'MUSLIMA'

A study on the representation of Muslim women in the ANP image bank

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Colophon

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1. Introduction

Studies conducted over the past thirty years into the media depiction of Muslims have shown that this depiction of Muslim women, especially when they wear a headscarf, is often particularly stereotypical: the unfree, oppressed, pitiful Muslim woman, who does not stand up for herself, sits at home all day, is poorly educated, does not work, does not speak the language, and who obeys her husband.[1] That is not without consequence. As research by Meld Islamofobie (Abaaziz, 2016) has shown, mainly (veiled) Muslim women are the victims of Muslim discrimination and hatred.

The media depiction of Muslim women is determined not just by the chosen words but also by the photographs used. Photographer Cigdem Yuksel soon discovered that, as a photographer, you have power. The power to contribute to the image of the people you photograph. For years, she has noticed the image of the silent, poorly integrated, veiled migrant woman as a recurring cliché in the media.

Printed media (newspapers and magazines) and digital media (including the websites of newspapers and magazines) often use image banks to illustrate their stories and reports. At a time when more and more institutions and organisations (broadcasting companies, editorial boards, cultural funds, etc.) are working on issues concerning diversity, inclusivity, representation and exclusion mechanisms, it is remarkable, to say the least, that the composition of the photos in these image banks has never been examined. ANP Foto, the image bank of Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau (ANP), is the largest image bank in the Netherlands used by almost all Dutch media. Photographers spread throughout the country, upload photos to the ANP image bank daily.

To gain insight into the types of photographs of Muslim women offered to the Dutch media for decades, Cigdem Yuksel decided to investigate the representation of Muslim women in the ANP image bank. Together with independent researcher Ewoud Butter, whom she asked to participate in the study, she wrote this report.

1.1. Exploratory research

In this report, we will present the main findings of the exploratory study. We focused on the following research question:

> How are Muslim women being portrayed in the photographs of ANP Foto (anpfoto.nl), the largest Dutch image bank?

We answered this research question using the following sub-questions:
1. What are the most common images of Muslim women in the image bank, and to what extent are these images representative of Dutch Muslim women?

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[1] See for example the dissertation of Margreet van Es (2016), *Stereotypes and Self-Representations of Women with a Muslim Background; The Stigma of Being Oppressed.* Cham: Palgrave Macmillan

2. What tags (keywords) are added to the images, and to what extent do these involve stigmatising tags?
3. What recent historical developments can we identify in the way Muslim women are being portrayed?
4. Which considerations do photographers take into account when they take a picture and upload it to the image bank?
5. Which recommendations to photographers, image banks and photo editors can be formulated based on this research?

1.2. Research method

We have answered the sub-questions as follows:

Sub-question 1:

The ANP image bank contains approximately 100 million photos. To make the analysis of the images manageable, we have chosen to only review photos we found using the search term 'moslima' (Muslima)[2]. That means that we made a selection of images where photographers have indicated, either in the description or tags, that they depict one or more Muslim women. In addition, we chose to analyse three periods (1995-2000, 2005-2010, 2015-2020). We scanned all the photos in these periods for pre-determined focal points, which we will define later in the text. We then analysed the associations these photos evoke and what image we think they create of Dutch Muslim women. For comparison, we also reviewed photographs of Muslim women from the Getty Images database.

Sub-question 2:

We kept a tally of the descriptions and tags of all analysed photos. We made a top 6 of the most common words in the descriptions and a top 5 of the most frequently used tags with the photos. We then looked at the kind of images and associations these descriptions and tags could evoke.

Sub-question 3:

We then compared the results of all the photos we analysed from the three periods indicated above. In those periods, we looked at what events were predominant in the media at the time to gauge if this was reflected in the results of the analysed photos.

Sub-question 4:

We interviewed seven photographers who work or have worked for the ANP. Six photographers work for ANP as freelancers, and one photographer is no longer working for ANP. We asked these photographers, among other things, how they operate when photographing Muslim women, how they come up with a description of the photos and to what extent they consciously consider media depiction. In consultation with the photographers, their

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[2]A Muslim woman is also called a 'moslima' in The Netherlands. The definition for moslima in the Dutch Van Dale dictionary is 'a female Muslim'.

answers were anonymised. We also interviewed Gerard de Kloet, head of NOS online, to gain insight into how photo editors at a large newsroom work when they are looking for/publishing photos of Muslim women with a news item. Lastly, we interviewed Bas van Beek, the director of the ANP. All of the interviews have been incorporated into the report.

1.3.   Overview

This report consists of the following parts:
- In the first chapter, we will provide background information on Muslims in the media and the importance of media depiction.
- In chapter 2, we will present the most important results of the study.
- In chapter 3, we will address sub-question 3 and compare the three investigated periods.
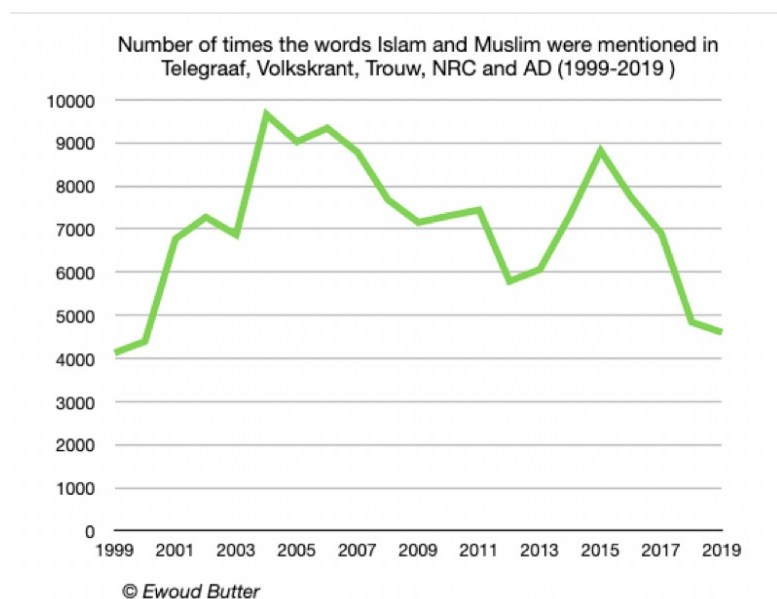- In chapter 4, we will present our recommendations.

2. Muslims, framing and the media

Before we present the research results, we will give some brief background information on (research into) coverage of Muslims in the Dutch media. We look at the role of the media in shaping the image of Muslims, and finally, we will review the role media creators and image banks have in this process.

2.1. Coverage on Muslims in the Netherlands

In the 16th century, there were already Muslims present in the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands, the predecessor of the present-day Netherlands.[3] During the period that Indonesia was a Dutch colony, the Netherlands was one of the largest Islamic empires in the world. Still, the religion barely got a foothold in the Low Countries.

That changed during the 20th century: initially with the arrival of a small group of Muslims from Indonesia and later followed by Islamic migrant workers from Morocco and Turkey, Muslims from Suriname, and refugees from various countries. Today about a million Dutch citizens consider themselves Muslim.

Number of times the words Islam and Muslim were mentioned in Telegraaf, Volkskrant, Trouw, NRC and AD (1999-2019)

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Especially since the so-called Rushdie affair (1989), there has been a debate in the Netherlands about the position of Muslims in Dutch society. After the attacks of 9/11 and the murder of Theo van Gogh in 2004, this debate intensified. After 2001 the number of reports on Muslims in the Dutch media increased substantially.[4] This is illustrated by the graph below, which shows how often five major Dutch newspapers (Telegraaf, Volkskrant, Trouw, NRC and AD) used the words Muslim and Islam, including words that start with 'Muslim' and 'Islam'.[5]

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[3]Ewoud Butter en Roemer van Oordt (2018), Zuilen in de polder; *Een verkenning van de institutionalisering van de islam in Nederland*. Amsterdam: Bravenewbooks

[4]http://www.republiekallochtonie.nl/blog/feiten/factcheck-is-er-minder-aandacht-voor-islam-en-moslims-in-de-media

[5]The LexisNexis database was used.

This graph clearly shows that after the attacks of 9/11, and especially after the murder of Theo van Gogh (2004) and the 'war on terror', Dutch newspapers wrote about Muslims and Islam much more often. It should be noted that there was an 'Islamisation' of the debate in that period. One of the consequences of this was that Dutch people who until then had been called, for example, 'migrant workers', 'foreigners' or '(non-Western) *allochtoon*'[6], were addressed or described based on their religious background more often.

In the years that followed, the number of reports about Muslims and Islam gradually declined. That changed from 2012 onwards due to, among other things, coverage of the war in Syria, the rise of IS, the arrival of refugees from Syria and Iraq and other regions, terrorist attacks, and the radicalisation of young people with an Islamic background. Since 2015, there has been a decline again. In 2019, the number of articles on Muslims and Islam was almost at the level it was before 9/11. This decline appears to be continuing in the first six months of 2020: in 2019, 4,600 articles appeared in the five newspapers that wrote about Muslims and Islam; in the first six months of 2020, the counter remained stuck at 1500 articles.

2.2. The media and framing

The media play a critical role in the perception of Muslims. A study on trigger factors of Muslim discrimination (Van Wonderen and Kapel, 2017) showed that about one in three boys and one in seven girls think negatively about Muslims. Furthermore, it became clear that the more personal contact non-Muslim youngsters have with Muslims, the more positive they feel about Muslims. Young people with regular contacts often think that media coverage about Muslims is more negative than their own experiences with Muslims. For young people who have little contact with Muslims, the media and statements about Muslims by opinion-makers and politicians are more decisive for their opinion of Muslims.

