

Framing the Middle East
Populistic Twitter framing as a new form of Orientalism

Master thesis

by

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Abstract

The upsurge of populism in Western politics and society creates a significant stage for the populists to share their overall views with the public, including those views oriented on the Middle East and Middle Eastern people. Like their opinions and viewpoints regarding other issues and events, populists regularly share these statements via the social media platform Twitter, placing the Middle East or related issues and people in populist-created frames. Perceiving the Middle East in a particular manner is however also a concept constructed in the late 1970s by literature scholar Edward Said, who introduced and developed this concept of 'Orientalism'. Given the current occurrence of populist Twitter framing of the Middle East and the continued presence of the concept of Orientalism by Said in the scientific field, the question arises to what extent this populist manner of framing the Middle East on Twitter can be considered a new form of Orientalism. By studying a selection of tweets composed and published by the two Dutch populist party leaders Geert Wilders and Thierry Baudet, an attempt has been made to discover to what extent their way of framing can be regarded as a new form of Orientalism. The content analysis of Wilders' and Baudet's tweets has shown that populist Twitter framing of the Middle East can be considered a new form of Orientalism, as the populists, within their constructed frames of the Middle East, partly incorporate the concept of Orientalism as constructed by Edward Said, while also implementing dogmas in a modified or inverted form. The concept of Orientalism therefore seems to be adapted to the trends in attitudes towards the Middle East as present in contemporary Western society.

1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction on the subject

In recent years, politics and societies experienced a certain ‘rise of populism’: over the past three decades, radical right populist actors and parties have developed into a permanent factor in Western party systems and additionally, societies developed an increased vulnerability to the influence of populists (Mudde, 2013; Müller, 2016). Regarding this upsurge in populism, several reasons and explanations are specified. It is for instance claimed that it has its facilitation in particular circumstances in history, e.g. the retrenchment of the welfare state, the Eurocrisis and the recent increase in immigration (Müller, 2016). However, according to Müller, a deeper cause lies beneath the upsurge of populism, for he states that this can be assigned to technocracy – the approach to addressing crises. Regardless of the underlying causes producing the rise of populism, populism and radical right populist parties are still noticeably present in the twenty-first century’s political arena, particularly by means of Donald Trump’s political triumph in the United States’ (US) presidential elections and the result of the Brexit referendum in the United Kingdom. Consequently, academic interest in (far-right) populism is renewed and a considerably amount of research is devoted to it (Masood & Nisar, 2020).

Populism and its actors are known for their use of framing methods, it is commonly part of their discourse. By using rhetorical or message frames in the political debate, reality is interpreted in their own specific way. Their communication tactics involve the use of frames to either emphasize or neglect certain parts of the issues and events that occupy the societies they operate in. By doing so, one attempts to steer in a specific direction in which (according to the actor) action is to be undertaken (Biegon, 2019; Bruijn, 2019; Vries, 2016). In fact, populism itself can be defined as a framing style. The frames used by the populist are intended to create friction between groups in society, generally speaking between ‘the people’ and their adversaries (Biegon, 2019; Lorenzetti, 2018). Indeed, populist (party) leaders have a tendency to turn to personal insults, labelling and sarcasm (Gonawela et al., 2018). Furthermore, populist framing can be considered a way of repressing the opposition and adversaries, since populist politicians are not acceptive of legitimate opposition as according to them, they and only they are the ones representing ‘the people’. Conducting repression upon their opposites is therefore a method for populists to be able to present themselves as these utterly true representatives. The techniques deployed for the purpose of repression are for instance a populist’s attempt to polarize society, moralize the political conflicts that populists experience with the opposition, frame certain situations as crises and the constant indication of enemies, which are mostly presented as enemies of the entire ‘people’ (Müller, 2016). These techniques can therefore be considered (populist) framing methods (Bruijn, 2019).

Taking into account that populist actors use framing methods to frame certain issues and events, a follow-up question can be asked regarding what can be counted among the main and core subjects and the corresponding issues and events that populists are likely to endorse in. It appears that a common subject that is shared among various radical right populist parties is the assemblage of events and issues regarding a specific part of the world, namely the Middle East, as these parties partake in the idea of a nativist society that excludes Middle Eastern migrants, with corresponding policies (Ivarsflaten, 2008; Müller, 2016; Rydgren, 2008). The people, societies and events that originate from or occur from this specific part of the world, including social issues as immigration and integration are therefore a common object of framing by populist politicians.

However, portraying and representing the Middle East in certain ways is not a novelty that came to be a populist's technique to convince or influence his or her audience. In fact, this concept that is referred to by the term 'Orientalism' has been an existent concept in both social sciences as different forms of media for decades, explained as a form of knowledge that operates as a justification for the (imperial) power the Western countries had and have over the Eastern part of the world. By using this Western perspective and representation, the East is represented towards the Westerner not solely in a distorted manner, but moreover as inferior (Said, 1978). In this respect, traditional Orientalism as described and explained by Said can be considered a frame, used for viewing and perceiving the Middle East.

The recurring core subject of the Middle East and further primary topics that populists want to denounce, are frequently distributed through their social media accounts, especially those belonging to populist party leaders. In particular Twitter and Facebook turn out to be frequently used platforms by populists to reach out to their electorate and distribute this Orientalist discourse. These platforms provide the populist users the freedom to spread their ideology across the online spheres (Engesser, Ernst, Esser, & Büchel, 2017; Gonawela et al., 2018; Hameleers, 2019). In contrast to the conduct of journalism and the corresponding acts of fact-checking, hearing both sides and searching for diversity and balance, this method of communicating is particularly one-sided, meaning that the specific issues discussed by the populist are merely represented within the opinions and standpoints of the populist, instead of adding nuance to the issue by using other resources (Hameleers, 2019). Taking into account the frequent use of framing methods by populist politicians, social media platforms as important populist communication channels are thus used by populists to distribute their frames, including those frames used to present and portray Middle Eastern issues and events in a certain manner.

Rephrased, populist framing about the Middle East via social media platforms – platforms they regularly prefer as communication medium – is a method for populist politicians to expectantly make their followers view and perceive the Middle East in a certain way. As stated before, Orientalism as well can be considered a way of framing the Middle East. And so, it lends itself well for comparison with these populist frames and framing methods as distributed via social media posts, a comparison that can be made to discover if this online populist framing of the Middle East is perhaps a new form of Orientalism. A question that seems conceivable, given the current rise and contemporary character of populism and the frequent activity of its political actors on online social platforms, in combination with its appearing focus on framing the Middle East in a specific way for their audience.

1.2 Research purpose

Therefore, the purpose of this research is to discover to what extent current populist's framing of the Middle East on social media platform Twitter is a new form of Orientalism. In order to fulfil this purpose, an attempt is made to answer the following research question:

To what extent is populist Twitter framing of the Middle East a new form of Orientalism?

In order to be able to formulate an answer that has been constructed as accurately as possible, the following three sub questions will be answered:

- **Sub question 1:** What type of frames do populist politicians use in their tweets to frame issues related to the Middle East?
- **Sub question 2:** To what extent do these frames used by populist politicians in their tweets include elements of the four dogmas of Orientalism?
- **Sub question 3:** To what extent is the populist's way of framing the Middle East in line with the populist's political process?

The research question of this thesis is derived from a noticed gap in the existent knowledge about (contemporary) Orientalism, therefore providing an answer to the research question is an endeavour to filling this gap in scientific knowledge about this topic. The knowledge gap concerns the fact that Orientalism is a concept that is being subject to changes throughout history and time, which results in a form of present-day or contemporary Orientalism (Said, 1978). This raises questions about what nowadays, in present-day societies, can be understood by contemporary Orientalism; in other words, how Orientalism currently manifests. By studying the extent to which populist Twitter framing is a new form of Orientalism, a conspicuously contemporary political movement (Mudde, 2013; Müller, 2016), whose politicians actively express themselves on a popular contemporary platform, is being explored as a possible manifestation of contemporary Orientalism. After all, populists are actively participating in the political and public debate on matters concerning the Middle East and Middle Easterners and furthermore, part of their communication when participating entails framing the issues and events at hand, including those related to the Middle East. It therefore comes across as if populists use and express their own system of thought about the Middle East – their form of Orientalism. And thus, this thesis will actually expand on the existing theory of Orientalism by discovering if a possible new contemporary form of the concept can be indicated.

Logically, given its age, Said's acclaimed work does not include twenty-first century Western populism as an exploiter of Orientalism, let alone considering it a new, current form of the concept. This however similarly goes for present-day research. Certainly, nowadays a considerable amount of research is conducted regarding populism and Orientalism as separate concepts, in which for instance the societal and political effects of both are analysed and explained. Additionally, there are studies devoted to the political anti-Islamic attitude and messages of populists, in which the Islam is represented in particular ways, thereby focusing on a religion instead of on representations of the Middle Eastern countries in all they encompass (Salemink, 2012). If populism and Orientalism happen to be brought together in a study, it is for instance indicated how (a form of) Orientalism serves as an instrument for populists, for example them making use of so-called 'frontier Orientalism': the representation of a dangerous, 'evil' East threatening to invade Western borders (Gingrich, 2013). Yet, there remains to be a lack of knowledge when it comes to Orientalism in a contemporary form, perhaps manifesting itself within certain political and societal movements.

When it comes to the actual importance of filling the knowledge gap, this lies in how contemporary Orientalism can be investigated and approached in the nearby future. Rephrased, further research regarding Orientalism can be built on the notion resulting from this study. Knowing more about the extent to which populist Twitter framing is a form of Orientalism, implies knowing more about how contemporary Orientalism (as populism is likewise a contemporary political trend) manifests itself – either

within populism or not. After all, by answering the research question, not only will be generally clarified the extent to which populist framing is a form of Orientalism, but also how the first differs from the latter; both differences and similarities, including which aspects they relate to, can tell us more about how orientalist ways of thinking and perceiving are being expressed today, as opposed to in the past.

1.3 Societal relevance

Besides the scientific relevance of this study, the societal relevance of gaining an enhanced understanding of present-day Orientalism is firstly sought in Orientalism's association with public institutions, including governments. This is likewise accentuated by Said (1978), who mentions the shift in Orientalism as seen in history "from an academic to an instrumental attitude" (p. 246), meaning that Orientalism is not merely knowledge about the Orient in the academic spheres, but as well has become an instrument of policy. Taking this into account, studying Orientalism framing by populist actors within the discourse about the Middle East and Middle Easterners, possibly provides additional information about the ways in which populist attempt to influence the policy agenda when it comes to policies targeting the Middle East and immigration. When considering the *policy cycle*, a model of the policy process in which the distinction of four different policy stages is made, this study might be providing a further comprehension of the effect of populist framing on the first phase/stage, which entails *problem definition and agenda-setting*. The process of policy making – in the rational approach – after all starts with the identification of a societal problem, placed on the governmental agenda. Influencing the agenda is seen as a significant source of power. And so, like any other political and social actor, populists compete with other actor groups to reach the goal of creating an agenda that sorts with their particular preferences (Knill & Tosun, 2012).

Accordingly, if for instance the framing style by populist politicians is a form of Orientalism that intensifies certain dogmas, this finding reveals supplementary information about the populist's standpoint towards the Orient, its citizens, cultures, religions etcetera. Subsequently, we will gain ideas about the societal issues they want see placed on the agenda and the course of the corresponding (immigration or foreign) policies they are likely to propose, particularly when populist politicians come to power or increase their influence in parliaments. After all, when a societal problem is defined by an actor, it is perceived policy consequential (Knill & Tosun, 2012). Since populism is regularly associated with oversimplification when it comes to policy construction, meaning that the contemplation of empirical evidence or (societal) values are neglected (Müller, 2016), the possibility of populist leaders putting forward simplified immigration issues and policies, merely based on certain Orientalist convictions owned by them and perhaps even appurtenant hostility, seems plausible to a certain extent.

Also, regarding the present-day upsurge of populism and its increased influence on societies (Mudde, 2013; Müller, 2016), populist framing as a new form of Orientalism may conceivably have an influence on the manner in which societies are likely to think about the Orient and the inhabitants. It is important for governments, politicians, policy makers and policy advisors not merely to become aware of these kinds of trends, but likewise of their causes. If for instance populist framing is indeed a new form of Orientalism, in which certain aspects are intensified, or the opposite, this may result in a tendency in society to change its attitude towards the Orient and Oriental immigrants – given the aforementioned increased influence of populists. Governments and those involved in policy development may have to consider how to respond to this tendency. In order to respond, it is of importance to know if the development is perhaps stimulated by populism. The research conducted here, may in this respect act as an appropriate starting point.

1.4 Approach

As the proposed research question itself already implies, it is required to specifically study Twitter messages (tweets) from populists, in which Middle Eastern themes are discussed and the concerning parties and/or people are framed. This thesis will therefore entail the case studies of the two Dutch populist politicians Geert Wilders and Thierry Baudet, whereby their tweets will be studied by means of a content analysis, in which a selection of their published tweets is interpreted in terms of their meaning and inclusion of frames and Orientalist dogmas, after which codes are assigned to each tweet. The aggregation of codes and corresponding tweets will be interpreted once again to make reasonable statements about the extent to which populist Twitter framing is a form of Orientalism. Additionally, and in accordance with the third sub question, an attempt will be made to further explain the aggregated and interpreted results of the analysis in light of the populists' motives, intentions and aims.

In this research study, the data will therefore be approached in a qualitative manner, with interpretation being a significant used tool in the process of discovering the populist frames regarding the Middle East and Orientalist elements, that may or may not be present in the sample of tweets. The third sub-question likewise requires approaching the data in an interpretative manner, as the discovered populist Twitter framing methods of the Middle East will be placed in and explained from the populist political process and strategies. The main research question then will eventually be answered by means of a hermeneutical approach: by referring to a broader context from and in which the findings will be explained.

The remainder of this research thesis firstly provides a theoretical section in which the concepts of Orientalism, populism, populist Twitter framing, and the populist political process will be defined by means of existing theory, in order to derive clear definitions, appropriate to be used in selecting data and performing the content analysis. An explanation then is given of the used research methods in this study, containing a further description of specific steps taken when selecting cases and data, as well as the steps taken while conducting the content analysis that is applied. This part of the thesis is followed by the results of the content analysis, and the interpretation thereof, by which each sub question will be answered and discussed. The final part of this study includes a conclusion, where the research question will be answered, and the results of the study are placed into a broader scientific and societal context.

2. Theory

As mentioned in the previous chapter, answering the research inquiry requires a content analysis of the Middle Eastern themed tweets as published by the two populists. It is however of importance to base this analysis on a theoretical grounding, by means of developing an eventual theoretical framework. Within this framework, the identified concepts and theories will after all serve as a guide when conducting the content analysis and interpreting the data, as these theoretical concepts will be used to create the coding scheme and to interpret the findings. They are therefore of great importance to be able to actually detect the populist frames and Orientalist elements within the data, after which these findings can be interpreted on the basis of the presence, combinations and constructions of these frames and Orientalist elements. Additionally, the established theoretical grounding will connect the findings of this study to the current scientific theory in the field of Orientalism, framing and populism; it thus prevents the findings from isolation, as instead, they can be integrated into the already acquired scientific knowledge regarding the aforementioned subjects. Providing this theoretical base will be done by specifically identifying the key concepts as they appear in the research question and sub-questions. And so, this chapter will entail the theoretical substantiation of the concepts Orientalism and populism, followed by what in this study is understood by populist Twitter framing of the Middle East and the populist political process.

2.1 Orientalism

The term ‘Orientalism’ has been formally introduced by literature scholar Edward Said in his eponymous book from the year 1978, therefore he is perceived as the pioneering scholar in the field of Orientalism. His conceptualization of the concept will be applied and build on in this research, in order to study to what extent populist framing of Middle East can be considered similar to this concept. In this thesis, Said’s concept of Orientalism is therefore considered the classical form of Orientalism. This section will continue by exploring Said’s conceptualization of Orientalism, including some alternative views and critical remarks made on Said’s case. Subsequently, an additional explanation will be provided regarding the focus on specifically Said’s Orientalism.

On the whole, the conceptualization of Orientalism as elaborated on by Said (1978) can be mapped out in four dogmas. The author refers to these dogmas as principal, since according to his literary analysis, these persist in studies of the Middle East, the Islam and Arabs. The first dogma entails the systematic and absolute difference between the East, i.e., the Orient, and the West, i.e., the Occident. Within this dissimilarity, the Orient is perceived as inferior to the West, rather undeveloped, possessing unusual traits. The West, treated as the opposite, is logically superior, developed, humane and rational. The second dogma is characterized by the always recurring preference for abstractions about the Orient, based on texts that represent an Orient that is classical. One is therefore less likely to opt for “evidence drawn from modern Oriental realities” (p. 300). Thirdly, Said points out how the Orient is to be controlled, either by research or by occupation, occasionally in the form of pacification. If the Orient is not controlled – which can be the result of the occupational force not being able to do so – it is feared. Lastly, the fourth dogma contains how the Orient is uniform, eternal and how Orientals are not capable of defining the Orient and themselves. This uniformity and eternality for instance implies that, in spite of the country they originate from, all Orientals are the same. These particular features justify the scientific use of a generalized vocabulary when describing the Orient. Moreover, this systematic vocabulary is considered objective by the communicators.

The origins of the concept of Orientalism can be traced back in the history of imperialism and the corresponding undertaken conquests and imperial expeditions. The imperialists in the 18th and 19th century naturally desired to conquer the native citizens that inhabited the country that was ought to be dominated and subdued. In order to do so in a successful manner, and to furthermore make this process easier, the imperialists saw the necessity to understand the Orientals; their culture, language et cetera were observed and recorded by Westerners while being in the presence of the Orientals. Owing to this, Orientalism is embedded in rule and power of the Occident over the Orient (Said, 1978). It is not without reason that the author states how “Orientalism was ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, “us”) and the strange (the Orient, the East, “them”)” (p. 43). According to Said, for the most part, contemporary knowledge about the Eastern world – whether scientific or cultural – is still produced through this system of thought – i.e., Orientalism. Additionally, perceiving the East through this sort of lens creates, according to Said (1978), a distorted and degraded view. Aspects of Eastern countries and their inhabitants that are not observed as familiar to the West, are then perceived as rather mysterious, peculiar, exotic, and moreover inferior. In practice, Orientalism not merely exists as a way of thought, since from history on, as Said attempts to demonstrate, it is an organized and consistent form of science and writing. Hence it is and formerly has been presented as objective knowledge. Consequently, the Orient has been represented by the West in a distorted manner.

Recapitulated, Orientalism is defined as a system of thought about the Orient, developed to describe the Western attitude towards the Orient. In Said’s definition, the term ‘Western’ refers to West European countries in particular, with the later addition of the United States (Said, 1978). In this study, this traditional form of Orientalism is considered a framing method; a way for the West to frame the Middle East. After all, according to Said, Orientalism results in representing the Orient in a specific manner, namely distorted. As will be explained later on in this chapter, the general concept of framing likewise entails representing issues and events in a certain manner (logically, the manner as preferred by the actor framing the issue). Since constructing certain representations appears to be what Orientalism does, it can be seen as a framing method and is therefore applicable to analyse together with another way of framing the Middle East, namely the way populist politicians appear to do so via Twitter.

With approaching the concept of Orientalism as a framing style to create a system of thought about the Orient – whereby inducing misrepresentations of this part of the world – it is important to clarify what is considered ‘the Orient’. In discussing Orientalism, the terms ‘Orient’ and ‘East’ are used interchangeably, generally referring to countries in North Afrika, Middle Eastern countries and the rest of Asia (‘Far East’). Said (1978) however places a certain emphasis on Islamic Orientalism and the ‘Near Orient’, referring to Islamic, mostly Middle Eastern countries, inhabited by Arabs, and for this he provides specific reasons and motives. The limitation as such is initially related to Said’s intention to elaborate on the Anglo-French American experience of the Islam and the Arabic world; after all, for almost a thousand years, these aspects together stood for ‘the Orient’. Another reason involves the perception by these Occidental countries of the Islam as a threat to the West, which furthers the intention by the Occident to fully comprehend the Islamic world and Islam itself. After all, by comprehending the Islam, Orientalist were able to downgrade or strip down the religion and its appearing ‘danger’, encompassing the fear that Islamic civilization will position itself continuously opposite Western Christianity.

Counter-voices regarding Said's case mostly encompass criticism on the approach – e.g., perceiving the book as an attack on Orientalist studies or being too ideologically driven – or factual inaccuracies in the information as provided and analysed by the scholar. The claim for instance, that scientists are and have been politically indoctrinated, doctrine in the form of Orientalism, is denounced, as oppositional scholars insinuate that modern-day scholarship is not following the line of Orientalist thought any longer. Surely, these critics agree that Westerners develop(ed) a distorted view of the East, sometimes even incorporating stereotyping and racist thought, however, as an academic field, Orientalism continuously strive for accurate representations of reality. Moreover, it is pointed out how Said excludes German Orientalism from his analysis, whereas this tradition is considered equally powerful as the Anglo-French one (Prakash, 1995). These critical annotations were similarly distributed by a well-known opposing scholar of Said's book, historian and Orientalist Bernard Lewis, who claimed that Said, due to his omission of certain parts of Orientalist literature and historical content, had not been representing the meaning and history of Orientalism correctly. Lewis adds furthermore that the concept is passing the line between politics and scholarship, since the concept ought not to be seen as a discourse of power (Lewis, 1982).

Furthermore, when it comes to Said describing Orientalism as a self-contained representation system, comprising of representations that have no relation to the Oriental and the Orient, i.e., misrepresentations, critics indicate how this can be entailed in the analysis while treating it as a power instrument at the same time. It therefore seems to create confusion, since the question then arises how the coherence of these two aspects of representation and hegemony is possible. In other words, if the representations entailed in Orientalism are distorted and lack relation to the actual subject(s), how is it then apt to be used to rule and control the Orient and Orientals (Prakash, 1995)?

Notwithstanding the wide-ranging criticism upon Said's (1978) Orientalism, it is his concept of Orientalism, including the systematic classification into the four dogmas, that is opted for in this research, partly due to the authoritative status of Said's *Orientalism* and the consideration of Said as the leading theorist in the field. Though, additional motives for incorporating Said's conception of Orientalism into this thesis have to do with the nature and purpose of the research question; after all, the aim of the research question is to examine to what extent populist Twitter framing is a novel and different form of Orientalism, thereby targeting Orientalism in its most 'classical' form, as far as this adjective regarding the origins of the concept goes. Said mainly focuses on Orientalism's functioning as a discourse (Prakash, 1995; Said, 1978), and in this thesis, not only is the equal conceptualization of Orientalism as a discourse imperative, it is furthermore considered substantiated by sufficient arguments by the scholar, derived from a substantial amount of literature. The author provides an extensive theoretical basis that is operable in terms of comparing populist framing to traditional Orientalism. Also, Said chose a specific focus on Middle Eastern Orientalism (or Islamic Orientalism), which in regard to the focus of this particular research study is indeed relevant and highly fitting.

2.2 Populism and populist communication

When it comes to a universally settled definition of populism, there seems to be no general agreement about what this definition must and must not entail (Müller, 2016). The concept of populism is known for lacking a clear theoretical basis, which results in the absence of a shared definition apt to be used in research (Mudde, 2004). Woods (2014) argues how in the literature about populism some unity is to be

found analytically and conceptually, substantiated in core elements, i.e., reference to the homogeneous entity of ‘the people’, the antagonistic relationship between ‘the people’ and the likewise homogeneous ‘elite’, the claim to represent those ‘true people’ and the specification of a certain out-group (identity politics). Perhaps as expected, the coherent core elements of populism as revealed by Woods’ (2014) are to a large extent found in the definition as given by Mudde (2004), who defines populism “an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, ‘the pure people’ versus ‘the corrupt elite’, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people” (p. 543). Elitism and pluralism are consequently mentioned as two significant opposites of populist ideology.

Whilst similarly incorporating the core conceptual elements, Müller describes populism as a form of identity politics, basically indicating certain significant claims as made by populists, therefore arguing that populism is “a set of distinct claims” (p. 10) and “a particular moralistic imagination of politics” (p. 19). Firstly, populists perceive the political world as two camps set against each other: the ‘people’ on the one hand against the elites on the other hand. In a populist perception, the ‘people’ can be considered fully unified and moreover morally pure, whereas the elites are not, since they are immoral and corrupt. In other words, a necessary – however not a sufficient – condition of populist politicians is being anti-elitist – holding a critical attitude towards elites. Secondly, populists hold the claim that only they represent the people, resulting in the view that political competitors, labelled ‘the elite’, are immoral and corrupt and should therefore not be recognized. This anti-pluralist attitude persists when populist politicians become part of government; the opposition is not perceived as legitimate. Part of this anti-pluralist perception in populism is the claim that not supporting populists is an indication of not being part of the morally pure, unified and real people. To put it differently, only a part of the people are the real, ideal people. Subsequently, as previously stated, populist claim that only they represent this ‘ideal people’ (Müller, 2016).

