI and TDI categories and attributes have worked as a guideline to analyse newspaper articles about Tunisia. The outcome is not the perceived image by the readers, but the image that is projected through the newspaper articles

From the results of this thesis it can be revealed that information contributing to both the Product-Country Image and the Tourism Destination Image can be retrieved from newspaper articles. However, in the case of Tunisia, it was mainly the Product-Country Image that was intensively discussed in the articles and less attention was paid to the Tourism Destination Image. This could be a reason why there is previous studies did not make that much use of newspaper articles as source to research the Tourism Destination Image. As mentioned in the literature, analysing newspapers for representations of a destination image is done in the past (Hamid-Turksoy, 2013; Hanusch, 2011; Pan et al., 2007; Santos, 2003), however it was in almost all of the cases the travel section of the newspaper that was analysed and not the regular news items. The thesis has shown that it is also possible to retrieve tourism destination related information from regular news articles. Especially when looking at Nadeau's et al. (2008) conceptual framework, it can be concluded that aspects related to PCI also influence the TDI of the country. And therefore these two concepts cannot be seen as two totally different processes.

Gartner (1994) argued that (news) media may be the only image formation agents capable of changing an area's image dramatically in a short period of time. The results found in this thesis can support this argument. Several dominating Product-Country Images and Tourism Destination Images of Tunisia are established in a short amount of time through the newspaper coverage of both newspapers. In the beginning Tunisia was portrayed as a stable and wealthy country, but later this projected image changed into (politically) instable and unsafe. At the end of the analysed period the instability was improving, but the newspapers now started to write about Tunisia as a country with many terrorist and the Tunisian inhabitants were linked to IS fighters. Overall it was especially the Arab Spring, and the newspaper articles related to it that caused the biggest shift in projected image. This gives a foundation for the argument that area's images can dramatically change in a short period of time. However, the results of this thesis only contain the projected image through the newspapers, and this does not essentially mean that those images are immediately adopted by the readers. Further research, which includes the readers of *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf* must be done in order to see if the newspapers are really capable of changing an area's image dramatically in a short period of time.

5.2 Language use and media techniques

The second objective of this thesis was to find out how Dutch newspapers have used their power to form a PCI and TDI of Tunisia through the use of discourse. And how this could result in differently portrayed images by the two newspapers. The results of this thesis show that the images presented by the two newspapers have similar aspects, but there are also significant differences noticeable.

In the literature it was mentioned that news media give an order of importance and structure to the world they portray (McQuail, 1979). This thesis has found evidence for this claim, based on framing and priming effects presented in the results. First of all, the newspapers framed their articles in a different way and therefore created different image. The articles published by De Volkskrant contained more in-depth information and strong agent-patient relationship, however, objectivity of the articles could be questioned. Mainly in the beginning of the analysed period, the published articles were really criticizing and some could even be considered as cynical. Articles with confronting headlines such as *“Tunisia mafia state”* or *“The Tunisian dog wants to bark freely”* were published in this period. However, later the tone changed and the articles became more objective. This changing tone could suggest a shift in media mindset. Compared to the articles of De Volkskrant, it can be concluded that the articles of Telegraaf were shorter, containing predominantly basic information about the occurring events. However, De Telegraaf also used often the bottom-up approach structure, meaning that the most important information is presented at the end of the text (van Dijk, 2003). Due to the use of this structure, important information is sometimes, consciously or unconsciously, hidden from the headlines and the first paragraph(s). As a result, readers who are only scanning the articles could get a wrong impression of the situation.

Catellort & Mäder (2009) claimed that journalists and editors are often accused of focusing mainly on negative aspects instead of positive news that could enhance the media image of a destination. The results of this thesis support this claim, however, there is a difference between the two analysed newspapers noticeable here. The coverage within De Telegraaf was generally more sensationalist, fostering only images of a chaotic and troubled country. Their articles were mainly published during three peak moments when negative things happened in Tunisia. The articles published by De Volkskrant could be considered more balanced as the representations spread gradually over the analysed period. Not only negative events were discussed intensively by De Volkskrant but also more positive events got a significantly high proportion of coverage. This is related to priming; the accessibility of an issue in people’s mind is partly determined by the frequency and recency of the coverage of an issue (Higgins et al. 1995). De Volkskrant readers are primed with both positive and negative items in relation to Tunisia, while de Telegraaf readers were mostly exposed to negative items. Therefore, De Telegraaf readers could have created a more negative image of Tunisia. However, when looking at the frequency, De Telegraaf readers are only shortly primed with negative items followed by a period of no or limited media coverage. Therefore, it is possible that the images faded over time, as the items were not repeated any more. De Volkskrant on the other hand, repeated certain words and topics a lot of items, both negative and positive, and therefore their readers could have created more long lasting images. However, further research, including the readers of both newspapers, is needed to find out if this reasoning is correct.