Since 1989, research has been conducted into how Muslims have been reported on in the Dutch media (Butter, 2019). Wasif Shadid, Emeritus Professor Intercultural Communication, is one of the researchers who has conducted multiple studies on reporting about Muslims. In 2009, he identified four recurring frames in the media (Shadid, 2009).[7]

- *The ethnocentrism frame. Aided by this frame, media users are familiarised with an 'us versus them' contrast and 'our' versus 'their' culture, with the former being valued more highly. (..)*

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[6]In 1971 the word 'allochtoon' became more familiar thanks to a report by sociologist Hilda Verwey-Jonker, who used it as a replacement for the term immigrant. It was supposed to be a euphemism for people born outside the Netherlands (thus including the population of overseas territories). Although the term later became policy language for everyone whose parent(s) were not born in the Netherlands, Verwey-Jonker specifically referred to Dutch people of non-Western descent. For Verwey-Jonker, the motivation for this choice was the clear recognisability of the groups discussed here. This rests in many cases on a striking appearance - particularly the skin colour - and in some cases on the foreign language, which few Dutch people understand.
[7] W. Shadid, Moslims in de media, de mythe van de registrerende journalistiek in het boek Mist in de polder (Velling, S. e.a., 2009)

- *The stigmatisation frame. The main characteristic of this frame is that allochtonen and Muslims are presented as problem groups: they are associated more than strictly necessary with crime, abuse of social services, terrorism, unemployment and drugs. (..)*
- *The layman frame. The main characteristic of this frame is that allochtonen and Muslims are given relatively little opportunity to air their views. Therefore they are mainly seen as laymen and not as experts.*
- *The cultural generalisation frame. Using this frame, Moroccan and Turkish-Dutch people are presented as one homogeneous group: Muslims whose religious identity overrides all other social identities.*

Many other studies also identify and name similar frames.[8]

Andrea Meuzelaar obtained her PhD on the representation of Muslims on Dutch television (Meuzelaar, 2014). She states Dutch television discovered the veiled woman in the 1990s. In the summary of her research, Meuzelaar writes, among other things: "In addition to the familiar images of mosques, communal prayers and girls at Koran school; the visual repertoire of Islam consisted of images of veiled women on the streets and markets and Muslims in public space."[9]

In the first decade of the 21st century, Meuzelaar observes that television makers became obsessed with themes such as radicalisation of young Muslims, hate-preaching imams, controversial mosques and oppressed veiled or fully covered women. "In addition to the well-known generic images of mosques, communal prayers and girls and women wearing headscarves, new recurring generic imagery emerged, such as women in niqab, hate-preaching imams and orthodoxly dressed Muslims on the street".

Margreet van Es obtained her PhD on the stereotyping and self-representation of Muslim women. She studied how Muslim women were portrayed in the Netherlands and Norway between 1975 and 2010 (Van Es, 2016). In both countries, women with a Muslim background were primarily portrayed as oppressed, pitiful, socially isolated, poorly educated, and not integrated or emancipated. Van Es observes that the public attention for women with a Muslim background and their supposed lack of emancipation grew significantly between 1975 and 2010, especially after 9/11. She also noticed that women with a Muslim background were increasingly labelled as 'Muslim women' or 'Muslima's'. She writes: "Regardless of their ethnic origin, they were depicted as victims of a wide range of problems, including domestic violence, social isolation, forced marriages, honour killings, and female genital mutilation. Increasingly, blame for these problems was put squarely on Islam. The religion was supposedly inherently patriarchal and incompatible with the 'typically Dutch' or 'Norwegian' value of gender equality. A discourse of 'saving oppressed Muslim women' was increasingly used to legitimise stricter immigration and integration policies."[10] Van Es also observes that in the Netherlands, the

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[8] In her PhD thesis (Meuzelaar, 2014), in which she mapped out the representation of Muslims and Islam on Dutch public television, Andrea Meuzelaar identified two different stigmatising frames: one about the well-adjusted and successfully integrated Muslim and one about the maladjusted and barbaric Muslim. According to her, both are stereotypes.

[9] https://pure.uva.nl/ws/files/2451561/151502_Thesis_complete_1_.pdf

[10] Margreet van Es (2016), Stereotypes and Self-Representations of Women with a Muslim Background

'extremist Muslim woman' became an important stereotype over the final years of the research period. 'Muslim women' were being portrayed as (potential) perpetrators rather than victims; they were given a very negative form of freedom of choice.

Tayfun Balcik analysed reports on Muslim women from four major Dutch newspapers between November 1st, 2018, to January 31st, 2019 (Balcik, 2019). In these reports, Muslim women were mainly presented as oppressed women. This was true for 81% of the reports in De Telegraaf, 78% of the reports in AD, 70% of the reports in Volkskrant and 62% of the reports in NRC.

Balcik also found that the Telegraaf and the Algemeen Dagblad, the newspapers most likely to associate Muslim women with terms like 'oppressed' and 'unfree', were less likely to include Muslim women in their coverage. Newspapers that involve Muslim women in their coverage, like NRC and Volkskrant, showed less negative framing.

2.3.   On media makers and the role of the ANP image bank

Influence of media makers

According to the study 'Beperkt Zicht' (Limited Sight) by Women Inc (2017), the images we see influence our opinions. The research indicated that stereotypes in imagery and language (e.g. black and white, old and young, male and female) are unconsciously reproduced daily, which can strongly or completely influence our perception. This has social consequences. Stereotypical media depiction impacts phenomena such as discrimination, sexism and racism, and perpetuates social inequality.

Media makers (journalists, (photo) editors, photographers) play a critical role in this. By being aware of overly one-sided and stigmatising depictions and their contribution to it, media makers can take their responsibility to challenge this, for example, by using different images and words.

Influence of the ANP image bank

Images have become indispensable to almost all press and media organisations. Each news item is almost always accompanied by a photo. The photo editors on the editorial boards of newspapers, magazines, and news sites choose these photos. When they search for a Dutch image bank, they quickly end up at ANP Foto, the largest image bank in the Netherlands by far.

To a large extent, this image bank determines which photos the Dutch media can choose to illustrate their content. Therefore it indirectly influences the media depiction of Muslim women. In this study, we have only focussed on the offer of ANP. Which photos will a photo editor find when they type in the keyword 'Muslima'? We will describe this in the next chapter.

The Stigma of Being Oppressed.Cham: Palgrave Macmillan

3. Research results ANP image bank

In this chapter, we will present the general research outcome of all the photos, keywords, and descriptions we analysed. We will provide an answer to how Muslim women are depicted by looking at several elements, such as the distance at which the Muslim women are photographed, whether they are veiled or not, and in which setting they are often photographed. We will then look at the descriptions and tags (keywords) for the photos and ask the photographers how they come up with these descriptions and tags.

As mentioned earlier, the ANP image bank contains almost 100 million photos. To make a selection, we used the keyword 'Muslima'. This term is used more often than 'Muslim woman' or 'Islamic woman'. At the time of the study, the keyword 'Muslima' generated 4,482 photographs of Muslim women, all of which were analysed. Although in practice, it turned out that some of the photos showed not only 'Muslima', but also 'Muslim woman' or 'Islamic woman'. There will definitely be photos of Muslim women in the image bank that fell outside the scope of our research.

We analysed photos from three different periods: 1995-2000 (10 photos), 2005-2010 (2,016 photos) and 2015-2020 (2,456 photos). These are all photos found using the keyword 'Muslima'. In addition, we only reviewed photos that were taken by Dutch photographers in the Netherlands. Over 99% were colour photographs.

We skipped photos we found using the keyword 'Muslima' that were taken abroad or photos that did not show Muslim women. Photos that only showed men, for example, photos of mosques, or photos that simply have nothing to do with the word 'Muslima', but did appear in the search results. In total, 3,577 photos were skipped over the three periods.

3.1. Photographers

The photographs were taken by 179 different photographers (m/f). From the name alone, it is not always possible to determine with certainty whether someone identifies as a man or a woman or whether someone has a migrant background. However, based on the names, how well known the photographer is, aided by additional research on the internet, a rough indication can be given. The estimate is that 82% of all photos were taken by a man and 18% by a woman. As far as we know, none of the photographers has an Islamic or non-Western migration background. For 0.2% of the photos, the photographer might have a western migration background.

● Male   ● Female
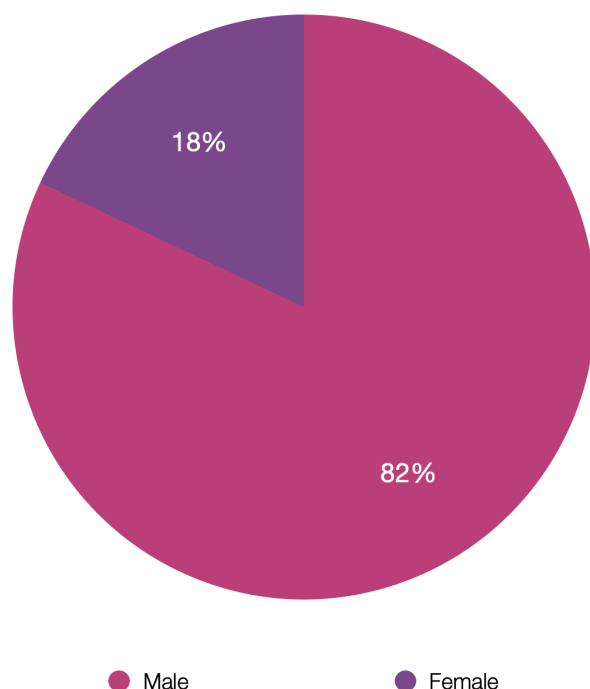
Seven photographers took relatively many photos of Muslim women in the database. For example, one photographer (male) accounts for 16% of the photos. Following at a distance is another photographer (male) responsible for 6.5% and a photographer (female) for 6%.

3.2.   How are Muslim women portrayed?

The Muslim women are usually photographed alone (in 60% of cases) or in pairs (20%). In 9% of the photos, three women are depicted, and in 11% of the photos, there are more than three.

