

The Power of Domesticity:

A Historical Analysis of Dutch Newspaper Imagery
in Conflict Reporting (1922-1994)



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Preface

I would like to express my gratitude to my valuable supervisor,
dr. Pieter van den Heede for his enthusiastic guidance, trust and feedback.

My Family,

Among most, my partner and daughter, who supported me through this
challenging process.

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the evolution of visual representations of conflict in Dutch newspaper media throughout the twentieth century. Drawing on visual imaginaries by analysing changes in photographic practices, such as framing, subject positioning, signifying elements, and the use of space, this research reveals how visual patterns contribute to shaping shared cultural understandings of conflict and how these have changed over time. Employing a combination of multimodal artificial intelligence and semiotic analysis, the study conducts a quantitative visual examination of the “Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen”¹ dataset, which includes 1.6 million digitised images and captions from Dutch newspapers published between 1922 and 1994.² This approach enables a longitudinal perspective on Dutch conflict reporting and its evolving visual language.

The inspiration for this thesis was provoked by observations surrounding current conflict reporting, which often uses domestic fragments and environments to narrate. These archetypical domestic elements, representing Russian-Ukrainian and Israeli-Palestinian wars, are widely recognisable across Western societies. As such, they foster empathy by mirroring the viewer’s own most private spaces, offering an emotional bridge between distant conflict and everyday life without directly documenting human suffering. These findings sparked a wonder about how such conventions have developed historically and how changing cultural, political, and technological contexts have shaped the visual imaginaries of conflicts published in Dutch newspaper media.

KEYWORDS

Visual Imaginaries, Conflict, Macroscopic Research, Quantitative Image Analysis, Photojournalism, Dutch Newspaper, Domestic Space, KBK-1M, Digital Archive, Multimodal, Visual Analysis

¹ Martijn Kleppe and Desmond Elliott, ‘1 Million Dutch Newspaper Images Available for Researchers: The KBK-1M Dataset’ (DANS Data Station Social Sciences and Humanities, 2016), <https://doi.org/10.17026/DANS-ZFN-U8K4>.

² Desmond Elliott and Martijn Kleppe, ‘1 Million Captioned Dutch Newspaper Images’, in *Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC’16)*, ed. Nicoletta Calzolari et al. (LREC 2016, Portorož, Slovenia: European Language Resources Association (ELRA), 2016), 3054–58, <https://aclanthology.org/L16-1488>.

List of Abbreviations

AI	Artificial Intelligence
CLIP	Multimodal model Contrastive Language-Image Pre-Training
KBK-1M	Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen
KB	Dutch National Library
NLP	Natural language processing
OCR	Optical Character Recognition
PD	Primary dataset
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation
UCDP	The Uppsala Conflict Data Program
WWII	Second World War

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Chapter 1

Introductory Chapter

1.1 Introduction

Over the past few decades, numerous analyses have examined how conflict is visually represented in news media, including Dutch newspapers. However, most available studies have adopted a qualitative, close-reading approach. A large-scale, longitudinal visual analysis of conflict imagery in Dutch newspapers has yet to be conducted. Such macroscopic historical research is necessary to move beyond the narrow canon of individually examined images and toward a fuller understanding of broader visual representation systems.³ Emerging technologies now enable the analysis of large multimodal datasets, supporting the detection of long-term patterns that were previously difficult to observe.⁴ As media historians and journalism scholars have demonstrated, images have become increasingly central to news discourse, particularly throughout the twentieth century, culminating in today's visually dominated media landscape.⁵ This rapidly increasing volume of digitised and born-digital material demands new research practices to conquer these ever-growing historical archives. Yet, researching these image archives digitally has long been underexplored in the humanities and is only slowly gaining traction supported by technological advancement.⁶ This thesis contributes to the emerging field by building on the work of a small group of historians engaged in multimodal historical analysis alongside a broader tradition of media and visual culture research in the Dutch context to highlight the significance of macroscopic research into visual imaginaries.

³ Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading* (London: Verso, 2013), 48–49.

⁴ Thomas Smits and Melvin Wevers, 'A Multimodal Turn in Digital Humanities. Using Contrastive Machine Learning Models to Explore, Enrich, and Analyze Digital Visual Historical Collections', *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 38, no. 3 (31 August 2023): 1, <https://doi.org/10.1093/llc/fqad008>.

⁵ Bernadette Kester and Martijn Kleppe, 'Acceptatie, Professionalisering En Innovatie Persfotografie in Nederland, 1837-2014', in *In Bardoel, J. & Wijffes, H., Journalistieke Cultuur in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 53–76.

⁶ Melvin Wevers and Thomas Smits, 'The Visual Digital Turn: Using Neural Networks to Study Historical Images', *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 35, no. 1 (April 2020): 194–95, <https://doi.org/10.1093/llc/fqy085>.

1.2 Research Question

Researching the evolution of conflict representation in Dutch newspaper photography offers valuable insight into how the medium of press photography has developed in both form and function over time. This thesis examines how photographers, editors, and media professionals have constructed and reinforced visual imaginaries of conflict within the Dutch context throughout the twentieth century. By analysing changing approaches to composition, thematic focus, and the role of the photograph and its caption, the study traces how ideas about what conflict imagery should communicate have evolved.

As previously mentioned, despite the growing significance of visual media today, there has been a notable lack of large-scale historical research into conflict-related imagery in newspapers. This thesis addresses that gap by conducting a longitudinal analysis of visual patterns in Dutch press photography over a 72-year period, from 1922, when photographs began to appear more regularly in newspapers, to 1994, which marks the beginning of newspaper digitisation.⁷ To investigate this underexplored development, the following primary research question has been formulated: *How did the visual imaginary of conflict in Dutch newspaper photography evolve between 1922 and 1994?*

Since this thesis aims to construct a macroscopic view of conflict representation over time, it begins by generating a broad overview of how conflict was portrayed in Dutch newspaper media. This leads to the first sub-question: *Which long-term patterns can be identified in the visual representation of conflict in Dutch newspapers, specifically regarding depicted topics, objects, people, and perspectives?* This broader analysis will reveal a variety of visual strategies and shifts in how ‘conflict’ was published over time. One notable tendency in contemporary conflict reporting is the frequent use of images portraying destroyed domestic environments. This observation raises questions about the historical roots of this current visual language and the motivations behind its emergence. Accordingly, the second sub-question is:

⁷ Huub Wijffjes and Frank Harberts, eds., *De Krant: Een Cultuurgeschiedenis*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Boom, 2019).

How did the depiction of 'domesticity' evolve between 1922 and 1994 in Dutch newspaper coverage of conflict?

In addition, the domestic environments presented in such imagery often resonate with Western ideals of home, making them particularly effective in eliciting empathy from viewers. This prompts further inquiry into whose domestic spaces were represented in earlier decades and whose remained unseen. This leads to the third sub-question: *Who is 'granted' the representation of 'domesticity' in conflict imagery by Dutch newspapers, and how can we characterise the overall portrayal of 'domesticity' in this context?*

These questions will help clarify how newspapers have visually reported conflicts over time while revealing the larger tendencies and trends employed and making a link to the current conflict reporting style.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

The growing prominence of news photography in the representation of conflict lies in its ability to convey immediate and emotionally impactful meaning, often shaping public interpretation and understanding more rapidly than written text.⁸ To support an in-depth analysis of these visual narratives, the theoretical framework is divided into two main sections. The first section focuses on the concept of *visual imaginaries*, outlining key theoretical approaches to how images generate meaning, carry symbolic and ideological significance, and can be interpreted across historical contexts. The second section addresses the concept of the *domestic imaginary*, examining how domesticity is visually represented and how its presence in conflict imagery can be identified, understood, and critically analysed.

⁸ Roland Barthes and Annette Lavers, *Mythologies* (New York: The Noonday Press, 1991), 108–109.

1.3.1 Visual Imaginaries

Press photography operates as an inherently suggestive form of communication, even when it appears explicit or objective.⁹ Photographs are carefully constructed and composed, undergoing selection and treatment following professional standards, aesthetic preferences, and ideological norms.¹⁰ Additionally, these images are published in specific newspaper brands, arranged in layouts, paired with captions, and embedded alongside articles, thereby shaping the reception and interpretation of the photograph.¹¹ Therefore, press images are intended to be *read as a language* fostering additional understanding of a conflict. The images researched in this thesis encompass a wide range of information. To create cohesiveness in their reading, theoretical frameworks in semiology will be used to accompany their analysis.

Anchoring & Relaying

The most immediate neighbours of an image in a newspaper are its captions, headlines, and articles. According to Roland Barthes, images are inherently polysemous, meaning they can evoke multiple interpretations.¹² To extend or limit these varying readings, the text is used to 'anchor' or 'relay' the image to a preferred meaning, providing clarity and reducing ambiguity.¹³ While 'anchoring' ties the image to a specific interpretation, 'relaying' offers additional context or secondary meanings.¹⁴ This process steers audiences toward a particular reading, stabilising the visual content within a designed ideological or narrative framework.¹⁵ Susan Sontag emphasises the power of captions, which can influence and even override the visual evidence the viewer perceives.¹⁶ Pointing out that words are more

⁹ Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text: Essays*, trans. Stephen Heath, 13. [Dr.] (London: Fontana, 1977), 15–31.