As attempted to show hitherto, a certain definitional basis can be retrieved from most conceptions of populism in various research and studies on the subject. It is therefore this conceptual core that furthers the possibility of researching and studying the subject of populism and furthermore, the existence of this core basis elucidates why this phenomenon incorporates and develops a wide range of manifestations. In addition to this claim, Woods (2014) too acknowledges how the concept of populism lacks a deductive theoretical core, as he points out how “populism is not a theory in terms of having a system of self-consistent assumptions; however, it is a robust concept that is easily fitted into different theoretical frameworks” (p. 4). The provided argument for this theoretical limitation involves the nature of the concept; as populism is a contested concept comprising of conflicting imperatives. In order to account for these two aspects, one must consider the different historical, political and socioeconomic contexts in which the various populist manifestations emerged, including the various motivations for every emergence. Indeed, the various preconceptions of populism are frequently historically conditioned and moreover commonly geographically determined. In the United States for instance, populism is noted as progressive or grassroots, whereas in Europe the preconceptions involve demagoguery and unreliable policies, thus implying that populism is rather simple compared to democracy, which is considered complex (Müller, 2016; Woods, 2014).

Furthermore, the occurrence of the conflicting imperatives explains why the concept is regularly analysed and viewed in different ways. According to Woods (2014), constructing a theoretical structure can thus be considered unrewarding, however in regard to the analytical and conceptual unity of populism, the conflicting conceptual imperatives contribute to this unity in such a way that a rather productive dialect is induced from these imperatives. This dialect reflects in the three coherent analytic dimensions of populism, i.e., populism as a communication style, as an ideology and as a political strategy, as well as in the overlapping methodologies for measuring and analysing populism.

Taking into account the core elements of populism as featured by Woods (2014), which seem to shape a coherent definitional basis, and consistent with his argument that the contested and conflicting nature of the concept resulted in a creative dialect reproduced in the three analytic dimensions, the concept of populism as used in this thesis is conceived as a political communication style and expression. The analysis therefore converges towards one of the three coherent analytic dimensions of populism as indicated by Woods. This particular premise, that populism can be considered an expression of political communication, has been extensively discussed by de Vreese, Esser, Aalberg, Reinemann, and Stanyer (2018). Their approach involves a combined conception of populism, comprising of two understandings; Mudde's (2004) previously mentioned definitional explanation of populism as an ideology and Hawkins (2010) approach of populism as a discourse. By referring to populism, one is referring to particular features of political communication, instead of characteristics of the political actor distributing the message.

To put it differently, when it comes to the understanding of populism, the concerning focus here is not merely on the ideology of populists and what it constitutes, but moreover, the focus is placed on the use of communicational tools used to publicly communicate this ideology, that is, how its core components are communicated by means of typical rhetoric, discourse narrative and frames (Biegon, 2019; de Vreese et al., 2018; Kriesi, 2014). As indicated earlier and given the research question of this thesis, the expectation is that populism – as a communication style, and specifically its component of framing – is very likely to contain elements of classic Orientalism.

However, with approaching populism as a communication style, who is then considered a populist? De Vreese et al. refer to three core elements as the central elements of populist political communication, i.e. referencing to a certain 'people', the antagonistic attitude of 'the people' towards 'the corrupt elite' and implying that there is a certain out-group (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007; Mudde, 2004). Hence, in this thesis, the political actor that qualifies as a populist communicator is the actor who meets this set of features that help define and anchor the concept of populism as political communication, these elements then are ought to be empirically seen implemented in the content of the actor's communicated messages, as it will confirm the actors use of populism as a communication style and therefore his or her label as 'a populist'. In the case of this study, the elements should be identified in the content of the messages as send by the actor, in order for the politician to be 'populist'. The core elements of populist ideology will therefore be applied as a heuristic tool to select the cases from whom Twitter content will be analysed. Again, the expectation is here that Middle Eastern issues will occur as reoccurring subjects in the messages that populist politicians choose to publish via their Twitter accounts. Additionally, within this conduct of communication by populists, Orientalist elements are expected be discovered.

For the purpose of this particular study, opting for this communication-centred approach to populism is to an extent more appropriate than a strict ideological or strategical focus, since the analysis of this research involves analysing populist Twitter messages, i.e., the application of communicative tools by populists. Put differently, this particular approach can be seen as a justification for using the analysis of populist Twitter messages as an empirical method to explore to what extent populist framing methods are a form of Orientalism, for populist communication style can be considered an expression of populist ideology (de Vreese et al., 2018; Kriesi, 2014).

2.3 Populistic Twitter Framing of the Middle East

As previously mentioned, the Twitter posts as published by populist politicians that cover the subject of the Middle East are expected to frame the Orient in such a way, that it contains Orientalist elements, that is, elements of the four aforementioned dogmas of Orientalism (as described in the previous paragraph). This paragraph is therefore working towards a conceptualization of this Twitter framing by populists, used to create specific representations of the Middle East.

In order to provide a specific conceptualization of framing – to converge from framing as a general concept into specifically the perception of ‘populist framing’ – it is of importance to explore which specific conception is most suitable for this particular research. This indicated definitional plurality follows, similar to the concept of populism, from the absence of a scholarly agreement upon a universal definition of framing (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016). Considered one of the original scholars on framing theory is sociologist Erving Goffman (1974), describing the use of frameworks as a tool to organize and recognize events or problems in meaningful ways. According to Goffman, framing is a twofold process of constructing a primary framework and keying the occurrence. Firstly, the act of constructing a primary framework may result in a framework belonging to either one of the two broad classes of frameworks, i.e., a social or natural framework. The social framework suggests how there is human intention and will behind the problem or event, as expressed by Goffman: “So one deals here with deeds, not mere events” (p. 23). There is in simpler terms a certain ‘doer’, whereas in the natural framework this is not the case, as it makes the audience understand how the event is simply occurring undirected and unguided, caused by physical factors, without any human aim or will as interference. It depends on the actor which framework is used to describe the issue and its social meaning, as the actor chooses the framework that is deemed suitable by him or her for getting his or her message across.

Secondly, Goffman (1974) explains how keying an event or problem involves the transformation of the meaning of the problem or event, to which meaning has already been assigned by means of the constructed primary framework. The meaning of the issue is transformed into something different that is however still resembling the real issue. Rephrased, the framing actor links the problem into a context that it should be understood. And so, by means of keying the problem is modelled: one assigns dominance to a specific dimension of the issue. Consequently, the isolated dimension will influence and affect the course of problem-solving action (Vries, 2016). Conjoining the two parts of keying and primary framework construction brings about two types of frames. As the name suggests, the emotional frame emphasizes emotional and dramatical aspects of the problem at hand, e.g., the appointment of heroes, villains and victims. In the case of a rational frame, emphasis is placed on what causes the problem, possible or perceived effects and the scale of the issue (Goffman, 1974).

In the vein of Goffman, placing some sort of emphasis on certain aspects of the events or problems at hand, is similarly the central understanding of emphasis framing, used and described by Hameleers (2019) as the clustering of frame-elements, which is possible in different ways. This definition of framing is derived from the conception of framing as defined by Matthes and Kohring (2008), as they perceive frames as patterns, formed by frame components, grouped together systematically. Frames are therefore considered clusters consisting of various combinations of interpretations, problem definitions, evaluations and solution recommendations. These components can be considered variables, with each variable containing various categories, for instance the possibility of either a negative, positive or neutral evaluation. Every alternative frame then presents different aspects of reality. According to the authors, one is able to identify these patterns in, as in their case, media texts. For this particular conceptualization of emphasis framing, Matthes and Kohring based their elaboration on the definition offered by Entman (1993), who accordingly states how framing is the communicative act of selecting aspects of a perceived reality and adding salience to these selections, serving the purpose of promoting for example a specific problem definition or treatment.

According to Cacciatore et al. (2016), besides the pioneering, sociologically influenced theory by Goffman (1974), another leading theory of framing – this time in the field of psychology – is established by Tversky and Kahneman (1981). In this psychological perspective, the focus is not on the content of the message, i.e., the information that is communicated, consequently neither on any form of emphasis; instead, one refers to framing as variations in the manner in which an issue or event is presented. How an audience reacts depends mainly on the way possible options and solutions are described and placed in a particular context. This perception of framing can be referred to as equivalency framing: using different but logically equivalent words (e.g. mentioning employment rates instead of unemployment rates) causes a particular effect on the audience (Druckman, 2001).

Considering these different perspectives towards framing and framing methods, the question arises how populist politicians tend to frame and to what extent their framing methods can be traced back in the formerly established conceptions. After all, as previously discussed in this theoretical part of the thesis, populists can be considered known for using communicational tools to distribute core elements of populist ideology, and among these instruments are frames (Biegon, 2019; de Vreese et al., 2018). Lorenzetti (2018) concludes how populism does not encompass rhetoric devices of its own, since the rhetoric strategies of populists seem to be apparent in overall political discourse. The peculiar aspects that make the rhetoric populist though, are the language exploitation and the meaning populists desire to ascribe to their message. In Lorenzetti's research, for instance, prominent metaphors are found to represent the antagonistic (or dichotomous) society in which the people face 'dangerous others', e.g., *politics is war* and *EU is an unlawful prison*. It is therefore not the *use* of metaphors that discerns the populist, but the content of these rhetorical forms, that frames the discoursed issue. This finding is in line with approaching populism as a framing style in itself, a device for constructing an antagonistic relationship between 'the people' and their opponents (Biegon, 2019).

Studying the rhetoric of Donald Trump regarding his foreign policy, Biegon (2019) argues how the populist discourse as communicated by the president contains a rhetorical emphasis on declinist topics, therefore resulting in the conclusion that Trump is framing a certain American decline. Perhaps unsurprisingly, his frames contain references to the elite or establishment, who should be perceived as the

ones to blame in the matter, since they have overruled the common people and furthered globalism. Such frames, of an ignorant and remote elite exploiting this attitude towards the non-elitist community, likewise emerge(d) in debates surrounding Brexit and the Brexit vote (Ruzza & Pejovic, 2019).

Focusing on populist discursive styles on the social media platform Twitter, indeed, one could describe populist Tweeting behaviour as antagonistic Tweeting, encompassing of personalization of ideological attack, critical commenting and the creation of enemies (Gonawela et al., 2018). In general, several scholars have noted the usability and suitability of Twitter for populists as a novel political communication tool (Van Kessel & Castelein, 2016). As a form of microblogging, the social media platform has grown out to be a significant and prominent social network service, which also applies to (populist) politicians, exploiting the medium as a way of communicating to their electorate without any mediation, even though politicians are less likely to actually engage communication activities with voters via Twitter. Publishing Twitter messages – also known as ‘tweets’, messages limited to 140 characters – is in particular a means for communicating opinions and standpoints (Golbeck, Grimes, & Rogers, 2010). For populist politicians in particular, it is suggested that they are more likely to use their tweets to construct and share injustice frames; through these frames, populists identify certain victims of injustice and focus responsibility or blame on a particular actor or party. With populists it is often the case that it is the ‘the people’ who are portrayed as the victim, being wronged by the political establishment. Additionally, the blame and responsibility then lie with ‘the elite’ or ‘others’ (Benford & Snow, 2000; Van Kessel & Castelein, 2016). Derived from this selection of literature, we expect the populist politicians, from whom Twitter content is used for analysis, to spend shares of their communications in referring to the Middle East as bad foreign policy, established by globalist elites creating bad deals, with Middle Easterners considered an attack on nationalist sovereignty.

Therefore, populist Twitter framing in this thesis can be conceptualized as to a great extent emphasizing and highlighting particular aspects of the issue that is been argued in the message – more specifically, tweet – distributed by populist politicians. Placing this in the light of this research, the issue that is been argued and framed in the selected tweets logically entails subjects regarding the Middle East. Formulating the concept of populist Twitter framing of the Middle East in concrete aspects that can be applied empirically, will be based on the aforementioned regular use of injustice frames by populists on Twitter. And so, populist Twitter framing of the Middle East as a concept is to be recognized by the populist focusing blame or responsibility on someone or something, and the populist identifying victims (Benford & Snow, 2000; Van Kessel & Castelein, 2016). However, these frame aspects seem to overlap with Goffman’s (1974) conceptualization of the two social frame types, in which the emotional frame appoints not only victims, but also heroes and villains, and in which the rational frame emphasizes who or what causes the problem. In addition, these frame aspects all together seem to be in line with the populist’s desire to portray an antagonistic society, where ‘the people’ are up against hostile ‘others’, wrongdoers and guilty elites (Biegon, 2019; Lorenzetti, 2018). And so, all the aforementioned frames are included in the concept of populist Twitter framing of the Middle East as used in this thesis.

Populistic Twitter framing can therefore be considered a form of expressing criticism, however done by emphasis, therefore Entman’s (1992) description of framing, which entails the selection of aspects of the real issue and adding importance to them, is followed, as well as Goffman’s (1974) conceptualization of framing as a bi-fold process of constructing the primary framework and keying; certain dimensions or

aspects of the issue at hand will thus be isolated and appear dominant. Logically, this results in omitting a complete and plural representation of the issue.

2.4 Populist political process

In this research study, reasons for populist politicians to endorse themselves in framing methods, including those targeted at the Middle East, are expectantly possible to be traced back in their process of conducting politics and reaching out to the electorate. As declared before, (populist) politicians tend to frame certain issues or events in order to steer public opinion and the necessary action to be taken, according to the populist (Biegon, 2019; Bruijn, 2019; Vries, 2016). Their framing methods are expected to create oppositional camps (i.e. 'the people' versus 'the elite'), therefore establishing friction and polarization in society (Biegon, 2019; Lorenzetti, 2018). Additionally, framing is their device for repressing the opposition, to whom they are not likely to ascribe any legitimacy, since populists perceive themselves as the true representatives of the people. Hence, this perception is incorporated in populist framing methods (Müller, 2016). Several scholars observed and analysed these aspects of populism as parts of the populist's method to engage in and conduct politics. At this stage of this research, it is therefore expected that populists involve themselves in often framing those issues related to the Middle East, because it is part of the populist conduction of politics: to appeal to the electorate and influence the public opinion or attitude, so that voters can identify with the populist and are more likely to vote for him or her. In other words, framing the Middle East being a part of their strategy.

This aforementioned populist strategy of influencing public opinion or attitude towards a particular event, issue or subject, including the accompanying motifs of doing so, has been studied by Oztig, Gurkan, and Aydin (2020), who discuss how Islamophobic populism can be perceived an electoral strategy, not merely aimed at disadvantaging the related religious group, but aimed at the incumbent political leaders as well. By expressing an explicit hostility towards Muslims and the Islam, populists attempt to gain competitive advantage in elections, by exposing a negligence of the seated leaders regarding alleged problems and dangers of Islam and the Muslim community. Naturally, populists present these problems as the problems of ordinary citizens, i.e., 'the people', while incumbent leaders are represented as imprudent.

Another device of the populist execution of politics, is entailed in the redemptive aspect of populism, in other words, a 'promise' of populism, which is a form of restoration for its publics. This means that populists tend to convey to their publics the promise of regaining possession over the concerning state. Populist politicians therefore exploit "the narrative of dispossession" (p. 21), thus indicating how the morally pure people were better off in the past and have lost possession over for instance democratic inclusion, equality, identity and control, since the elite have denied them these things. The past, where equality used to thrive, is moralized and idealized while the present is considered corrupt, and so, it is of great urgency to work towards a future (utopia) in which salvation will be established. Populists therefore make the democratic promise to change the present by giving back to the people the control and rule over their nation (da Silva & Vieira, 2018).

What then applies to populists in power? According to Müller (2016), the idea commonly held that populist politicians who come to power will eventually fail, proves to be an illusion. Despite their strife against the elites, populists taking their seat in government does not imply contradiction, since this

particular position still provides them the opportunities to present themselves as victims and to blame elites, accusations regularly occurring in the form of conspiracy theories. Also, when in power, populists continue the habitual approaches of polarizing society and distributing claims about the opposition being illegitimate. In reference to the core of populism, the populist methods of governing are therefore morally justified, a logic which is able to discern itself in three manners i.e., populist techniques for governing the state. Firstly, the occupation or ‘colonization’ of the state, which in short implies reinforcing power by transforming laws, systems and procedures in the populist’s advantage. As a second technique of populist statecraft, Müller points out the concept of mass clientelism; exchanging material and immaterial favours for political support, but also excluding people from law protection, indicated by the term ‘discriminatory legalism’. Lastly, populists in power tend to implement a systematic suppression of civil society, that is reflected in their harshness towards nongovernmental organizations (NGO’s). Again, given this governing method of reinforcing power, we expect populist Twitter framing of the Middle East in some way contributing to the populist’s strategy in gaining electoral support and eventually, exercise his or her method of governing the state.

2.5 Conclusions drawn from the theory

In this section, the concepts that are to be studied according to the research question are theoretically defined, which will help in accurately studying these concepts during the analysis, as these concepts will be operationalized in order to compose a theoretically grounded coding scheme. Said’s conceptualization of Orientalism, that includes mapping out the concept in the four dogma’s, not only helps in understanding what Orientalism essentially entails, but furthermore contributes to the possibility of discovering Orientalist elements in the data selection, as the tweets can be specifically examined on elements of these four dogmas. After all, in this thesis, it is expected that these elements were being implemented by the populists in the frames they have used in their tweets. As far as the expression of these populist frames on Twitter is concerned, it is expected that these will be expressed in the form of one or more of the five theoretically conceptualized populist frame types – frames in which the populist has implemented the Orientalist dogmas. The theoretical insight regarding populism, that will be approached as a political communication method, can be considered the qualifier for the two populists studied in this research. Both cases should be perceived as populists according to the concept of populism as constructed in the theoretical framework.

As to the political process of populists, it is expected that, by further interpreting the tweets, the theoretically described strategies and goals of populist politics can be found in the content of these tweets, the content of course consisting of populist frames through which the Middle East is presented. To rephrase, the populists’ tweets consisting of framed Middle Eastern issues and people will expectantly serve the populist political process, as framing the Middle East – whether it being Orientalism in a certain form or not – is probably part of their strategy aimed at gaining electoral support.

3. Methods

Now that a theoretical framework has been established, further steps can be taken in selecting and analysing the required data. More specifically, firstly a selection ought to be made regarding the active populist tweeters from whom tweets will be analysed (case selection), after which a selection must be made of the tweets that the selected tweeters have published. This final selection of tweets will be the data set subject to the hermeneutical content analysis. This chapter will therefore cover an accurate as possible step by step description of this process that has been completed in selecting the cases, selecting corresponding data and using the data in the performed content analysis. Describing the used research methods in this precise manner is intended to contribute to the reliability of this research.

3.1 Case selection

Given the limited time and number of researchers to conduct this research, the analysis will be focused on two cases: the two Dutch populist politicians Geert Wilders, party leader of the political party *Partij voor de Vrijheid* (in English: 'Freedom Party'), and Thierry Baudet, party leader of the political party *Forum voor Democratie* (in English 'Forum for Democracy'). Both cases operate as politicians in the Netherlands, a Western European country, which is a highly fitting context as the concept of Orientalism as operationalized in this research encompasses the conception of a certain Occidental or West (Said, 1978), perceiving the Orient in specific manners. Furthermore, both Wilders and Baudet are active tweeters, known for regularly sharing their views, opinions and representations regarding political and societal issues on the concerning social media platform. As the data to be studied concerns populist Twitter content, both cases thus provide an extensive amount of data to select from.

In addition, both Dutch populists seem to demonstrably meet the theoretical conditions regarding populism and populist communication as ascertained in the theoretical framework. Within the collection of tweets that both populists have published during the past two years, they repeatedly incorporate the three elements of populism as a discourse style in their tweets. Further specified, these political actors include in their political communication the three core elements – considered the central elements of populist political communication, namely the recurring references to 'the people, references to an antagonistic relationship containing 'the people' versus 'the (corrupt) elite' and the implication of the presence of a certain 'out-group' (de Vreese et al., 2018; Jagers & Walgrave, 2007; Mudde, 2004).

As far as the political background and development of Geert Wilders and The Freedom Party (PVV) is concerned, the party entered the Dutch parliament in 2006 and was founded by Geert Wilders himself, who was a former member of parliament for the VVD (Liberal Party). Not only has he been the party leader since then, he is moreover the sole member of the party, meaning that all decisions and choices to be made are entirely in his power (Lucardie, 2019). In the national elections of 2006, the PVV won 5.9 percent of the votes, in the elections of 2010 this percentage rose to 15.5 per cent. Even though the percentage of votes for the PVV fell to 10,08% in the elections in 2012, it rose again, this time to 13,06%, during the national elections of 2017 (Kiesraad, 2020). From October 2010 until April 2012, the party was a support partner for the minority government, the Rutte I Cabinet, which fell because of Wilders refusal to support the government's new austerity policy (Lucardie, 2019).

Wilders' party is commonly known as a right-wing populist party and is often perceived as a deputy of the former political party Lijst Pim Fortuyn (LPF), whose leader and founder Pim Fortuyn was murdered in 2002. Not long after the assassination, the LPF ceased to exist, thereby leaving a gap on the

populist right in the Dutch political party system. The PVV and its populist discourse, regarding its advocacy for the 'people' and adversary towards the political elite, has filled this gap. The party is also known for their clear standpoints against immigration and over the years, it became increasingly fierce in its Euroscepticism, now even calling for an entire 'Nexit'; an appeal to the Netherlands to leave the European Union. These positions are derived from Wilders' intention to give the Dutch citizens back 'their country' (Wilders, 2005). A significant part of Wilders' political discourse additionally entails the forthright standpoints against the Islam and immigration from Islamic countries, which again, he considers an attack on the identity and independency of the Dutch state (Lucardie, 2019). These standpoints, regularly distributed online through media forms such as cartoons and videos, have moreover received reactions outside the borders of the Netherlands, as several international Muslim communities and leaders of largely Muslim countries felt insulted by Wilders' statements and representations. Wilders furthermore actively distributes his standpoints and additional media through his Twitter account, which currently has 845.005 followers. However, this number will undoubtedly deviate from reality at the time of writing, as the number of followers is a constant and rapidly changing statistical fact.

The electoral success of Forum for Democracy (FvD) dates from rather recent times; it took its two seats in parliament in 2017, however, the party emerged as the winner of the 2019 Provincial Elections (Kiesraad, 2020). Its chairman and party leader Thierry Baudet, a PhD lawyer and publicist, started FvD as a think tank, a function it still fulfils with the aim of renewing democracy in the Netherlands. Baudet stepped down as party leader and chairman in November 2020, due to internal disagreements in the party about Forums youth association. However, in December of the same year, he resumed these functions after a referendum had been held inside the party on Baudets staying on. It resulted in a forced change to the electoral roll, set up for the national elections in March 2021, as prominent members and candidates of the party disagreed with Baudet's return as party leader and decided to resign (Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen, 2020).

Similar to the PVV, Forum for Democracy is considered a right-wing populist party, its main goal being the creation a more democratic Dutch state, in which the so-called 'party cartel' should be broken. The term 'party cartel' is used to indicate the established parties that divide power in the Netherlands, in government and parliament, as well as in municipalities, healthcare, media and other bodies. To accomplish a broken party cartel, FvD proposes the direct election of mayors, the re-introduction of binding referenda and increasingly recruiting administrators who are not affiliated with a political party (Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen, 2020).

What the party moreover stands for and advocates extensively, is national sovereignty for the Dutch state. In its election program for the European Elections of 2019, FvD aspires a Europe without a common currency (euro) and the European Union (EU), for governing the Dutch state must be entirely in the hands of the nation state itself. Regarding viewpoints of the Middle East, Baudet and his party appear rather critical towards the 'regime change' there that has occurred due to interference by Western countries. According to the party, this interference resulted in an aggravated security situation for Christians and other religious and ethnic minorities, but moreover, the instability causes uncontrolled immigration and a higher risk of terrorist attacks (Forum voor Democratie, 2017). Accordingly, FvD pleads for strict border control within and around Europe, and to limit immigration flows as much as possible, for instance by supporting Mediterranean countries in refusing migrant boats (Forum voor Democratie, 2019).