Method

We looked at how Muslim women were portrayed. We reviewed the distance the women were photographed from and the extent to which the women could be recognised. We also recorded where they were photographed and how they were dressed. Finally, we looked at the extent to which the photographs involved well-known Muslim women. We are aware that classifications such as 'near', 'far', 'age', or 'recognisable' are rather subjective and arbitrary. Therefore we tried to define what we mean by this and emphasise that we are talking about indications.

In order to gain insight into how the photos with Muslim women were created, we asked seven photographers how they go about photographing these women. Virtually all photographers said that ANP had never instructed them directly to photograph women in headscarves. However, most photographers go out, and photograph subjects that they like or think will 'sell'.

Recognisable and unrecognisable, far and near

The table below shows that most women are photographed at a distance and slightly in profile instead of recognisable. It does not appear to make any difference whether a man or a woman took the photograph.

Recognisability of the Muslim woman/women	Distance Muslim women			
	Close	Medium	Far	Total
Recognisable	6,3%	15,9%	12,4%	34,6%
In profile	4,6%	17,3%	13,6%	35,5%
Unrecognisable	3,8%	8,0%	18,1%	29,9%
Total	14,6%	4,1%	44,1%	100%

Most of the photographers interviewed indicated that they did not ask for permission when photographing the women unrecognisably or from a distance. Often that is because photographs in which they are not recognisable sell better. People usually indicate that they do not want to be photographed recognisably. Even if they initially gave their permission, they often call the photographer or editors to ask them to remove the photo.

Two of the seven photographers said that Muslim women were more likely hesitant to be photographed more often than other people. Five of the seven photographers said that this applies to all the people they photograph.

Photographer 3 (male):

"The experience is, though, as cliché as it may be, if we take a random photo of the Kalverstraat, no one will address me. I have also experienced that women with a headscarf that I photograph are not fond of it. So then you choose to do so from a distance. And usually not recognisable."

Photographer 2 (female):

"Well, women with a headscarf are just not as keen. With them, that just happens more often. Maybe because they are often the ones being placed in a negative context. I don't exactly know what the reason is. I often ask people for their permission, but they are the least likely to give me permission. So yeah, if I were depicted negatively in the news often, that blonde people were portrayed negatively very often, I would also be like: no thanks."

Photographer 1 (female):
> *"I try not to take a picture covertly; I usually stay in one place for a while and take photos. Sometimes, people say they do not want to be photographed; then, I delete those photos. But you can't always ask. I'm not in their face, saying, 'hello, here I am, I need something from you', I'm always cautious. But I don't think any differently than with other people."*

Two of the photographers interviewed indicated that they always ask permission when the person they photograph is recognisable.

Photographer 2 (female):
> *"If I want to picture them as recognisable, then I always go and ask them, and I also say that I am a press photographer. Then I also say that they will end up in an image bank because I know that people often do not want that."*

Close,   medium   and   far
What we mean by *close*, *medium* and *far* is based on the degree of distance or proximity at which Muslim women were photographed. Looking at the photos in the image bank, we defined for ourselves what proximity to the Muslim woman in the photograph photo falls under close, what we think falls under medium and what the distance is for far. Of course, this is still human work, and we did our best to categorise each photo. Below, we show which photos we define with close, medium and far.

close   *medium*   *far*   *screenshot ANP*

What are the possible implications for the image of Muslim women?

Because the women are often seen from a distance and often portrayed unrecognisably or only partially recognisable, we are led to believe that these women are portrayed as an inaccessible, anonymous group. This makes it easier for them to be seen as 'the other'.

Location

The vast majority (94%) of Muslim women were photographed outside of their homes. Around 3% of Muslim women were photographed at home, and approximately 3% of the images were portraits without a backdrop.

3%
3%
94%

● Portrait   ● Indoors   ● Outdoors
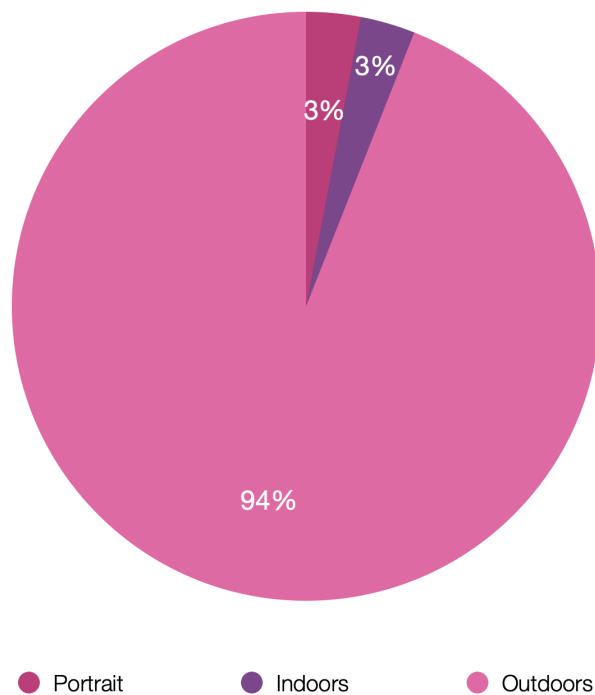
More than half of the photos were taken on the street, at the market or in public transport. These are primarily streetscapes and images of shoppers, occasionally a demonstration. Furthermore, Muslim women are photographed during a day trip ('the tulip fields', Volendam, an amusement park, the beach, 8%) or in an educational setting (8%). Photographs in an educational setting are often taken in the schoolyard or at an integration course. In 5% of the cases, the women were photographed in a religious environment. These photos were often taken during an iftar. There are few photographs of Muslim women visiting cultural institutions (1%), playing sports (2%) or working (3%). Muslim women who were photographed at work are remarkably often cashiers.

What are the possible consequences for the image of Muslim women?

The fact that these women are only shown in these environments gives the impression that the lives of these women are limited and do not go beyond walking on the street, shopping, and going to school, while in reality, the lives of these women are much richer. That is not reflected in the photographs on offer.

Head coverings

Approximately 82% of the photographed Muslim women wear a headscarf, and 13% wear a niqab or burqa. Young women are photographed without a veil slightly more often. There is no difference in male or female photographers' photographs.

In comparison to the other photos, it is worth noting that photos of women with a niqab are usually taken closer (45% of the photos) and more recognisable (covered face visible) (51% of the photos).

> **Headscarf, niqab and burqa**
>
> By *headscarf*, we mean head and hair coverings on women where the face is visible and where the headscarf is not longer than over the shoulders. By *niqab*, we mean a covering of the head, body and face, where only the eyes remain visible. By *burqa*, we mean a complete covering of the body, head and face.

Most of the photographers interviewed indicated that they were aware of the image the media creates of these women and how they also contribute to this themselves.

Photographer 3 (male):
> *"Yes, you support stereotypical imaging. That is true. I could also take photographs of Muslim women without a headscarf. But for the media, at least that's what I think; it's apparently not clear that they're Muslim women if they don't wear a headscarf. So yes, I do contribute to that. And perhaps that's not great. It's the image as it is portrayed in the media. And we all contribute to that, at least I do. While you can actually make much more beautiful and interesting images of our multicultural society."*

Most photographers think that editorial staff, image editors, are drawn to photographs of veiled Muslim women because the headscarf directly illustrates that they are Muslim and because the headscarf is still seen as something that attracts attention.

In fact, according to research by the SCP[11] from 2015, 78% of Moroccan-Dutch Muslim women and 49% of Turkish-Dutch Muslim women wore a headscarf (Huijnk, 2018).[12] There is a significant difference between older and younger Muslim women in the latter group: one in four young Turkish Muslim women (15-24 years of age) wears a headscarf, compared to almost three-quarters of Turkish Muslim women aged 45 or older. As the data shows, not all Muslim women are veiled, and the image bank lacks photos of Muslim women in all their diversity.

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[11] The Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP) is a government agency which conducts research into the social aspects of all areas of government policy.
[12] Willem Huijnk (2018), De religieuze beleving van moslims in Nederland. Den Haag: SCP

With headscarf · **Without headscarf** · **With niqab/burqa**
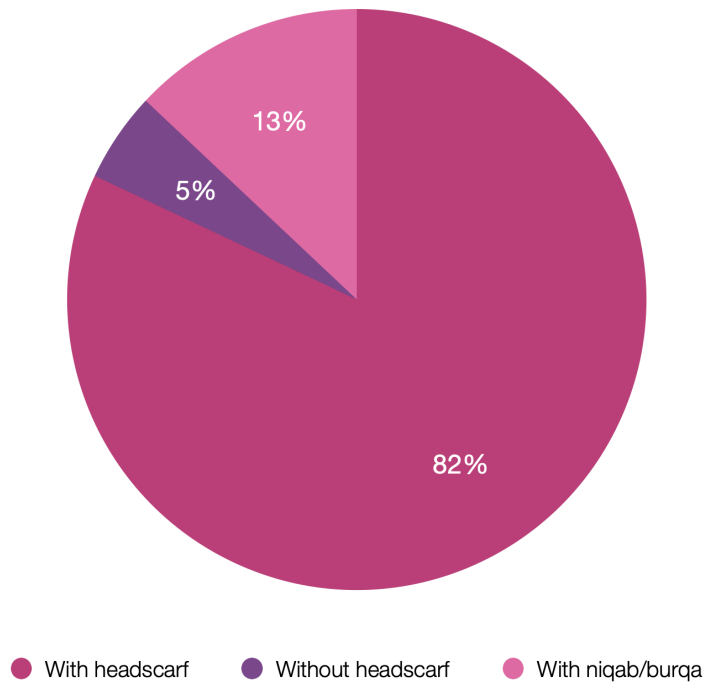
Photographer 1 (female):

> "Of course, people look for images that draw attention. They look for anything that is a little out of the ordinary, that is special, because that's a trigger. ANP once asked me if I would like to take more photography in family settings because they didn't have that. I then photographed a Muslim family of Kosovar origin. 'Well', the editors said, 'She would have to wear a headscarf.' Of course, that is bizarre. Because she is Muslim, she has to wear a headscarf. While she didn't actually wear a headscarf. That is very weird, of course. I also photographed her without a headscarf, but the editors wanted her to wear one because she is Muslim."