¹⁰ Barthes, 15–31.

¹¹ Barthes, 15–31.

¹² Barthes, 38–41.

¹³ Barthes, 38–41.

¹⁴ Barthes, 38–41.

¹⁵ Barthes, 38–41.

¹⁶ Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (S.I.: RosettaBooks, 2020), 84.

directive and can temporarily blind audiences, only to see what is constructed to be witnessed.¹⁷

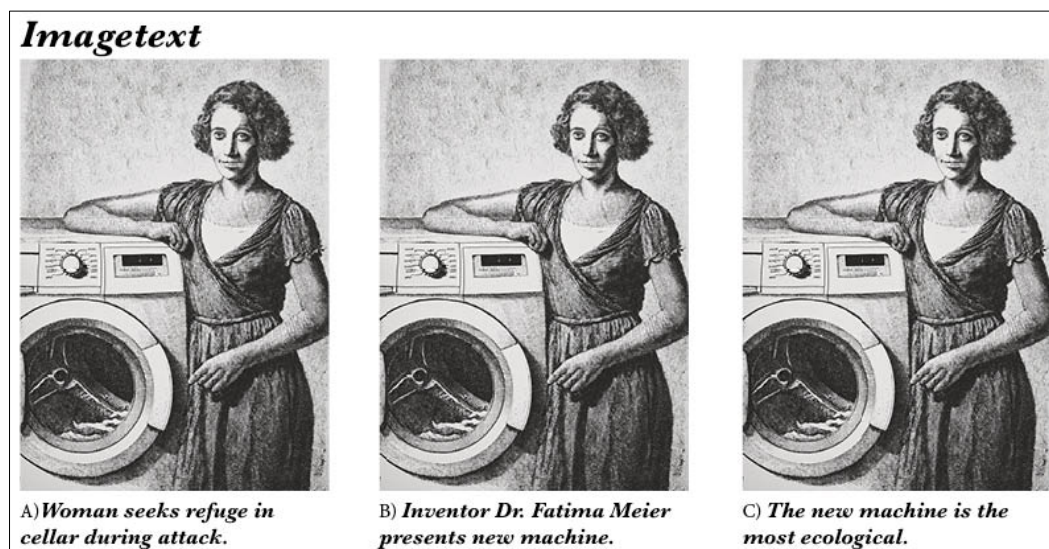


Figure 1.1 Visual examples of how text can anchor the interpretation of an image or the role of the object/person/situation depicted. Source: Graphics by author, image AI generated.

In the context of this thesis, incorporating the textual layer into the analysis will help maintain a closer connection to the original role and meaning of an image held within the newspaper. It will also highlight the constructed nature of the photograph's meaning and its intended interpretation. This approach is part of a 'multimodal' perspective, which involves analysing multiple modes of communication, such as text and image, not in isolation but in combination to understand better how meaning is created. The multimodal artificial intelligence (AI) model, later used to analyse and categorise the large corpus into visual subgroups, is grounded in 'image-text' theory, which integrates visual data (pixels) and textual data (character strings) to enhance automated interpretations of intended meanings in visual representations.¹⁸ By mapping text and images into a shared semantic space, this model facilitates the processing of vast quantities of visual content, making it possible to uncover patterns, themes, and shifts in

¹⁷ Sontag, 84.

¹⁸ Smits and Wevers, 'A Multimodal Turn in Digital Humanities. Using Contrastive Machine Learning Models to Explore, Enrich, and Analyze Digital Visual Historical Collections'.

representation that would be challenging to discern through manual analysis alone.¹⁹

Visual Imaginaries & Sign

‘Visual imaginaries’ refer to the shared mental frameworks shaped by visual media, history, and culture, which influence how societies perceive and make sense of a phenomena such as conflict, identity, or nationhood. ‘Social imaginaries’ are often ‘unspoken and taken for granted’ readings, shaped by behaviours, norms, and social expectations, without people always being fully aware of them.²⁰ This thesis examines newspaper imagery aimed primarily at Dutch audiences; therefore, a predominantly Dutch-Western framework of meaning influences the visual representation and reception of the depicted conflict.

‘Visual imaginaries’ offer insight into how newspaper media shapes social understanding of conflict.²¹ They draw on visual rhetoric theory and semiotics, where Roland Barthes deciphers the image and its content through two aspects of meaning: denotation and connotation. Denotation refers to the literal or most direct sense of a photograph. Drawing on Ferdinand de Saussure’s theory of signs, this involves two parts: the ‘signifier’ (the image or form we see) and the ‘signified’ (the concept it represents). Together, they form the ‘sign,’ the basic building block of meaning in visual communication.²² In the second aspect, connotation refers to the symbolic, cultural, or ideological meanings conveyed by the image.²³ These culturally learned and accepted visual ‘codes’ create a commonly accepted level of readability associated with the representation.²⁴

¹⁹ Smits and Wevers.

²⁰ Charls Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Duke University Press, n.d.), 29.

²¹ Florence Lp Damiens, Aidan Davison, and Benjamin Cooke, ‘Professionalisation and the Spectacle of Nature: Understanding Changes in the Visual Imaginaries of Private Protected Area Organisations in Australia’, *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space* 6, no. 3 (September 2023): 1829, <https://doi.org/10.1177/25148486221129418>.

²² Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, ed. Perry Meisel and Haun Saussy, trans. Wade Baskin (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 65–70.

²³ Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, 32–51.

²⁴ Barthes, 32–51.

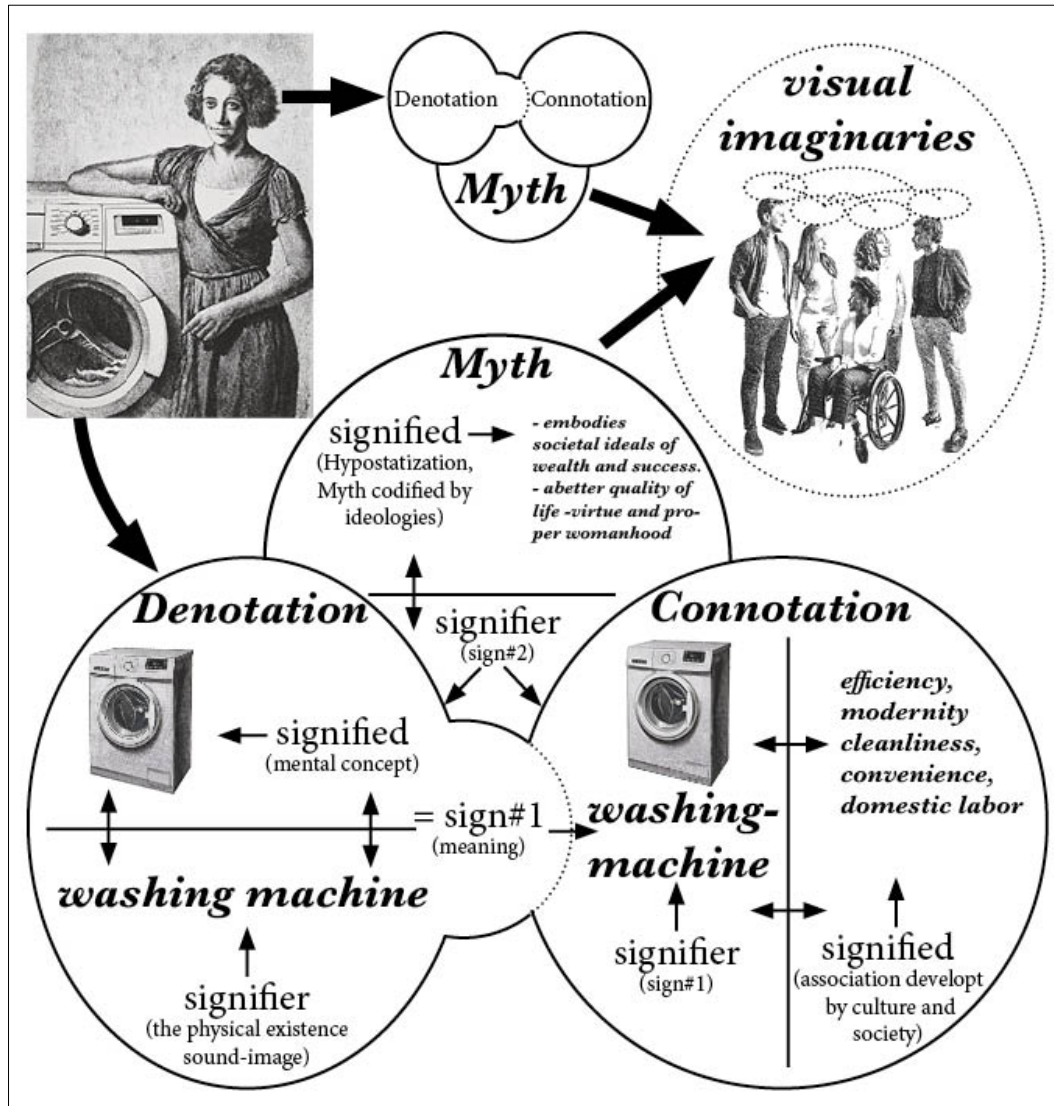


Figure 1.2 Visual interpretation of Barthes theory; signifier, signified and sign and denotation, connotation and its second-order Myth in connection to visual imaginaries. Source: Graphics by author, image AI generated.