Baudet regularly communicates his party's standpoints by tweeting about current affairs via an account that is followed by 243.959 Twitter users (a number that most likely will deviate from reality).

Obviously, analysing and studying a small number of cases will negatively affect the extent to which the findings and resulting statements of this study can be generalized to the larger target population, i.e., all populists, taken together as a group of politicians. This limitation will be taken into account when formulating further concluding statements about populists and their framing methods on Twitter. Nevertheless, the subset of cases is selected in such a way that it meets the distinct concept of 'populism' and 'populist' as operationalized in the described theory. With the subset meeting these theoretical aspects, an attempt is made to generate as much validity as possible.

3.2 Data selection

Within the entire process of selecting both cases and data, part of which is described above, the process of subsampling has been completed, meaning that samples are selected from subcategories (Babbie, 2018). To be more specific, firstly a sample is selected from the total population of populist politicians on Twitter (case selection) and subsequently, a sample of tweets from each populist is selected (data selection). Since in this study populists are approached as a group of politicians using a specific political communication style, a political group about which ultimately statements will be made, they are the units of analysis. However, what is actually being studied is their recorded communication, in the form of tweets. Since these tweets are drawn up by the tweeter without interviewing or surveying by the researcher involved, not the populist as an individual but the published tweets – more specifically, tweets posted by Geert Wilders and Thierry Baudet – are considered the units of observation.

In order to ensure as much as possible that only those tweets are analysed that contribute to formulating an answer to the research question, a substantiated selection had to be made of all tweets that the two selected populists have published. In this process of making a selection of data that is suitable for analysis, specific demarcations regarding time period and issued subject have been used. Regarding the first, tweets selected for analysis were supposed to be published within the past three years, more specific, between the period of January 1, 2018 up to and including February 29, 2020. This explicit period is chosen as it marks a topical period, in which relevant events, among which the still ongoing Syrian Civil War, the increasingly contained power of IS and the execution of the Iranian major general Qasem Soleimani (Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps) occurred or endured. When studying how populists frame the Middle East, this topical period provides insight into their responses to these events and situations – responses that may or may not contain frames. The contemporaneousness of the selected period furthermore adds a certain valuable aspect, as it provides the opportunity to study contemporary populist framing at its most as much as possible. The additional month of February is included as it marks a period in which the diplomatic relationship between the EU and the president of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, ran into difficulties as he expressed how the European Union does not provide Turkey with enough help to bear the large refugee flow.

The required subject as issued in the tweets had to involve the Middle East or Middle Eastern countries, specifically meaning that tweets regarding Middle Eastern inhabitants, political leaders, problems and events were included in the sample. To be able to select the tweets within the established time period that meet this condition, it logically had to be well-defined which specific countries are considered part of the Middle East in this research study. It was then decided to use a definition with a

common character, so that the process of data selection did not entirely depend on the interpretation of the researcher. Since encyclopaedic definitions can mainly be regarded as definitions of a common nature, the definition of the Middle East described in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (2020) is used to generate a definite demarcation of the countries belonging to the Middle East. Hence, in this study, the countries that are considered part of the Middle East are *Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Iraq, Iran, Saudi-Arabia, Jordan, Yemen, Oman, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, Afghanistan, Libya, Sudan and Egypt*. Tweets containing issues, events, inhabitants and political actors related to these particular countries were accordingly considered useful data.

The specified time period and subject were then deployed by firstly selecting the indicated time period into the advanced search function owned by Twitter; this is done for each of the two populists separately, after which the resulting collection of tweets from both cases was manually reviewed by reading each tweet and assess whether it covers one or more topics related to the Middle East as specified above. The data was therefore approached in an inductive manner. Since it is of importance that only those tweets are gathered that are essentially from the populist tweeter himself, tweets that entail the so-called ‘retweets’ without any addition or reaction from the populist tweeter under study, are not included, since they are not composed by the populist tweeter himself. When the populist tweeter did however add something to the retweet, the tweet was included in the sample. Messages that are personally directed at other Twitter users, recognizable by immediately starting with ‘@’, were included in the data sample too.

The sample was digitally created by marking each tweet that met the requirements as a so called ‘bookmark’ on Twitter. This subsequent selection of bookmarks saved on the researcher’s Twitter account formed the sample. Resulting from this accurate review and selection of tweets from both populist politicians in the determined time period, 71 tweets were gathered from Geert Wilders’ Twitter account and 33 tweets were gathered as published by Thierry Baudet. The reason for the large difference in the number of tweets per populist is simply that Geert Wilders is more active on Twitter than Thierry Baudet. In other words, not only in the field of Middle East themes, but also in a general sense, over the defined time period, Wilders posted more tweets than Baudet did.

Table 1
Collected and analysed data

Twitter handle	Time period	Subject	Collected tweets	Analysed tweets
@geertwilderspvv	1 January 2018 – 29 February 2020	Middle East (continent), Middle Eastern issues, leaders, persons, population	71	67
@thierrybaudet	1 January 2018 – 29 February 2020	Middle East (continent), Middle Eastern issues, leaders, persons, population	33	31

3.3 Data analysis

Completing both processes of case selection and data selection resulted in a delineated collection of data suitable for analysis. Bearing in mind the research question and the corresponding first two sub-questions, the selected tweets ought to be analysed by means of the three proposed aspects of framing, which should

be empirically detected in the messages. Thereafter, the tweets must then also be examined for the presence of elements of the four dogmas of Orientalism as composed by Said (1978) and if so, which dogma is seen in the concerning tweet. Taking these requirements into account and given the fact that the studied data involves recorded human communication, a content analysis was performed on the tweets (Babbie, 2018), comprising of two main steps: coding the selected tweets and subsequently interpreting the results.

The tweets were thus firstly coded on the presence of both the framing elements and the Orientalist elements; for the purpose of this coding process a coding scheme was composed (Appendix B), in which the elements of both framing methods were incorporated: the capital letters indicate the framing element, whereas the additional numbers indicate the Orientalist dogma elements. Since it is theoretically supported in this study how populists tend to frame, the coding scheme was composed in such a way that each tweet must contain one of the populist framing elements (capital letter), after which one or more dogma components (number) can be linked to it – if noticed by the researcher. The codes in the coding scheme were therefore suggested by the preceding theory as drawn up in the previous chapter. This method of code creation was chosen due to the hypotheses that were included in the theory and which should therefore be tested. The column ‘Description’ provides a short overview of the established theoretical basis regarding the framing aspects and Orientalist dogmas from which the codes are derived. These descriptions functioned as a helpful reference during the process of coding each tweet.

The physical act of coding thereafter was carried out by coding the tweet’s latent content, meaning that the descriptive codes were ascribed to the underlying meaning of the text (Babbie, 2018). By means of accurately and repeatedly reading each tweet, the researcher firstly determined what the tweet was about, after which the tweet was again read – occasionally multiple times – to assess which framing element could be derived from its content and if the framing content contained one or more Orientalist elements. Subsequently, the researcher ascribed one or more codes from the coding scheme to the analysed tweet, which was noted in an analysis scheme drawn up for this purpose (Appendix A). If the researcher could not discern any dogma of Orientalism in the tweet, only the corresponding capital letter (indicating the populist frame) was noted. If it had been that the populist framing element could not be detected either, the selected tweet was no longer included in the sample, since then it cannot be counted as populist framing. This was the case for four tweets by Wilders and two tweets by Baudet. Therefore eventually 67 tweets by Wilders were included in the analysis scheme, whereas 31 tweets by Baudet (see Table 1).

Obviously, this subjective manner of coding disadvantages the reliability of the coding process. However, by keeping in mind and repetitively reviewing the theoretically formulated definitions of the concept elements as much and as often as possible during the coding process, an attempt was made to limit this disadvantage of subjective coding. In order to guarantee more substantiation of the interpretation, in the analysis scheme was additionally noted which indications (words, phrases, sentences, etc cetera) in the tweet led to the concerning code. Eventually, the resulting arrangement of tweets and corresponding codes in the analysis scheme then provided a standardized formation of the way populists tend to frame Middle Eastern issues, as now it was possible to deduce which framing elements Wilders and Baudet do or do not use frequently, which also applies to the possible use of Orientalist elements.

As previously mentioned, the second phase in the analysis involves interpretation of the results as they emerged from the first step of coding, as this will lead to answering the three sub-questions. Since the

first sub-question inquires which frames the populists use in their tweets, this question will be answered by means of providing an empirical review that includes information about the frequency with which the populists use each frame and about how they seem to express these frames (Chapter 4). Of course, this information is derived from the codes and additional notes as entered in the analysis scheme. For the second and third sub-questions, however, it is required that the results in the form of the codes as drawn up in the analysis scheme are further interpreted. Firstly, the extent to which Wilders' and Baudet's frames involve dogmas of Orientalism (sub-question 2) can only be discussed by comprehending the indicated frames and dogmas within them – as derived from the analysis scheme – and subsequently by discussing in which combinations the frames and dogmas (tend to) appear, if certain patterns and habits can be discerned within the use of dogmas in the frames, and whether there are any notable deviations between the observations and the theoretical concept of Orientalism as used in this thesis. By interpreting the findings in this manner, it is moreover conceivable to say something about what these interpretations imply for the final answer to the research question; if these patterns, habits and deviations may or may not indicate a new form of Orientalism.

The attempt to answer the third sub-question is dependent on interpretation as well: composing statements about how the populists' framing manner is in line with their political process, in fact implies that actions are being related to meanings. To be more precise, the populists' framing behaviour will be explained from the populist's probable intentions: their political goals and strategies. After all, by relating their actions to meanings, one is able to discover why actors are doing what they are doing (Fay, 1975). The aforementioned explanation of the populists framing behaviour is given then by means of comparing the findings to the theory regarding the populist political process.

Answering the main research question as a whole then requires a hermeneutical approach, since the findings as derived from the tweets are not merely interpreted but furthermore an attempt is made to explain these findings as an expression of the total culture or society to which they appear to belong. Applied to this particular research study, it means that the extent to which Orientalist elements are present in populist Twitter frames, or perhaps their presence in different forms, and thus the extent to which populist Twitter framing is a new form of Orientalism is explained while referring to the context of the contemporary trend in attitudes towards the Middle East and Middle Easterners, in both politics and society. Logically, this can be considered the societal and political context where Wilders and Baudet find themselves in, a context in which they aim to profile their political parties.

3.4 Conclusion

And thus, what has been executed for the sake of an accurate content analysis is firstly a process of subsampling, comprising of a case selection and a subsequent data selection phase, after which the selected set of suitable data was analysed. Performing the content analysis, in which the present frames and dogmas were indicated by means of the attribution of codes, resulted in an analysis scheme in which tweets, associated codes and substantiation of the code form an overview of what is empirically discovered in the data in terms of framing and Orientalist dogmas. Subsequently, these results were empirically reviewed and interpreted. This elaboration on and interpretation of the results – contributing to eventually answering the sub-questions – are included in the next two chapters.

4. Results

As mentioned in the previous chapter of this research thesis, answering the research inquiry demanded an in-depth content analysis of the selected tweets distributed by both Dutch populist politicians, whereby the populist framing aspects and Orientalist dogma elements were indicated through interpretative coding, followed by interpretation of the eventual results. What follows in this chapter, is the elaboration on what has been empirically discovered during the analysis, which will be mainly focused on the discovered populist frames. The interpretation thereof, a study of which dogmas are contained in which frames, will then be discussed in the next chapter.

To firstly provide a general overview of the quantitative presence of the framing aspects, in Table 2 is listed the percentage of tweets in which each framing aspect was indicated. Contrary to what was the case with the dogmas – whereby the analysis has shown that not every tweet contains a dogma element – every tweet contains at least one of the framing aspects, which means that no tweet is discovered without the inclusion of a frame. In some cases, a tweet even contained several. Although in this chapter, the Orientalist dogmas present in the frames will not yet be discussed, Table 3 already provides an overview regarding the percentage of tweets in which each dogma element was indicated. This overview is presented in this section of the thesis, as it merely contains results regarding the presence of the dogmas, while these dogmas have not yet been interpreted in the context of the populist frames in which they have been indicated. This interpretative part of the analysis will be explained extensively in the next chapter.

Table 2
Percentage of tweets in which each framing aspect was indicated

Framing aspect	Percentage of tweets by Geert Wilders n = 67	Percentage of tweets by Thierry Baudet n = 31	Total percentage of tweets n = 98
Villain	85% (57)	51,6% (16)	74,5% (73)
Victim	13,4% (9)	29% (9)	18,4% (18)
Hero	9% (6)	16,1% (5)	11,2% (11)
Problem cause	7,5% (5)	22,6% (7)	12,2% (12)
Blame/Responsibility	10,4% (7)	-	7,1% (7)

Table 3
Percentage of tweets in which each dogma was indicated

Dogma	Number of tweets by Geert Wilders n = 67	Number of tweets by Thierry Baudet n = 31	Total percentage of tweets n = 98
Difference	37,3% (25)	32,3% (10)	35,7% (35)
Abstraction	-	-	-
Control/Fear	16,4% (11)	16,1% (5)	16,3% (16)
Eternal/Uniform	20,9% (14)	12,9% (4)	18,4% (18)
None	25,4% (17)	38,7% (12)	29,6% (29)

Even though the tweets were studied in their original language during the analysis – which for the most part was Dutch, the tweets used as examples in the following two chapters are translated into English, so that no translation has to be made in the explanation. This will hopefully be of benefit to the reader of this thesis, in terms of understanding the elaboration on the results and interpretation by the researcher.

4.1 Populistic Twitter framing of the Middle East

As can be viewed in the completed analysis scheme, the analysis of each single tweet resulted in indicated frames as appeared to be present in the tweets according to the researcher's interpretation thereof. This is done in response to the first sub question – which has its focus on how populist politicians frame issues related to the Middle East. The process of explaining the results regarding the indicated frames within the tweets will therefore proceed according to these empirically identified frames, more precisely, according to each framing aspect.

4.1.1. Identifying villains

A very frequently used framing style by both Geert Wilders and Thierry Baudet is that of identifying a specific country (or regime), population group or person as a villain. What is immediately noticeable when one studies the analysis scheme, is the different styles Geert Wilders and Thierry Baudet use to portray these villains in their tweets. Wilders creates a picture of a hostile, dangerous, invasive, lying and/or unreliable country, group or actor mostly by name calling, e.g., by including terms as 'Islamofascist', 'terrorist', 'dictator', 'scum', 'profiteers', 'crooks', 'bandits' and 'mad dogs'. The following tweets illustrate this tendency:

'This morning. Deventer area. Madness. The Netherlands lends a hand to the Islamofascist @RT_Erdogan.' – @geertwilderspvv, 14 June 2018 (Wilders, 2018p)

'ERDOGAN = TERRORIST' – @geertwilderspvv, 10 October 2019 (Wilders, 2019g)

'The Crooks and Bandits of the @OIC_OCI joined together in the Kingdom of Hate - Saudi Arabia. They condemned so called "islamophobia" but cannot even spell the words freedom and democracy. #stopislam' – @geertwilderspvv, 1 July 2019 (Wilders, 2019c)

'The Mad Dogs of the Middle East #Khamenei #Nasrallah #Suleimani #terrorists' – @geertwilderspvv, 11 January 2020 (Wilders, 2020d)

An outstanding feature of Wilders' oeuvre is the frequent framing of Iran, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Palestine as great villains of Western culture, society and politics. It should additionally be noted that he never portrays the countries and political leaders of Palestine, Saudi-Arabia and Turkey in a more neutral or positive way; when it comes to Iran, he seems to make a difference between the people and the regime, the regime exclusively being framed as villainous, whereas the people are victims (see subparagraph 4.1.2). Besides what the above tweets already show, Wilders for instance refers to Iran as a “terror regime” (Wilders, 2019j) and claims how it cannot be trusted (Wilders, 2018a, 2018h). When speaking about Saudi-Arabia he uses terms as “Wahhabi dictators, arch liars and terror supporters” (Wilders, 2018b) and states that “Saudi Arabia is governed by criminals who kill dissidents and support the terror-wahhabi-ideology all over the western world” (Wilders, 2018m). Framing Palestine – especially in the form of the political movement Hamas – as a great enemy is done in light of the enmity between Israel and Palestine, which seems to suggest that Wilders uses this frame out of his support for Israel (see subparagraph 4.1.2. and 4.1.4.).

In several of his villainizing tweets, Wilders identifies villains that should be furthermore considered outcasts and outsiders, for example the country of Turkey and Syrian or other Middle Eastern refugees; diplomatic and economic ties should be severed with the former, while the latter do not belong to Dutch society:

'Turkey is not an ally but a terror state. #Turkey should be expelled from #NATO NOW! #ExpelTurkeyFromNato #PVV #Wilders #Syria #Syria' – @geertwilderspvv, 10 October 2019 (Wilders, 2019t)

'Weak! Erdogan will not throw a bomb less. The EU and @ministerBlok leading the way is a gang of incompetent whimpers. Throw Turkey out of NATO, cancel a trade treaty, boycott Turkish products and cut all ties with that crook country. #Turkey' – @geertwilderspvv, 14 October 2019 (Wilders, 2019p)

'Syrians with knives and belts. Not in Syria but in Hoofddorp. Get those scum off the street, lock them up, send them away, send them back!' – @geertwilderspvv, 9 April 2019 (Wilders, 2019s)

'SEND THEM ALL BACK TO SYRIA! #profiteers "They stayed for a week. They didn't like it. Didn't want to work 40 hours a week. I can't do anything with that. After that I never saw them again "' – @geertwilderspvv, 18 October 2018 (Wilders, 2018c)

Not rarely Wilders supplements the tweets in which he tries to villainize something or someone with cartoons and images that portray political leaders or countries as evil, dangerous and terroristic actors. He for instance shares an image showing half the face of President Erdoğan and half the face of an ISIS fighter, or a cartoon depicting how Saudi-Arabia, in contrast to Iran, does not openly and loudly, but in a taciturn fashion, hates the United States. One pair of tweets about Saudi-Arabia even contains a version of the Saudi Arabian national flag modified by Wilders himself, in which he changed the wording to negatively charged statements about Islam. With these prominent visual representations, he seems to want to reinforce his created frame of villains and hostile actors.

It however seems that Baudet chooses more subtle ways to identify villains; only once he refers to a country – namely, Iran – as ‘tyrannical’ and only twice he indicates the presence of Syrian and

Palestinian terrorists in the Middle East. His framing method does not contain the supplementation of cartoons and caricatures either. He seems to choose methods in which not the literal wording or image, but instead his way of formulating the situation or problem expresses his representations. By for example briefly using president Erdoğan's name in certain contexts – as a profiting party in the Syrian war and as a reference when discussing the lawsuit against Geert Wilders – he subtly assigns him the persona of the repressive and land-conquering superior, without literally calling him so. Additionally, a frequently used technique by Baudet consists of sharing someone else's tweets, or news related photos and articles, on issues and events which he disapproves of; he expresses this disapproval in his attached reaction to the photo or article:

“Turks are taking over Amsterdam and Rotterdam”, the VVD messenger writes in surprise. Well. Actions have consequences, friends. If you open the borders, as the VVD has advocated for decades, the composition of your population will change.” – @thierrybaudet, 26 June 2018 (Baudet, 2018k)

‘Indeed: ‘Hennis should not dress like that, this is submission’ – @thierrybaudet, 10 February 2019 (Baudet, 2019f)

The second tweet is part of a set consisting of seven tweets in which Baudet openly disapproves of two Dutch female diplomatic/political figures who comply with rules in Iran and Iraq regarding head covering for women. In six of these seven tweets he uses the villainizing framing style by openly disapproving the adaptive behaviour of the two women, thereby not only portraying them, but also the regime they are allegedly ‘submitting’ to as the villains, since the repeated highlighting of their adaptive behaviour furthermore emphasizes and draws attention to the regime and the political leaders they supposedly ‘submit’ to.

Another example of Baudet's framing style when it comes to portraying a villain, is one pair of tweets in which he seems to convey a clear standpoint towards the Armenian genocide, which in general can be considered a rather controversial subject among Turkish communities. In one of the tweets, he openly acknowledges and regrets the genocide by sharing a photo of himself laying a rose at a memorial dedicated to it, accompanied by the hashtags ‘#ArmenianGenocide #1915NeverAgain’ (Baudet, 2019b). In the other post, he links a fellow politician of Turkish descent to the acknowledgment of the Armenian genocide, in response to this politician holding certain standpoints towards mistakes that the Dutch have allegedly made in their (colonial) past, which Baudet considers a stimulation of guilt feelings (Baudet, 2019a). Even though the mere act of acknowledging a genocide or other event may not be framing per se, his public acknowledgment and statement of support – enhanced with a photograph – in combination with the second tweet mentioned, seems to imply an image of Turks through which they are portrayed as a population group who reprimand others, while they themselves should consult themselves about, for example, the genocide. This therefore contributes to the creation of a villainous frame.

4.1.2. Identifying victims

Furthermore, both Dutch populist tweeters have spent a share of their Twitter content to framing (groups of) people and countries as victims of some sort. Except for one tweet, all concerning tweets link the framed subjects to a wrongdoer of whom they are a victim. What is immediately noticeable here is a similarity between Wilders and Baudet: in every tweet in which the state of Israel, Christians, Jews, non-Muslims and citizens campaigning for freedom are discussed, they are portrayed as victims and/or heroes. In no tweet are the aforementioned framed as villains, problem causes or culprits/responsible ones. The

heroizing frames regarding these population and religious groups will of course be discussed in a next subparagraph.

In the victimizing tweets about Israel – in which Wilders nearly has the full share, except for one tweet from Baudet – the country is firstly represented as a victim of Iran and of Palestine, more specifically, of Hamas, the Palestinian political movement striving to establish a Palestinian state. Secondly, some tweets in the sample form a more general image of Israel as a victim of evil or hostile forces, while being abandoned by the West. This specific image of Israel will also be noted in a next subparagraph on heroizing frames. The next three tweets illustrate this representation of Israel as a victim, whereby it can also be noted that the tweets contain a certain call for action, where even some necessity and activism seem to shine through:

'I have just signed this petition with the caveat that the Netherlands and Europe must now also pursue a more positive policy towards Israel and support that country PLUS a stricter policy towards Iran that actively promotes anti-Semitism and wants to destroy Israel.' – @thierrybaudet, 4 May 2019 (Baudet, 2019e)

'Israel is under attack again. Evil Hamas fired hundreds of rockets and mortars from Gaza. Most of the West is silent. I am not. I support Israel 100%!! RT if you agree. #IsraelUnderAttack #IsraelUnderFire #ISupportIsrael #Israel' – @geertwilderspvv, 15 July 2018 (Wilders, 2018i)

'Israel under attack again by the forces of islamic terror and barbaric darkness from Gaza. Let us all support Israel for their fight is our fight. #Israel' – @geertwilderspvv, 4 May 2019 (Wilders, 2019k)

In addition, and as previously mentioned, Christians, Jews, non-Muslims and Middle Eastern people fighting and revolting for freedom are framed as victims, in the first place of threatening regimes in which the Islam is directive. Wilders for instance refers to Christians, Jews and non-Muslims as hated and (physically) mistreated by the Saudi regime (Wilders, 2018b, 2019f). However, Baudet additionally sees Middle Eastern Christians as victims of some other force, namely 'the West', as he postulates how Western elites have attempted to destroy the Middle Eastern Christian world (Baudet, 2019d) and how Christians, as well as Kurds and Yezidis, have become a victim of Dutch oikophobia, described by him as "the pathological reluctance to stand up for our allies, our values: our interests" (Baudet, 2018c). Perhaps remarkable in the light of Wilders framing Iran as a villainous state, he nevertheless represents the Iranian people and protesting Iranian women as victims of the Iranian regime (Wilders, 2019b, 2019j, 2020a). This seems to imply that the PVV party leader perceives and portrays the country as two opposing parties: the people versus the regime.