Photographer 3 (male):

> "I think picture editors of some newspapers want a picture of a Muslim woman with a headscarf so that it's clear at first glance that she is a Muslim woman, that it is about Muslims. I could photograph men, but they may or may not be Muslims. A woman without a headscarf can be a Muslim or not. That is not clear right away. But when you think about it some more, like now, and whether you should be proud of that... No. Especially since there is so much more to show."

Well-known Muslim women

Most of the Muslim women photographed are anonymous. A small 3% are more or less 'well-known' Muslim women. For example (local) politicians (Fatima Elatik, Elsa van de Loo, Yassmine Elksaihi), TV hosts (Girls of Halal, Naeeda Aurangzeb), an activist (Shirin Musa), a lawyer (Fadime Arslan), a theologian (Anne Dijk) and an actress (Nazmiye Oral).

3.3. Descriptions and tags

When a photographer uploads a photo, they can add a description and tags to it. In the description, the photographer outlines the context/setting of the photo. The tags act as keywords that photo editors can use to find a photo quickly. There is a separate textbox in the image bank for entering descriptions and another one for entering the tags (keywords). In the end, all words the photographer adds (both in the description and in the tags) are included in a search.

Descriptions

The descriptions that are given with the photos vary from very brief to very extensive, as shown in the example below:

> Netherlands, Amsterdam, 20191210. Woman with a walker walking through the park. Muslima with a headscarf.

> Netherlands, Rotterdam, Dec 7, 2018.
> Healthcare care education
> Scholarship West in Ahoy Rotterdam, promotion stand ROC Mondriaan, MBO Westland. During the fair young people get the chance to find all the information they need to choose a study or profession all at once. MBO schools are presenting themselves. further education schooling students apprentices career choice event healthcare care / young people practising on an artificial arm / skilled professionals in engineering and healthcare / Now and in the upcoming years there is a significant shortage of qualified professionals in engineering and healthcare. The shortage is caused by a lack of education of young staff. apprenticeship, learning a profession in the healthcare sector / courses professions. study choice information young people teenagers boys girls men women healthcare education healthcare students aid profession professions shortage staff employers nurses shortage of staff in healthcare job postings well-skilled staff. elder care shortage of staff nurse and caretakers high pressure in healthcare muslima muslim muslims

Interviews with photographers have shown that the description always needs to mention where, when, and by whom the photo was taken, what can be seen in the photo, and the context. The analysis of the photos shows that the photographers interpreted this in different ways. Some photographers briefly and factually describe what can be seen in the photo and usually add a description of the person's features. Other photographers briefly describe the event depicted in the photo and then proceed to a list of sentences and words that, in a fragmentary way, outline a context. However, this context is not always directly related to what can be seen in the photograph. See the example below.

> Netherlands, Rotterdam, 26 October 2019,
> Fully veiled religious orthodox Islamic woman Muslima on the market in the center Downtown Rotterdam, fully veiled women are probably salafistic Muslims in Shopping center Rotterdam
> shopping center / salafists Salafism Islam salafistic Muslim Koran faith streetview shoppers Shopping in center shopping street shopping retailer running errands public cityscape inner city / Salafism (also spelled as Salafiyya or selefie) or athari is a fundamentalistic movement within Sunni Islam, orthodox religious Muslim orthodox religion Muslima Muslims streetview society / burqa ban legislation garment face covering clothing head covering clothing burqa ban Islamic Islam society oppression women woman

In this description, not all words are directly related to the context in which the photo was taken. In the example above, the photographer used the words *burqa ban*, *legislation*,

oppression, etc., for a photo of three women in a niqab talking to each other at a market. In this case, the photographer looked beyond the actual context of the photo and linked words to it that have to do with a broader social and political debate about face-covering garments and frames used in this context.

We find this problematic. The addition of the word *oppression* is an interpretation of the photographer; it is a word that is not neutral. It implies that these women are oppressed, while the reality is more nuanced. Professor Annelies Moors spoke to dozens of women for her research on niqab wearers and states in the NRC that many of them emphasise that it is their own choice.[13] Moors thinks this makes sense because wearing a niqab is very unusual and often leads to negative reactions within one's own family and community.

The same applies to the following example. The photographer adds words like *Islamisation*, *sharia* and *integration*, when in fact, it is a photograph of Muslims sitting at a table and breaking fast together with Mayor Aboutaleb. Again, these keywords are an interpretation of the photographer with words that are not neutral. For example, with the word integration, it is quickly assumed that there is a problem or that there are population groups that do not yet participate or are not part of Dutch society. Islamisation is a term that is particularly popular with right-wing populist or extreme right-wing groups who, sometimes referring to conspiracy theories, warn of a takeover of society by Muslims.

> ROTTERDAM- Mayor Ahmed Aboutaleb during an iftar for the neighborhood in De Middenweg centre. Neighbors of the Middenweg Mosque in Rotterdam attend the annual neighbor iftar. Mayor Ahmed Aboutaleb of Rotterdam welcomes these kinds of initiatives that bring people together. ROBIN UTRECHT koran reading holy book praying mosque prayer
> allochtonen allochtoon praying cultural the diversity eu europe eurepean prayer house of worship faith believers religion holland in integration islam islamisation islamic social society fellow countrymen migrants mohammedan mohammedans mosque muslim muslims multi multicultural netherlands norms ramadan religion religious society sharia social union month of fasting freedom values 2019 reflection cultural culture drinking eating faith believers religion holland headscarf iftar islam islamic month society muslim muslima muslims multi multicultural netherlands breaking fast ramadan2019 religion religious society social soup fasting month of fasting breaking food woman
> 2019 reflection cultural culture drinking eating faith believers religion holland headscarf iftar islam islamic month social society muslim muslima muslims multi multicultural netherlands breaking fast ramadan2019 religion religious society social soup fasting month of fasting breaking food woman western

At times photographers do not post a description but a string of words. That can be seen in the description below, which is placed next to a photo of three veiled older women. The women are unrecognisable and photographed from a distance while walking towards a market carrying a trolley. In this example, one can see that the photographer has linked words such as *integration*, *Islam debate*, *speech*, *Turks*, *tolerance*, *security* and *radicalisation* to this photograph. Words that factually have nothing to do with the context are broad associations the photographer makes based on the political debate and media coverage.

The result is that, in this case, too, the photographer's use of words invites photo editors to illustrate a story about radicalisation with an image of veiled women in the marketplace.

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[13]https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2019/08/02/boerkaverbod-moeilijk-politiek-compromis-dat-eigenlijk-niets-oplost-a3968985

During the interviews, we asked the photographers why these words were added. Almost all photographers admit it is problematic to use these associations but choose to do so for commercial reasons: they want to increase the chance that photo editors will find their photos and thereby increase their chance of selling them.

Photographer 5 (male):

"If I photograph a certain theme, I tend to look at NOS and RTL for keywords that appear in news items. That does help because it allows you to push your photo in a certain direction. That is how I optimise the findability of the photo. That's why I also use the word allochtoon, which is actually a horrible word. I'm a bit ashamed to say it here now. It is not a good word."

Photographer 4 (male):

"I think like an image editor. You want them to find the picture. Photographers are not very thorough, but they should be. That's the photographers' laziness; they will write anything, as long as their pictures will pop up."

Photographer 3 (male):

"It has to be relevant to the item. I always try to find a news article about that item and pull words from there. I look for words the editorial staff would use. Yes, it's a commercial thing. Some photographers add things that are totally irrelevant."

Photographer 6 (male):

"Because photographers just want to sell their photos, they throw in all the keywords. You don't upload photos in the image bank for the sake of it, but because you want to sell them."

Photographer 1 (woman):

"There will be a commercial reason. But that's always the case with a photo. I recently took a photo of a child's hand with a stuffed animal. And then I put child abuse next to it. Sad, alone, lonely. Whereas that child was not sad and was walking with her parents. But then I think, yes, it's an illustrative image."

Most frequently used words

We reviewed which words were used most often in the descriptions. Aside from Muslima or Muslim woman/women, there are a number of words that are mentioned remarkably often.

Word		Word	
Muslim	49%	Society	13%
Rotterdam	41%	Clothing	13%
Headscarf	35%	Islamic	13%
Amsterdam	31%	Islamisation	12%
Woman	28%	Koran	12%
Islam	27%	Ramadan	10%
Women	23%	Burka	10%
Faith	19%	Shopping	10%
The Hague	17%	Mosque	9%
Burqa	16%	Streetscape	9%
Burqa ban	16%	Civic integration	9%
Allochtoon	14%	Groceries	8%
Allochtonen	14%	Niqab	8%
Integration	14%	Full-face veil	8%

Photographs of Muslim women are predominantly taken in the conurbation. No less than 97% of the photos were taken in one of the four big cities: Rotterdam was mentioned in 41% of the descriptions, followed by Amsterdam (31%), The Hague (17%) and Utrecht (8%). In 8% of the cases, the descriptions also referred to a specific neighbourhood in one of these cities.

It is also striking that a relatively large number of descriptions refer to Islamic dress. In 35% of the descriptions, the word headscarf was mentioned. Furthermore, the niqab and face-covering garments are often referred to in different terms: *burka* (16% of the descriptions) and *burqa* (10%), *burqa ban* (16%), *niqab* (8%) and *nikab* (7%), *face covering* (8%) and *face veil* (8%). A single description often contains several of these words. In addition, with some of these images, the word safety is also used. The enormous attention for the niqab is clearly related to the political and social debate rather than being representative of Muslim women in the Netherlands. It is estimated that 150 to 500 Dutch Muslim women at most wear a niqab. Together they form one-thousandth (0.1%) of all Dutch Muslim women.