6. Limitations and further research

6.1 Limitations

The first limitation is related to the used methodology within this thesis. Although it is tried to keep the research as objective as possible, both content analysis and critical discourse analysis are quantitative methods that go hand in hand with a certain level of subjectivity. This subjectivity could have had an effect on the reliability of the research. The idea behind reliability is that other researchers must be able to perform exactly the same analysis under the same conditions and eventually generate the same results. Although the data were analysed based on predetermined codes found in the literature, other people could have coded the data differently due to other interpretations of the same material. This affects the reliability because other results would be generated under the same conditions. Interpretations also lead to another limitation, namely the misinterpretation of the data. It is possible that words, sentences or paragraphs within the newspaper articles are misinterpreted, meaning that the journalists wrote it with a different intention than presumed.

Another limitation related to the methodology is that both techniques used are purely descriptive methods. In the results it is described what kind of image is sketched by the newspaper and how the used language and media techniques could have affected the image, but it was impossible to underlie the motives for this observed pattern. Further research in the form of interviews is needed to identify why authors of the newspapers used this particular language and what they wanted to achieve by doing it.

Also the selection process of the articles could have led to a limitation. Because of the limited amount of time it was impossible to analyse all the found articles in the online databases. A selection had to be made and a consequence of this is that some articles which could have contained useful information were not analysed. The small size of the sample also meant that certain themes that occurred often within the sample, are maybe not as frequent when looking at all the articles. This means that coincidence could have played a role in this research.

The language of the newspaper articles and the translation of it can be considered as another limitation of this research. All the analysed articles were written in Dutch, and therefore translation was needed in the case of word frequency or quotations. However, because of the importance of language within this thesis, this could be considered as a limitation. Words could have been translated wrong, resulting in a slightly different meaning. It also occurred that two words with a different meaning in Dutch had the same English translation and therefore were combined. In the case of typical Dutch expressions it was occasionally hard to give an English translation with the same exact meaning.

The last limitation is related to generalization. As mentioned by Morse (1999) there is a difference between generalization in qualitative and quantitative research. In quantitative research it is mainly situational, rather than demographic, representativeness what is sought. Therefore generalization refers to the extent to which theory developed within one study may be exported to provide explanatory theory for other research situations. The sketched image of Tunisia is hard to generalize because it is very related to Tunisia itself. Another point is that not all the readers interpret the texts

the same, and therefore there might be a deviant image between the different readers. The language use and media techniques within the newspapers are easier to generalize, because these could appear also in articles about other countries or especially conflict-ridden areas. However, further research is needed to see if there is indeed a consistency among language and media techniques.

6.2 Further research

This thesis examined the image sketched by one particular agent in the image formation process of Tunisia. However, as already mentioned in the literature review, newspapers are not the only agents that can contribute to Product-Country Images and Tourism Destination Images. Further research could identify the PCI and TDI sketched by other information agents, those in control of the destination itself (e.g. promotional material) and out of the control of the destination (e.g. books). When this would be compared with the results of this thesis, it could give a better understanding of the variety of projected images of Tunisia that are present and how they are similar or different. When blogs are used it gives an opportunity to look at both the projected and perceived image. These studies could be done by the use of the same methods: content analysis or (critical) discourse analysis.

The results have shown that Volkskrant readers could have created a different PCI and TDI of Tunisia when compared to Telegraaf readers. This was mainly based on the discussed topics and the language they used in their articles. However, as already mentioned in the limitations section, this research is purely descriptive and there are only newspaper articles used in the analyses. Further research could elaborate on the results by handing out questionnaires to Volkskrant and Telegraaf readers to see if there is a real noticeable difference regarding to the PCI and TDI of Tunisia. This questionnaire should be mainly focused on the factors discussed in this thesis. However, when handing out this questionnaire the researchers should keep in mind that there are different agents that contribute to an image, so the results cannot be purely based on the information the readers obtained from the newspaper. For that reason a large sample is needed to see if there are real differences between the two newspaper readers.