Lastly, within the selection of Baudet's tweets, specific victims are indicated in the context of the Syrian civil war – which is barely discussed by Wilders in terms of content, for example in the field of power relations, intervention and policy. The selected tweets by Baudet do however include this subtopic. Within this topic, he frames Assad and Syria itself as victims of the West, as he claims how Western intervention will backfire when it comes to resolving the conflicts and will aggravate the country's situation. This frame does not immediately come to the fore in every separate tweet regarding this topic, however perceiving the collection of tweets about the civil war as a whole makes it clearer that Baudet is representing Syria and his president as victims, by for instance stating how "our perfidious elites have done everything in their power to weaken Assad" (Baudet, 2019d), how intervention against Assad and aiming for regime change "will lead to endless continuation of the conflict" (Baudet, 2018e) and "does not

bring peace and stability” (Baudet, 2018b), ratified with statements as “The road to hell is paved with good intentions (and cynical oil interests)” (Baudet, 2018a) and “Look at Afghanistan and Iraq” (Baudet, 2018b). The last two statements are functioning as illustrative examples of Middle Eastern countries where intervention did not lead to better situations.

4.1.3. *Emphasizing who/what causes a problem*

Even though less used than the frames in which villains and victims are identified, both populists create frames through which certain people, or a specific group of people are framed in such a way, that it is emphasized how they are the causes of societal or economic problems. Thierry Baudet for instance frames Syrian refugees as a group of people causing a burden in Dutch society and economy, as they cost the state money and effort, which in turn results from lies about the refugee group’s education level and qualifications:

‘Yes, dear VVD and CDA voters: you are always lied to with talks about “dentists and neurosurgeons”, and you keep falling for it. Support #FVD for real change: fvd.nl/word-lid’ – @thierrybaudet, 1 June 2018 (Baudet, 2018g)

Baudet often times implements this frame by selectively sharing news articles, retweets and videos that address how Syrian refugees are for the most part unemployed and undereducated and how they take too much advantage of social security benefits, while he does not share media regarding this refugee group that represent them in a positive or neutral manner. He furthermore supplements the shared media with reactions in which he claims how the electorate is being lied to about the refugees’ qualifications and the potentially beneficial consequences for the Netherlands when welcoming them. Within this frame, and partly in accordance with Wilders, he insists that the Syrians must return to Syria, by stating how the country is safe enough, as the following tweet illustrates (contains Baudet’s reaction to a shared video of himself addressing how refugees are causing a burden for the Netherlands):

‘Syria safe again: Syrians can and must return. #FVD filed for debate, and the cartel is training. Judge yourself!’ – @thierrybaudet, 18 April 2019 (Baudet, 2019i)

His insistence seems to imply a certain necessity for the Syrians to leave the Netherlands – thereby framing them as group that does not belong there. This creation of an out group was already indicated in Wilders’ framing method that involves the representation of villains (see subparagraph 4.1.1.), though Wilders seems to have this same intention again when emphasizing how Syrian refugees are a cause of specific problems:

‘Crazy, huh. Since 2014, more than 80,000 houses have gone to fortune seekers! Open borders lead to a tsunami of asylum seekers. The Dutch are the losers, those 80,000 homes meant for them, but have now gone to Eritreans, Syrians and other foreigners. #PVV #Wilders’ – @geertwilderspvv, 9 January 2020 (Wilders, 2020b)

‘Left-wing TV activist Joanneke from @EenVandaag does not want to hear it, but all Syrians have to go back to build their own country. That also saves a lot of benefits here and there will again be 40,000 social rental homes available for our own people!’ – @geertwilderspvv, 11 March 2019 (Wilders, 2019e)

In the two examples as offered above, Syrian refugees are empathically being represented as the ones causing a particular problem, namely the housing shortage and housing crisis in the Netherlands. The

second tweet expresses the need for them to return to Syria, indeed representing them as not belonging in the country where they have sought asylum. In the same style as Baudet, Wilders often reacts on news articles and videos that are included and shared within the tweet, provided with his reaction.

Another population group of which Wilders emphasizes that they cause a specific problem – a problem he calls ‘Islamization’ of the West – are the Arabs. On a tweet that addresses how a newly passed Israeli law limits the Arabs in their rights regarding self-determination and language, he reacts positively and encourages the Dutch state to adopt similar measures, since “It will help prevent us becoming islamic” (Wilders, 2018e). In a second tweet, Wilders reacts on a video in which he himself opposes Middle Eastern values (except for the Israeli Jewish ones), values that in his view should not be passed on to subsequent generations, since he considers them Islamic (Wilders, 2019d). This implies how, according to him, these Middle Eastern values will ensure that Western generations become increasingly Islamic. And thus, these tweets indicate how Wilders refers to Arabs/Middle Easterners as causing his designated problem of Islamization.

4.1.4. Identifying heroes

In the previous subparagraphs it had already been noted that the country of Israel, Christians and citizens that campaign for freedoms are, besides as victims, also framed as heroes. It may therefore not be an unexpected given that the studied populist tweeters indeed have a tendency to identify these parties as heroes and heroines, the latter designation specifically being the case for Iranian and Iraqi women who protest against the obligation to wear head covering:

‘Now that Iranian women are shedding their headscarves and fighting for freedom & emancipation, VVD member Jeanine Hennis is putting on a headscarf to meet with Iranian ambassador. A #FVD person would never do that. We stand for Dutch values and equality between men and women.’ – @thierrybaudet, 13 January 2019 (Baudet, 2019g)

‘Amnesty NL against burka ban and therefore for sharia in NL. Where women in countries like Iran heroically protest against wearing Islamic headscarves and even go to jail for it, the fake freedom fighters of @amnestynl stab women in the back here.’ – @geertwilders, 30 July 2019 (Wilders, 2019b)

The first tweet quoted above is part of the earlier mentioned set (see subparagraph 4.1.1.) of seven tweets by Thierry Baudet denouncing the compliance of two Dutch female political and diplomatic actors with covering their head when visiting Iran and Iraq. Although in the remaining six tweets Iraq and Iran were framed as villains, this tweet identifies the heroism of the Iranian women. Baudet is also the one representing Christians, to be more specific, Christians in Syria, as heroes, praising them for standing strong and withstanding “the perfidious elites” (Baudet, 2019d).

What is solely expressed by Wilders and therefore is not seen in Baudet’s tweets, is the way of framing Israel as the hero in the Middle Eastern region. He does so by explicitly praising a “fantastic new Israeli law” that briefly limits the rights of Arabs, which he rates as “an example for all of us” (Wilders, 2018e). Secondly, and comparable to his victimizing framing method of Israel in which it is a victim of evil forces excluded from Western support, he depicts an image of a strong hero surrounded by these evil forces:

‘We should all defend #Israel, the only democracy in the Middle East, a beacon of light in a region of total Islamic darkness.’ – @geertwilderspvv, 27 August 2019 (Wilders, 2019u)

'Am Yisrael Chai. The Jewish nation is alive, resilient, and will defeat its cruel enemies. #Israel #Wilders' – @geertwilderspvv, 12 December 2019 (Wilders, 2019a)

The second tweet additionally includes a video in which Wilders is among other things pronouncing what is said in the first tweet about Israel being a beacon of light in an area of darkness, therefore again emphasizing this representation. If anything, this image mainly seems to have a reinforcing effect on Wilders' frame, as it reinforces Israel's heroism. After all, even though surrounded by darkness, the country and its regime is "alive, resilient, and will defeat its cruel enemies" (Wilders, 2019a).

4.1.5. Focusing blame or responsibility on someone

The last populist frame type that has been discovered in the sample is that of portraying a distinctive someone or something as the one to blame or to hold responsible for a certain issue or situation. The analysis shows that within the sample this frame type is solely used by Geert Wilders.

The first framed group that can be highlighted here are Syrian refugees that have sought asylum in the Netherlands, which Wilders frames as the ones responsible for rebuilding Syria:

'Syrian refugees are returning from Lebanon to Syria. It's time for all Syrians in the Netherlands: pack your suitcases and go: quickly back home, help build your own country!' – @geertwilderspvv, 28 July 2018 (Wilders, 2018n)

'Send Syrians back home to build their own country. Parts of Syria are safe! Then thousands of homes will become available for our own people! #APB19 #Abp2019 #APB #General views #PVV #Wilders' – @geertwilderspvv, 19 September 2019 (Wilders, 2019q)

As can be discovered in both tweets exemplifying this particular frame, Wilders refers to Syria by using the term 'your own country'. This specific and clear indication, in combination with the likewise specific indication of 'our own people' when referring to the Dutch, as well as his firm call to let the refugees return to Syria, implies how – again – Wilders creates an image of a population group that does not belong in Dutch society and the Netherlands as a residential area.

Wilders secondly frames Middle Eastern countries as responsible for the problematic situations in the area regarding Islamic terrorism, the march of terrorist organization ISIS and war conditions, when it comes to both causing and resolving it. He for example literally states how Saudi-Arabia is the country "where wahabism/terrorism was invented" (Wilders, 2019f), thus blaming it for the emergence and development of Islamic terrorism. In terms of framing countries as self-responsible for actually solving the aforementioned problematic issues and situations, Wilders for instance claims that the Dutch army has no business in Iraq (where Dutch soldiers support Iraqi forces in their fight against ISIS) since the Dutch army is needed at home (Wilders, 2020e), which indicates that Iraq has to find out for itself how it will combat the terror of ISIS. Syria also falls into this category of self-responsibility, which the following tweet at least seems to indicate:

'Fantastic let the terrorist brood of vipers remain in their Syrian burrows forever. #Syria #Islam #caliphatechildren' – @geertwilderspvv, 22 November 2019 (Wilders, 2019h)

In this tweet, Wilders reacts on a news article in which it is reported how the Dutch state is not obliged to pick up ISIS adherent women and their children from camps in north-eastern Syria, despite the fact that these women travelled from the Netherlands as their former homeland. He expresses his

agreement with the decision of the court by adding how these women and children should forever stay in Syria. By expressing it in this manner, it seems like Syria – and not the women's countries of origin or the like – is the one who has to manage this; more simply put, that it is Syria's concern, not 'ours'.

4.2 Conclusions drawn from results

In the analysed tweets from Wilders and Baudet, all five frame types appear, with the villain frames and victim frames occurring most often. A general tendency seems to be that, although countries (and associated leaders, persons, etcetera) such as Iran, Turkey and Saudi Arabia are regularly framed as villains, this never applies to Israel, which is always portrayed as a hero and victim of surrounding countries. The same seems to be happening for groups in Middle Eastern societies who do not adhere to the Islamic faith, are of the female gender and/or campaign against the hostile framed regime. For them, no negatively charged frames (villain, blame or problem cause) are used, but instead they are portrayed as heroes who fight and stand for the good, and as victims who are attacked by villainous regimes and people for this reason. Finally, when it comes to citizens of Middle Eastern descent and refugees of this descent residing in the Netherlands, religion, gender or views are no longer taken into consideration by the populists, as both populists generally frame them as the ones to blame for and the ones causing problems in Dutch society and the housing market, additionally emphasizing that these population groups should take responsibility for their country of origin and should therefore leave the Netherlands.

5. Interpretation

Besides the frame types used by the two populists, the analysis also yielded insight regarding the presence of the four dogmas of Orientalism within the sample, which again can be derived from the analysis scheme. While the previous chapter and the analysis scheme together provide an overview of these frames and dogmas empirically indicated in the data, this chapter focuses on the interpretation of these results. This chapter will therefore provide an explanation of the ways in which the Orientalist dogmas are expressed and implemented in the frames that the populists use to portray the Middle East, which in fact is an attempt to answer the second sub question of this research.

5.1 Framing and the four dogmas of Orientalism

The inclusion of Orientalist dogmas in Wilders' and Baudet's frames, whereby furthermore is discussed how these dogmas are expressed, will be explained by going through and discussing each theoretically established dogma one by one.

5.1.1. *Difference between Occident and Orient*

To repeat, a first dogma of Orientalism is the absolute and systematic difference between the West – the Occident – and the East – the Orient. The West then is perceived as superior, rational, humane and developed, whereas the Orient is inferior, aberrant and undeveloped (Said, 1978). Within the concerning analysis, tweets were thus coded with the number 1 if the deployed frame type included an indication of a difference between a West or western country with the aforementioned traits and a Middle East that has the opposite traits. For both populists, elements of this particular dogma are the most common in their (selected) tweets.

Geert Wilders expresses this differentiating dogma for the most part within his villainizing frames. In framing countries, regimes, political leaders and groups of people as villainous and hostile actors, he often includes their alleged inhumanity and aberrance – e.g., their barbarism, violent policies and hostility – but also a kind of underdevelopment, for instance in the field of freedom and women rights. To substantiate this with Wilders' Twitter material, it can be pointed out, for example, how he villainizes several Middle Eastern countries (e.g., Saudi Arabia and Iran) by emphasizing their oppressive and violent behaviour towards minorities and stating their unfamiliarity with freedom (Wilders, 2018b, 2019c, 2019o). Wilders therefore expresses the difference between the Middle Eastern countries and the Western ones – especially the Netherlands – by referring to what he perceives as typical Western values as freedom, democracy and freedom of speech, while simultaneously emphasizing how the addressed Middle Eastern country is violating these values. This, of course, he openly condemns, which is always reflected in the respective Twitter content. This composition of expressing the violation of important Western values according to Wilders and expressing his obvious disapproval thereof, seems to suggest a willingness to address and express the difference between the Middle East and Western countries, which automatically leads to the indication that this dogma is present in his frames.

This dissimilarity in values between the Middle East and the West could perhaps be interpreted as a populist who considers the West superior to the East, then automatically owning the inferior position, given his open and outspoken disapproval which occasionally tends to move towards ridicule. Wilders therefore appears to attribute himself the role of the one above. However, in some tweets and their containing frames, Wilders hints at a superior West more noticeably. In the case of this tweet, this actually goes beyond just hinting, as the superiority is communicated in a rather clear way:

'Iran is terrified. They deliberately missed US troops. The earlier attack last year on Saudi oil installations with Iranian cruise missiles and drones proves that they can strike with military precision if they wish. But they know that the US will then make mincemeat of them.' – @geertwilders, 8 January 2020 (Wilders, 2020c)

The notion that the superiority here is expressed in a clear manner is made because of the literal mentioning of a 'terrified' Iran that is supposedly aware of a strong United States that moreover should be feared. Though, in a pair of tweets that involves Syria and the refugees from that same country, Wilders hints at their inferiority in an indirect way. He explicitly name calls the refugees "profiteers" and additionally makes the urgent call for their return to Syria (Wilders, 2018c). Then, when referring to the camps in North Syria where Dutch women – who left Holland to support ISIS – and their children are staying, the term "Syrian holes" is employed (Wilders, 2019h). Derogatory terms such as the aforementioned seem to indicate how Wilders not only perceives, but furthermore represents Syrian refugees and Syria: a group of people too lazy and unfitting for Dutch society and a country where the established camps can be referred to as 'holes'. This derogative approach suggests a feeling of superiority from the populist.

In addition, Wilders shows his perception of a different East and West through his public aversion to cooperation. A country it applies to in particular – given the number of tweets devoted to it – is Turkey, which he portrays as too deviant and too immoral for it to be allowed in partnerships:

'Dutch Public Prosecution Service in the service of a totalitarian dictator. Go lock up criminals instead of licking Erdogan's heels!' – @geertwilderspvv, 14 August 2018 (Wilders, 2018k)

'Turkey is not an ally but a terror state. #Turkey should be expelled from #NATO NOW! #ExpelTurkeyFromNato #PVV #Wilders #Syria #Syrie' – @geertwilderspvv, 10 October 2019 (Wilders, 2019t)

Among other, these tweets are constructed by Wilders in such a way that Turkey and its political leader are directly opposed to the Dutch state and Western alliances. By doing so, the image is drawn of two opposite parties that by no means can be merged or can succeed in establishing cooperation and alliances: the reason being the villainous and dictatorial character of the Eastern country, which according to the tweeter does not coincide with the character of the West.

It should be noted that this differentiating dogma, including subsequent aversion to cooperation and alliances, in no case applies to Israel. Quite the opposite, since Wilders declares in both text and attached video how Israel is the only country in the Middle East fighting for 'our' freedom, civilization and values (Wilders, 2019a), therefore expressing through how Israel and its values are different to the rest of the Middle East.

Baudet, then, similar to Wilders, included elements of the discussed dogma within his villainizing frames, but these elements are also found in some of his frames that appoint problem causes. He too emphasizes – especially within the villain frames – (Western) values that the concerning Middle Eastern countries and people lack or harm, especially in the area of women's rights and oppression. Baudet devoting tweets to this specific topic has been discussed earlier in this thesis, but now, moreover, it can be remarked how he seems to want to express that rules regarding head covering for women in countries such as Iran and Iraq in contradiction with Western values and freedoms and are furthermore objectionable. He tends to voice this by means of ridicule, for instance by stating that the Dutch diplomat Jeanine Hennis –

wearing traditional head gear when visiting Iran and Iraq – should not “fig out like that” (Baudet, 2019f) and by making the determination: “Former VVD Minister of Defence now every day in burqa” (Baudet, 2019j). Additionally, and to proceed with Western or Dutch values in a more general sense, it can be noted how Baudet conveys the need to enforce the Dutch social values on citizens:

‘Instead of Turkish weekend schools that oppose integration, we should propagate our own values and enforce them where necessary. That is why #FVD has proposed the Dutch Values Protection Act. Support us! #FVD’ – @thierrybaudet, 13 August 2018 (Baudet, 2018f)

The call to enforce values on citizens can be considered an indication of some sort of superiority from the ‘enforcer’. After all, in the act of enforcing, generally there is a superior party trying to dominate the inferior. This sense of superiority is seen too within Baudet’s frames that frame someone or something as causing the problem. This concerns the published tweets in which he demotes (Syrian) refugees, by openly perceiving them as not qualified enough – in the area of education and career, a difference which according to Baudet will besides yield little to the Dutch society and economy. As previously mentioned in paragraph 4.1.2., he conveyed this perception by sharing news articles, retweets and videos that address the unemployment rates and such, supplemented by his personal reactions that involves the statement that the electorate has been lied to (Baudet, 2018d, 2018g). Baudet additionally perceives differences in a wide variety of other areas though:

‘But seriously. Did anyone really think that the massive immigration of people from a completely different part of the world with a completely different background, people with completely different ideas and completely different manners, would give us ANYTHING?’ – @thierrybaudet, 20 October 2018 (Baudet, 2018h)

In fact, this cited message seems articulate what the dogma discussed here is for the most part: an absolute difference between the Middle East(erners) and the Netherlands (the West). This can be derived from Baudet repeating three times how the refugees’ background and culture are “completely different” from ‘us’.

The final part of this subparagraph, then, is dedicated to an occurrence that the researcher noticed several times during the coding process. The next two subparagraphs will therefore similarly include a discussion regarding this occurrence, as in the context of this research, it is considered noteworthy. For what has been noticed is that both populist Tweeters incorporate an inverted or modified version of, in this case, the differentiating dogma of Orientalism – although Baudet implements this more often than Wilders. In the relevant cases, this occurrence of reversion or modification is additionally indicated in the analysis scheme by means of a comment in italics.

In the case of the dogma discussed here, an inverted or modified form means that the addressed Middle Eastern country, group or figure is in fact assigned a superior, rational or developed persona with respect to Western countries. In the case of Wilders, this applies mostly for Israel, as can be illustrated with the following tweets:

‘Fantastic new Israeli law. An example for all of us. Lets define our own nation-state, our indigenous culture, our language and flag, define who and what we are and make it dominant by law. It will help prevent us becoming islamic.’ – @geertwilderspvv, 20 July 2018 (Wilders, 2018e)

'The real question is whether freedom of speech and the truth about Islam will disappear behind bars. And are we leaving the children of Europe the values of Rome, Athens and Jerusalem, or the values of Mecca, Tehran and Gaza? #Wilders' – @geertwilderspvv, 12 December 2019 (Wilders, 2019d)

In the first tweet, Wilders not merely compliments Israel – not to mention a country in the Middle East. He furthermore sets it as an example “for all of us”. This appears as if he is putting Israel on a pedestal, whereby the West is even considered inferior, that ought to follow this example. Here, the Orientalist dogma seems inverted; not the West, but a Middle Eastern country holds the superior position. The second tweet is then considered a modified form of this dogma: as can be read, Wilders places Jerusalem in the same line as Rome and Athens, two prominent Western capitals when it comes to the development and history of Europe and sets this group of cities against three other Middle Eastern cities/areas. The differentiating dogma is thus modified, as the difference between the Middle East and Western Europe is expressed, but in such a way that one Middle Eastern city is a clear exception to this differentiation.

Wilders also applies this exception and modification to the women in Iran who protest against headscarves (Wilders, 2019b), in which Baudet follows him. This again concerns the collection of tweets by Baudet that address the covering of the head by women in Iran and Iraq, with which Dutch female diplomats complied. Baudet places their compliance against the (heroized) Middle Eastern women and activists that fight for the abolition of this rule. Through this created contradiction, the two Dutch and therefore Western women become portrayed as the inferior, obeying to inhumane rules, whereas the women in Iran and Iraq are being the humane and rational ones; the dogma of a difference between East and West thus is inverted. Baudet makes these sorts of dogmatic exceptions to Christians, Kurds and Yazidis as well, as he refers to these groups in the context of the Syrian war as “our allies” and groups that hold “our values” (Baudet, 2018c), despite their Middle Eastern descent, thus modifying the dogma of a different Middle East.

5.1.2. Control and fear

The second dogma to discuss and that has been indicated within the sample, is that of an Orient that should either be controlled (by occupation, pacification or research and development) or feared (Said, 1978). Both populists include this dogma in their conveyed frames, however the same goes for the modified or inverted form. This section will therefore again end with the discussion and explanation of this alternate usage.

Given the definition of the concerning dogma, its indications in the tweets of Wilders and Baudet point to fear instillation or to control, however in the form of policy, sanction or retaliation of some sort. Perhaps to be expected, the presence of this dogma lies in the villainizing and problem cause frames, since in those cases, Wilders and Baudet express how the framed parties ought to be sanctioned or feared for their condemned acts. To start with, both tweeters voice the need for control when it comes to Middle Easterners that live in or enter the Netherlands, the latter mainly involving Syrian refugees. In the case of a number of tweets, these population groups are furthermore represented as people that should be feared.

For the Syrian refugees that sought asylum in the Netherlands, the concerning villainizing and cause creating frames contain the Orientalist dogma of control in the form of coercive policy; the Dutch state being the one to take instant control in sending the Syrian refugees back to Syria, as Baudet's following tweet exemplifies:

'Why did CDA and VVD vote against our motion to help Syrians in the Netherlands return to Syria now that most of that country is safe again? Vote #FVD on March 20 if you want immigration to be REALLY tackled now! Fvd.nl' – @thierrybaudet, 9 March 2019 (Baudet, 2019k)

Though besides this, Baudet additionally creates an image of Syrian refugees being a danger to the Netherlands, therefore attempting to instil fear in the Dutch public, as he emphasizes how immediate border control (for incoming Syrian refugees) is of absolute necessity for the Dutch national safety and public order (Baudet, 2019h). Similar to Baudet, Wilders perceives the refugees from Syria as a group that needs to be controlled by policy of sending them back. He for instance shares his explicit plea regarding this issue, which he proposed during the general discussions in the Dutch House of Representatives (Wilders, 2019q). Wilders sharing his plea can be considered a sign for the message he most probably wishes to convey, of a Dutch state that must take control of the incoming Syrian refugees.

Additionally, the dogma of fear is applied to other (mostly) villainized migrants or Dutch citizens of Middle Eastern descent as well. When for example considering the manner in which both Baudet and Wilders communicate about Dutch-Turkish citizens who took to the streets to celebrate President Erdoğan's electoral victory, they both highlight and thus isolate quotes from the corresponding news articles, resulting in a portraiture of an invasive and dangerous group of people:

"Just you wait, boy. We are in charge here, already. Just look around you, this is Turkey. We continue to grow in the Netherlands." – @geertwilderspvv, 26 June 2018 (Wilders, 2018q)

"Turks are taking over Amsterdam and Rotterdam", the VVD messenger writes in surprise. Well. Actions have consequences, friends. If you open the borders, as the VVD has advocated for decades, the composition of your population will change.' – @thierrybaudet, 24 June 2018 (Baudet, 2018k)

The menacing, predominant nature of the highlighted quotations (e.g., "Just you wait, boy") implies a certain fear instillation by the two politicians, as if the public should be aware and fearful of the intentions that this group of citizens may hold. Wilders in addition claims how the Dutch government is fearful of intervening during a physical clash between Turks and Kurds in the city of Rotterdam – whereby Wilders suggest that the government should have intervened by deploying the military, instead of merely deploying the police (Wilders, 2019n). Besides the Turks and Kurds in the Netherlands, Wilders also identifies a reason for fear in the arrival of Middle Eastern refugees/migrants in the general sense. He expressed the urgent need to close the European borders for Arab immigrants, as he states that not only "many millions of them" will come to Europe, but "Europe will become Eurabia" (Wilders, 2019l). Migrants from Islamic countries as Saudi Arabia and Iran, then, according to Wilders, are perpetrators and supporters of terror, given their Islamic country of origin. He therefore states how, in the interest of Western freedom and tolerance, they should no longer be allowed into the country (Wilders, 2019o). The foregoing statements by Wilders carry an invasive and dominant representation of the Middle Eastern migrants, that may instil fear in the ones reading it.