Many descriptions refer to the Islamic faith. This is done, apart from terms such as *Islam* (27% of the descriptions) also with *Islamic* (20%), *faith* (19%), *Koran* (12%), *Ramadan* (10%) and *mosque* (9%). It is also noteworthy that the term *Islamisation* is used in one out of eight descriptions (12%). With this term, Muslims and Islam are explicitly presented as a threat to Dutch society.

In a large group of descriptions, reference is made to the debate on integration, civic integration and the multicultural society. This is reflected in the use of the words *allochtoon / allochtonen* (28% of the descriptions), *civic integration* (18%), *integration* (14%), *foreigners,* and *multicultural* (both 7%). Furthermore, among the 100 most frequently used words, two words refer to a specific origin: *Turkey* is mentioned in 8% of the descriptions and *Turkish* in 6%.

The last group of descriptions indicate a location or context in which the women were photographed. It paints a clear picture of the way Muslim women are depicted. It includes words such as *shopping* (10%), *street scene* (9%), *groceries* (8%), *street market* (8%), *family* (8%), *children* (7%), *running errands* (7%), *bus* (7%), *public transport* (7%), *school* (6%), *family* (6%) and *street* (6%).

A clear difference between the descriptions of the male and female photographers is that the descriptions of photos made by female photographers are more often about (women's) rights and Muslim women demonstrating (against the niqab ban, for example). There are also more photos taken on the beach, for example, women in burkini (usually staged photographs). It is also striking that female photographers often remark on the context in which the photograph may be used (more on this later).

Tags used

When photographers can add a text in the descriptions, they will come up with words they want to link to the photo as keywords to increase findability.

The 100 most used tags paint a similar picture. The emphasis on the large cities is slightly less: only the two largest cities, Rotterdam (tagged in 19% of the photos) and the photos) and Amsterdam (15% of the photos) reach the top 100 of most used tags.

There is also a lot of emphasis on Islamic dress in the tags: in almost two-thirds of the photos (64%) the tag *headscarf* was used and 26% *headscarf* as well. However, the tags pay less attention to the niqab than the descriptions: *niqab* was used in 18% of the tags.

There are also many references to religion through tags such as *Islam* (in 56% of the images), *Islamic* or *Muslim* (both around 27%), *faith* (37%), *religion* (20%), *religious* (11%) or *religion* (8%) and to integration/multicultural society with tags like *allochtoon*, (36%), *allochtonen* (30%), *allochtone* (11%), *multicultural* (29%), *integration* (13%), *migration* (12%) and multicultural (8%).

The location where the photograph was taken is reflected in tags such as *street scene* (23%), *mood* or *mood image* (both around 18%), *shopping* (16%), *education* (14%), running errands (12%), groceries (8%).

What clearly differs is that more attention is paid to (sheltering) refugees in the tags with tags like *refugees* (28%), *refugees* (23%), *asylum seekers* (18%), *shelter* (11%) and *AZC* (9%). Tags also refer to political activities or social injustice with tags like *politics* (17%), *protest* (15%), *problem* (14%), *rights* (11%), *crisis* (10%) and *government* (10%).

Compared to the male photographers, the female photographers put less emphasis on religion and a little more on the multicultural society and culture. Furthermore, women used tags like *sea*, *beach* and *burkini*. As mentioned before, most of these photos are staged.

Most of the photographers interviewed said that when they add tags, aside from factual description of what can be seen on the photo; they also add general terms that are not an actual description of the photo.

Photographer 4 (male):
> *"The only correct way is to describe what you see as factually as possible and then describe generalities. So for a photograph of a woman in a shopping mall, you write: Woman with a headscarf walking in a shopping mall in Rotterdam. And only after that do you write allochtoon, multicultural society, etc. I have put that in the description of many photos. You can't avoid labelling. I never really thought about that. The only thing you can do is describe what can be seen in the photograph as correctly as possible. But the keywords have to be general; you have to push it in a certain direction. Otherwise, the image will not be found."*

According to ANP director Bas van Beek, it is important that photographers add proper keywords to their photos, but he admits that the image bank has seen a lot of proliferation in this respect:

> *"If the tags are not good, your photo is gone; it's a black hole because there are many photos in the image bank. So there is a lot of proliferation. In the length of the captions and the keywords, also because the photographers have to do it themselves. That whole process was put onto the photographer, which is how it's done all over the world."*

Van Beek also states that the ANP is trying to improve this with large quantities of photos by applying artificial intelligence. That is a complicated technique that has to be executed properly. At the moment, they are in the middle of a research process.

3.4.   Comments on the use of the photos

In about 10% of the photos, the photographer made a comment. This was the case for about 7% of the photos taken by men and 25% of the photos taken by women. In 14% of the photos of Muslim women, a photographer made a comment about the use of the photo. This happened in 8% of the photos of women over 45.

More than 40% of the photos had a comment mentioning the photo had been staged and that obtaining the model's permission was required prior to use. In just under 40% of the cases, the photographers stated that they did not want the photo to be used for a tabloid magazine or one or more national newspapers. That mainly concerns the Telegraaf and AD, but other newspapers (NRC, Trouw, Volkskrant, Parool) were also mentioned. Finally, for over 20% of the photos, the photographer remarked they did not want it to be used negatively.

We interviewed two photographers who consistently placed 'do not use in a negative context' on many of their photos. We received almost the same answer when we asked why they chose to put this remark.

Photographer 4 (male):

> *"I noticed that many prejudices are still leading in the process of getting a photograph into the newspaper and how an article is written. That was reason enough for me to add nuance. Many image-makers and photo editors are not conscious of this. I tried to fight those prejudices. I wanted to minimise the chance and wanted to protect vulnerable groups such as women in headscarves and young Moroccans."*

Photographer 2 (woman):

> *"A few years ago, I photographed a woman in Staphorst, a beautiful portrait. That photo was used by GeenStijl at one point. They had cut her head out and put a large cross through it, but the woman was still clearly visible. Under the photo, they wrote in large letters: DANGEROUS. And the piece was about not vaccinating in the Bible Belt. Except, the image was not about that; it had nothing to do with that whole article. That's what bothered me so much. From that moment on, to all my photos that could be interpreted negatively, as GeenStijl does, I added a remark that it could not be used in a negative context.*
>
> *For over a year, I have put this note on everyone who is clearly recognisable in the picture because negativity on the internet is taking off in such a way that I don't want to contribute to it. My experience is that Muslim women hardly want to be photographed. If I manage to take their photo, I would hate it if they were published next to something negative. I just don't want that."*

In a broader context, it touches on one of the disadvantages that almost all photographers we interviewed experience when making their work available to an image bank, namely that you hand over the way and context in which your photos are used.

Photographer 3 (male):

> *"The disadvantage is that I don't know where my photos will be used. Some photographers state: 'do not use in a negative context'. I don't do that myself because it often works out well. But if the subjects are very sensitive, then I would mention that."*

Photographer 6 (male):

> *"There is a disadvantage, and that is that your photo can be used by a platform you do not support. And that happens sometimes. For example, in media that you are not happy with, in a way that you are not happy with. It can be technical (cropping) or relating to the content, a combination of headline and photo. You lose control over the image. Sometimes you fail because someone else does something you disagree with."*

Photographer 4 (male):

> *"You lose control over the way your images are used. If you talk about Islam in the Netherlands, for example, then that is a negative debate. So images you made about Islam in the Netherlands can be used in a context that makes you think: this doesn't make any sense."*

According to ANP director Bas van Beek, adding the comment that your photos are not allowed to be published in certain newspapers is a thing of the past:

> *"That is just not possible anymore. It is technically no longer possible. If a photographer comes along and he says 'I want to be in Story but not in Privé[14]', I say, please don't come to me, because I can't manage that."*

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[14] Dutch tabloid magazines.

4. Comparison of two periods

In this chapter, we will compare the results of the periods 2005-2010 and 2015-2020. The results from the period 1995-2000 are too brief to be included here. Only 20 photographs were categorised under the search term 'Muslima' during that period.

A possible reason for this could be that the term 'Muslima' is, relatively speaking, a new word to describe women with a headscarf. In the 1990s, the term 'Islamic woman' or 'Muslim woman' may have been used more frequently. Another explanation, as indicated in paragraph 2.1. is that there were less articles on Islam in the 1990s than in the two following periods. In those days, it was all about 'women of migrant workers', 'foreign women', 'allochtoon women' or 'Turkish or Moroccan women'. After 2001, the debate 'Islamised' and the Islamic background of these women was emphasised more (Butter, 2019).

4.1. Photographers

The total number of photographers taking photographs of Muslim women is 179. It is striking that a limited number of photographers are responsible for a large proportion of the photos during each period. Between 2005 and 2010, four photographers accounted for 29% of the photos of Muslim women. Between 2015-2020, four photographers accounted for a striking 44% of the photographs. One photographer took 25% of all photos from this period.

4.2. Frequently used words in descriptions

The words that recur most often in the descriptions of the photos are shown in the overview below. During both periods, the names of the cities where the photographs were taken are frequently used. The 'headscarf' is also used in the descriptions often.

It is notable that in 2005-2010 the words 'neighbourhood', 'multicultural society' and 'allochtoon/allochtonen' predominate. The frequent use of the word 'neighbourhood' can be explained because during this period, the fourth Balkenende cabinet made extra investments in 40 problem districts, also called 'prachtwijken' (beautiful districts), 'krachtwijken' (strong districts) or 'Vogelaarwijken' (Vogelaar districts, after Minister Ella Vogelaar).

In 2015-2020, words such as 'Islam/Islamisation', 'integration' and 'inburgering' are the most frequently used words with photographs of Muslim women. That seems to be a reflection of the political and social debates during this period about the arrival and integration of (Islamic) refugees from Syria, among other countries, and the ultra-right-wing anti-Islam resistance by the PVV and extreme right-wing groups like Pegida, Voorpost, Identitair Verzet and Rechts in Verzet who oppose the 'Islamisation' of the Netherlands (Butter, Van Oordt, Van der Valk, 2020).