Regarding newspaper discourse, this thesis has given an insight into the language use of De Telegraaf and De Volkskrant and how this could eventually affect the PCI and TDI of the readers. There are noticeable differences found in language use, but this does not immediately mean that all the articles within De Volkskrant or Telegraaf are written with the same language use and media techniques. There are different journalists within the newspapers and their writing style is not identical. Therefore the language techniques found in this thesis cannot be generalized to the whole newspapers. Further research is needed here to see if other countries, especially those with ongoing conflicts, are depicted in a similar way.

Overall it would be a good idea for researchers in the tourism field, and mainly those interested in destination image formation, to explore more intensively the power of language and the effect it has on the image formation process. When reading the literature little attention was given to this topic in relation with the tourism field. Information agents are often put together in a homogenous group (e.g. autonomous agents), but there are a lot of differences between the various autonomous agents and their influence on the image formation process. As the results of this study showed, there are already significant differences noticeable between two newspapers, let alone what the differences are between diverse news outlets.

7. Conclusion and recommendations

The aim of this thesis was to identify the Product-Country Image and Tourism Destination Image of Tunisia sketched by two major Dutch newspapers - *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf* – between January 2009 and April 2015. In addition the effect of their newspaper discourse on the images formation process was researched in order to look for common language use or media techniques and to identify the differences between the two newspapers.

The results of this thesis revealed that information contributing to both the Product-Country Image and the Tourism Destination Image can be retrieved from newspaper articles. However, in the case of Tunisia, it was mainly the PCI that was intensively discussed in the articles and less attention was paid to the TDI. The country and destination attributes that were damaged the most throughout the period were the political (in)stability of the country (PCI) and the safety (TDI). The attribute rights and freedom of the inhabitants (PCI) was also damaged, but this was mainly in the beginning of the period and especially due to coverage in *De Volkskrant*. It were the attributes related to natural and built environments, such as attractive scenery, climate and profile of attraction, that were discussed less frequently and therefore stayed neutral.

Furthermore, the results showed that in general the newspapers portrayed an inconsistent PCI and TDI of Tunisia over time. In the beginning Tunisia is mainly depicted as a stable and wealthy country, with some traces of inequality, later the economic and political situations are criticised and both newspapers start to sketch an image of a chaotic country. This continues until the coming of a new constitution and president, however, this is only de-emphasized in *De Volkskrant*. Later, during and after the terrorist attack, Tunisia is often linked to terrorism and the IS. Nevertheless, the results also showed that this projected image differed between the two analysed newspapers. *De Telegraaf* mainly focused on the sensational negative events, while *De Volkskrant* also published more positive events to balance the projected image.

Based on the results of this study it can be concluded that language use and media techniques have played an important role in the image formation process of Tunisia. The projected images are not equal among the two newspapers and the reason behind it is related to the language and media techniques they used. The two newspapers have emphasized different news topics, primed their readers with unlike words, made use of diverse agent-patient relationships and used different ways to frame their articles.

Overall it can be concluded that, although the news is supposed to give an objective view of (the problems in) the world, newspapers have the power to, either conscious or unconscious, project a certain image or point of view through the language and media techniques they use.

7.1 Recommendations for DMOs

The findings of this research show what kind of PCI and TDI is sketched of Tunisia in the period of January 2009 until April 2015. As mentioned by Ibrahim and Gill (2005), researching the projected image of a country or destination can help DMOS in their branding process. The following section will give recommendations for DMOs to 'attack' the projected image through the newspapers.

7.1.1 Portrayal of the local inhabitants

The first recommendation is about the depiction of the local inhabitants of Tunisia. The newspapers have created a one-sided image of the local inhabitants of Tunisia by only showing them while they are protesting. On these photographs the facial expressions are often serious and angry and the situations the inhabitants are participating in could be seen as violent. Because there are almost no other photographs placed in the newspapers, readers get a limited impression of the Tunisian people in general. Therefore it would be smart for DMOs to expand this image and show a more friendly side of the Tunisian people. Text-wise it could be done by elaborating on the character of the people and showing that they also have a friendly side. This could also be used in slogans to put more emphasis on it. When looking at photographs it would be good to include pictures of happy Tunisians in their daily life, showing that they are not always protesting. Another recommendation would be to display children or elderly people, because these groups are almost never depicted on the published pictures in the newspapers.