What has been described and explained above contains the idea of the West, in particular the Netherlands, controlling Middle Easterners in the concerning Western country, but – although to a lesser extent – the idea of the West controlling the Middle East and its inhabitants can be indicated within the selected tweets as well. The dogma of control can be detected in the villainizing frames applied to Palestine and Iran. Both Baudet and Wilders consider Iran as a culprit that should expect "tough

retaliation” for its nuclear program (Wilders, 2018h) and deserving of “stricter policy” from Europe, a consequence of their antisemitic and hostile attitude towards Israel (Baudet, 2019e). Continuing on the topic of Israel, the Israeli-Palestine conflict is likewise perceived by Wilders as in need of Western control, as he conveys in his response to US President Donald Trump’s peace plan for the Middle East:

‘The Wilders plan is much better: all Palestinians leave the West Bank asap to the one and only Palestinian state of Jordan and Judea and Samaria entirely for the Jewish state of Israel!’ – @geertwilderspvv, 28 June 2019 (Wilders, 2019i)

He does not merely seem to approve of Western intervention and control in itself, but moreover proposes an own plan to control the departure of Palestinian citizens in the West Bank, thereby determining that they belong in Jordan instead of Judea and Samaria. This determination will be elaborated upon in the next subparagraph, since according to the analysis, it also involves another certain dogma.

Lastly, as already revealed in the beginning of this subsection, inverted/modified forms of this particular dogma regarding controlling or fearing the Middle East is detected within both Wilders’ and Baudet’s tweet selection. One of these forms can be illustrated in the first place with the forementioned and previous quoted tweets about Dutch citizens of Turkish descent celebrating on the streets, in these messages Wilders then speaks in terms of “colonization” (Wilders, 2018o), while Baudet literally states how “the composition of your population will change” as a consequence of immigration (Baudet, 2018k). In addition, and as also mentioned earlier, Wilders expressed that when Europe will continue to allow the immigration of Arabs, that “Europe will become Eurabia” (Wilders, 2019l), a representation equally conveyed by Baudet:

‘The Netherlands is not going to Saudi Arabia... but to the tyrannical Iran Sigrid Kaag did go, with a headscarf and all, submissively, with her shoulders forward, weighed down, as we will still experience here if the current immigration policy continues...’ – @thierrybaudet, 19 October 2018 (Baudet, 2018j)

Within these messages, the inverted form of the discussed dogma – at least in the field of control – is communicated, as not the West or Westerners, but in fact the Middle Easterners are considered and portrayed as the ones that hold colonizing motives, namely in the form of changing the Western/Dutch culture and demographic composition. And thus, instead of a Middle East that should be controlled by occupation or pacification (if there is no fear of it), the populists put in an image of a Middle East that in a way is occupying the West, as though the dogma is inverted.

In addition to this inverted form, both tweeters implemented a modified or edited form by recurrently stating how the Netherlands or the West in general must actually refrain from controlling the Middle East – mainly in the form of non-intervention, as these tweets, among others, demonstrate:

‘Dutch soldiers in Iraq back to NL now. We have no business there. Let the army guard our own borders and help the police where necessary to make our own streets, cities and villages safe. We have enough scum domestically to fight.’ – @geertwilderspvv, 8 January 2020 (Wilders, 2020e)

‘The neoconservative regime change agenda (of Clinton, Bush, Obama and now also of Trump) does not bring peace and stability. Look at Afghanistan and Iraq. Bombing Syria now only plays into the hands of the Islamists and Erdogan’s expansion agenda. Very unwise.’ – @thierrybaudet, 11 April 2018 (Baudet, 2018b)

In context of the Syrian civil war and the events in the Middle East that arose from it, Baudet actually dedicates multiple tweets to this argument, which specifically entails his conviction that Western intervention in the Levant is not going to improve the situation and should therefore be ceased. Moreover, building on the victimizing frame applied to Syrian president Assad (see subparagraph 4.1.3.), Baudet perceives intervention as the weakening of Assad (Baudet, 2019d). Through his tweets and the victimizing frames contained therein, he turns out not being in favour of this (Baudet, 2018e, 2019d). Wilders' tweet cited above similarly speaks of a withdrawal ("We have no business there") in the context of the same war situation, though in this case, it concerns military assistance by the Dutch army in training Iraqi soldiers in their fight against ISIS.

5.1.3. *Eternality, uniformity and self-definition*

The last Orientalist dogma that was partly identified through coding in a selection of tweets by both populists, is that of an eternal and uniform Orient (and thus Middle East) not being capable of defining itself, with the assumption that it is inevitable and objective to use generalized and systematic vocabulary (Said, 1978). The statement regarding the dogma being partly identified is made since in the tweets and included frames, no indications were found regarding the Middle East or Middle Easterners being an eternal entity, or at least being perceived in that manner. Indications were however found when it comes to uniformity, an incapability of self-definition and the use of generalized vocabulary, which appears to be used somewhat systematically, although it cannot be clearly demonstrated in the textuality or underlying meaning of the messages whether the populists consider this use of vocabulary as inevitable or objective.

To start with the use of generalized vocabulary, both populists use this vocabulary style mainly when talking about Syrian refugees who reside in the Netherlands, framed as the ones causing problems or responsible for the reconstruction of Syria:

'Syrian refugees are returning from Lebanon to Syria. So it is time for all Syrians in the Netherlands: pack your suitcases and go: quickly back home, help build your own country!' – @geertwilderspvv, 28 July 2018 (Wilders, 2018n)

'Syria safe again: Syrians can and must return. #FVD filed for debate, and the cartel is training. Judge yourself!' – @thierrybaudet, 18 April 2019 (Baudet, 2019i)

Both use the general term 'Syrians' when in fact discussing Syrian refugees – at least, as can be derived from the supplemented articles and other media added to the tweets, which address Syrian refugees instead of all Syrians living in the Netherlands. Conveying the message of 'Syrians' that should return to their country of origin can seem like all Syrians should leave the country, while the tweeter may not necessarily mean it that way. In addition to addressing the need to send them back, Wilders links the general term 'Syrian(s)' to terms in the field of terrorism and Islam, as the wording in the following tweets demonstrates:

'So all muslims from The Hague to Schiedam shouting Allahu Abkbar and stabbing and slashing at innocent people are confused or have a psychosis? Or are they just Syrians, cowardly Allah worshipers, asylum profiteers and terrorists? Choose. I know.' – @geertwilderspvv, 31 May 2018 (Wilders, 2018d)

'Syrian. Allah. Islam. Terror. #stopIslam #PVV #Wilders' – @geertwilderspvv, 8 October 2019 (Wilders, 2019r)

Again, within these tweets, people of Syrian origin – framed as villains – as a whole entity are linked to terror and additionally, to Islam, whereby the existence of, for instance, Christian Orthodox or Jewish Syrians is omitted. Baudet as well creates a connection between terror and a group of people by referring to the rebellious groups in Syria with the wording ‘Syrian terrorists’ (Baudet, 2018i) and using the term ‘Palestinian terrorists’ when addressing the UN-organization United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), which in fact provides help to Palestinian refugees (Baudet, 2019c). Although, in view of the enclosed news article, he most likely denounces previously disclosed abuses within the management of this UN-organization, he nonetheless claims that the organization supports Palestinian terrorists. The complete picture regarding the citizens who receive help from this aid organization thus seems to be limited.

Wilders then furthermore expresses an approach towards the Middle East, but also towards some specific Middle Eastern countries, that involves the image of uniformity and/or of the concerning countries being incapable of defining themselves. In the first place, these elements of the dogma can be noticed in several of his Israel themed tweets. In a pair of tweets in which he discusses the Israeli-Palestine conflict, Wilders explicitly states that Judea and Samaria are Jewish, and the country of Jordan is Palestine (Wilders, 2018g, 2019i). Here Wilders is basically assigning identities to the concerning Middle Eastern countries, making it seem as if the groups involved and citizens living in Israel and Jordan are not capable of doing so themselves. Besides, making a hard and clear division between ‘Jewish’ and ‘Palestinian’ seems to be based on the supposition of one uniform Jewish group and another uniform Palestinian group, whereby it is thus overlooked that within these groups, there is the possibility of cultural, political and religious differences, and possible disagreements. Therefore, it may be considered simplified to state that Jordan can be labelled Palestinian, and Israel Jewish.

Secondly, Wilders tweets about a kind of uniform Middle East in general, which again is identified in an Israel themed tweet but furthermore in posts that involve other Middle Eastern subjects:

‘We should all defend #Israel, the only democracy in the Middle East, a beacon of light in a region of total Islamic darkness.’ – @geertwilderspvv, 27 August 2019 (Wilders, 2019u)

‘The real question is whether freedom of speech and the truth about Islam will disappear behind bars. And are we leaving the children of Europe the values of Rome, Athens and Jerusalem, or the values of Mecca, Tehran and Gaza? #Wilders’ – @geertwilderspvv, 12 December 2019 (Wilders, 2019d)

As can be literally read in Wilders’ tweet about Israel and the rest of the Middle East, he refers to the latter as “a region of total Islamic darkness”, thus creating a uniform representation, with not only one characteristic (“darkness”) but moreover one religion (“Islamic”), without showing any acknowledgment of other religions being practiced there. This is the image he creates in the second tweet as well: since both the text and the attached video address the issue of Islam, Wilders most probably attempts to convey how the listed Middle Eastern cities/areas Mecca, Tehran and Gaza should be characterized as Islamic, therefore, according to him, conveying immoral values, values that oppose Western values (i.e., that of Rome, Athens and Jerusalem).

Once again, the discussion of an Orientalist dogma will end with a discussion of any inverted or modified dogmas. In the case of this particular dogma, however, it could be argued that the populists studied actually already change the dogma when they recognize, by means of their used wording and

formulation, that the Middle East consists of a multitude of origins, religions and cultures, is non-eternal and is capable of defining itself. In the analysed selection of messages, no indications were found of a Middle East that in fact is able to define itself well or can be perceived as non-eternal, though both populists now and then seem to acknowledge some variation in religions, beliefs and standpoints. This for instance can be indicated in the tweets in which the populists frame Christians, Jews and citizens – especially women – protesting against the ruling regime, as victims and/or heroes (see subparagraph 4.1.3. & 4.1.4.). These groups are then specifically mentioned and addressed, instead of being subsumed under an ‘Islamic’ or ‘dark’ Middle East.

5.1.4. Preference for abstractions based on a ‘classical Orient’

Even though listed as second dogma in the coding scheme, the dogma involving the recurring preference for abstractions about the Middle East, preferably based on texts about a ‘classical Orient’ than direct evidence (Said, 1978), is reviewed last here. The reason for this is that the elements of this dogma cannot be specifically deduced from the analysed texts, therefore merely a brief explanation is provided.

As can be noticed in a significant number of tweets that has been composed and published by Wilders and Baudet, both regularly react on or discuss information about the Middle East or Middle Easterners, which they have derived from a(n) attached news article, video, photo or retweet. However, these cannot be considered texts about a classical Middle East. After all, news articles and videos reporting an event in the Middle East are in fact directly derived evidence from the region, as these are usually created by or in collaboration with correspondents and reporters on the spot. This additionally applies to the retweets that involve the messages of ambassadors and official Middle Eastern/foreign institutions. In some cases, the populist retweets someone’s opinion or reaction on a certain issue, which, again, is not based on a text representing a classic Middle Eastern civilization or society. And even though, some photos included in their tweets could perhaps appear to the public as depicting a classic portraiture of the Middle East, the tweet as a whole expresses no preference for extracting information from just the photo, nor does the tweeter seem to make references to a classic Middle Eastern civilization. Both Wilders and Baudet merely address and react on the event depicted.

5.2 Conclusions

When it comes to the dogmas of Orientalism that are implemented by the two populists in their frames, both implement the three dogmas regarding the difference between East and West, a uniform and/or eternal Orient and an Orient that either should be controlled or feared. The remaining and fourth dogma of a recurring preference for abstractions about the Middle East, preferably based on texts about a ‘classical Orient’ has not been indicated during the analysis. However, with regard to the three dogmas that can be found in the populist frames, it is not only true that they occur in the form as defined in the theoretical framework. These dogmas can furthermore be indicated in an inverted form, in which a Middle Eastern country – namely Israel – is superior to the West instead of the other way around, and in which it is not the West, but Middle Easterners who are portrayed as settlers seeking to take over and control the West.

6. Discussion: Framing the Middle East and populist politics

The attempt to explore and analyse populist Twitter framing of the Middle East – which resulted in answering the first two sub-questions – has indeed provided the necessary information to answer to the research question. The acquired results and information however then raise questions about the motives and intentions of the populists, to put it differently, whether these results could be explained through the populist's way of conducting politics. Hence, this chapter is dedicated to answering the third sub question of this study, which inquires the extent to which the manner in which the populists frame the Middle East is in line with the populist's political process.

6.1 Framing the Middle East and the populist political process

In order to answer this question, the theoretically determined parts of the populist political process – as written down in the corresponding chapter – are elucidated, that is, if applicable. From the elaborated theory, it has firstly been ascertained how populists use their act of framing to steer public opinion and actions to be taken, in their desired direction (Biegon, 2019; Bruijn, 2019; Vries, 2016). Influencing people's opinion or attitude could additionally be their electoral strategy to bring down incumbent political leaders (Oztig et al., 2020). In the same vein, their way of framing may serve the purpose of repressing the opposition, perceived by populists as illegitimate, and therefore represented by them in the same manner through framing (Müller, 2016). Logically, with the weakening and repression of incumbent leaders and counterparties, but also with the attempts to steer public opinion, the populist aims to win votes for his or her own political party. Based on this theoretical elaboration, the additional expectation was expressed that populists thus frame the Middle East in the concerning manners since it is part of their conduction of politics and their political strategy, which among other things entails the aforementioned aspects of steering, weakening and repression.

6.1.1. Steering public opinion and policy actions

When again reviewing the selection of tweets by Wilders and Baudet, indeed several indications seem to signify that a part of their Middle Eastern themed tweets in which the region and/or the people are framed does not merely serve the purpose of sharing opinions or providing information, but furthermore are an attempt to steer the public opinion and direction of policy actions, in other words, to exercise their influence. This for instance can be seen in a tweet in which Wilders advocates for a so-called 'NEXIT', a designation that indicates the Netherlands' departure from the European Union:

'Billions of euros wasted on European Fake Parliament, billions of euros wasted on nonsensical support for Turkish Islamofascist dictatorship. #NEXIT #NEXIT #NEXIT' – @geertwilderspvv, 14 March 2018 (Wilders, 2018j)

By framing Turkey and its political leader (as a villain), Wilders tries to influence the public's perception and opinion, but at the same time it serves as an attempt to steer this idea to the necessity and importance of the 'NEXIT' (policy action), since, according to Wilders, the EU can be considered an institution that financially supports a Turkish dictatorship. Villainous frames regarding the Middle East are exploited as well when pleading for policy actions in the field of diplomacy and cooperation with Middle Eastern countries, such as the termination of these diplomatic and cooperative ties and the exclusion of countries. Take for instance the tweets quoted earlier in this thesis about the expulsion of Turkey from NATO, presented as a necessity by framing Turkey as a country with villainous and hostile traits (Wilders, 2019p, 2019t), as well as Baudet's disapproval of Dutch financial support for UNRWA, the Palestinian receivers being framed by him as terroristic (Baudet, 2019c).

Additionally, the steering purpose of framing the Middle East and Middle Easterners in the populist manner can be discovered in the way in which the populists frame Middle Eastern refugees, migrants or Dutch citizens of Middle Eastern descent or background. Syrian refugees are for example framed as ‘profiteers’, as people ‘taking’ houses, as useless for Dutch society and economy, and as a risk for national security (Baudet, 2018d, 2018h, 2019h, 2019i; Wilders, 2018c, 2020b). Within these tweets, the populist tweeter mostly includes a suggestion or request in the field of migration policy; to let Syrian refugees return to Syria and to close or control European and Dutch borders. The combination of framing and policy proposals makes it therefore noticeable that the purpose of framing is to have certain policies introduced, or at least to convince the reader that this policy is necessary.

The populists seem to communicate in the same vein when it comes to citizens of Turkish descent and the expression of Turkish culture and politics in the Netherlands. The citizens concerned are framed as dangerous and violent, a response to their demonstrations and partying in the streets. This phenomenon leads both populists to call for intervention, both in the field of security (by deploying the police and army) and of immigration restrictions (Baudet, 2018k; Wilders, 2019n). Both moreover call for restrictions on the expression and transmission of Turkish values and political views:

‘No Turkish schools in the Netherlands!’ – @geertwilderspvv, 10 August 2018 (Wilders, 2018f)

‘Instead of Turkish weekend schools that oppose integration, we should propagate our own values and enforce them where necessary. That is why #FVD has proposed the Dutch Values Protection Act. Support us! #FVD’ – @thierrybaudet, 13 August 2018 (Baudet, 2018f)

Wilders completes his above tweet with a cartoon depicting a Dutch mill that kicks away with his blades Turkish president Erdogan, former President of the European Commission Jean-Claude Juncker and a terrorist, therefore linking the concept ‘Turkish’ to terrorism. Both tweets however propose in a rather demanding manner the aforementioned restrictions and therefore policy towards Turkish schools that seemingly convey certain values, by framing these values and the country where the origin of these values lies as problematic, terroristic and aberrant.

6.1.2. Weakening and repression of political opponents

In addition to steering actions and public opinion, the populist way of framing the Middle East as discovered in Wilders’ and Baudet’s tweets indeed seems to be an attempt to weaken and eliminate their opponents. This attempt for instance can be seen in their use of specific hashtags that refer to their political party, the need to vote for them or the incapability of the opponent or seated political parties. Geert Wilders, for instance, not only includes the perhaps logically chosen hashtag ‘#Wilders’ and ‘#PVV’ – which of course refers to his political party – but also occasionally includes the hashtags ‘#StemPVV’ (‘Vote PVV’), ‘#StemZeWeg’ (‘Vote them out’), ‘#NEXIT’ and ‘#stopislam’. The hashtags that refer to voting, more specifically, to voting on Wilders’ party and to voting the other parties out, are used in tweets in which the addressed Middle Eastern country or political leader is framed as a villain, while in the same tweet, a Dutch political leader is criticized and approached with disapproval for his or her political relations and behaviour, the following tweet being an example of this:

‘Minister Kaag humbly at Rouhani last year. The president of the country that arranges liquidations in the Netherlands. Our country is run by incompetent idiots. #VoteThemOut #VotePVV’ – @geertwilderspvv, 8 January 2019 (Wilders, 2019m)

The policy related hashtags, then, are likewise mostly applied within the villain frames, in which moreover the orientalist dogma is expressed regarding the Middle East being essentially different from the West. Though, also in tweets in which he has not added these hashtags, Wilders seems to make specific attempts to weaken incumbent Dutch politicians and political figures from opponent parties, which can be inferred from several tweets, of which the following tweets are two examples:

'The Dutch government is consistent. First support for Syrian terrorists and now consultations with Iranian terrorists.' – @geertwilderspvv, 29 September 2018 (Wilders, 2018l)

'Dutch Prime-Minister @MinPres Rutte enjoying tea with islamofascist dictator @KingSalman of Saudi-Arabia, a country where apostates are beheaded, women humiliated, jews and christians treated as scum and where wahabism/terrorism was invented. The political left is silent now...' – @geertwilderspvv, 3 March 2019 (Wilders, 2019f)

As shown through these examples, the PVV-leader attempts to weaken the Dutch government and Prime-Minister by representing these actors as unsuitable and incapable, a representation which in turn is constructed through his way of framing the Middle East. To be more specific, Wilders uses frame types that portray the Middle Eastern countries as terroristic and violent, which leads to his reasoning that consultation or contact with these countries is thus unacceptable, the Dutch incumbent leaders therefore performing unacceptable behaviour by consulting with the concerning countries.

Baudet, on the other hand, is not as fanatic with his use and application of hashtags, as he mainly limits himself to a reference to his own party ('#FVD'). In some of these cases though, like Wilders, he calls for a vote for his party, promising to take different approaches and measures, in the field of immigration policy and the expression of diplomatic ties with Middle Eastern countries:

'Now that Iranian women are shedding their headscarves and fighting for freedom & emancipation, VVD member Jeanine Hennis is putting on a headscarf to meet with Iranian ambassador. A #FVD person would never do that. We stand for Dutch values and equality between men and women.' – @thierrybaudet, 13 January 2019 (Baudet, 2019g)

'Why did CDA and VVD vote against our motion to help Syrians in the Netherlands return to Syria now that most of that country is safe again? Vote #FVD on March 20 if you want immigration to be REALLY addressed now!' – @thierrybaudet, 9 March 2019 (Baudet, 2019k)

In this tweet, but in some without included hashtags as well, Baudet tries to draw attention to the good intentions of his own party, by emphasizing how Dutch politicians and/or diplomats take the wrong approach towards the Middle East, framed as oppressing and deviating from Western values, while stating that FVD will never practice these approaches and/or methods and will address the problems regarding Middle Easterners.

6.2 Conclusion

Considering the provided explanation and analysis, it can be concluded that framing the Middle East is part of the populist's political process and strategy, as the frames are used to steer the public opinion about the region and Middle Easterners, as well as to steer policy actions, that are mainly aimed at excluding Middle Eastern countries in the context of diplomacy, reprimands towards citizens of Middle Eastern descent, or sending refugees back. Furthermore, by framing the Middle East, the populists express how – from their point of view – Dutch politicians from opponent parties go wrong with regard to maintaining

relations between the Netherlands and the Middle East. By doing so, attempts have been made by the populists to weaken the political opponents and to convince the public that their own party, in contrast to the other (sitting) political parties, represents the correct interests and will take a different approach to the Middle Eastern countries.

When once again considering the theoretical concept of populism as wielded in this research study, then the above findings seem to be in line with this. Although Wilders and Baudet do not always specifically refer to 'the people' in their frames of the Middle East, they however do seem to represent an antagonistic relationship between 'the people' and 'the elite', namely by exercising their method described above of using the Orientalist dogma-containing frame of an aberrant and villainous Middle East to weaken the government and represent the own political party as more suitable and capable to govern the state. Within the antagonistic relationship, their own political party and followers could therefore be perceived 'the people', while the incumbent political leaders can be encompassed by 'the elite'. Secondly, the endeavour to steer public opinion and policy actions by framing Middle Easterners in the manner shown by the analysis, seems to indicate that the populists are trying to create the image of an out group, e.g., Syrian refugees not belonging to Dutch society and demonstrating citizens of Turkish descent needing to be reprimanded for their massive presence in the streets.

7. Conclusion and discussion

The aim of this research study is to discover the extent to which populist Twitter framing is a new form of Orientalism, as this inquiry was set as the main research question. Answering the research question required a phased approach which entailed answering three sub-questions, since their corresponding answers provided insight into the way in which populists frame the Middle East through their tweets, to what extent these frames contain Orientalist dogmas and the populists' possible intentions with these framing styles. Answering the sub-questions was therefore considered the process that ultimately led to the possibility of compiling the answer to the research question, which indeed will be formulated in this concluding chapter, as well as the interpretation and discussion thereof.

7.1 Conclusion

The first sub-question was formulated to discover and study the way in which populists frame issues related to the Middle East in their tweets. The resulting findings regarding the executed frame types by Baudet and Wilders then indicate that both populists have a tendency to frame Middle Eastern countries, leaders and people of Middle Eastern descent as villains, mostly in the form of hostile actors, accused of acting hostile towards either Western countries and societies, or towards population groups and citizens in the concerning Middle Eastern country. As regards these population groups, especially in the case of Christians, Jews and women, they are regularly portrayed as victims of the villainized regimes. Furthermore, these Middle Eastern groups are portrayed as heroes as soon as they visibly oppose the regimes that the populists represent and frame as villainous and hostile. The studied populists use frames that appoint problem causes and people to be held responsible when addressing Middle Eastern refugees and citizens in the populists' home country – The Netherlands, as these groups are represented by them as causing societal and financial problems and furthermore being responsible for rebuilding and maintaining the country they fled. What is particularly striking in the case of Wilders and his manner of framing the Middle East, is his outspoken support for one specific Middle Eastern country, namely Israel, which he frames as a heroic state in the midst of hostile countries, of which it is moreover a victim, therefore ought to be supported and defended by the West.