Barthes extends the semiotic model with his concept of ‘myth’ as a second-order signification. Myth transforms cultural meanings into ‘naturalised truths’: socially constructed ideas that come to be perceived as common sense. While it explains how individual images or objects can carry and naturalise ideology, ‘visual imaginaries’ reveal how many such myths collectively shape cultural understanding over time.

1.3.2 Domestic Imaginary

As previously mentioned, this research is inspired by observations made in current newspaper media, where domestic representations are often used to depict conflicts. One example of this is photojournalist Carol Guzy's series *Still Life*, which captures the immediate aftermath of the first Russian bombs hitting Ukrainian residential areas in 2022.²⁵ The photographs do not portray people but focus on interior details, fragments of ordinary life disrupted by war, such as furniture, household objects, and personal belongings.²⁶ These images, which document the violent conflict and don't fit neatly into our usual ways of understanding the world, are made approachable through the use of recognisable domesticity. This makes war feel closer to home and more emotionally relatable, but it also blurs the lines between a safe home and a devastating war.



Figure 1.3 Example of a ‘domestic fragment’ used one week after the Hamas attack in Israel. Source: Published on 14.10.2023 in the Newspaper NRC, Opinion and Debate section. [Link](#) Source: Foto: Alexi J. Rosenfeld/Getty Images and NRC.

Professor Isabel Capeloa Gil analysed the phenomenon and stated that war imagery, which incorporates domestic settings, risks normalising conflict by

²⁵ ‘Still Life - Ukraine, 2022 — Carol Guzy - Photojournalist’, accessed 18 January 2025, <https://cuboid-teal-g2by.squarespace.com/portfolio-2/still-life>.

²⁶ ‘Still Life - Ukraine, 2022 — Carol Guzy - Photojournalist’.

embedding it within familiar visual codes.²⁷ This “domestic framing” does not simply document destruction. It also constructs a narrative in which the private sphere becomes a symbolic extension of the battlefield.²⁸ She notes that discussing war and home in “interrelated discourses” can lead people to confuse or accept war as part of everyday life or connect it too closely to national identity and domestic comfort.

The representation of war is often shocking, apocalyptic, and challenging to comprehend fully. In contrast, the concept of domesticity is familiar and easily understood. Philosopher Gaston Bachelard argues that domesticity produces a deeply ingrained image in our mind; for instance, when we read about a house, our thoughts instinctively drift to memories of our own sensory experiences of home.²⁹ These early impressions, both physical and emotional, become internalized and serve as a lifelong reference point.³⁰ This deeply rooted understanding of domestic space does not require a detailed explanation, and it is instantly evoked when the mind is triggered.³¹ In this sense, an image depicting recognizable domesticity can function much like a written text: it acts as a powerful emotional trigger, awakening personal memories and feelings through its resemblance to the viewer’s own or previously experienced home. Therefore, there is no single distinct reading of an image, and audiences will perceive it differently depending on their individual backgrounds. However, a broadly shared, socially agreed-upon understanding of domesticity exists. They are shaped by media culture but also by the accumulation of lived experiences in domestic settings surrounding us, such as your parents' or grandparents' house, a friend’s kitchen, or a neighbour’s living room. Therefore, the domestic imaginary, as represented in conflict photography, engages not just with the home as a location but with the symbolic meanings attached to it, which are accessible through both collective cultural codes. This is also supported by Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling's concept of 'home as an imaginary', which

²⁷ Isabel Capeloa Gil, ‘Framing War: Domesticity and the Visuality of Conflict’, [text/html,application/pdf;text/html, SPELL](https://doi.org/10.5169/SEALS-390808) 29 (2013): 31, <https://doi.org/10.5169/SEALS-390808>.

²⁸ Capeloa Gil, 31.

²⁹ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space: The Classic Look at How We Experience Intimate Places*, trans. Maria Jolas, Nachdr. (Boston: Beacon Press, 2009), 14.

³⁰ Bachelard, 14.

³¹ Bachelard, 13.

bridges the material and emotional and links the physical site of the home directly with a network of cultural meanings, including social norms, identity, memory, family roles, and political or religious values, showcasing the power of depicted domesticity, extending its role beyond that of a visual backdrop to a narrative trigger, capable of connecting the viewer's deeply cultural and personal charged knowledge to the scene depicted.³²

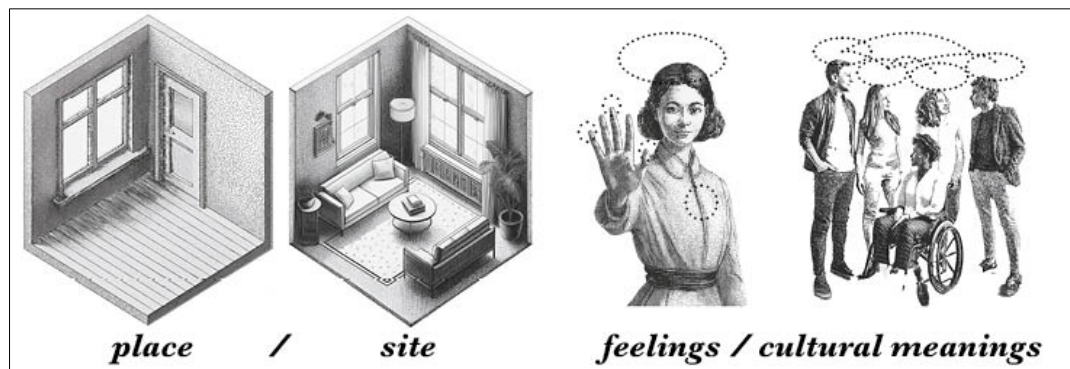


Figure 1.4 Visual interpretation of home as imaginaries by Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling. Relation between the physical ‘place/site’ as described and a set of ‘feelings/cultural meanings’ connected to them. Source: collage by author, images AI generated.

1.4 Literature Review

This literature review is divided into two parts, each addressing a key area relevant to this study and highlighting influential scholarly work within the field. The first section, *Conflict Photography in Newspaper Media*, examines qualitative research that explores how photographs of conflict are used to construct narratives, shape public perception, and reflect or create cultural or political biases. The second section, *Quantitative Image Analysis*, reviews scholarly work surrounding recent methodological developments in large-scale visual analysis, with a focus on the use of artificial intelligence and multimodal models.

³² Alison Blunt and Robyn M. Dowling, *Home*, Key Ideas in Geography (London: Routledge, 2006), 1–31.

1.4.1 Conflict Photography in Newspaper Media

Since the late twentieth century, the so-called ‘visual turn’ in the social sciences has created a growing interest in image analysis, leading to the development of diverse new methodological approaches.³³ Increased access through the digitisation of visual archives has accelerated research, particularly on recently born-digital sources.³⁴ Consequently, over the past decades, an increasing amount of analyses have been carried out on how specific conflicts are visually represented through newspaper press photography. One example is the work of media scholar Katy Parry, who examined visual communication and war representation in UK media. In her study of British press photography during the 2006 Israel-Lebanon conflict, she developed a visual framing method to compare the coverage in *The Times* and *The Guardian* newspapers.³⁵ Parry argues that news images are often overlooked due to their polysemic nature. Still, when viewed in context, they can reinforce specific framings through their composition, visual signifiers, and accompanying captions, which serve to anchor or relay meaning.³⁶ She distinguishes between the ‘compositional framing’ created by the photographer’s choices and the editorial ‘framing’ that shapes how images are presented in print.³⁷ The study is based on one month of coverage, categorising photos by subject and graphic content.³⁸ She found that both newspapers placed the strongest emphasis on images depicting civilians and medical personnel. While *The Times* more frequently featured military personnel, *The Guardian* focused significantly more on images of destruction caused by the conflict.³⁹

Furthermore, Parry analysed whether the visual representations leaned towards a Lebanese or Israeli perspective, revealing contrasting editorial

³³ María Del Mar Del Pozo Andrés and Sjaak Braster, ‘The Visual Turn in the History of Education: Origins, Methodologies, and Examples’, in *Handbook of Historical Studies in Education*, ed. Tanya Fitzgerald, Springer International Handbooks of Education (Singapore: Springer Singapore, 2019), 1–16, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-0942-6_53-1.

³⁴ Pozo Andrés and Braster, 905.

³⁵ Katy Parry, ‘A Visual Framing Analysis of British Press Photography during the 2006 Israel- Lebanon Conflict’, *Media, War & Conflict* 3, no. 1 (April 2010): 67–85, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750635210353679>.

³⁶ Parry, 68.

³⁷ Parry, 67.

³⁸ Parry, 80.

³⁹ Parry, 77.

approaches. *The Times* aimed for balance, resulting in a sense of false neutrality, while *The Guardian* emphasised devastation in Lebanon through more voyeuristic, emotionally charged imagery. Despite these differences, both newspapers predominantly depicted civilians, suggesting a generally accepted framing strategy during that time and conflict.

My study will not reach the level of detail regarding the specific editorial strategies of individual newspapers; instead, it will focus on broader visual tendencies observed over time. Parry's study reveals that newspapers intentionally use images to shape or support specific narratives, highlighting the need to incorporate visual narratives more fully into historical research. When analysed as a collective body rather than as isolated depictions, images lose their polysemic nature and begin to reveal underlying discourses. This is particularly relevant to my analysis, as expanding the scope enhances the ability to identify broader visual patterns and more consistent tendencies over time.