7.1.2. Chaotic situation

The second recommendation is about the ongoing chaotic situation in Tunisia. From the newspaper articles and accompanied photographs readers could get the idea that there is a continuous chaotic situation in Tunisia. Even when there are no demonstrations in the country, newspapers still show old photographs of chaotic scenes or refer in their text to the state of affairs during the Arab Spring. Although most of the demonstrations and protests were taking place in Tunis, this is not really foregrounded by the newspapers and therefore readers could link the image of chaos to the whole country instead of only Tunis. Due to the fact that there are no photographs of touristic places or beaches present in the newspapers, this image of constant chaos is not counteracted in the newspaper itself. Therefore the recommendation for the DMOs is to show that Tunisia can be peaceful and quiet, and the chaotic situations are only rarely occurring events. This could be done by publishing photographs of Tunis without demonstrating people on it. The photographs could contain tourists or Tunisian people during their daily routines. Showing tourists would also emphasize that the situation is safe and that tourists are still coming to the country. Another recommendation is to depict and discuss other destinations within Tunisia, because these got limited or even no attention in the newspapers. Accompanied texts could foreground that the situations within the touristic areas at the coast are most of the time stable. Using quotes of tourists, stating that they did not notice any disturbances during their holiday could help in emphasizing the peaceful situations in the touristic parts of the country. Besides that, DMOs should show both the natural and built environments of Tunisia, because little attention was paid to both in the newspapers.

7.1.3 Depiction of tourist

The third and last recommendation is related to the depiction and discussion of tourists and touristic area. As already mentioned in the latter paragraphs there is a lack of information about touristic places in Tunisia when looking only at the information given by the newspapers. In addition, there are almost never tourists present on the pictures published in both newspapers, and when there are tourists it is either in a dangerous situation (e.g. terrorist attack) or in relation with a negative news article. There are even some photographs placed of empty beaches and market squares stating that the tourists are staying away. This all could imply the idea that not many people are visiting Tunisia and that it is not a popular holiday destination. Therefore the recommendation for DMOs is to first of

all fill this gap by informing about the possibilities Tunisia has to offer as a holiday destination. While doing this they need to emphasise that there are many tourists who visited the country, for example by using sentences such as *“Yearly ... million people visit this beautiful country”* or *“Tunisia is a popular holiday destination among many Dutch people.”* Photographs of crowded beaches, resorts or touristic attractions could help to convey the message.

8. References

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9. Appendix

9.1 Appendix I – Word frequency tables

Word frequency Telegraaf			
Keyword	Frequency	Keyword	Frequency
Tunisia	461	Dead	47
Tunis	181	Premier	40
President Ben Ali	118	Political	38
Country	110	Tourists	35
Government	112	Demonstrations	34
Police	67	Fire	32
Minister	56	Capital	32
North African	52	Arabic	31
Ghannouchi	51	Protests	30
Manifestations	47	Elections	30

Table 13. Word frequency table Telegraaf

Word frequency Volkskrant			
Keyword	Frequency	Keyword	Frequency
Tunisia	1517	Violence	116
President Ben Ali	623	Nahda	106
Tunis	526	Leaders	105
Government	483	Party	105
Country	450	Chroki Belaid	99
Political	280	Dictator	94
Minister	256	Attack	93
Islamic	251	Regime	93
Elections	249	Museum	92
Premier	226	Million	91
Ennahda	224	Trabelsi	90
Arabic	212	Democracy	89
North Africa(n)	208	Secular	88
Murder	195	Dead	84
Demonstrators	186	Power	83
Constitution	173	Family	80
Capital	164	Thousands	79
Revolution	162	Parliament	78
Brahmi	144	Fire	77
Woman	136	Inhabitants	74
Tourists	134	Army	73
Opposition	128	Muslim	60
Libya	126	Unrest	68
Egypt	121	Marzouki	62

Table 14. Word frequency table Volkskrant