The frames then, used by the two populists studied and mentioned above, regularly include elements of the Orientalist dogmas. Something that generally seems to be occurring in the tweets, is how the inclusion of Orientalist dogma elements reinforces the frame that the populist used in his tweet, as the dogma elements seem to function as a justification or additional explanation for the expressed frame type. Within the populists' manner of framing the Middle East and Middle Easterners as villainous and the ones causing problems, the concerning countries and/or people are additionally portrayed as aberrant, inhumane, inferior, and lacking or harming Western values – elements that are incorporated in the dogma of an absolute and systematic difference between East and West. Likewise, within these frame types, the populists express the dogma of fear and control, as they express how the villainous and problem causing Middle Easterners should be controlled through policy and sanction, and should be considered dangerous people, to be feared by the Dutch. Both populist tweeters additionally have a tendency to use generalizing vocabulary when addressing Middle Easterners in their tweets. This goes for those living in the Netherlands, framed as problem causing factors and/or as those responsible for the wellbeing of the Middle Eastern country of origin, but for those living in the Middle East as well. The latter are regularly framed as villains, whereby population groups are generalized and portrayed as uniform entities, since the populist refers to them with villainizing though simplified terms, thereby omitting the distinction between

people in the field of religion and ideology. Population groups and countries are furthermore represented as uniform in their villainous and hostile attitudes, assigned to them via the populist frames.

However, another notable observation can be made regarding the inclusion of dogmas, namely how in some tweets the populists implement Orientalist dogmas in an inverted or modified form. By expressing these inverted or modified dogmas, they firstly represent the Middle East and Middle Easterners as villains that are out to colonize or invade Western countries and societies, instead of the other way around. Additionally, Wilders and Baudet express how instead of colonizing or intervening, the West should refrain from these actions and opt for non-intervention. Secondly, specific Middle Eastern population groups or figures like activist women, Christians and Jews are in some cases represented as having Western values or even as superior to the Western equivalent. At the same time, by specifically mentioning and distinguishing these groups, they seem to acknowledge some variation in the Middle East regarding religions, beliefs and ideology. Superiority is in the case of Wilders especially ascribed to Israel, which he frames as superior to the West regarding its policy and attitude towards Arabs. In the same vein, Israel is portrayed by him as a Western country instead of a Middle Eastern one.

This described manner of framing the Middle East can indeed be considered in line with the populist's political process and strategy, as the populist politicians in question use their tweets – in which the Middle East is framed and represented in a mostly negative manner as described so far – to achieve certain goals and purposes that populists often seem to have according to the theory involved in this research. Populistic Twitter framing of the Middle East appears to be executed to steer the public opinion about existing alliances and the populist's political opponents, whereby the created image of the Middle East is additionally used to demonstrate the incapability and failure of the alliances, incumbent leaders and other political opponents. By weakening opponents and incumbent political actors, of course an attempt is made to generate support for the populist's own party. Accordingly, these framed representations of the Middle East are used as a means for influencing the direction of policy in the field of cooperation and diplomacy with Middle Eastern countries, as well as in the field of migration policy, the direction of course being one that is in line with the positions of the populist party in whose name the populist is acting politically. Besides, when looking back at the definition of the concept of populism as theoretically established in this study, the elements of this concept regarding the antagonistic relationship between the elite and the people, and the creation of a certain out-group, seem to be in line with their expressed frames of the Middle East, which, as shown, includes suggestions to exclude Middle Eastern groups and countries, as well as a certain stimulation to distrust the incumbent government.

And so, taking into account the aforementioned answers to the sub-questions, populist Twitter framing of the Middle East as studied in this research can be considered a new form of Orientalism. It can be seen as a new form, since the populists on the one hand incorporate certain elements of Orientalist dogmas in their frames, while on the other hand implementing dogmas in an inverted or modified form. The concept of Orientalism as constructed by Said is therefore partly present in the tweets and corresponding frames of the Middle East, whereas for the other part, the concept is modified, and thus the composition of these observations can be seen as the indicated new form of Orientalism. The studied populists have furthermore edited and adapted the concept – as mapped out and elaborated by Said at the time – to the present, more specifically, to the contemporary trend with regard to the attitudes of Western societies towards the Middle East and Middle Easterners, a context in which the populist and his party find themselves and in which it has to profile his own political party. Though within this concluding statement, the notion can be made that the populists in fact create this new form of Orientalism, that is in

line with the current trend in attitudes towards the Middle East, precisely due to their specific method of partly inverting or modifying dogmas of Orientalism in conjunction with partly implementing the dogmas in their original form. In order to explain this further, it is first important to compose the image that the studied populists actually draw through their tweets about the Middle East, in which the combinations of frames and dogmatic elements are noted.

The populist representation as derived from the analysed tweets is portraying a Middle East that is different from the rational and humane West. It is however portrayed as a region that in general should be approached with non-intervention, with exceptions when it comes to Israel and specific populations (such as non-Muslims and activist women), given that aid and support are considered appropriate by the populist in these cases, as these parties are framed as hero's, victims of (surrounding) regimes and more similar – if not superior – to the West than their counter populations. In addition, Middle Easterners are considered a danger though, when residing or seeking asylum in the West or the Western country in which the populist in question operates, which in the case of this research concerns The Netherlands. Within these contexts, they are seen as invasive and colonizing, out to 'take over' Western society and culture, an image in which the populist also seems to try to instil fear in the ones reading his tweet.

This aggregated representation then seems to follow the earlier mentioned trend in attitudes in Western societies towards both the region and the people originating from it, as the populists' tweets – but also their public communication in general – make rather clear that the populists respond to the fear and tendency in Dutch society with regard to retaining its own culture and identity, a feeling that seems to have been created by the increased migration flow from the Middle Eastern region as occurred in recent years. In addition, in recent years, Western societies have repeatedly been the victim of terrorist attacks, often carried out in the name of Islam and/or the terrorist organization ISIS. Given that this religion and terror group can be seen primarily as Middle Eastern, there seems to be a tendency of fear, in which Middle Eastern refugees and relations with the region are quickly linked to the danger of terror. It thus seems that populists have modified and adapted Said's Orientalism into a new form of Orientalism that seems to fit in with the current state in which society appears to be. This current state entails that there is no room for interference or intervention in the Middle East or for Eastern people who want a place in Western societies, because in addition to the fact that the Western society has a certain fear of them, furthermore it finds that effort, support and attention from the government and aid agencies must be devoted to the own country and the values it adheres to. However, if these same values are discovered in a particular Middle Eastern population group or country (in the case of Israel), there seems to be some space and leniency for support.

As addressed in the theoretical section, the aforementioned and described respond by populists to the fear of loss of identity in Dutch society in fact is encompassed in the so-called 'promise' or redemptive aspect of populism, in which populists make a certain promise to restore society's identity. The populists therefore implement part of their ideology – which corresponds to the fears and trends in society – by means of framing of the Middle East in the manner as studied in this research, to convince the public that the populist represents its interests and is committed to change in this area. It can therefore be considered part of the political process as discussed and elaborated on in this thesis.

7.2 Discussion

As already mentioned earlier in this thesis, an attempt was made to guarantee the validity of this research as much as possible by selecting the populists to be studied and by conducting the analysis process in a theoretical way, in other words, by basing the selection and analysis on the concepts as operationalized in the described theory. Nevertheless, within the same methodology section, the awareness is there and should be again noticed, that the small number of studied populists – namely, two – does not promote the generalizability of the findings to the larger target population, i.e., populists in general and thus all over the world. Therefore, it cannot simply be stated that the concluding statements made in this thesis regarding the extent to which populist Twitter framing of the Middle East is a new form of Orientalism are valid for all populists, in other words, that all populists have constructed and used this new form, acting in the same societal context and from the same societal issues. However, it can be assumed that the selected Dutch populists are somewhat representative of populists in general, given that the selection process was led by the theoretical concepts defining which politicians can be considered a populist. After all, in determining these concepts, only use has been made of scientific literature in which populism as a general phenomenon has been studied and described. This may imply that the concluding statements may have a great chance of being valid not only for the two Dutch populist politicians studied, but for more populists operating in the world today.

It goes without saying that the small number of populists studied, both of whom moreover operate in the same country, is a limitation of this research study, as it negatively affects the generalizability of the conclusion. Another limitation can be sought in the interpretative nature of the research, since analysing and coding the selection of tweets is ultimately based on the researcher's interpretation. Moreover, the tweets are coded by one coder (namely the researcher), meaning that there is no additional coder who can check the initial coding, possibly resulting in final corrections that can be made following joint consultation between the coders. After all, this increases the chance that the researcher measures what he or she wants to measure, as then, the analysis is not entirely based on one's own interpretation. In addition to this, logically, no information can be provided about the intercoder reliability. This leaves the reliability of the coding process unclear.

In this thesis, the scientific aspiration was expressed to obtain more information about contemporary Orientalism, in a time when populism in general seems to thrive and populists play a significant role in politics and society. This was especially considered valuable given the datedness of Said's work. Therefore, a scientific gap had been discovered in the field contemporary Orientalism. This conducted research study has indeed expanded on the existing theory on Orientalism, namely by indicating a specific contemporary form, as the findings indicate how populist Twitter framing – a contemporary and modern manifestation of populism – of the Middle East can be considered a new form of Orientalism, a concept in which the populists have made certain modifications in such a way, that it fits in with the current trend in societies. It seems to imply that Orientalism as a concept is reasonably changeable, whereby the general perception of a deviant Middle East is of a permanent nature, but to which (political) movements can make certain changes, probably with the aim of corresponding their conveyed perception of the Middle East to their own ideology or the desired effect on the public and/or electorate. As is reasonably obvious, the contemporary societal and political issues are often taken into account when constructing this perception.

The findings obtained in this research study creates the opportunity to position the thesis in relation to other scientific work. When again considering Edward Said's elaboration on Orientalism (1978), the

scholar has expressed his perception that Orientalism is no longer being just an academic attitude, but instead, it has shifted to being an instrumental attitude, an instrument of policy and politics in which Western supremacy prevails. Considering what has been studied in this thesis though, creates a difficulty to abundantly agree with this statement, as for populist politicians it does not seem to be that Orientalism in its entire form is used as an instrument. The populists indeed express a certain superior attitude towards the Middle East, which is reflected, for instance, in their policy proposals in the field of migration and refugee asylum as suggested in their Twitter content. However, at the same time, they advocate non-intervention and troop withdrawal, whereby adding that Western control and intervention will not only worsen the situation in the Middle East, but furthermore that the focus and attention of a Western country should no longer be dedicated to this region, as the own country is deserving of this attention. This finding also makes it difficult to fully agree with Said's claim any longer that the Orientalist perception of and approach to the Middle East serves as a kind of thought system for the West in order to define itself as culturally, politically and technically superior. After all, the aforementioned populist policy directions – aimed at 'the own country first' – seem to indicate that populists want to define the value and superiority of the concerning country on the basis of the country's own identity, culture and former accomplishments. The representation of an inferior East as a counterpart does not seem a necessary requirement for this.

It is additionally worth mentioning that Gingrich (2013) discusses a version of Orientalism with which this thesis is quite well aligned, namely 'frontier Orientalism': The East being represented as a dangerous force, threatening to invade Western borders. After all, this thesis led to the finding that populist Twitter framing as a new form of Orientalism entails this representation of a Middle East and Middle Easterners that are out to invade and control the West and its cultures. This is regularly accompanied with populists placing emphasis on the importance of migration restrictions to prevent this invasion from happening. Gingrich also rightly notes that it is this version of Orientalism, that is used by politicians as an instrument for conveying their nationalist ideologies. This thesis however goes a bit further than Gingrich, by showing that a specific communication method of populists – namely, framing the Middle East in their tweets – in fact could be considered a form of Orientalism, instead of Orientalism merely being an instrument to communicate nationalist and other ideologies.

The implications then, for the additional obtained information in this thesis can be seen in the light of what was previously expressed as potential relevance of this research, namely further insight in the manner in which populists influence policy and public opinion as regard to the Middle East and Middle Easterners. It should be noted again that populism nowadays is thriving, therefore populists gain(ed) influence and exercise it, whereby Twitter appears to be a preferred platform to communicate through. With the knowledge acquired through this research, combined with the earlier acquired knowledge regarding the influence of populists nowadays, the implication follows that the discovered new form of Orientalism as conveyed by the populists via Twitter will most probably influence the manner in which supporters and voters of the populist parties concerned will perceive the Middle East as well. The more or less influence populists obtain, the more or less likely their supporters in the electorate (a share that will of course grow with more influence) will probably have the same ideas about the Middle East. In some way it could be insinuated that the influence and electoral success of populists is a determining factor in the way Orientalism – in the form as created and implemented by the populist within his or her communication – is present in the society in which the populist is politically active. To be more specific, this assumption basically implies that the more influence and votes a populist and his or her political party

gathers, the more a same form of perception of the Middle East prevails in society. The same reasoning could then hold for a reduction in influence and success.

This assumption immediately entails an initial suggestion for further research, namely, to investigate if indeed there is a relationship between the electoral success and influence of populists in a specific country and the Orientalist perceptions held in the corresponding society. Conducting such research in several countries will of course paint an even clearer and worldwide image of the influence of populists on Orientalism in society. A second suggestion for follow-up studies follows in response to populist Twitter framing of the Middle East as a new form of Orientalism that seems to be modified by the populist in question, as this raises questions about this malleability of Orientalism. The intended research suggestion therefore entails to study the extent to which other political movements, e.g., socialism and liberalism, create an alternate form of Orientalism, perhaps a form matching the concerning ideology or specific standpoints of the concerning political party.

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- Baudet, T. [@thierrybaudet]. (2018f, August 13). *In plaats van Turkse weekendscholen die de integratie tegengaan, moeten we onze eigen waarden uitdragen en waar nodig afdwingen. Daarom heeft #FVD de Wet Bescherming Nederlandse Waarden voorgesteld. Steun ons! #FVD* <https://qoo.gl/3WwgRT> @fvdemocratie [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/thierrybaudet/status/1028945611989626886>
- Baudet, T. [@thierrybaudet]. (2018g, June 1). *Ja beste VVD en CDA stemmers: u wordt steeds weer voorgelogen met praatjes over “tandartsen en neurochirurgen”, en u trapt er steeds weer in. Steun #FVD voor echte verandering: fvd.nl/word-lid* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/thierrybaudet/status/1002488498144890880>
- Baudet, T. [@thierrybaudet]. (2018h, October 20). *Maar even serieus. Is er écht iemand, die wérkelijk dacht dat de massale immigratie van mensen uit een totaal ander deel van de wereld met een totaal andere achtergrond, mensen met totaal andere ideeën en totaal andere omgangsvormen, ons ook maar IETS zou opleveren?* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/thierrybaudet/status/1053718381826899968>
- Baudet, T. [@thierrybaudet]. (2018i, September 25). *Men had wél geld voor Syrische terroristen, maar niet voor deugdelijk materieel voor onze eigen militairen. #FVD #defensie #winterjassen* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/thierrybaudet/status/1044605792438095875>
- Baudet, T. [@thierrybaudet]. (2018j, October 19). *Nederland gaat niet naar Saoedi Arabië...maar naar het tirannieke Iran ging Sigrig Kaag dan weer wél, met hoofddoek en al, onderdanig, de schouders naar voren, gebukt, zoals wij het hier ook nog mee zullen maken als het huidige immigratiebeleid doorgaat...* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/thierrybaudet/status/1053053486210912257>
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- Baudet, T. [@thierrybaudet]. (2019d, December 23). *Fantastisch hoe de Christelijke wereld standhoudt en/of terugkeert in Syrië - ook nadat onze perfide elites alles hebben gedaan wat in hun vermogens lag om Assad te verzwakken, de Christelijke wereld in het Midden-Oosten ten onder te doen gaan en chaos te brengen in de levant*. [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/thierrybaudet/status/1209183359525695488>
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- Baudet, T. [@thierrybaudet]. (2019g, January 13). *Juist nu Iraanse vrouwen hun hoofddoek afwerpen en strijden voor vrijheid & emancipatie doet VVD-er Jeanine Hennis een hoofddoek om voor ontmoeting met Iraanse ambassadeur. Dat zou een #FVD-er nou nooit doen. Wij staan voor de Nederlandse waarden en de gelijkheid v man en vrouw*. [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/thierrybaudet/status/1084433045808181249>
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- Baudet, T. [@thierrybaudet]. (2019k, March 9). *Waarom stemden CDA en VVD tegen onze motie om Syriërs in Nederland te helpen terugkeren naar Syrië nu het grootste deel van dat land weer veilig is? Stem #FVD op 20 maart als u wilt dat de immigratie nu ECHT wordt aangepakt! Fvd.nl* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/thierrybaudet/status/1104386073688526848>
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- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2018c, October 18). *ALLEMAAL TERUGSTUREN NAAR SYRIË! #profiteurs "Ze zijn een week gebleven. Ze vonden het niet leuk. Wilden geen veertig uur per week werken*.

- Daar kan ik niks mee. Daarna heb ik ze nooit meer gezien* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1052815480631615488>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2018d, May 31). *Dus alle Allahoe Abkbar schreeuwende en op onschuldige mensen instekende en inhakkende moslims van Den Haag tot Schiedam zijn verward of hebben een psychose? Of zijn het gewoon Syriërs, laffe Allah-aanbidders, asielprofiteurs en terroristen? Kies maar. Ik weet het wel.* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1002124516884172801>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2018e, July 20). *Fantastic new Israeli law. An example for all of us. Lets define our own nation-state, our indigenous culture, our language and flag, define who and what we are and make it dominant by law. It will help prevent us becoming islamic.* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1020306164335218688>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2018f, August 10). *Geen Turkse scholen in Nederland!* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1027931703753539588>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2018g, December 28). *Ignore this incompetent Dutch diplomat and bureaucrat @GillesBP who talks like a Palestinian activist. He does not represent the Dutch people. The more Israeli settlements in Judea and Samaria the better for that land is Jewish - and Jordan is Palestine!* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1078699365408092165>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2018h, April 30). *Iran lied. Taqiyya. Still working on a nuclear bomb. Never to be trusted. Tough retaliation expected. Excellent intelligence work.* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/991015290770198528>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2018i, July 15). *Israel is under attack again. Evil Hamas fired hundreds of rockets and mortars from Gaza. Most of the West is silent. I am not. I support Israel 100%!! RT if you agree. #IsraelUnderAttack #IsraelUnderFire #SupportIsrael #Israel* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1018473461080043521>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2018j, March 14). *Miljarden euro's weggegooid aan Europees Parlement, miljarden euro's weggegooid aan onzinnige steun voor Turkse islamofascistische dictatuur. #NEXIT #NEXIT #NEXIT* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/973823551772995584>
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- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2018l, September 29). *Nederlandse regering is wel consequent. Eerst steun aan Syrische terroristen en nu overleg met Iraanse terroristen.* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1046011861278314496>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2018m, October 15). *Saudi Arabia is governed by criminals who kill dissidents and support the terror-wahhabi-ideology all over the western world. I changed the wording on their national flag already in 2013 to describe the true face of Islam and the evil Saudi regime. Here it is again:* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1051944171903291393>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2018n, July 28). *Syrische vluchtelingen keren terug van Libanon naar Syrië. De hoogste tijd dus voor alle Syriërs in Nederland: koffers pakken en wegwezen: snel terug naar huis, ga je eigen land helpen opbouwen!* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1023221514722836481>
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- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2019a, December 12). *Am Yisrael Chai. De Joodse natie leeft, is veerkrachtig en zal zijn wrede vijanden verslaan. #Israel #Wilders* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1205212341597589504>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2019b, July 30). *Amnesty NL tégen burkaverbod en dus voor sharia in NL. Waar vrouwen in landen als Iran heldhaftig protesteren tegen het dragen van islamitische hoofddoeken en daarvoor zelfs de gevangenis invliegen, steken de nepvrijheidsstrijders van @amnestynl vrouwen hier een mes in de rug.* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1156251209977737217>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2019c, July 1). *The Crooks and Bandits of the @OIC_OCI joined together in the Kingdom of Hate - Saudi Arabia. They condemned so called “islamophobia” but cannot even spell the words freedom and democracy. #stopislam* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1145798945123262465>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2019d, December 12). *De echte vraag is of de vrijheid van meningsuiting en de waarheid over de islam achter de tralies zal verdwijnen. En laten we de kinderen van Europa de waarden van Rome, Athene en Jeruzalem, of de waarden van Mekka, Teheran en Gaza achter? #Wilders* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1205224267186606086>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2019e, March 11). *De linkse TV-activiste Jojanneke van @EenVandaag wil het niet graag horen maar alle Syriërs moeten terug om hun eigen land op te bouwen. Dat scheelt hier bovendien veel uitkeringen en er komen weer 40.000 sociale huurwoningen vrij voor onze eigen mensen!* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1105165687511748619>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2019f, March 3). *Dutch Prime-Minister @MinPres Rutte enjoying tea with islamofascist dictator @KingSalman of Saudi-Arabia, a country where apostates are beheaded, women humiliated, jews and christians treated as scum and where wahabism/terrorism was invented. The political left is silent now...* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1102163237800427521>
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- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2019i, June 28). *Het Wilders-plan is veel beter: alle Palestijnen zsm weg uit oa de Westbank naar de enige echte Palestijnse staat Jordanië en Judea en Samaria geheel voor de joodse staat Israel! Trump's Midden-Oosten Vredesplan valt slecht in Den Haag* <https://youtu.be/9lt9WLtBpIA> via @YouTube [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1144371897012019201>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2019j, January 21). *The Iranian terror regime - including Khamenei and Rouhani - belong in jail. The Iranian people deserve freedom.* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1087371205479485442>

- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2019k, May 4). *Israel under attack again by the forces of islamic terror and barbaric darkness from Gaza. Let us all support Israel for their fight is our fight. #Israel* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1124586854198784002>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2019l, July 4). *Meer dan de helft - 52% - van alle jonge Arabieren wil emigreren. Vele miljoenen daarvan zullen naar Europa komen. En Europa wordt Eurabië als we niet heel snel onze nationale grenzen sluiten en de islam met kracht weren!* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1146847645622837249>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2019m, January 8). *Minister Kaag vorig jaar nog nederig bij Rouhani. De president van het land dat in Nederland liquidaties regelt. Ons land wordt bestuurd door incompetente malloten. #StemZeWeg #StemPVV* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1082658143379836931>
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- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2019o, July 20). *Saudi-Arabia, Iran and Pakistan are perilous #terrorstates. No #freedom but #islam. No #RuleOfLaw but #ShariaLaw. They all commit or support #terror. #Mohammadism is their ideology. Let's not import anymore of it and remain #free and #tolerant societies! #stopislam #freedom* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1152533478984114182>
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- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2019q, September 19). *Stuur Syriërs terug naar huis om hun eigen land op te bouwen. Delen van Syrië zijn veilig! Dan komen duizenden woningen vrij voor onze eigen mensen!. #APB19 #Abp2019 #APB #algemenebeschoouwingen #PVV #Wilders* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1174687969707483136>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2019r, October 8). *Syriër. Allah. Islam. Terreur. #stopIslam #PVV #Wilders* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1181479597172576257>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2019s, April 9). *Syriërs met messen en riemen. Niet in Syrië maar in Hoofddorp. Haal dat tuig van de straat, sluit ze op, stuur ze weg, stuur ze terug!* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1115500493290315776>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2019t, October 10). *Turkije is géén bondgenoot maar een terreurstaat. #Turkije moet NU uit de #NAVO worden gezet! Turkey is not an ally but a terror state. #Turkey should be expelled from #NATO NOW! #ExpelTurkeyFromNato #PVV #Wilders #Syria #Syrie* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1182186274129625088>
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- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2020a, January 13). *Every day more and more Iranians are fed up with the lies and terror of the criminal Iranian mullah-regime and show their disrespect for @khamenei_ir. I hope he will be removed from office soon! #IranProtests2020 #Khamenei* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1216737732392779776>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2020b, January 9). *Gek hè. Sinds 2014 zijn er meer dan 80.000 woningen naar gelukzoekers gegaan! Open grenzen leidt tot een tsunami aan asielzoekers. Nederlanders*