While Parry analysed the differing representations of conflict within two British newspapers, scholar Michael Dokyum Kim examined the global news photographic representations of two terrorist incidents in 2015: the Paris attacks and the Beirut bombings.⁴⁰ In his study, Kim analysed photographs produced by three leading global news agencies: *Associated Press*, *Reuters*, and *Agence France-Presse*. His research was driven by the assumption that international news agencies produce material influenced by their affiliated cultural proximity and geopolitical interests.⁴¹ Kim's analysis unfolded in two phases. First, he examined the degree of media attention devoted to each incident, revealing unequal focus between the two events. Second, he analysed the framing of the photographs, emphasising their alignment with Western-dominant narratives. His focus was on the humans depicted in the images, categorising them based on photographic framing (such as angles, zoom levels, and focus) and the narratives conveyed. These narratives included actions (e.g., mourning, protesting) and the roles of the depicted

⁴⁰ Michael Dokyum Kim, 'News Values and Human Values in Mediated Terrorism: Photographic Representations of the 2015 Beirut and Paris Attacks by Global News Agencies', *Media, War & Conflict* 15, no. 4 (December 2022): 486–503, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750635220974980>.

⁴¹ Kim.

individuals (e.g., civilians, security forces). In his conclusion, Kim highlighted significant differences in the representation of humans between the two incidents.⁴² He found that the coverage of the Beirut bombings more frequently employed orientalist and dehumanising imagery, portraying its subjects with an "otherness" that contrasted starkly with the more humanised and empathetic representation of the Paris attacks.⁴³

Kim's focus on the human figure as a signifier is fascinating as he reveals that the depicted through their body language, role, and actions give meaning and direction on how images can be read. Where Perry previously focused on the presence of specific subjects, such as depicted destructions or civilians, Kim adds a layer of investigation, highlighting how they are represented. This highlights how depictions of people can act as signifiers, shaping visual imaginaries through their actions and portrayed reactions, thereby guiding the interpretation of the image.

Another broader trend in media research focuses on how individuals, minorities, or specific groups are portrayed. An example of this is the paper of scholars Eva Berger and Dorit Naaman, who explore how media not only draws on culturally constructed visual imaginaries but also actively participates in creating them. In their analysis of media representations of female soldiers during the 2006 Lebanon War, Berger and Naaman examine the meanings embedded in their portrayal.⁴⁴ They argue that media images often objectify and sexualise female soldiers, undermining their agency and their professional roles within the military.⁴⁵ A notable example includes a cover picture from the Israeli army magazine *Bamahane*, where a female soldier is shown smiling flirtatiously.⁴⁶ The image explicitly shows a grenade being launched. Still, it is choreographed to direct the viewer's gaze away from these weapons, re-positioning the women in civil and hetero-normative realms as attractive, young and sexually available women.

⁴² Kim.

⁴³ Kim.

⁴⁴ Eva Berger and Dorit Naaman, 'Combat Cuties: Photographs of Israeli Women Soldiers in the Press since the 2006 Lebanon War', *Media, War & Conflict* 4, no. 3 (December 2011): 269–86, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750635211420630>.

⁴⁵ Berger and Naaman.

⁴⁶ Berger and Naaman.

In contrast, male soldiers on a similar cover are depicted in full combat mode, engaging in action-oriented scenes.⁴⁷ In addition to analysing these magazine covers, Berger and Naaman examined images of female soldiers published in two major daily newspapers during the 2006 Lebanon War and entertainment magazines inspired by news imagery.⁴⁸ Their findings reveal a consistent pattern of prioritising the sexualisation of female soldiers over their professional military roles. The article also discusses the broader implications of these representations, arguing that they limit public recognition of women's contributions in combat settings.⁴⁹ Berger and Naaman conclude that media portrayals of female soldiers reinforce traditional gender norms by focusing on their femininity and attractiveness, ultimately overshadowing their professional military capabilities.⁵⁰ They argue that newspaper media actively shape cultural standards and, therefore, reinforce visual imaginaries.⁵¹ It is essential to acknowledge that news photographs are typically selected and edited with the intent to affect the reader.⁵² The construction and use of images are, therefore, chosen not only by what they visualise but also by what they intend to evoke. Scholars like Susan Sontag and Susan D. Moeller have examined the affective power of conflict imagery, emphasising how emotional responses, such as empathy, outrage, or indifference, are shaped by familiarity, repetition, and cultural proximity.⁵³ Susan Sontag argues that 'Photography has become a device for 'experiencing something', for giving an appearance of participation.'⁵⁴ With this, she suggests that photographs act as portals, enabling viewers to engage with distant places and events without physically moving. Simultaneously, factors such as the frequency of exposure and the viewer's ability to decode visual imaginaries, Moeller argues, influence how images are perceived. Her primary concern is that saturation of disturbing coverages can lead to 'compassion fatigue,' an emotional detachment,

⁴⁷ Berger and Naaman.

⁴⁸ Berger and Naaman.

⁴⁹ Berger and Naaman.

⁵⁰ Berger and Naaman.

⁵¹ Berger and Naaman, 283.

⁵² Thomas Smits, 'Een Explosie van Beeld 1840-1930', in *De Krant: Een Cultuurgeschiedenis*, ed. Huub Wijfjes and Frank Harbers (Amsterdam: Boom, 2019), 165–203.

⁵³ Sontag, *On Photography*, 14.

⁵⁴ Sontag, 7.

and disengagement among viewers.⁵⁵ This loss of interest due to constant reporting on human suffering was also observed in Dutch newspaper coverage of the Bosnian War.⁵⁶ An event-oriented study analysed how the conflict was framed across four Dutch newspapers over the entire duration of the war, revealing shifts in attention and tone as the conflict progressed.

This subject, prominently discussed by scholars, was also observed in Dutch newspaper coverage of the Bosnian War, where a public ‘loss of interest’ due to constant reporting on human suffering was noted. The event-oriented study analysed how the conflict was framed across four Dutch newspapers over the entire duration of the war. While visual analysis is not the primary focus of this study, photographs are recognised as having played a significant role in influencing European discourse and contributing to shifts in policy decisions regarding intervention.⁵⁷ For example, the Trnopolje camp images from 1992 became a lasting reference point in shaping public memory and a stepping stone for political and military intervention.⁵⁸ Findings concluded that early reporting often centred on human suffering, especially in 1993. The focus shifted by 1995 toward military intervention and political developments.⁵⁹ Additionally, the Newspaper brands analysed had different priorities; while *NRC Handelsblad* and *de Volkskrant* emphasised political and legal issues, *De Telegraaf* focused on emotional and personal stories.⁶⁰

Research on conflict photography in newspapers shows that visual representations are rarely neutral. They are shaped by cultural context, geopolitical interests, media brands, and the relevance of the conflict to the audience. Studies reveal that the way people are portrayed often depends on their gender and their geographical proximity to the audience. Editorial choices play a key role in shaping dominant narratives. The Bosnian War, for example, illustrates how coverage can

⁵⁵ Susan D Moeller, *Compassion Fatigue: How the Media Sell Disease, Famine, War and Death* (London: Routledge, 1999), 7–16.

⁵⁶ Nel Ruigrok, Jan A. de Ridder, Otto Scholten, ‘News Coverage of the Bosnian War in Dutch Newspapers’, in *Media and Conflict in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Philip Seib, 1st ed. (New York: Palgrave macmillan, 2005), 174–77.

⁵⁷ Nel Ruigrok, Jan A. de Ridder, Otto Scholten, 157.

⁵⁸ Nel Ruigrok, Jan A. de Ridder, Otto Scholten, 177–80.

⁵⁹ Nel Ruigrok, Jan A. de Ridder, Otto Scholten, 177–80.

⁶⁰ Nel Ruigrok, Jan A. de Ridder, Otto Scholten, 177–80.

evolve, shifting from emphasising human suffering to focusing on political action, with images even influencing policy decisions.

All the previously mentioned papers surrounding conflict images were conducted qualitatively by examining specific newspapers, images, wars, or human roles within reporting. They create an in-depth analysis of a particular matter in a specific location and during a specific timeframe, addressing a specific audience. Although they are knowledgeable in their respective field, some longer period-specific tendencies could be misinterpreted as subject-specific due to the lack of a more macroscopic analysis of the visual practice of media. Conversely, macroscopic analyses require topic-centred qualitative research to ground their findings and assess their validity. Both approaches are, therefore, complementary: micro-level depth anchors macro-level scope, and vice versa.

1.4.2 Quantitative Image Analysis

The digitisation of newspaper archives, combined with advances in digital tools and artificial intelligence, has significantly expanded scholars' ability to analyse large visual datasets. In response, historians are increasingly exploring these new methodological possibilities. The field continues to evolve, with a growing focus on refining and contextualising the tools used. The studies discussed here examine recent developments in large-scale image analysis from 2023 and 2024.