2005-2010

1.Cities (1. Amsterdam, 2. Den Haag, 3. Rotterdam)

2. Muslim/Muslima

3. Headscarf

4. Neighbourhood

5. Multicultural society

6. Allochtoon/allochtonen

2015-2020

1. Steden (1. Den Haag, 2. Amsterdam, 3. Rotterdam)

2. Islam/islamisering

3. Integration

4. Headscarf

5. Civic integration

6. Groceries

4.3.   Frequently used tags

Photographers often use the search words *allochtoon*, *allochtonen*, *multicultural*, and *headscarf* to make their photos findable for photo editors. Whereas words such as *Islamic/religion* and *integrate* were still the most commonly used words in the
used in the period 2005-2010, these words have made way in the top five in 2015-2020 for words such as *atmospheric image* and *asylum seekers*.

2005-2010

1. Allochtoon/allochtonen

2. Headscarf

3. Multicultural (society)

4. Islamic/Religion

5. Integrating

2015-2020

1. Headscarf

2. Ethnic minority/ethnicity

3. Atmospheric image

4. Multicultural

5. Asylum seekers

4.4.   Position of those photographed

Below we will compare how Muslim women are portrayed in the photographs. In 2015-2020 Muslim women can be seen from afar in almost two-thirds of the cases (65%). That is an

increase compared to 2005-2010 when that was the case for 45% of the photographs.[15]

	2005-2010	2015-2020
Close	7%	13%
Medium	67%	41%
Far	45%	64%

In 2005-2010, most of the photos show Muslim women either recognisably or in profile. In 29% of the photos, the women were unrecognisable. In 2015-2020 in almost half of the photos (49%) the woman was unrecognisable. One possible explanation for this increase is that the number of photos of women wearing a niqab also increased in this period.

	2005-2010	2015-2020
Recognisable	45%	40%
In profile	51%	38%
Unrecognisable	29%	49%

4.5.   Head coverings

The vast majority of all photographs show women wearing headscarves. In 2005-2010 this was the case in 91% of photos. In 2015-2020, the number of photos of Muslim women wearing headscarves dropped to 81%. A striking increase is the number of photographs showing women wearing a niqab. Whereas in 2005-2010 this was only 7%, in 2015-2020 it has increased to 20%. That is most likely due to this period's political and social discussion on the burqa ban.

	2005-2010	2015-2020
With headscarf	91%	82%
Without headscarf	6%	4%
With niqab/burqa	7%	20%

[15]It is worth emphasising that when the photos were scanned and categorised, more than one box was ticked for images showing more than one Muslim woman. The percentages given in the tables in this section can therefore add up to (much) more than 100%.

4.6.   Location

Indoors and outdoors

In almost all photos, Muslim women were photographed outside the home. In 2005-2010 this applied to 92% of the photos, and in 2015-2020 this slightly increased to 95%. While in 2005-2010 6% of the photos were taken in the home environment of the people photographed, in 2015-2020, this dropped to only 1%.

	2005-2010	2015-2020
Portrait	3%	3%
Indoors	6%	1%
Outdoors	92%	95%

Outdoor setting

What is striking about the results is that many photos were taken in the street. In 2005-2010, this applied to 35% of the photos and in 2015-2020 to 30%. In the period 2005-2010, 8% of the photos were taken in a problem district, and in 2015-2020 this drops to 4%. By problem district, we mean all the photos that the photographer has named in the description or the tags as a problem district, disadvantaged district or Vogelaar district.

Another typical setting in which the Muslim women were photographed was while shopping or visiting a market. The number of photos of women shopping rose from 6% to 10%, and the number of photos of women going to a market rose from 15% to 10%.

Interestingly, there was a significant increase in the percentage of photos taken on the beach from 1% to 7%. The explanation for this is that in 2015-2020, many photos taken on the beach were staged photos of models posing in a burkini. Almost all of these photos were taken by one photographer who said she used her daughter as a model. An increase in these photos is probably related to the burkini ban introduced in France in 2016.

	2005-2010	2015-2020		2005-2010	2015-2020
Unclear setting	5%	3%	Religious setting	5%	5%
Shopping	6%	10%	Court	1%	1%
Market	4%	6%	Sports	3%	1%
Public transport	3%	5%	Beach	1%	7%
Street	35%	30%	Park	2%	2%
Problem district	8%	4%	Pool	1%	0%
Education	13%	3%	Day trip	2%	6%
At work	5%	1%	Other	18%	13%
Theatre/Museum	2%	0%			

Different settings

Street	Photographs of Muslim women walking, cycling, playing, standing, being outdoors, in a neighbourhood, a street or a playground. Demonstrations and protests held outside. All photos taken in a 'problem district' also fall under this category. In this case, both boxes were ticked during the analysis of the photos.
Shopping	Photos of Muslim women seen in a shopping street, in a shopping centre, in or in front of a shop.
Court	Photos of Muslim women seen in or in front of the entrance to Court.
At work	Photos of Muslim women at work (in a bakery, as a teacher, as a cleaner etc).
Public transport	Photos of Muslim women on a bus, train, tram, subway or waiting, walking at a train/bus/tram/metro station.
Education	Photos taken in classrooms, schoolyards, school canteens, community centres where classes (computer classes, language classes) are given.
Other	Photos taken in polling stations, exhibition halls and conference halls, centres for asylum seekers, community centres, the Lower House, hospitals and other places that do not fall under the above categories.
Unclear setting	It's clear the photo was taken outdoors, but it's not clear where the woman/women in the photo are. Usually these photographs are zoomed in so much that hardly anything of the surroundings is visible.

4.7. Events

Approximately one-third of the photographs were taken at an event in 2005-2010 and 2015-2020. While 2005-2010 a lot of photos were taken at demonstrations and trade fairs, in 2015-2020, there was a substantial increase in the number of photos taken at election rallies and debates. Perhaps this is due to the media attention for the elections in Turkey in that period, where the loyalty of Turkish-Dutch citizens was often called into question, on top of the elections to the House of Representatives (2017) and municipal councils (2018). The debates about the burqa ban could explain the increase in these pictures.

	2005-2010	2015-2020
No event	67%	68%
Iftar	1%	4%
Politicians visiting	5%	3%
Demonstration	10%	6%
Trade fair/ conference	15%	15%
Election	0%	19%
Debate	0%	17%
Other events	17%	18%

Events

Under the category *event,* we included every gathering or activity, large-scale or small-scale, for which a particular programme is planned on the day in question. That includes, for example, iftar gatherings, politicians visiting a mosque, a school or a ribbon-cutting. In addition, demonstrations and fairs such as career fairs, education fairs and halal fairs, as well as King's/Queen's Day, debates in the House of Representatives, commemorations and casting a vote in a polling station during elections.

Other events include photos that were taken during, for example, Queen's Day, Kings Day, open days in mosques, national days such as the National IQ test, National Vaccination Day or National Naturalisation Day. But also Gay Pride, Burkini Day and commemorations.

5. Comparative research

To get an idea of the extent to which there are one-sided photos in the ANP image bank, we compared the photos with those that can be found in the image bank of Getty Images. This international company supplies content to visual media, including stock photos. Photographers worldwide contribute images to the image bank, which are sold internationally.

In 2017, the image bank partnered with US platform MuslimGirl.com to combat the misrepresentation of Muslim women in the media, among other things. Both platforms strive to make the image of the Muslim woman more diverse so that it better reflects the world of today's Muslim women.[16]

Because Getty Images has a specific policy regarding photographs of Muslim women, we have chosen to make a comparison with the ANP database. It is not extensive research, but it can give an indication.

The comparative study was no more than exploratory research. We looked at the images that appeared after entering the keyword *Muslim woman*. While scrolling and looking at the images, we kept three questions in mind that we will answer below. These questions were:

- *What are the striking similarities and differences between the photos of Muslim women in the ANP and Getty Images databases?*
    - *To what extent is there diversity in photographs from Getty Images?*
    - *What do the descriptions and tags show and to what extent does this differ from ANP?*

5.1. Similarities and differences

A striking similarity is that Getty Images also offers many photos taken for editorial purposes at events, demonstrations and on the street. The big difference is that these images are interspersed with a range of images taken in other locations and under different circumstances.

Other settings/context

What is immediately noticeable is that the Getty Images photos with Muslim women have a greater variety of settings than the photos with Muslim women in the ANP database. For example, there is a photo of a Muslim woman who has rolled out her yoga mat at home and is doing yoga. But also a Muslim woman in a business setting, sitting behind her laptop in her jacket and talking on the phone. Or a Muslim woman driving a car, refereeing a football match, a mother helping her son with his homework, an older couple walking hand in hand happily, friends having coffee in a trendy coffee shop, a happy family portrait at the kitchen table, a Muslim woman giving a presentation at a meeting, a Muslim family in hospital with their newborn baby, a vlogging Muslim woman, a Muslim woman in a lab doing research, and many