- zijn de klos, die 80.000 woningen waren voor hun maar zijn nu naar Eritreeërs, Syriërs en andere buitenlanders gegaan. #PVV #Wilders* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1215235319647305728>
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- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2020d, January 11). *The Mad Dogs of the Middle East #Khamenei #Nasrallah #Suleimani #terrorists* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1215890160002445313>
- Wilders, G. [@geertwilderspvv]. (2020e, January 8). *Nederlandse militairen in Irak terug naar NL nu. We hebben daar niks te zoeken. Laat het leger onze eigen grenzen maar bewaken en de politie waar nodig helpen met het veilig maken van onze eigen straten, steden en dorpen. We hebben genoeg tuig in eigen land om te bestrijden.* [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/geertwilderspvv/status/1214924176504578048>

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Appendices

Appendix A Analysis Scheme

Geert Wilders (@geertwilderspvv)				
	Date	Tweet content	Code	Justification/Indication
1.	14-03-2018	Miljarden euro's weggegooid aan Europees Nep-Parlement, miljarden euro's weggegooid aan onzinnige steun voor Turkse islamofascistische dictatuur. #NEXIT #NEXIT #NEXIT [Retweet @telegraaf: 'Rekenkamer EU kraakt toetredingssteun Turkije']	VL	Turkey portrayed as fascist and dictatorship.
2.	30-04-2018	Iran lied. Taqiyya. Still working on a nuclear bomb. Never to be trusted. Tough retaliation expected. Excellent intelligence work. [Video Fox News: Netanyahu stating how Iran lied]	VL3 H	Iran as liar, untrustworthy and should be retaliated (control). Israel as excelling in intelligence work.
3.	08-05-2018	100% correct decision @POTUS the Iranian regime of ayatollahs/thugs cannot be trusted. #IranDeal #Iran #Trump [Retweet @FoxNews: '@POTUS Announces Exit From Iran Deal']	VL	Iranian regime referred to as unreliable and contains 'thugs'.
4.	11-05-2018	Alleen onverantwoorde sukkels geloven de Saoedi's. Gênant hoe die kamerleden zich laten inpakken door de wahabitische dictators, aartsleugenaars en terreurondersteuners uit Saoedi-Arabië die christenen, joden en niet-moslims haten en het woord vrijheid niet eens kunnen spellen. [Retweet @telegraaf: 'Riyad wil financieren radicalen tegengaan']	VL1 V	Saudis (general designation) as liars, dictators, supporters of terror, haters and opposers of freedom. Aberration and underdevelopment (concerning freedom) expressed. Christians, jews and non-muslims in Saudi Arabia as victims. <i>(SA as non-uniform; modified dogma 4)</i>
5.	21-05-2018	Geen Turks islamofascisme in Nederland. No Turkish islamofascism in The Netherlands. [Link to article 'Erdogan vraagt Nederturken steun'] [Image half Erdoğan half ISIS warrior]	VL	Support for Erdoğan called Turkish Islamofascism. He is portrayed as supporter of terror.
6.	31-05-2018	Dus alle Allahoe Abkbar schreeuwende en op onschuldige mensen instekende en inhakkende moslims van Den Haag tot Schiedam zijn verward of hebben een psychose? Of zijn het gewoon Syriërs, laffe Allah-aanbidders, asielprofiteurs en	VL4	'Syrians' as the general designation (generalized vocabulary) for cowards, asylum profiteers and terrorists.

		terroristen? Kies maar. Ik weet het wel. [Retweet @NUnl: 'Man met hakbijl in Schiedam had vermoedelijk psychose']		
7.	14-06-2018	Vanmorgen. Omgeving Deventer. Waanzin. Nederland helpt de islamofascist @RT_Erdogan een handje. [Photos]	VL	President Erdoğan is called fascist (negative connotation).
8.	25-06-2018	Totale invasie. Turken die hier het islamofascisme van Erdogan vieren. Geen integratie maar kolonisatie. [Photo: Turks in Holland celebrating on the streets]	VL3	President Erdoğan and celebrating Turks are called fascist, but also invasive (fear instillation) and not integrated. Accused of colonizing and invading NL. (<i>Inverted dogma 3</i>)
9.	26-06-2018	"Wacht maar af, jongen. Wij zijn hier de baas, nu al. Kijk maar om je heen, dit is Turkije. We blijven groeien in Nederland." [Image of concerning article 'Wij zijn hier de baas']	VL3	Highlighting this particular sentence implies fear instillation and no control. (<i>partly inverted dogma 3</i>)
10.	30-06-2018	Prachtig als het kabinet deze week na het burkaverbod ook het GroepWilders-standpunt uit 2004 zou omarmen: Turkije nooit lid van EU. En uit de NAVO. Maar het gaat dus niet gebeuren. Coalitie schiet het voorstel af. Opnieuw een losse flodder van Segers/CU dus. Jammer. [Image half Erdoğan half ISIS warrior]	VL1	Turkey portrayed as never to be allowed into alliances and Erdoğan as supporter of terror. Turkey portrayed as outcast and deviated country with respect to EU and NATO (the West).
11.	15-07-2018	Israel is under attack again. Evil Hamas fired hundreds of rockets and mortars from Gaza. Most of the West is silent. I am not. I support Israel 100%!! RT if you agree. #IsraelUnderAttack #IsraelUnderFire#ISupportIsrael #Israel [Israeli national flag]	V VL	Israel as victim of Hamas and not supported by the West. Hamas called evil and portrayed as attacking enemy.
12.	20-07-2018	Fantastic new Israeli law. An example for all of us. Lets define our own nation-state, our indigenous culture, our language and flag, define who and what we are and make it dominant by law. It will help prevent us becoming islamic. [Retweet @ForeignPolicy]	C3,4 H	(Retweet is about Israeli law demoting Arabic and no equality for Arabs.) Arabs/foreigners as a whole (generalized) causing Islamization. They should be dominated by law (control). Israël as a hero because of this law, superior to the West. (<i>inverted dogma 1</i>)
13.	28-07-2018	Syrische vluchtelingen keren terug van Libanon naar Syrië. De hoogste tijd dus voor alle Syriërs in Nederland: koffers pakken en wegwezen: snel terug naar huis, ga je eigen land helpen opbouwen!	B4	News article Syrian refugees, however 'all Syrians' in the Netherlands are addressed (general designation). They are

		Syrian refugee group returns from Lebanon https://reut.rs/2mNNK7z		addressed as unwelcome, NL not being their home, responsible for rebuilding Syria ('your own country').
14.	10-08-2018	Geen Turkse scholen in Nederland! [Cartoon: Mill kicking away Erdoğan, Juncker and a terrorist]	VL	Statement in combination with cartoon implies how Turkish schools and Turkey can be linked to terrorism.
15.	13-08-2018	Allah of de dollar? Wat een 'total freak' die Erdogan -zoals ik hem in 2010 overigens al noemde. [Shared article: 'Dollars inwisselen voor lira's']	VL	Name calling with 'total freak'.
16.	14-08-2018	Nederlands Openbaar Ministerie in dienst van totalitaire dictator. Ga criminelen opsluiten OM ipv Erdogan zijn hielen te likken! [Shared article: 'Man uit Sittard voor rechter om beledigen Erdoğan']	VL1	President Erdoğan is called 'totalitarian dictator' (negative connotation). Dutch Public Prosecution Service and Turkey/ Erdoğan as opposing parties that cannot be merged (absolute difference).
17.	29-09-2018	Nederlandse regering is wel consequent. Eerst steun aan Syrische terroristen en nu overleg met Iraanse terroristen. [Retweet @minister Blok meeting Minister Zarif from Iran]	VL1	Iranian Minister of Finance is called terrorist. Iran and its government official portrayed as inhumane (terrorist).
18.	05-10-2018	Belachelijk besluit. En wat een selectieve verontwaardiging over de 'rechtsorde'. Ze zijn wel eerder met zijn allen naar Iran en Saoedi-Arabië geweest waar ze vrouwen stenigen en afvalligen onthoofden. Maar dat was geen probleem. [Retweet @telegraaf: 'De Tweede Kamerleden die over twee weken een werkbezoek aan Rusland zouden brengen, zien daar voorlopig van af']	VL1 V	Iran and Saudi Arabia portrayed as violent countries. Expressing aberration and inhumanity. Victims are Saudi-Arabian women and apostates. <i>(Iran and SA as non-uniform; modified dogma 4)</i>
19.	15-10-2018	Saudi Arabia is governed by criminals who kill dissidents and support the terror-wahhabi-ideology all over the western world. I changed the wording on their national flag already in 2013 to describe the true face of Islam and the evil Saudi regime. Here it is again: [Image of national flag, changed wording by Wilders]	VL1	(Flag says: 'Islam is a lie. Mohammed is a crook. Koran is poison.') Saudi Arabia regime called criminal, terror, murderous, evil. Expressing inhumanity and aberration.
20.	18-10-2018	ALLEMAAL TERUGSTUREN NAAR SYRIË! #profiteurs "Ze zijn een week gebleven. Ze vonden het niet leuk. Wilden geen veertig uur per week werken. Daar kan ik niks mee. Daarna heb ik ze nooit meer gezien" [Shared article: 'Syriërs krijgen werkplek maar komen na week niet meer opdagen']	VL1	Negative designation 'profiteurs' for the Syrian refugees in the article. Framed as lazy, not fitting in, implies inferiority to Dutch society and work ethics.

21.	23-10-2018	En hij kan het weten. #barbarisme [Retweet @NOS: 'Erdogan: Khashoggi op barbaarse manier vermoord']	VL1	Turkish president as barbarian; implies inhumanity.
22.	24-10-2018	[Cartoon 'The difference between Iran and Saudi Arabia']	VL1	Iran and SA as (secretly) hateful villains, hate as deviant trait.
23.	01-12-2018	Rutte - de nepleider die ons Marrakesh door de strot duwt - keuvelt gezellig met Erdogan, de Turkse dictator die Nederlanders nazi's en fascisten noemde. De VVD haat Nederland. #VVDWEGERMEE #StemPVV [Retweet @MinPres meeting Erdoğan]	VL	President Erdoğan called Turkish dictator and represented as hateful of the Dutch.
24.	28-12-2018	Ignore this incompetent Dutch diplomat and bureaucrat @GillesBP who talks like a Palestinian activist. He does not represent the Dutch people. The more Israeli settlements in Judea and Samaria the better for that land is Jewish - and Jordan is Palestine! [Retweet @GillesBP condemning settlement activity Israel]	VL4 H	Portrays Palestinians as the villain, who have no right to live in Israel. Israel as the hero, doing right by settlements. Designates Judea/Samaria and Jordan as uniform countries with uniform identities (resp. Jewish and Palestinian), thereby defining them instead of letting them define their selves.
25.	08-01-2019	Minister Kaag vorig jaar nog nederig bij Rouhani. De president van het land dat in Nederland liquidaties regelt. Ons land wordt bestuurd door incompetente malloten. #StemZeWeg #StemPVV [Photo]	VL	Iran as murderous country.
26.	08-01-2019	Tuig. Snel banden verbreken met islamofascisten uit Iran. [Retweet @NOS: 'AIVD: Iran zit achter twee moorden in Nederland']	VL	Iran as scum and fascist, to be cut off.
27.	21-01-2019	The Iranian terror regime - including Khamenei and Rouhani - belong in jail. The Iranian people deserve freedom. [Retweet @IDF 'Iran, you seem to be lost' with image of Iran's presence in Syria]	VL1 V	Iran in twofold: regime and leaders are terroristic (inhumanity), whereas the people are victims. Supporting Israel (retweet source) with additional statement. <i>(Iran as non-uniform; modified dogma 4)</i>
28.	03-03-2019	Dutch Prime-Minister @MinPres Rutte enjoying tea with islamofascist dictator @KingSalman of Saudi-Arabia, a country where apostates are beheaded, women humiliated, jews and christians treated as scum and where wahabism/terrorism was invented. The political left is silent now... [Photo]	VL1 V B	King of Saudi Arabia called fascist and dictator, SA described as murderous and barbaric (inhumane and aberrate). Victimizing women, jews and Christians. SA held responsible for the invention of terrorism.

				<i>(SA as non-uniform; modified dogma 4)</i>
29.	11-03-2019	De linkse TV-activiste Jojanneke van @EenVandaag wil het niet graag horen maar alle Syriërs moeten terug om hun eigen land op te bouwen. Dat scheelt hier bovendien veel uitkeringen en er komen weer 40.000 sociale huurwoningen vrij voor onze eigen mensen! [Video EenVandaag interview]	C4 B4	Syrian refugees costing money (benefits) and causing housing shortage. Held responsible for rebuilding their country. The general designation 'Syrians' (instead of 'refugees').
30.	25-03-2019	De vrienden van #GroenLinks uit #Gaza aan het werk in #TelAviv, #Israel. Tuig. [Photo ruins in Tel Aviv]	VL	'From Gaza' probably refers to Palestinians/Hamas, called 'scum' for attacking Israel.
31.	01-04-2019	Amin Abou Rashed alias Amin Abou Ibrahim - eerder werkzaam voor de Al Aqsa Stichting gelieerd aan terreurorganisatie Hamas - krijgt zeer hartelijke glimlach van SP-Kamerlid @SadetKarabulut. Gênant! [Photo]	VL	Palestine Amin Abou Rashed portrayed as terrorist.
32.	09-04-2019	Syriërs met messen en riemen. Niet in Syrië maar in Hoofddorp. Haal dat tuig van de straat, sluit ze op, stuur ze weg, stuur ze terug! [Shared article: 'Hoofddorp trilt op zijn grondvesten na steekpartij']	VL1,3	Name calling ('scum'). Tweet implies that Syrians with knives and belts is normal in Syria but not in Hoofddorp (aberration). His call demands for control of some sort.
33.	04-05-2019	Israel under attack again by the forces of islamic terror and barbaric darkness from Gaza. Let us all support Israel for their fight is our fight. #Israel [Retweet @IDF]	VL1 V	'From Gaza' most probably indicates Palestinians and/or Hamas, referred to as terror and barbaric (inhumane, aberrant). Israel as victim, identification of 'us' with Israel. <i>(Inverted dogma 1)</i>
34.	28-06-2019	Het Wilders-plan is veel beter: alle Palestijnen zsm weg uit oa de Westbank naar de enige echte Palestijnse staat Jordanië en Judea en Samaria geheel voor de joodse staat Israel! Trump's Midden-Oosten Vredesplan valt slecht in Den Haag https://youtu.be/9lt9WLtBpIA via @YouTube	VL4,3	Palestinians as the ones with no right to be in Israel. Judea/Samaria designated 'jewish', Jordan 'Palestinian' (uniformity). Thereby defining them instead of letting them define their selves. Western plan(s)/intervention proposed to control departure of Palestinians.
35.	01-07-2019	The Crooks and Bandits of the @OIC_OCI joined together in the Kingdom of Hate - Saudi Arabia. They condemned so called "islamophobia" but cannot even spell the words freedom and democracy. #stopislam [Photo]	VL1	The Organization of Islamic Cooperation referred to as 'crooks and bandits' and underdeveloped and inferior regarding freedom and

				democracy. SA as 'kingdom of Hate'.
36.	04-07-2019	Meer dan de helft - 52% - van alle jonge Arabieren wil emigreren. Vele miljoenen daarvan zullen naar Europa komen. En Europa wordt Eurabië als we niet heel snel onze nationale grenzen sluiten en de islam met kracht weren! [Shared article: 'Survey: over Half of Arab Young Adults Want to Migrate Elsewhere']	VL3	Young Arabians portrayed as Islamic danger for Europe; fear instillation. Europe at risk of becoming Arabic/taken over by Arabs. (Inverted dogma 3)
37.	20-07-2019	Saudi-Arabia, Iran and Pakistan are perilous #terrorstates. No #freedom but #islam. No #RuleOfLaw but #ShariaLaw. They all commit or support #terror. #Mohammadism is their ideology. Let's not import anymore of it and remain #free and #tolerant societies! #stopislam #freedom	VL1,3	Saudi-Arabia and Iran portrayed as dangerous and terror states without freedom (inhumane, aberrant). 'Import' most probably refers to migrants; affect freedom and tolerance in Western societies; fear instillation.
38.	30-07-2019	Amnesty NL tégen burkaverbod en dus voor sharia in NL. Waar vrouwen in landen als Iran heldhaftig protesteren tegen het dragen van islamitische hoofddoeken en daarvoor zelfs de gevangenis invliegen, steken de nepvrijheidsstrijders van @amnestynl vrouwen hier een mes in de rug. [Retweet Amnesty NL: 'Vrouwen hebben de vrijheid om te kiezen wat ze dragen.']	H V	Women protesting against headscarves in Iran as heroins and victims. Doing the right thing, whereas Dutch (Western) organization is not. (Inverted dogma 1)
39.	27-08-2019	We should all defend #Israel, the only democracy in the Middle East, a beacon of light in a region of total Islamic darkness. [Retweet @IDF: 'The weekend that could have turned out differently if it hadn't been for one bold move']	H VL4	Israel to be defended and only 'good' and democratic country in the ME. Besides Israel, the rest of the ME is 'Islamic darkness' and non-democratic (uniformity).
40.	19-09-2019	Stuur Syriërs terug naar huis om hun eigen land op te bouwen. Delen van Syrië zijn veilig! Dan komen duizenden woningen vrij voor onze eigen mensen!. #APB19 #Abp2019 #APB #algemenebeschouwingen #PVV #Wilders [Video]	B4,3 C4,3	The general designation 'Syrians' (not 'refugees') responsible for rebuilding 'their own country', causing problems on housing since they keep houses occupied. His call demands action and control over this group.
41.	08-10-2019	Syriër. Allah. Islam. Terreur. #stopIslam #PVV #Wilders [Retweet @telegraaf: 'De man die met de vrachtauto in het centrum van de stad op andere auto's inreed is een dertiger afkomstig uit Syrië.']	VL4	Linking the general designation 'Syrian' to terror.
42.	10-10-2019	Ik heb Rutte gewaarschuwd: vertrouw Erdogan niet! [Video]	VL	President Erdoğan portrayed as untrustworthy.
43.	10-10-2019	ERDOGAN = TERRORIST [Video]	VL	President Erdoğan called a terrorist.

44.	10-10-2019	Turkije is géén bondgenoot maar een terreurstaat. #Turkije moet NU uit de #NAVO worden gezet! Turkey is not an ally but a terror state. #Turkey should be expelled from #NATO NOW! #ExpelTurkeyFromNato #PVV #Wilders #Syria #Syrie [Image NATO flag/Turkish flag]	VL1	Turkey portrayed as enemy and terror state, to be expelled from NATO because of these traits. Turkey portrayed as outcast and deviated country with respect NATO (the West).
45.	11-10-2019	#ErdoganIslamofascist #ErdoganWarCriminal [Cartoon]	VL	Erdoğan portrayed as villainous and terroristic. Cartoon shows how he covered Atatürk's face (statue) with the Turkish flag in 'terrorist style'.
46.	13-10-2019	Dit moet NU gebeuren: - Turkije uit de NAVO - Turkse ambassadeur uitzetten - Handelsverdrag Turkije opzeggen - Geen visa meer voor Turken - Turkse producten boycotten, vliegmaatschappijen weren - Schengen opzeggen, nationale grensbewaking en eigen immigratiebeleid herinvoeren. [Image half Erdoğan half ISIS warrior]	VL1	Turkey as terroristic (cartoon), to be immediately expelled from NATO, boycotted and all ties to be cut. Turkey portrayed as outcast and deviated country with respect to the Netherlands, Europe and NATO (the West).
47.	14-10-2019	Slappe hap! Erdogan zal er geen bom minder door gooien. De EU en @ministerBlok voorop is een bende incompetente slapjanussen. Gooi Turkije de NAVO uit, zeg handelsverdrag op, boycot Turkse producten en verbreek alle banden met dat boevenland. #Turkije [Retweet @NOS: 'EU schort wapenleveranties aan Turkije op']	VL1	Turkey called 'crook country' and as to be immediately expelled from NATO, boycotted and all ties to be cut. Turkey portrayed as outcast and deviated country with respect to the Netherlands, EU and NATO (the West).
48.	15-10-2019	Had maar naar me geluisterd premier #Rutte. Ik waarschuw al 15 jaar voor #Turkije en de onbetrouwbare islamist en #ISIS vriend #Erdogan. U brengt NL in gevaar met uw foute vrienden. Verbreek alle banden met Turkije en sluit onze grenzen! #Wilders #PVV #ErdoganWarCriminal [Video]	VL1,3	Turkey and Erdoğan as unreliable, friend of terror, wrong friend and war criminal. Could bring the NL in danger (fear instillation). NL (West) called upon to cut all ties with an aberrant country.
49.	16-10-2019	Rutte en Grapperhaus zet hier het leger in! Niet tegen onze helden, onze boeren maar tegen het buitenlandse geweld in onze straten! Maar dat durven jullie niet hè! Lafaards! [Shared article: 'Meerdere agenten gewond geraakt bij clash Turken en Koerden']	VL3	Kurds and Turks as 'foreign violence'. Should be controlled by deployment of army. Alleged fear by government.
50.	26-10-2019	Islamitische Republiek Iran beschermt Marokkaanse crimineel Taghi. Tuig steunt tuig. "Taghi kan zich naar verluidt	VL	Iran called 'scum' and portrayed as murderous (in

		in Iran vrijuit bewegen omdat hij de Iraanse geheime dienst zou hebben gefaciliteerd bij moordklussen in Europa.” @telegraaf #Iran #Taghi		Europe) by highlighted quote.
51.	12-11-2019	Erdogan dreigt ISIS-terroristen en 4 miljoen “vluchtelingen” naar Europa te sturen. Wat een tuig die vriend van Rutte. [Video]	VL	Name calling (‘scum’). Refugees in quotation marks implies unbelievability of them being actually refugees. Erdoğan called a friend of Rutte, probably intended as ironic.
52.	12-11-2019	Stand strong with #Israel! #IsraelUnderFire #israel [Picture of Israeli flag]	V	Israel as victim (‘under fire’).
53.	22-11-2019	Fantastisch laat het terroristisch addergebroed voor eeuwig in hun Syrische holen blijven. #Syrie #Islam #kalifaatkinderen [Retweet @Teletekst: ‘Hof: IS-kinderen, moeders niet terug’]	B1,4	Syria as responsible country for dealing with terrorists. Inferior and derogatory term ‘Syrian holes’ for camps in North Syria. Hashtags link Syria to Islam (uniform country).
54.	09-12-2019	Wake up America! #SaudiArabia is not your friend but a worldwide sponsor of whahabism and jihad. #Pensacolashooting #Saudi #Terror [Image of national flag, changed wording by Wilders]	VL	Saudi Arabia as villain of America.
55.	12-12-2019	De echte vraag is of de vrijheid van meningsuiting en de waarheid over de islam achter de tralies zal verdwijnen. En laten we de kinderen van Europa de waarden van Rome, Athene en Jeruzalem, of de waarden van Mekka, Teheran en Gaza achter? #Wilders [Video]	C1,4	Values of three Middle Eastern areas/cities as problematic for freedom of speech (uniformity). Implication that these values are entirely Islamic (uniformity), oppose Western values and will therefore further Islamization. Jerusalem – even though in the ME – considered Western. <i>(modified dogma 1)</i>
56.	12-12-2019	Am Yisrael Chai. De Joodse natie leeft, is veerkrachtig en zal zijn wrede vijanden verslaan. #Israel #Wilders [Video]	H1 VL1	In the video: Israel fights for ‘our’ (Western?) freedom, civilization and values (hero). Contrast made between Israel (considered Western) and rest of the Middle East – dark forces and enemies.
57.	28-02-2020	Ik heb Rutte gewaarschuwd: vertrouw Erdogan niet! [Video]	VL	President Erdoğan portrayed as untrustworthy.