To support the integration of textual and visual analysis as interconnected rather than separate entities, historians Thomas Smits and Melvin Wevers have explored the application of the open-source multimodal model, Contrastive Language-Image Pre-Training (CLIP), developed by OpenAI, for Digital Humanities research.⁶¹ Their work provides a detailed explanation of the model's functionality, accompanied by case studies demonstrating its potential applications and limitations. One of the case studies in the paper presents evidence that the CLIP model is expected to distinguish between the relatively abstract concepts of

⁶¹ Smits and Wevers, 'A Multimodal Turn in Digital Humanities. Using Contrastive Machine Learning Models to Explore, Enrich, and Analyze Digital Visual Historical Collections'.

exterior and interior spaces depicted in photographs, although remaining fragile and outperformed by the simpler Computer Vision model, which leads to an interesting debate of how good of a result is good enough.⁶²

Smits and Wevers further applied this digital approach in their more recent work by analysing the *Archives de la Planète*, the first colour and autochrome photographic archive of "living humanity," initiated by Albert Kahn in the early 20th century.⁶³ The article highlights the potential of combining distant viewing techniques with multimodal artificial intelligence. Through their analysis, they discovered that approximately 25% of the archive comprises identical or highly similar images.⁶⁴ This finding reveals that the *Archives de la Planète* is significantly smaller than previously assumed.⁶⁵ Algorithmic clustering further demonstrated that many photographs within the collection depict nearly identical scenes, challenging earlier notions of the archive's heterogeneity.⁶⁶ The collection, previously examined primarily through close reading, was long understood as a rich documentation of human cultural diversity.⁶⁷ However, when analysed using a distant viewing approach, it revealed a stronger emphasis on environmental and natural depictions, a dimension that had been largely overlooked for many years.⁶⁸

As articulated by Christoph Martin Wieland's idiom, "*not seeing the forest for the trees*",⁶⁹ adopting a broader perspective can reveal overarching patterns and structures that might otherwise be overlooked.⁷⁰ However, this shift in perspective often comes at the cost of detailed precision. Classification processes tend to simplify complex variations into fixed categories, potentially obscuring subtle but historically essential representations. For this reason, macroscopic research should be viewed as an additional analytical layer, one that can uncover blind spots and

⁶² Smits and Wevers.

⁶³ Thomas Smits, 'Revisiting the Kahn Collection: Multimodal Artificial Intelligence and Visual Patterns of Presence and Absence in the Archives de La Planète, 1909–1931', *Visual Studies*, 12 August 2024, 1–17, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1472586X.2024.2380859>.

⁶⁴ Smits, 1.

⁶⁵ Smits, 1.

⁶⁶ Smits, 8.

⁶⁷ Smits, 2–6.

⁶⁸ Smits, 2–6.

⁶⁹ Christoph Martin Wieland, 'Den Wald Vor Lauter Bäumen Nicht Sehen', 1751.

⁷⁰ 'Aristipp', accessed 1 January 2025, <https://www.projekt-gutenberg.org/wieland/aristipp/aris404a.html>.

challenge long-standing assumptions but also requires critical evaluation. Smits and Wever's analysis of the *Archives de la Planète* illustrates the strength of this approach: their work revealed that for decades, research had focused on a narrow subset of the archive, missing its broader, unacknowledged potential.

This paper contributes to the exploration of what new technologies can achieve in the historical visual analysis of large datasets. While earlier studies have often examined entire archives, this research adds a new layer by focusing exclusively on conflict-related images within the Dutch newspaper archive, demonstrating the potential of technology to support topic-centred visual investigations.

1.5 Primary Dataset

The primary source used in this research is the 1 Million Captioned Dutch Newspaper Images (KBK-1M) dataset from the Dutch National Library (KB) Newspaper Archive.⁷¹ This dataset contains 1,603,396 images with captions published between 1922 and 1994 and digitised before August 2015.⁷² The pictures originate from 322 Dutch newspapers issued in the Netherlands and former and overseas territories, including the Dutch East Indies, the Antilles, America, and Suriname. The newspaper collection is maintained by the KB, the National Library of the Netherlands, which is responsible for collecting and preserving materials deemed significant to the country's academic and cultural heritage.⁷³ The collection aims to provide a representative overview of Dutch press history, including both national and regional newspapers.⁷⁴

Unlike most other image-based datasets, the images in the KBK-1M remain connected to their original context through their caption texts, preserving a part of

⁷¹ Elliott and Kleppe, '1 Million Captioned Dutch Newspaper Images'.

⁷² Elliott and Kleppe.

⁷³ Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 'Wet op het hoger onderwijs en wetenschappelijk onderzoek', wet, accessed 16 May 2025, https://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0005682/2025-01-01/#Hoofdstuk1_Titeldeel1_Artikel1.5.

⁷⁴ 'Kranten | KB, de Nationale Bibliotheek', accessed 30 May 2025, https://www.kb.nl/onderzoeken-vinden/bijzondere-collecties/kranten?utm_source=chatgpt.com.

their intended communicative purpose within the newspapers. The pictures are organised chronologically and grouped by year into 72 folders. Each folder contains a .csv file with URLs, file names, caption texts, publication dates, newspaper titles, and page numbers. The images are in .jpg format and accompanied by a .json file containing the same metadata as the .csv file.

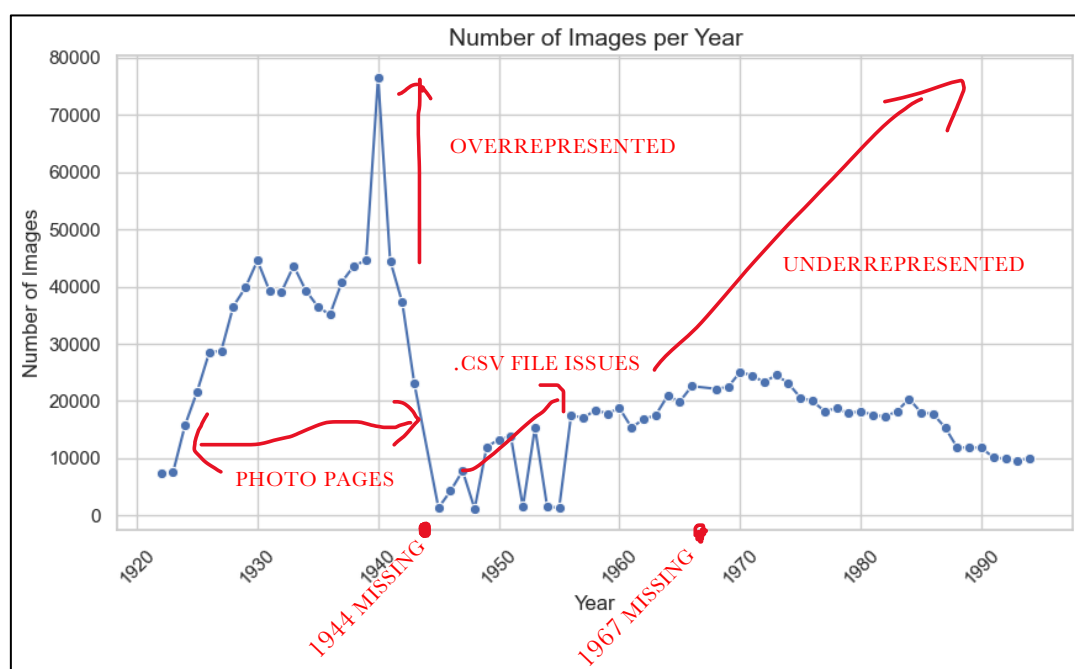


Figure 1.5 This graph showcases the number of images (blue line) stored in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen. dataset per year. In red, the discovered anomalies in comparison with other media scholar's work are highlighted. Source: Own calculations, see Appendix 1.

The analysis of the KBK-1M dataset revealed some anomalies but also aligned to some extent with the findings of multiple media and historical scholars in the field. (Figure 1.5) Such as the exponential growth of visual content in Dutch newspapers in the 1930ies.⁷⁵ Thomas Smits, historian of modern visual culture, found that from 1922 to 1930, photography gradually overtook illustrations as the dominant visual medium, with the turning point around 1927.⁷⁶ Therefore, the KBK-1M dataset begins at what can be considered the onset of photographic imagery in the Dutch press. The 1920s and 1930s are also regarded as a turning

⁷⁵ Thomas Smits, 'Een Explosie van Beeld 1840-1930', 176.

⁷⁶ Thomas Smits, 176.

point for photography, as innovations such as compact cameras and flashbulbs made it easier, cheaper, and more accessible to the public, allowing for the capture of more spontaneous and dynamic moments.⁷⁷ Newspaper layouts of the time often kept text and images separate, not only for technical, financial and quality-related reasons but also due to the belief that images would compromise the integrity of textual reporting.⁷⁸ Therefore, separate pages with multiple pictures, commonly referred to as ‘photo pages,’ dominated the 1920s and 30ies. They were frequently filled with foreign images, which were less expensive to acquire than local content.⁷⁹ The steady and high number of pictures in the 1930ies most likely are the result of the use of the ‘photo page’ format.