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[16]http://press.gettyimages.com/getty-images-and-muslimgirl-com-partner-to-promote-positive-images-of-modern-muslim-women/

more circumstances that reflect daily work, sports and family life. These are all photos of Muslim women that cannot be found in the ANP database.
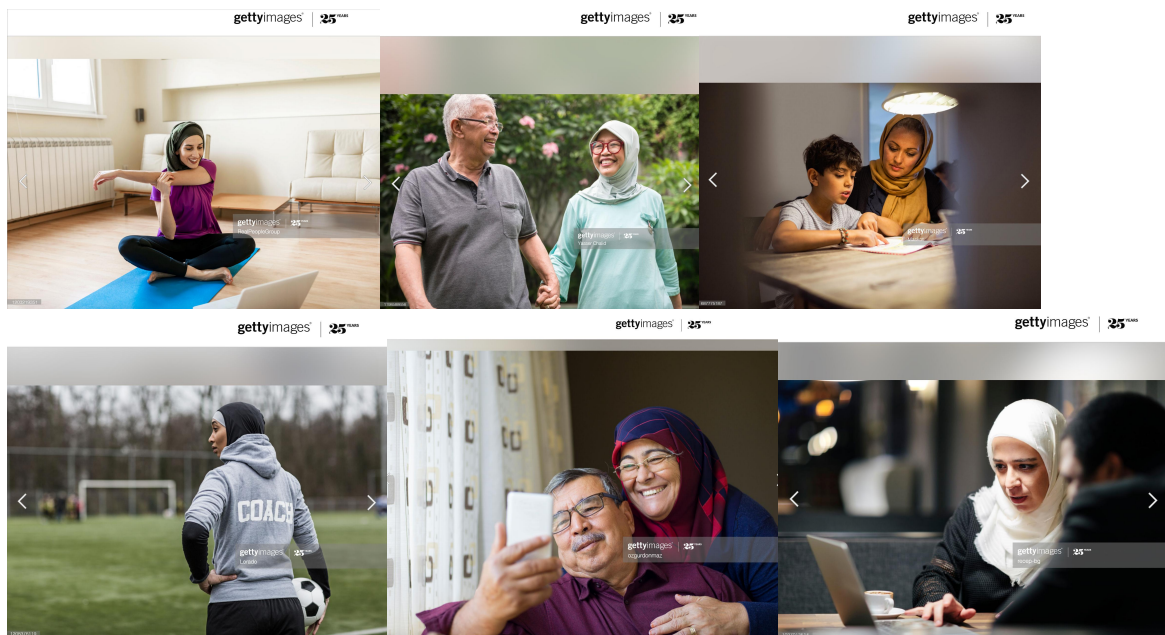
screenshots Getty Images

In a neighbourhood

Another difference is that, in contrast to the ANP image bank, Getty Images has considerably fewer images of Muslim women who were photographed in the street. In the ANP, there are relatively many photos of groups of women walking through a neighbourhood photographed from a distance. That is far less common with Getty Images.

Smaller series

Remarkably, almost all photos in the Getty Images image bank differ from each other. It is impossible to find a series of more than fifteen similar photos of a particular moment the image editor has to choose from. At Getty Images, one or at most a few photos of a specific event can be found (if it concerns a demonstration, for example). That is significantly different at the ANP, where the range of photos of a particular event or shoot is extensive and can go up to hundreds of photos.

Interviews with the photographers show that the ample supply of images has to do with the fact that ANP has no direct control over the number of photos that photographers can upload.

Photographer 4 (male):
> *"In the beginning, the work was reviewed with a critical eye. That became less and less. Then they said 'just send it in'. If it was really rubbish, it didn't make it in. But at a certain point, it became diluted. There were staff cutbacks. I noticed that some of my colleagues had 300 photos of an event, and they were all equally bad. With captions that made you think: what is this?"*

Photographer 7 (male):

> *"It's a jungle at the ANP. Anyone can post on it and do whatever they want. It is a commercial profession; we all want to sell photos and make a living from our photography. Producing a lot of photos pays off. Although many photo editors find that tedious, to have so many images coming in."*

Photographer 6 (male):

> *"The difference between before and now is so insanely huge, it's terrible.*
> *Now it's a bin, a bulk, rubbish. I sometimes see photos of photographers who just upload everything. As a photographer, I would choose one image. I would put in one or two images, but they drown in the rest. It is terrible; the quality is no longer important. Money and competition play a role."*

Director of the ANP Bas van Beek says it is difficult to set a limit on the incoming photos:

> *"I know exactly which photographers upload way too many photos, but occasionally they also have something you want to get a lot of pictures of. This is also an economic factor. The strict selections that used to take place are now unaffordable; it is no longer possible. For the photographer, selecting is also unfeasible because it takes too much time. [...] I think we can take care of that manually and with communication, but you have to use artificial intelligence if you really want to do that. We are working on that now. The software can then indicate 'we have too many of these photos'. That is where we have to get to. In the meantime, the real scumbags have limiters; they are allowed to upload a maximum number of photos and a limited number of keywords."*

Descriptions

Both at the ANP and at Getty Images, place and date have to be included with a photo. This is followed by a description of what can be seen in the photo. With Getty Images, this is always a factual description of what is happening in the photo, with sometimes a few additional sentences giving background information on the situation if it is a news item. The descriptions often consist of one sentence to six sentences at most. We did not notice any words in the descriptions that had nothing to do with the context.

That is different at the ANP. In contrast to Getty Images, ANP photographers regularly use words that are not directly related to the photo's context. As described earlier, this increases the chance of selling the photo.

If we compare the descriptions we found in chapter 3.3 to a description of comparable photos of Getty Images, the difference is clear.

> Netherlands, Rotterdam, 26 October 2019,
> Fully veiled religious orthodox Islamic woman Muslima on the market in the center Downtown Rotterdam,
> fully veiled women are probably salafistic Muslims in Shopping center Rotterdam
> shopping center / salafists Salafism Islam salafistic Muslim Koran faith streetview shoppers Shopping in
> center shopping street shopping retailer running errands public cityscape inner city / Salafism (also spelled
> as Salafiyya or selefie) or athari is a fundamentalistic movement within Sunni Islam, orthodox religious

> Muslim orthodox religion Muslima Muslims streetview society / burqa ban legislation garment face
> covering clothing head covering clothing burqa ban Islamic Islam society oppression women woman

Example ANP | Market

Muslim Community In Whitechapel London

People from various ethnic backgrounds, particularly from the Muslim community around the market on Whitechapel High Street
in East London, United Kingdom. This area in the Tower Hamlets is predominantly Muslim with over 50% of Bangladeshi descent.
This is known as a very Asian and multi cultural part of Londons East End. (photo by Mike Kemp/In Pictures via Getty Images
Images)

Example Getty Images | Market

The same applies to the example below, where the photographers wrote a description to a
photograph of an iftar gathering.

> ROTTERDAM- Mayor Ahmed Aboutaleb during an iftar for the neighborhood in De Middenweg centre.
> Neighbors of the Middenweg Mosque in Rotterdam attend the annual neighbor iftar. Mayor Ahmed
> Aboutaleb of Rotterdam welcomes these kinds of initiatives that bring people together. ROBIN UTRECHT
> koran reading holy book praying mosque prayer
> allochtonen allochtoon praying cultural the diversity eu europe eurepean prayer house of worship faith
> believers religion holland in integration islam islamisation islamic social society fellow countrymen migrants
> mohammedan mohammedans mosque muslim muslims multi multicultural netherlands norms ramadan
> religion religious society sharia social union month of fasting freedom values 2019 reflection cultural culture
> drinking eating faith believers religion holland headscarf iftar islam islamic month society muslim muslima
> muslims multi multicultural netherlands breaking fast ramadan2019 religion religious society social soup
> fasting month of fasting breaking food woman
> 2019 reflection cultural culture drinking eating faith believers religion holland headscarf iftar islam islamic
> month social society muslim muslima muslims multi multicultural netherlands breaking fast ramadan2019
> religion religious society social soup fasting month of fasting breaking food woman western

Example ANP description | Iftar

TOPSHOT-SAFRICA-RELIGION-MUSLIM-MASS-INTERFAITH-IFTAR

TOPSHOT - Muslim women pray on the 27th day of the holy fasting month of Ramadan at the Kingsmead Cricket grounds in Durban
at a mass interfaith iftar, the evening meal traditionally taken by Muslims after sunset during Ramadan on June 2, 2019. - The
underlying theme is to promote harmony, tolerance, understanding leading to peace between people of various faiths. (Photo by
Rajesh JANTILAL / AFP) (Photo credit should read RAJESH JANTILAL/AFP via Getty Images)

US-RELIGION-ISLAM-IFTAR

Women pray before iftar, the traditional Ramadan fast-breaking meal, at Lafayette Square during the Muslim holy month of
Ramadan on June 6, 2018 in Washington, DC. - The White House is hosting an iftar dinner at the same time. (Photo by Mandel Ngan
/ AFP) (Photo credit should read MANDEL NGAN/AFP via Getty Images)

Examples Getty Images description | Iftar

Tags

Photos by photographers working for ANP can also be found at Getty Images. The most
significant difference is not the type of photos they upload but the descriptions and tags used.
Whereas some photographers at ANP add long descriptions and lots of tags that go beyond
the context of the photo and often contain words from the political and social debate, this is
hardly the case with Getty Images. The descriptions of the photos by the same photographers
at Getty Images consist of a summary of the photo's content and a brief description of the
context, usually the news lead for the photo. None of the descriptions from Getty Images
contain individual keywords, which is the case with the ANP.
The photographer that often adds long descriptions and keywords/tags at ANP does not do so
for photos in Getty Images. According to an interviewed photographer, Getty Images employs

editors who first check the photos and select the images. The photographer then sends a description of the photo, and the editors of Getty Images edit the text. It is then sent back to the photographer, who must include it in the data for their photo. This also includes the tags. Lastly, the editors do a final check, and the images are ready to be uploaded.

Director Bas van Beek would also like to do this at ANP, but they do not have the resources for this. Moreover, he believes that Getty Images makes extensive use of high-quality technology and has more resources because they are a much larger agency with much more funding. ANP does have some control over what comes in: photo editors intervene if they see too many images being uploaded or descriptions that need editing. But also if clients or fellow photographers say something:

> *"It's reactive; we don't check at the door to see what is coming in. That's how it used to be, but that's no longer the case."*

6. Conclusion

There are about a million people in the Netherlands who consider themselves Muslim. They constitute more than 5% of the Dutch population. This is a population group that is enormously diverse: they come from dozens of countries of origin, belong to widely divergent movements, and profess their faith in various ways. Until the turn of the century, they were considered to be 'migrant workers' or 'allochtonen'; but since the attacks of 11 September 2001 and the murder of Theo van Gogh, the emphasis has shifted to their (alleged) religious background (Butter, Van Oordt, van der Valk, 2020; Meuzelaar, 2014).