58.	28-02-2020	Omdat @MinPres Rutte niet naar me wilde luisteren maar wel naar Erdogan komen ze nu weer allemaal deze kant op. Reken de #VVD en #Rutte keihard af op hun wanbeleid en politieke verraad en stem ze bij de volgende verkiezingen weg. #StemPVV #Wilders [Video]	B VL	President Erdoğan blamed/held responsible for refugee flow. The entering/presence of refugees portrayed as bad for a country.
59.	03-01-2020	Het #nosjournaal noemde #Suleimani zojuist een “overheidsfunctionaris” die populair was bij “verzetsgroepen”. In werkelijkheid was hij een van de ergste Iraanse staatsterroristen die populair was bij de islamitische slachters van Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad en Hamas. #NepNieuws [Photo NOS Journaal]	VL	Suleimani called ‘state terrorist’. Quotation marks imply he could not actually be a government official. Tweet as a whole emphasizes violence in the Middle East by enumeration and ‘slaughters’.
60.	03-01-2020	General #Soleimani was a thug, an Iranian State Terrorist in charge of the devilish Al Quds-brigade - with so much blood on his hands. Good riddance. [Retweet @khamenei_ir: expressing honor and mourning for Suleimani]	VL	Suleimani called ‘state terrorist’ of devilish brigade, murderous.
61.	06-01-2020	“... ze woonde een rouwplechtigheid voor de Iraakse militieleider Muhandis bij.” VVD-er Hennis rouwt om de terroristische Hezbollah-leider Muhandis. Ziek en walgelijk! [Retweet @ADnl: ‘De Nederlandse VN-gezant Jeanine Hennis woont in het oog van de wereldcrisis na de aanslag op Soleimani’]	VL	Shared article in retweet focuses on UN envoy, her job and dangers of the job. Wilders however emphasizes one sentence, about the Iraqi militia leader and calls him terrorist.
62.	08-01-2020	Iran is doodsbang. Ze hebben bewust Amerikaanse troepen gemist. De eerdere aanval vorig jaar op Saoedische olie-installaties met Iraanse kruisraketten en drones bewijst dat ze als willen met militaire precisie kunnen toeslaan. Maar ze weten dat de VS dan gehakt van ze maakt. [Image ayatollah Khamenei, Rohani and a (IS) terrorist + ‘terrorists’]	VL1	Iran called terrorist, scared and weak (inferior) with respect to the US (superior)
63.	08-01-2020	Nederlandse militairen in Irak terug naar NL nu. We hebben daar niks te zoeken. Laat het leger onze eigen grenzen maar bewaken en de politie waar nodig helpen met het veilig maken van onze eigen straten, steden en dorpen. We hebben genoeg tuig in eigen land om te bestrijden. [Image of Dutch flag]	B	Supporting/helping Iraqi forces in their fight against ISIS denounced, implies self-responsibility for Iraq. Implication for non-intervention. (<i>Inverted dogma 3</i>)
64.	09-01-2020	Gek hè. Sinds 2014 zijn er meer dan 80.000 woningen naar gelukzoekers gegaan! Open grenzen leidt tot een tsunami aan asielzoekers. Nederlanders zijn de klos, die 80.000 woningen waren voor hun maar zijn nu naar Eritreeërs, Syriërs en andere buitenlanders gegaan.	C4	Syrian refugees causing housing shortage/crisis. Are called ‘fortune-hunters’. Using the general designation ‘Syrians’ (not ‘refugees’; generalized vocabulary).

		#PVV #Wilders [Retweet @telegraaf: 'In Nederland is geen sprake meer van een wooncrisis, maar van heuse woningnood.']		
65.	11-01-2020	The Mad Dogs of the Middle East #Khamenei #Nasrallah #Suleimani #terrorists [Photo of persons concerned]	VL1,4	The entire denomination implies an evil and aberrant Middle East with evil/aberrant leaders, called terrorists. Reference to a uniform Middle East with these political actors as leaders of the whole.
66.	13-01-2020	Every day more and more Iranians are fed up with the lies and terror of the criminal Iranian mullah-regime and show their disrespect for @khamenei_ir. I hope he will be removed from office soon! #IranProtests2020 #Khamenei [Video of protests]	VL V	Iran in twofold: regime and leaders are terror and criminal; the people are victims. Wilders sets the people apart from the leaders/regime <i>(Modified dogma 4)</i>
67.	26-01-2020	Muhammad was a rapist. So islam accommodates rapists. Erdogan is an islamist. So Turkey will accommodate rapists. Do you want that to happen in your country as well? Vote for socialists or liberals or social/christian-democrats. All betrayers of freedom. I will STOP islam. [Retweet @DailyMirror: 'Turkey could introduce new law allowing rapists to marry their underage victims']	VL1	In simplified reasoning relating Turkey and its president to accommodation of rapists (villainous). His question implies that 'your country' (the Netherlands; West) is currently more humane and freer than 'that' (Turkey).

Thierry Baudet (@thierrybaudet)				
	Date	Tweet content	Code	Indications
1.	12-01-2018	Nieuwe biografie over Assad. Interessant. Hoop dat het boek in Nederland wordt besproken / gerecenseerd. Helaas zijn onze journalisten doorgaans vrijwel uitsluitend op (linkse) Anglo-Amerikaanse auters gericht. [Shared article: 'Syrie: Bachar al-Assad, un "personnage très scientifique qui parle de Daech comme d'un virus"']	V	Literature about Assad/Syria as 'victim' of Dutch journalists/reviewers and their leftist Anglo-American focus. <i>(Baudet sort of regrets dogma 1)</i>
2.	20-01-2018	"Uit Irak gevluchte christen ook in Nederland bedreigd door moslims". Verschrikkelijk dat dit gebeurt. Maar ook volstrekt logisch met ons absurde, zelf-destructieve immigratiebeleid. Wanneer gaan we EINDELIJK rationeel beleid voeren? #FVD [Shared article: 'Uit Irak	V	Christians from Iraq as victims.

		gevluchte christen ook in Nederland bedreigd door moslims']		
3.	22-02-2018	D66 minister Kaag geeft duidelijk signaal aan het regime in Iran: ook op dit punt is de partij elke progressiviteit verloren. Tegen het referendum, tegen het vrije internet, en tegen de emancipatie in Iran. [Photo: Minister Sigrid Kaag visiting president Hassan Rohani of Iran]	VL1	Iran as an oppressive regime (to which Kaag is submitting to by wearing a Shayla (Islamic veil)). Iran aberrant in relation to Western values of emancipation (undeveloped).
4.	10-04-2018	Ik ben tegen die plannen. En tegen westerse interventie indien die gericht is tegen Assad (en dus zal leiden tot eindeloos voortduren van het conflict). Hierover heb ik ook uitgebreid gedebatteerd in de tweede kamer. Zie bijv. [Video]	V	Assad portrayed as attacked/intervened, while he should not. <i>(Not to be controlled; invalidated dogma 3)</i>
5.	11-04-2018	Anders dan minister Blok stelt, is allerm minst 'bewezen' dat Assad eerder al chemische wapens zou hebben gebruikt. Zeer veel vraagtekens. Bijv: http://newsweek.com/now-mattis-admits-there-was-no-evidence-assad-using-poison-gas-his-people-801542 "Serious, experienced chemical weapons experts and investigators such as Hans Blix (...) have all cast doubt".	V	Assad portrayed as attacked/intervened, while he should not, and protected by Baudet. <i>(Not to be controlled; invalidated dogma 3)</i>
6.	11-04-2018	De idealisten in het Syrië-debat zijn de nuttige idioten van de jihadisten en van Erdogan. Kijk behalve naar Irak en Afghanistan ook naar Libië. De weg naar de hel is geplaveid met goede bedoelingen (en cynische oliebelangen). [Graphic: 'Approximate Military Situation in Syria, April 2018']	VL V	Erdogan portrayed as expansion driven and people playing. Syria as (eventual) victim of intervention/regime change. Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya as already victims. <i>(Controlling the ME is represented as not improving and unwise. Invalidated dogma 3)</i>
7.	11-04-2018	De neoconservatieve regime change agenda (van Clinton, Bush, Obama en nu ook van Trump) brengt geen vrede en stabiliteit. Kijk naar Afghanistan en Irak. Nu bombarderen van Syrië speelt alleen maar de islamisten en de expansie-agenda van Erdogan in de kaart. Zeer onverstandig.	VL V	Erdogan portrayed as expansion driven. Syria as (eventual) victim of intervention/regime change. Iraq, Afghanistan as already victims. <i>(Controlling the ME is represented as not improving and unwise. Invalidated dogma 3)</i>

8.	16-05-2018	Dit, @arnoldkarskens, is nou #Oikofobie: de pathologische onwil om op te komen voor onze bondgenoten, onze waarden: onze belangen. En alles in het werk willen stellen om de Europese cultuur en de Nederlandse samenleving te verzwakken. #FVD is opgericht om dat te doorbreken. [Retweet @arnoldkarskens: 'Waarom helpt kabinet #Rutte IS-kinderen wél en kinderen van Yezidi's, Koerden en Christenen (die ook in tenten wonen) níet? Kom #VVD, #CDA, #CU & #D66 vertel mij eens: vanwaar de minachting voor deze slachtoffers van islamistisch terrorisme?']	V	Yezidi's, Kurds and Christians considered victims of 'oikophobia' and Islamic terrorism. Considered 'our allies' with 'our' values, despite their Middle Eastern descentance. <i>(dogma 1 and 4 (uniformity) modified)</i>
9.	01-06-2018	Ja beste VVD en CDA stemmers: u wordt steeds weer voorgelogen met praatjes over "tandartsen en neurochirurgen", en u trapt er steeds weer in. Steun #FVD voor echte verandering: fvd.nl/word-lid [Retweet @TPOnl: '78 procent Syriërs met verblijfstatus heeft geen betaald werk, 10 procent voldaan aan inburgerplicht']	C1	Syrians portrayed as citizens who do not contribute (causing a problem, as change is being suggested in the tweet) and about whose qualifications was lied. Syrian refugees portrayed as inferior.
10.	02-06-2018	En al die goedgegelovige figuren die tóch maar weer VVD gingen stemmen... [Retweet @sypwynia: 'Syriërs veel lager opgeleid dan gesuggereerd (u en ik wisten het, maar al die BN'ers en andere autoriteiten wisten het beter: de Syriërs, die waren pas een economische opsteker voor NL)' + shared article: 'Syriërs veel lager opgeleid dan gesuggereerd']	C1	Syrians causing a problem for NL as they do not contribute to and integrate in Dutch society and economy (subject of the article). Syrian refugees portrayed as inferior.
11.	24-06-2018	"Turken nemen Amsterdam en Rotterdam over", schrijft de VVD-bode verbaasd. Tja. Acties hebben consequenties, vrienden. Als je, zoals de VVD nu al decennia voorstaat, de grenzen open gooit, verandert de samenstelling van je bevolking. [Shared article: 'Toeterende Turken nemen grote steden over: 'Totale invasie']	VL3	Turkish-Dutch citizens as 'taking over' the two Dutch cities and being invasive. Tweet seems as to instill fear. <i>(Turks 'taking over'/changing population; inverted dogma 3)</i>
12.	30-06-2018	I love Iranian women! [Smiling face with heart-shaped eyes] https://twitter.com/asjbaloch/status/1013104125498871808	H	(Not completely clear since retweeted tweet has been removed, but derived from the responses:) admiration for emancipation struggle of Iranian women.

13.	13-08-2018	In plaats van Turkse weekendscholen die de integratie tegengaan, moeten we onze eigen waarden uitdragen en waar nodig afdwingen. Daarom heeft #FVD de Wet Bescherming Nederlandse Waarden voorgesteld. Steun ons! #FVD https://goo.gl/3WwgRT @fvdemocratie	C1	Turkish schools counter integration (causes disintegration). Dutch values superior to Turkish/foreign values.
14.	25-09-2018	Men had wél geld voor Syrische terroristen, maar niet voor deugdelijk materieel voor onze eigen militairen. #FVD #defensie #winterjassen @fvdemocratie	VL4	'Syrian terrorists': simplification of the battle groups supported by the Dutch cabinet, including their origin(s).
15.	19-10-2018	Nederland gaat niet naar Saoedi Arabië...maar naar het tirannieke Iran ging Sigrid Kaag dan weer wél, met hoofddoek en al, onderdanig, de schouders naar voren, gebukt, zoals wij het hier ook nog mee zullen maken als het huidige immigratiebeleid doorgaat... https://forumvoordemocratie.nl/actueel/kaag-maakt-een-karikatuur-van-haar-oproep-tot-dialogo	VL	Iran called 'tyrannic' and through Kaag's behavior portrayed as oppressive. Migrants (from Iran/Middle East/Islamic countries) as taking over and changing Dutch culture. <i>(Inverted dogma 3)</i>
16.	20-10-2018	Maar even serieus. Is er écht iemand, die wérkelijk dacht dat de massale immigratie van mensen uit een totaal ander deel van de wereld met een totaal andere achtergrond, mensen met totaal andere ideeën en totaal andere omgangsvormen, ons ook maar IETS zou opleveren? [Retweet @AfshinEllian1: 'Paul Scheffer in @telegraaf: 'Weg bij al die fantasieën dat vluchtelingen een grote bijdrage aan de arbeidsmarkt zijn. Duitsland betaalt 29 miljard in 2020. Al die ondernemers die in 2015 zeiden: dit is een win-winsituatie. Ik heb ze daarna niet meer gehoord"]	C1	Refugees causing the state a large amount of money as they do not contribute to the labor market. Absolute difference between (Middle Eastern) migrants and the Netherlands/the West literally addressed.
17.	13-01-2019	Juist nu Iraanse vrouwen hun hoofddoek afwerpen en strijden voor vrijheid & emancipatie doet VVD-er Jeanine Hennis een hoofddoek om voor ontmoeting met Iraanse ambassadeur. Dat zou een #FVD-er nou nooit doen. Wij staan voor de Nederlandse waarden en de gelijkheid v man en vrouw. [Retweet @UNIraq: Hennis-Plasschaert meeting with Ambassador of Iran]	H1	Women in Iran (battling for freedom) as heroines. Last sentence implies inequality between men and women in Iran which does not comply with the Dutch (aberrant, undeveloped). <i>(Inverted dogma 1 for Hennis and Iranian women)</i>

18.	09-02-2019	Voormalig VVD-minister van defensie nu dagelijks in boerka. [Retweet @UNIraq: 'Najaf, 6 February 2019 – The Special Representative for #Iraq of the United Nations Secretary-General and head of UNAMI, Ms. Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert, was received today in #Najaf by His Eminence Grand Ayatollah Ali Al-Sistani.']	VL1	Religious practice or rule in Iraq is derided. Is contrasted with the Western origin of Hennis.
19.	10-02-2019	Inderdaad: 'Hennis moet zich niet zo uitdossen, dit is onderwerping' [Shared article: 'Baudet: 'Hennis moet zich niet zo uitdossen, dit is onderwerping']	VL1	Iraq is portrayed as a country of submission. Religious practice or rule is derided. Is contrasted with the Western origin of Hennis.
20.	13-02-2019	#FVD-prominent Paul Cliteur over VVD-er Jeanine Hennis: "Ze is een wandelend reclamebord geworden voor het dictatoriale regiem. Zij steekt een dolk in de rug van al die moedige vrouwen, zoals Darya Safai, die de hoofddoek, boerka of abaya afgooien." [Shared article: 'Jeanine Hennis is vanaf nu een wandelend reclamebord voor een dictatoriaal regiem']	VL1 H	Iraq called 'a dictatorial regime' and portrayed oppressive through Hennis' adaptation of customs. Darya Safai (Iranian) as heroin. Expressed how the customs (in the field of women) should not be respected by Western women (as if inhumane and inferior). <i>(Inverted dogma 1 for Hennis and Darya Safai)</i>
21.	14-02-2019	Laat VVD-er Jeanine Hennis het niet horen! https://tpo.nl/column/paul-cliteur-jeanine-hennis-is-vanaf-nu-een-wandelend-reclamebord-voor-een-dictatoriaal-regiem/ #FVD [Retweet @AlinejadMasih: video of girls declaring not wearing a hijab and enjoying it]	VL1 H	Combination of remark, column link and video: Iraq represented as dictatorial, women in video doing the right thing (heroins), whereas Hennis (Western woman) promotes dictatorial regime. <i>(Inverted dogma 1 for Hennis and heroic Iraqi women)</i>
22.	09-03-2019	Waarom stemden CDA en VVD tegen onze motie om Syriërs in Nederland te helpen terugkeren naar Syrië nu het grootste deel van dat land weer veilig is? Stem #FVD op 20 maart als u wilt dat de immigratie nu ECHT wordt aangepakt! Fvd.nl [Video]	C3,4	Syrians who fled their unsafe country are considered causing migration problem. Generalized designation 'Syrians in Holland' (instead of

				'refugees'). Motion and tweet imply the need to control Syrian refugees; sending them back.
23.	18-04-2019	Syrië weer veilig: Syriërs kunnen en moeten terug. #FVD vroeg debat aan, en het kartel traïneert. Oordeel zelf! [Video]	C3,4	(Derived from video) Syrian refugees as causing problems for NL because of their rights to social security and reunification. Generalized designation 'Syrians' (instead of 'refugees'). Motion/debate and tweet imply the need to control Syrian refugees; sending them back.
24.	24-04-2019	#ArmenianGenocide #1915NeverAgain [Photo: Baudet laying rose at memorial]	VL	Explicit support for Armenia(ns) implies villainization of Turkey, especially in combination with tweet 28.
25.	04-05-2019	Ik heb zojuist deze petitie getekend met de kanttekening dat Nederland en Europa nu ook positiever beleid moeten voeren t/o Israël en dat land moeten steunen PLUS een strenger beleid versus Iran dat antisemitisme actief promoot en Israël wil vernietigen. https://eurofractie.nl/nl/stop-antisemitisme/1275611/success?surveySuccess=1&surveyOrigin=%2Fnl%2Fstop-antisemitisme	V VL3	Israel as victim of Iran, should receive more support/positive approach. Iran as destroying, anti-Semitic and deserving of stricter policies (implies control).
26.	10-09-2019	Nu direct stoppen met het proces tegen ambtsgenoot @geertwilderspvv. Politieke aansturing vanuit de VVD-top om oppositiestem de mond te snoeren is volstrekt, maar dan ook VOLSTREKT onacceptabel. #FVD zal alles doen wat kan om deze Erdogan-praktijken te beëindigen.	VL	Using the designation 'Erdogan practices' for political direction to silence opposition voices/unacceptable political behavior.
27.	10-09-2019	Hiddema vs Spong over proces Wilders: Erdogan-praktijken! #FVD https://forumvoordemocratie.nl/actueel/hiddema-vs-spong-over-proces-wilders-erdogan-praktijken via @fvdemocratie	VL	Using the designation 'Erdogan practices' for political direction to silence opposition voices/unacceptable political behavior.
28.	31-10-2019	Altijd maar inspelen op ons schuldgevoel. Immigratie, islamisering, de vernedering van onze cultuur - het gebeurt met steeds weer die verwijzingen naar fouten uit ons	VL	Villainizing Dutch politician with from Turkish descent, by bringing in the Armenian genocide. In

		verleden. Öztürk moedigt het aan. Maar de Armeense genocide wil hij niet erkennen! https://youtu.be/0Mkeud2D5Ag #FVD		combination with tweet 24 (explicit support for Armenia): implies villainization of Turkey.
29.	28-11-2019	Bizar! Nederland gaat financiering omstreden VN-organisatie - die Palestijnse terroristen steunt - hervatten. [Shared article: 'Nederland gaat financiering omstreden VN-organisatie hervatten']	VL4	Generalized term 'Palestinian terrorists' for the Palestinian refugees helped by the addressed VN-organization (UNRWA).
30.	23-12-2019	Fantastisch hoe de Christelijke wereld standhoudt en/of terugkeert in Syrië - ook nadat onze perfide elites alles hebben gedaan wat in hun vermogens lag om Assad te verzwakken, de Christelijke wereld in het Midden-Oosten ten onder te doen gaan en chaos te brengen in de levant. [Retweet @sahouraxo: 'Merry Christmas from #Syria's #Aleppo, free of ISIS and Al-Qaeda jihadists. A beautiful sight that won't be seen on mainstream media.' + Video]	V H	Christians in Syria, Assad and the Levant as victims of Western elite. Christians are heroes for withstanding. Intervention/control by the West is denounced. <i>(Dogma 3 invalidated)</i>
31.	28-02-2019	Nederland moet PER DIRECT grenscontroles invoeren. Kwestie van nationale veiligheid /openbare orde. De vrije doorgang die Erdogan biedt aan Syriërs PLUS het #coronavirus bieden voldoende aanknopingspunten voor de uitzonderingsclausules van #schengen. #FVD	C3	Incoming Syrian refugees considered causing danger to national security/public order. His call regarding national safety encourages/instills fear of incoming 'Syrians'.

Appendix B

Coding Scheme

Code	Category	Description	Code	Subcategory	Description
C	Emphasize causes of problems	It is emphasized who/what causes the problem	C1	Cause and difference	Absolute difference between (inferior) East(erners) and (superior) West(erners) is expressed in the cause: East being undeveloped, aberrant, inhumane, inferior, etc.
			C2	Cause and abstraction	Abstractions about the Middle East(erners) are expressed in the cause: Orient in a classical form. Examples: seductive women, angry men, film-like portraiture.
			C3	Cause and control over	In the cause it is expressed or hinted at that the Middle East(erners) should be controlled, either through occupation, pacification or research. Possible addition: if control is not possible, East(erners) to be feared.
			C4	Cause and eternal/uniform	In the expressed cause Middle East(erners) are portrayed as not capable of defining itself/themselves; eternal; uniform. Use of generalized vocabulary.
V	Victim	Identifying a victim by expressing how someone/something is harmed, attacked, hurt, insulted, oppressed, etc.	V1	Victim and difference	Absolute difference between (inferior) East(erners) and (superior) West is expressed while victimizing: East being undeveloped, aberrant, inhumane, inferior, etc.
			V2	Victim and abstraction	Abstractions about the Middle East(erners) are expressed while victimizing: Orient in a classical form. Examples: seductive women, angry men, film-like portraiture.
			V3	Victim and control over	While victimizing it is expressed or hinted at that the Middle East(erners) should be controlled either through occupation, pacification or research. Possible addition: if control is not possible, East(erners) to be feared.
			V4	Victim and eternal/uniform	While victimizing, Middle East(erners) are portrayed as not capable of defining itself/themselves; eternal; uniform. Use of generalized vocabulary.

B	Blame Responsibility	Focusing blame/responsibility on someone/something	B1	Blame and difference	Absolute difference between (inferior) East(erners) and (superior) West is expressed while blaming/holding responsible: East being undeveloped, aberrant, inhumane, inferior, etc.
			B2	Blame and abstraction	Abstractions about the Middle East(erners) are expressed while blaming/holding responsible: Orient in a classical form. Examples: seductive women, angry men, film-like portraiture.
			B3	Blame and control over	While blaming/holding responsible it is expressed or hinted at that the Middle East(erners) should be controlled either through occupation, pacification or research. Possible addition: if control is not possible, East(erners) to be feared.
			B4	Blame and eternal/uniform	While blaming/holding responsible, Middle East(erners) are portrayed as not capable of defining itself/themselves; eternal; uniform. Use of generalized vocabulary.
VL	Villain	Identifying a villain by expressing negative traits: unreliable, mean, lying, deceitful, etc.	VL1	Villain and difference	Absolute difference between (inferior) East(erners) and (superior) West is expressed while appointing a villain: East being undeveloped, aberrant, inhumane, inferior, etc.
			VL2	Villain and abstraction	Abstractions about the Middle East(erners) are expressed while appointing a villain: Orient in a classical form. Examples: seductive women, angry men, film-like portraiture.
			VL3	Villain and control over	In appointing the villain, it is expressed or hinted at that the Middle East(erners) should be controlled either through occupation, pacification or research. Possible addition: if control is not possible, East(erners) to be feared.
			VL4	Villain and eternal/uniform	In appointing a villain, Middle East(erners) are portrayed as not capable of defining itself/themselves; eternal; uniform. Use of generalized vocabulary.
H	Hero	Identifying a hero by expressing heroic traits: bravery, prudence, goodness, faithfulness, etc.	H1	Hero and difference	Absolute difference between (inferior) East(erners) and (superior) West is expressed while appointing a hero: East being undeveloped, aberrant, inhumane, inferior, etc.

H2	Hero and abstraction	Abstractions about the Middle East(erners) are expressed while appointing a hero: Orient in a classical form. Examples: seductive women, angry men, film-like portraiture.
H3	Hero and control over	In appointing the hero, it is expressed or hinted at that the Middle East(erners) should be controlled either through occupation, pacification or research. Possible addition: if control is not possible, East(erners) to be feared.
H4	Hero and eternal/uniform	In appointing a hero, Middle East(erners) are portrayed as not capable of defining itself/themselves; eternal; uniform. Use of generalized vocabulary.