According to Smits, technological advancements in print and photography alone did not solely accelerate the integration of images in newspapers.⁸⁰ Economic factors, including production costs and prevailing journalistic attitudes regarding the distinctions between high (text) and low (image) culture, played an equal role in shaping the adoption of visual content in newspapers.⁸¹ While Smits provides a detailed examination of developments in the early twentieth century, Bernadette Kester and Martijn Kleppe take a longitudinal approach in their study of the evolution of photography in the Dutch newspapers *De Telegraaf* and *NRC*.⁸² Comparing their results with the KBK-1M dataset reveals some distinct similarities.⁸³ (Figure 1.6) Such as the decline of images after the Second World War (WWII), caused by the reorganisation and paper scarcity, which led to layout changes.⁸⁴ However, some anomalies in comparison also need to be considered in the final interpretation of this study. The overrepresentation of visuals in 1940 can be explained by KB’s emphasis on digitising newspapers published during WWII,

⁷⁷ Kester and Kleppe, ‘Acceptatie, Professionalisering En Innovatie Persfotografie in Nederland, 1837-2014’, 57.

⁷⁸ Thomas Smits, ‘Een Explosie van Beeld 1840-1930’, 171–87.

⁷⁹ Thomas Smits, 200.

⁸⁰ Thomas Smits, 202.

⁸¹ Thomas Smits, 202.

⁸² Kester and Kleppe, ‘Acceptatie, Professionalisering En Innovatie Persfotografie in Nederland, 1837-2014’, 53–76.

⁸³ Kester and Kleppe, 4–6.

⁸⁴ Huub Wijffjes, *Journalistiek in Nederland 1850-2000: Beroep, Cultuur En Organisatie* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2004), 255–59.

also due to projects and research surrounding that period.⁸⁵ The ongoing digitisation efforts of KB, combined with copyright restrictions on more recent publications, have resulted in an underrepresentation of contemporary material from 1960 onwards.⁸⁶ The KBK-1M dataset ends with the launch of the first digital newspaper on New Year's Eve, 1994, marking a new era in newspaper production and practices.⁸⁷

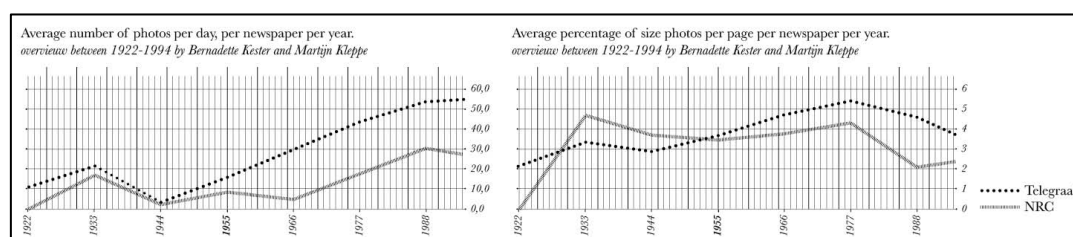


Figure 1.6 Evolution of Press Pictures in De Telegraaf and NRC between 1922 and 1994. Source: Graphics by the author based on graphics by Kester Smits adjusted to the relevant timeframe of this research.

Regarding the specific backgrounds of the newspapers included in the dataset, the following can be observed. (Figure 1.7) *De Telegraaf* is the most frequently represented in the dataset, which is reasonable given its status as the oldest Dutch newspaper to retain its name and one of the first to print images.⁸⁸ *De Telegraaf* is a popular, independent, conservative newspaper that tends to focus more on gossip, sensationalism, and entertainment.⁸⁹ Although its readership reflects the Dutch population in terms of education and social class, the newspaper's strong presence in the dataset must be taken into account.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ 'Delpher Licht Themapagina's Tweede Wereldoorlog Uit | KB, de Nationale Bibliotheek', accessed 16 May 2025, <https://www.kb.nl/nieuws/delpher-licht-themapaginas-tweede-wereldoorlog-uit>.

⁸⁶ '5jaardelpherkrant.Pdf', accessed 16 May 2025, <https://www.kb.nl/kbhtml/delpher/5jaardelpherkrant.pdf>.

⁸⁷ Marcel Broersma, 'De Digitale Krant, 1995-2018', in *De Krant: Een Cultuurgeschiedenis*, ed. Huub Wijffjes and Frank Harbers (Amsterdam: Boom, 2019), 291.

⁸⁸ Wijffjes and Harbers, *De Krant: Een Cultuurgeschiedenis*, 1: 187–93.

⁸⁹ Nel Ruigrok, Jan A. de Ridder, Otto Scholten, 'News Coverage of the Bosnian War in Dutch Newspapers', 166.

⁹⁰ Piet Bakker and Otto Scholten, *Communicatiekaart van Nederland*, 10th ed. (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Boom uitgevers, 2019), 6–8.

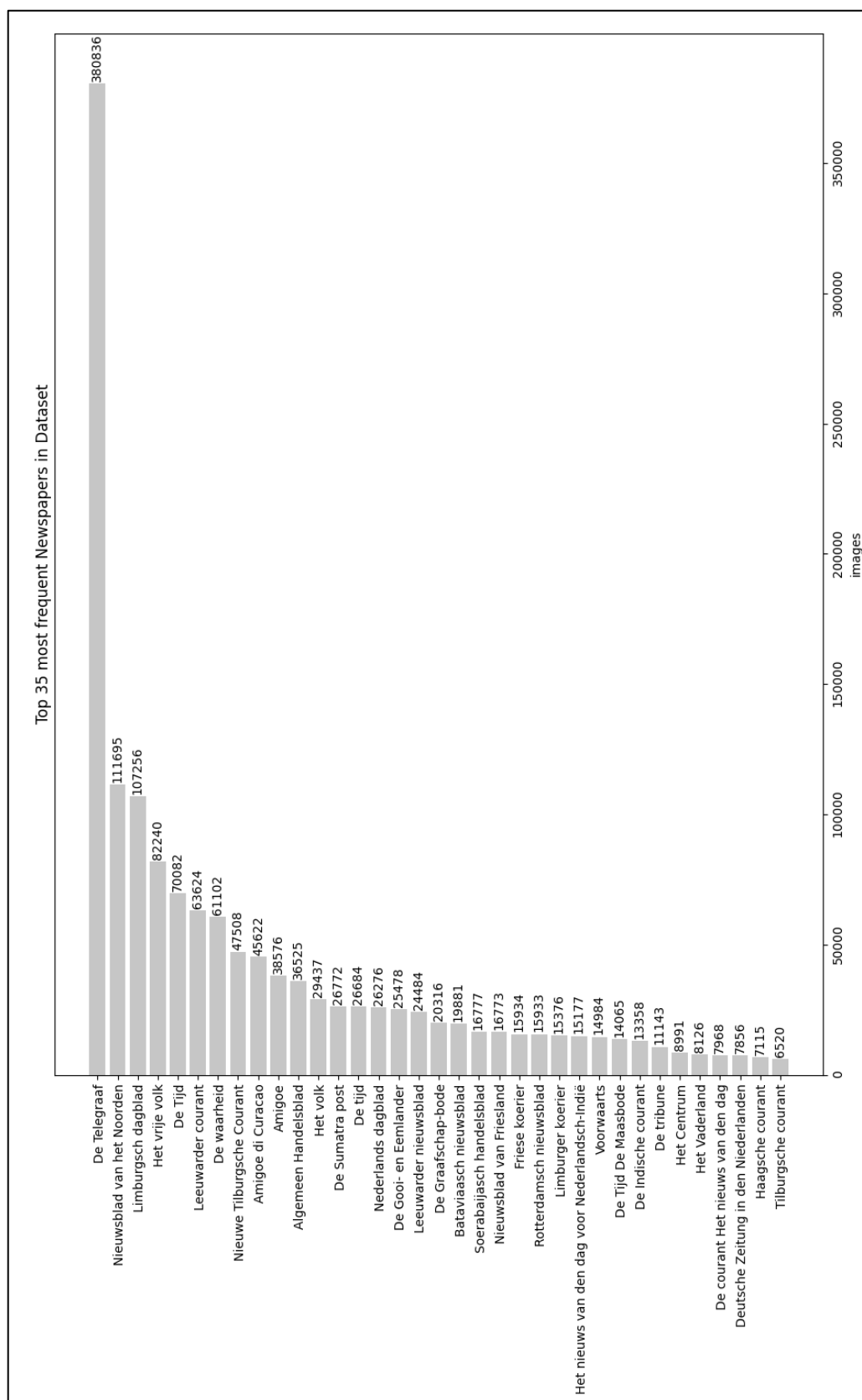


Figure 1.7 The 35 most frequently occurring titles among the 322 newspapers in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen. dataset. Source: Own calculations, see Appendix 1

The number of different digitised newspaper brands grew from 23 in 1922 to 91 in 1941, then declined to just eight by 1994. (**Figure 1.7**) This decline in newspaper brands reflects not only copyright restrictions and the pace of digitisation but also the ‘press concentration’ between 1960 and 1980, during which many newspaper brands merged.⁹¹