Research by the Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau (SCP, Netherlands Institute for Social Research) has shown that two-thirds of Dutch Muslims experience discrimination (Andriessen et al., 2020). Research by the Verweij Jonker Institute (Van Wonderen and Kapel, 2017) shows that the media can play a major role in the discrimination of Muslims.

The media play an essential role in the way people look at society and each other. Language and images are crucial here. When the media fulfill a journalistic function, they must report truthfully, as described in the Code for Journalism.[17]

In the past thirty years, a lot of research has been done into how Muslims are depicted in the media. However, very little attention has been paid to the role of the image banks. That is why we analysed them in this study. We focused mainly on the way Muslim women are portrayed. We limited this to three periods and photographs that had the indication 'Muslima' in the tag or description. These are the photos that a photo or image editor finds when they search for photos of Muslim women.

Here we noticed that:
- The photographs of Muslim women present a one-sided picture. This one-sidedness comprises different aspects.
    - In almost all photos, the women are veiled or wearing a niqab. Muslimas without a veil are rarely portrayed.
    - Muslim women are almost always portrayed outdoors and largely passively (walking by, standing, listening, sitting). They are rarely portrayed as citizens actively contributing to society (e.g. employee, manager, volunteer). Nor are they captured in their own social environment; for example, a mother helping her child with their homework or parents cuddling their newborn baby in the hospital. Images like this can be found in the Getty Images image bank.
- The descriptions and keywords often contain stigmatising or stereotyping language. In the periods studied, words such as allochtoon, integration, civic integration, Islamisation, Islam and headscarf dominate. These words partly determine the context in which the photos end up in the media.
- Many of the stigmatising words do not correspond to what is actually shown in the photo. Photographers use these stereotyping words out of commercial considerations

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[17] https://www.nvj.nl/ethiek/ethiek/code-journalistiek-nederlands-genootschap-hoofdredacteuren-2008

to increase the findability of their photos. The words they connect to the photo are largely taken from previously published media articles.

- That quickly leads to a process that perpetuates and reinforces stereotypes and frames. Connecting words (such as integration, Islamisation, civic integration) that appear in the media to the images of Muslim women increases the chance that these images will be placed in the same context by a photo editor.
- We must emphasise here that we did not look at the final use of the photos. It could be possible that (some) photo editors achieve a more versatile representation of reality through their choice of photos. That could be a subject for a follow-up study.

Who could break this process? Several actors play a role here:
the photographer taking the photos and placing them, including descriptions, in the image bank; the image bank offering the photos and the photo editor selecting the photo to be linked to the report.To what extent do these different actors experience and take responsibility for a truthful representation of Muslim women in the Netherlands?

Photographers

Several photographers indicate that they are aware of the negative frame in which Muslims are depicted. Some of them choose not to take certain photos or not to upload certain photos to the image bank.

Photographer 2 (female):
> *"For example, if I'm photographing an UWV[18] building and a Muslim woman happens to walk by, I don't capture it, because then the Muslim woman is already associated with the UWV again. Then I just put autochthon people on it."*

Photographer 3 (male):
> *"Yes, I think about media depiction. Especially with refugees who I followed for a while in the Netherlands. I had photos where someone was shouting something, which can come across as aggression when it was not. In that case, I consciously chose to leave those photos out. You know about some media, they will definitely use that. And not in the right context."*

Photographer 1 (female):
> *"When I went to photograph at the Islamic butcher, I was received very warmly. I realised that I could take beautiful photos, but at the same time, I was also aware that the photos could be misused. In the stereotyping of violent Muslims with that huge knife, or the whole thing with halal meat. I don't want the photo to be used against halal."*

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[18] UWV (Employee Insurance Agency) is an autonomous administrative authority (ZBO) and is commissioned by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment (SZW) to implement employee insurances and provide labour market and data services.

Photographer 4 (male) believes that photographers should take responsibility:
> *"You have a commercial interest, but photographers have to take their responsibility: those people in the photo are not abstract; that's what everyone should realise."*

According to ANP director Bas van Beek, the ANP should have balanced sets of photos on all themes, including Muslim women. According to him, the photojournalist is primarily responsible for the media depiction, which must be factually correct (nothing may have been staged unless it is a model released image, in which case models are used). But according to him, photojournalism is framing as well:

> *"One photographer may well photograph a passing Muslim woman wearing a headscarf at the UWV; the other will not. In addition, the end user will frame; one newspaper will give a different visual signal with the same photo than another newspaper, for example, because of the accompanying text."*

The image bank

In the eyes of some photographers, the image bank has an important responsibility for media depiction. Because although the photographers create the image, the image bank makes the image available to the media. According to one photographer interviewed, the influence of the image bank is ultimately more significant than the influence of the photographer.

Photographer 4 (male):
> *"Because of the image bank, a photo of me with a woman wearing a headscarf was published five or six times. A well-made, well-tagged photo has a very wide reach."*

Another photographer states that the image bank is also partly responsible for monitoring what photos come in and what descriptions and tags are added. For example, one photographer says that the image bank has a responsibility to check the factuality of the descriptions and keywords. At the same time, some photographers feel that the image bank should not determine which photos may or may not be uploaded.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, ANP director Bas van Beek would like to work similarly to Getty Images, but he does not have the money or means to do so. Selecting and checking incoming photos in advance requires money and high-grade techniques, which ANP cannot afford (yet).

> *"ANP will guard the balance in the image as best as possible by, for example, applying artificial intelligence to photos and tags and by looking at and curating the collection with the editors. But, as mentioned earlier, it is - unfortunately - impossible to assess all the photos in the image bank manually.*

Photo editor

Ultimately, the photo editor chooses the photo from the image bank and places it in a particular context. According to one of the interviewed photographers, there are enough 'neutral' images

to be found in the ANP database. Still, the photo editors and the media place the photos in a negative context.

Photographer 7 (male):
> *"The photo editors have a responsibility; they have to be aware of their own opinion and interpretation of the image. It would be best if you had good newspaper and photo editors and people who know how to illustrate certain articles. If Wilders shouts something about Islam, what should you show? That is the responsibility of the photo editors."*

Chief NOS online Gerard de Kloet says that this subject is topical on his editorial board:

> *"We don't have any rules or quotas, but we did start working on whether the image we put down is not too one-sided. We started talking and thinking about it. There has been a lot of discussion with us about diversity and what image you project. It is about the full extent of the image. Which shopping streets, which regions, which people? We started paying attention to that and emphasising it so that the image is the image of the whole of the Netherlands."*

Finding the right pictures also involves searching the right keywords. Editors often search for simple, easy keywords that they use frequently and for this reason, they often end up with previously used photos. According to Gerard de Kloet, using other keywords can help them find photos that they couldn't find in the first place.

> *"Sometimes we think we can't find things, but they turn out to be there, just under different keywords. We search all the time for 'civic integration', but if you look for 'training asylum seekers', you also find images, but those are not the words we immediately search for. We usually use easy words; if we have time and type in other keywords, we end up with other images."*

Shared responsibility

Others emphasise that it is primarily a joint responsibility. For example, photographer 4 (male) believes that awareness is the first step. The conversation about media depiction should be more open, and there should be more concern about everyone's responsibility in this:

> *"The photographer and the image bank are 100% responsible for what happens to the woman if she appears in the newspaper. The picture editor has 100% responsibility if he picks out that photo. I think everyone is 100% responsible for what happens to that kind of photo."*

6.1. Recommendations

Finally, this leads to some recommendations and suggestions from members of the sounding board, the interviewees and the researchers themselves. The recommendations are aimed at

the ANP and the photographers, but also at the photo editors working at the various media editorial offices.

Acknowledge your influence and take responsibility

Everyone should start by creating or increasing awareness about the influence of photographs on framing and the media's influence on it. Photographers, photo editors and image databases are all part of the media and together, they shape this image. Recognise this and take responsibility. Only then will it be possible to make fundamental changes to a system that maintains stigmatising images. Make sure that photographers and editors increase their knowledge of the diversity of Muslim women. It is also essential to train them to recognise stereotyping and teach them how to do it differently. And make sure that editors, journalists, and photographers are diverse and have different cultural backgrounds (Papaikonomou, Dijkman, 2018).

Set clear guidelines, monitor and take action

As an image bank, draw up guidelines that photographers and (photo) editors must comply with, for example, when writing descriptions and choosing tags. Check whether the guidelines are being maintained. If that is not the case, take measures that have consequences for photographers and (photo) editors.

The interviews show that the need to use other photos, descriptions or tags is not great because ANP hardly controls which material goes into the image bank. That is one of the reasons why ANP's rules remain non-committal, in contrast to Getty Images, which does not allow photos being uploaded just like that. Technology, for example, could play a significant role in the implementation of guidelines by using programmes that automatically check the keywords entered.

Make the image bank more diverse

As an image bank, take responsibility for the range of images on offer and encourage this range to become more diverse. For example, the settings in which Muslim women are photographed should reflect more aspects of their daily lives. Take the example of Getty Images, where Muslim women are seen in work situations more often (in the business and higher education segments), family situations, leisure, social activities with friends. Show that Muslim women actually participate in society as active citizens, for example, as professionals or volunteers.

Check all photos and keywords

Check the factuality of the descriptions and keywords that photographers put in the photographs. Take a look at the Getty Images process, which asks each photographer to provide their set of photos and descriptions to an editor, who then checks whether the descriptions comply with their guidelines. If the description does not, it is corrected, and the editor then adds the keywords to the photos themselves. That also prevents the proliferation of (stigmatising) texts and words that no longer have much to do with the (actual) context of the photo. This makes it easier for photo editors at editorial boards to find photos that fit the subject.

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