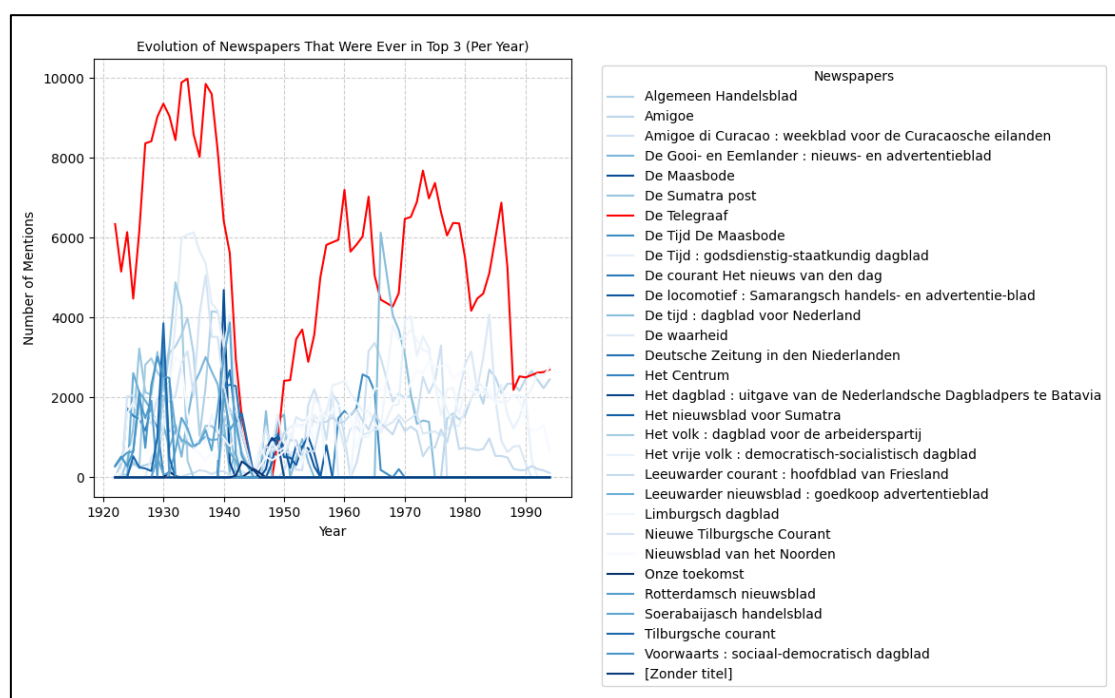


Figure 1.8 Evolution of the top three most common newspaper brands each year. The most dominant paper brand is shown in red, De Telegraaf. Source: Own calculations, see Appendix 1

Through analysing the evolution of caption length, it becomes evident that the digitisation process significantly influenced the year 1924 in the KBK-1M dataset. In this process, multiple images from the photo page were assigned captions, which referred to all images printed on the same page, resulting in duplicated and unusually long captions. In recent years, more extended captions have tended to reflect a shift toward more detailed and descriptive text. (**Figure 1.9**) However, especially in the case of 1924, where extended captions describe multiple

⁹¹ Pien van der Hoeven and Huub Wijffjes, ‘Concentratie en Kritische Autonomie, 1950-2000’, in *De Krant: Een cultuurgeschiedenis*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Boom, 2019), 263.

images, the lack of clear attribution can distort digital analysis, as it remains unclear which caption corresponds to which specific image.

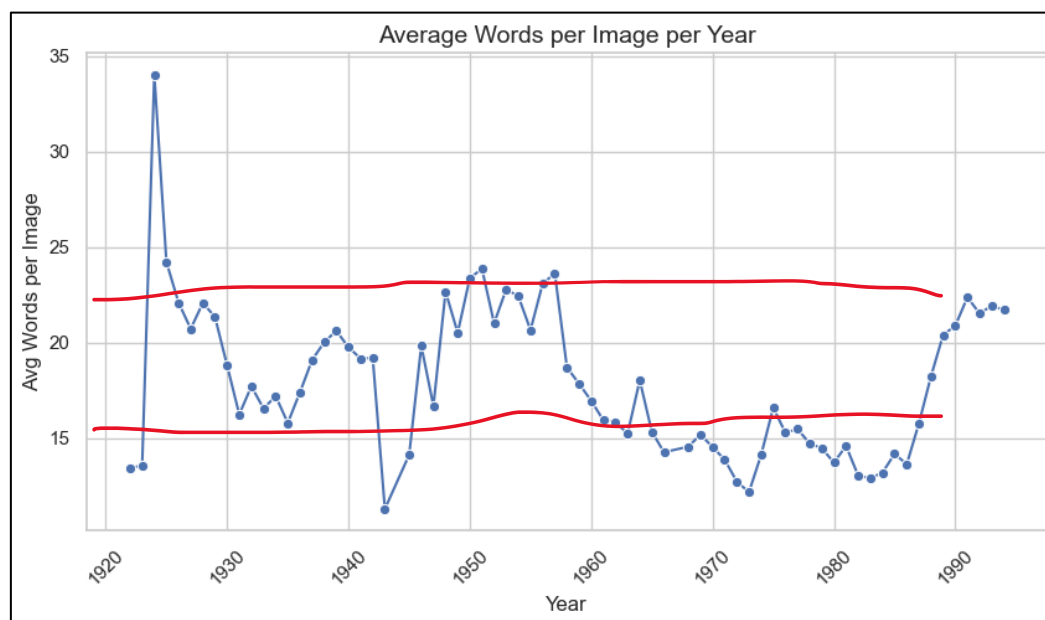


Figure 1.9 The average number of words per image in their caption (excluding stop-words and words shorter than four letters). Revealing that, especially in the year 1924, extended captions might influence research outcomes. Source: Own calculations, see Appendix 1

When retrieving the dataset from the DANS office in The Hague, it was noted that this is their largest dataset by size. Working with data on this scale poses challenges, including system overheating, long rendering times, and the impracticality of manually verifying all results. As a result, some archival errors are present. The newspapers digitised using pre-2015 technologies vary in quality due to age and printing methods. While trained staff at the KB manually annotated image and caption locations, article bodies and caption texts were processed using automated optical character recognition (OCR).⁹² This combination has introduced errors, including incorrect image placement, mismatched captions, misspellings, visual noise, and formatting issues. (**Figure 1.10**) Additionally, an unexplained absence of images and data from 1944 and 1967 is found, which may have been lost during processing. Similarly, problems were encountered with the

⁹² Elliott and Kleppe, '1 Million Captioned Dutch Newspaper Images'.

.csv files of the dataset between 1948 and 1956, Which made the focus shift to the more stable information represented in the .json files. (Figure 1.5)

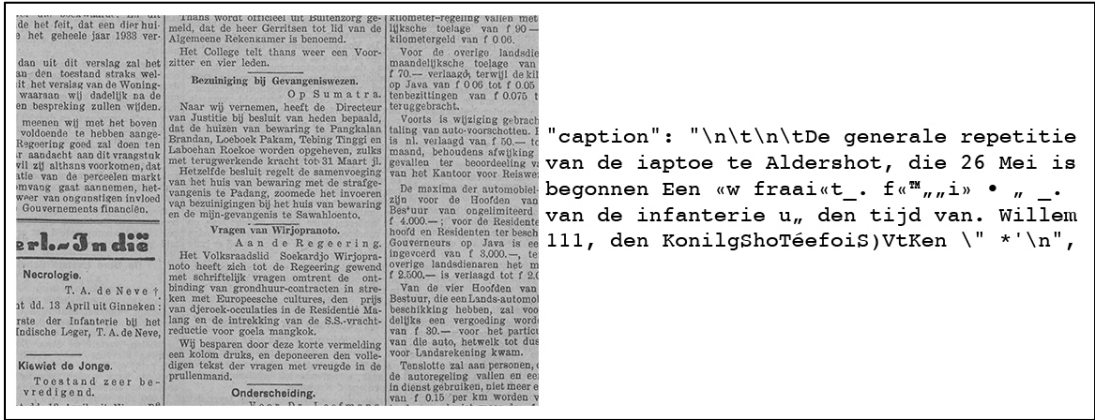


Figure 1.10 Examples of image misplacement and caption mistakes found in the dataset. Source: Own visualisation with materials. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen..

The ongoing and instrumentalised process of digitisation results in a continuously incomplete and evolving body of data. This inherent incompleteness introduces a bias, shaping academic focus toward the most accessible and frequently discussed materials, ultimately contributing to a new form of media-centrism.⁹³ Archival overrepresentations reinforce an ongoing focus due to their accessibility while potentially distorting the historical record by overshadowing underrepresented time frames.

1.6 Research Method

To answer the main research question - *How did the visual imaginary of conflict in Dutch newspaper photography evolve between 1922 and 1994?* - the 1.6 million digitised images and captions in the KBK-1M dataset must first be filtered, isolating all conflict-related content.

Because the term ‘conflict’ is broad and context-dependent, this study draws on the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) as a reference point for its analysis.

⁹³ Estelle Bunout, Maud Ehrmann, and Frédéric Clavert, eds., *Digitised Newspapers – A New Eldorado for Historians?: Reflections on Tools, Methods and Epistemology* (De Gruyter, 2022), 364, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110729214>.

However, UCDP's scope does not fully overlap with the timeline of this dataset. It has gathered information on conflicts since 1975 and established a widely accepted definition of what constitutes an 'armed conflict'.⁹⁴ Because the UCDP focuses specifically on *armed* conflict based on the number of casualties, this study also draws on the broader definition provided by the Cambridge Dictionary, which describes conflict as “an active disagreement between people with opposing opinions or principles.”⁹⁵ broadening the interpretation which opens the analysis to forms of conflict with less emphasis on direct fatalities, such as opposition and suppression. This resulted in the following set of conflict definitions forming the conceptual foundation for identifying conflict-related content within the KBK-1M dataset:

- Casualties and fatalities, which include battle-related and civilian casualties.
- War destruction includes devastation caused to the urban and natural environment by war and other destructive manifestations.
- Armed forces include all kinds of combat materials and equipment used to intentionally create harm, from military boats, aeroplanes, tanks, and chemical weapons to sticks, stones, revolvers and teargas.
- Contexts include agreements, oppression, suppression, mediation, non-warring parties' involvement, and peace agreements.
- Roles include various military rankings and positions, as well as civilian roles aimed at resisting or fighting.
- Tactics, which include tactical plans and manoeuvres, are used in conflicts.
- Actions include harmful deeds, violence towards others, and other physical manifestations.

Having outlined what constitutes conflict in this paper, the next step is to identify relevant material within the dataset. The descriptive text accompanying each image plays a central role in this filtering process, as it anchors or conveys the image's intended meaning. By manually analysing this text through the lens of the defined framework, the dataset is refined to isolate pictures that align with the conflict categories. To improve accuracy, the filtering is conducted in three stages since many relevant terms also appear in unrelated contexts, such as car accidents,

⁹⁴ 'UCDP - Uppsala University', text, 18 October 2024, <https://www.uu.se/en/departement/peace-and-conflict-research/research/ucdp>.

⁹⁵ 'Conflict', 16 April 2025, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/conflict>.

sports, or graphic novels. This stepwise approach helps preserve conflict-related material while minimising irrelevant results.

In the first stage, the most frequent words in the dataset for each year were identified using natural language processing (NLP), which excluded stop words and words with fewer than four letters to provide a meaningful vocabulary for analysis. Every fourth year, 60% of the most frequent words used on these lists have been manually reviewed to select relevant conflict terms. This process ensures that the chosen words align with the definition of conflict while reflecting the evolving use of language over time. Some terms were excluded from this manual selection, including place names and conflict-related key figures such as Hitler or Gorbachev, as they may also appear in non-conflict contexts. Similarly, terms related to casualties, fatalities, and destruction were omitted due to their frequent use in unrelated topics. Excluding these terms helped improve accuracy and resulted in a refined list of **798 words** most relevant to the previously defined concept of conflict. (see Appendix I and II for more details)

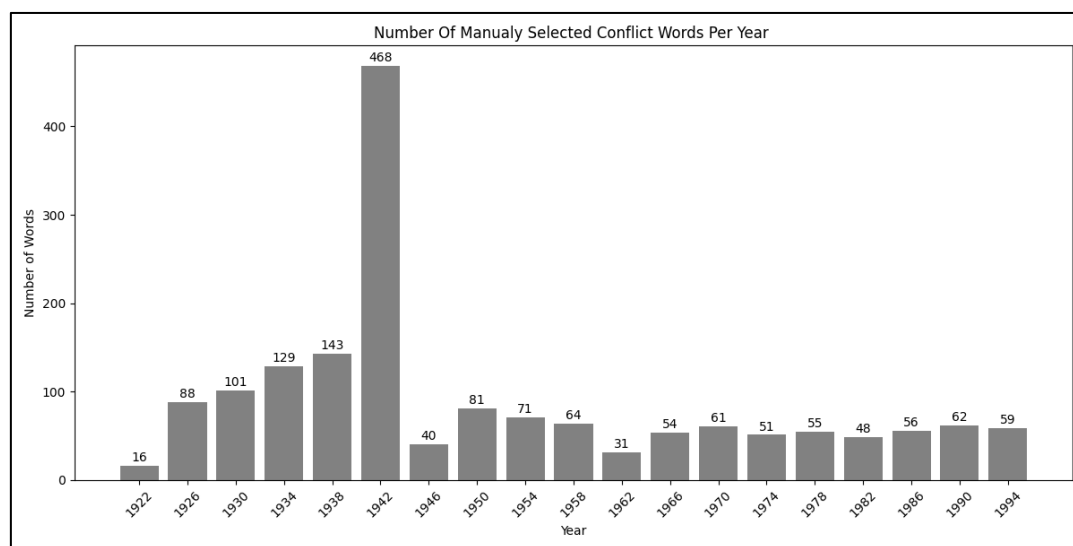


Figure 1.11 Distribution of 798 conflict-related words across every fourth year in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen. dataset. Source: Own calculations, see Appendix 1

The distribution of manually selected conflict-related words shows that 1942 stands out (**Figure 1.11**), with 468 relevant terms and the highest proportion of conflict-related words in its captions (**Figure 1.12**). This implies that conflict-related

captions were more prominent, and it exemplifies how the KB archive's emphasis on that period can influence research outcomes. The selection process involved manually checking long word lists, sometimes over 12,000 words per year. While minor errors may remain, the process was repeated twice with similar outcomes, which supports its reliability.

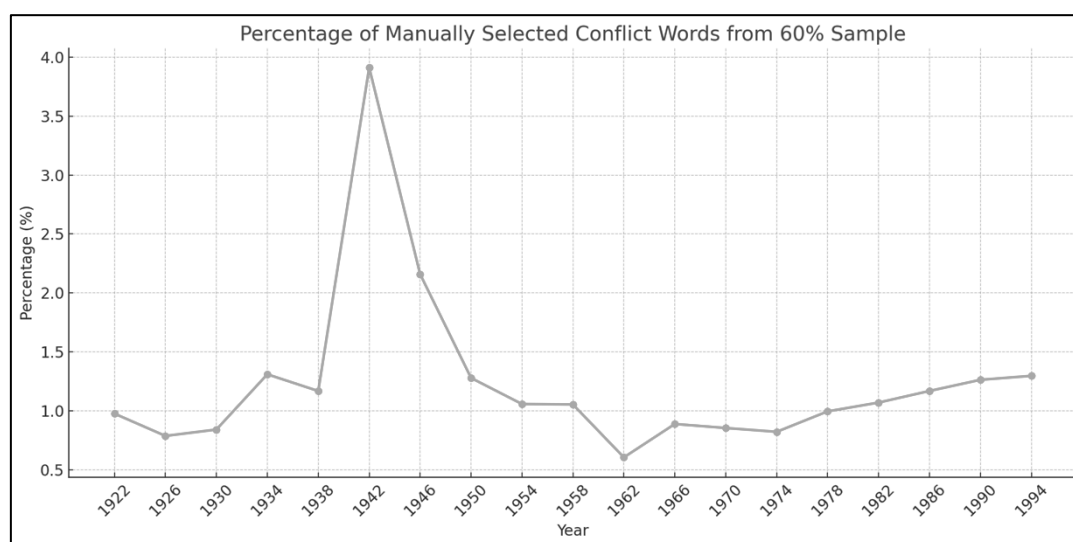


Figure 1.12 Percentage of conflict-related words within the 60% most frequently used terms for every fourth year in the dataset. In 1942, nearly 4% of the most used words were conflict-related, compared to 0.6% to 1.4% in most other years. Source: Own calculations, see Appendix 1

As part of data cleaning, interfering illustrated novels and comics are manually identified and removed, excluding 296 titles and related artist names and misspellings. The same process also excluded 93 sports-related and 207 culture-related terms, which are not relevant to this paper. This created a corpus of **143,236 conflict-related images**. Many words in the list are military-related, overshadowing images of civilian suffering. Therefore, two additional filtering steps are needed to diversify the dataset: one that pertains to victimhood and one that opens up to a broader vocabulary.

The second filtering phase focused on the 40 most frequently used words related to casualties and fatalities that had been previously excluded from the selection. A detailed manual review was conducted as these terms often appear in non-conflict contexts. Captions are checked to exclude irrelevant images while

retaining conflict-related visuals. This process led to the exclusion of images falling into the following seven categories:

- 296 graphic novels
- 124 funeral-related captions, mostly of royals or politicians
- 136 health-related captions, including physical and mental health, not caused by conflict
- 221 sports-related captions from football, swimming, to hunting,
- 389 crime-related exclusions such as theft, robbery and murder
- 717 nature-related exclusions such as extreme weather, floods, volcanoes and animals.
- 1885 culture-related exclusions, from buildings to film, theatre, crafts, royals to restaurants.
- 2161 accident-related exclusions include car crashes, trains, non-military ships and aeroplanes, as well as many industrial and domestic gas explosions and fires.

Some captions, such as “slachtoffers waren zwaar aan toe” (victims were severely affected), do not indicate whether the suffering was conflict-related. These were retained, as the wording was too vague to justify exclusion without risking the loss of relevant material. The excluded examples reveal a strong tendency toward victim coverage related to local accidents, such as traffic or train collisions, suggesting that victimhood is often framed in a regional context. Of the roughly 400–500 victim-related captions per year, only about 12% (5,215 images) remained after manual selection. Half of these were included in the earlier filtered list, adding just **2,496 victim-related** images.

The third filtering step aims to expand the semantic space of the word list by analysing 10% of all captions from each year of the previously generated results. This step also considers stop-words, words with fewer than four characters, and word combinations. This resulted in the addition of 263 unique words and word combinations, which were filtered by excluding graphic novel and sports culture-related words, just as in the first step. This added **34,322 images** to the dataset, leading to a combined total of **180,054 images**, approximately 11% of all digitalised images in the KBK-1M dataset.

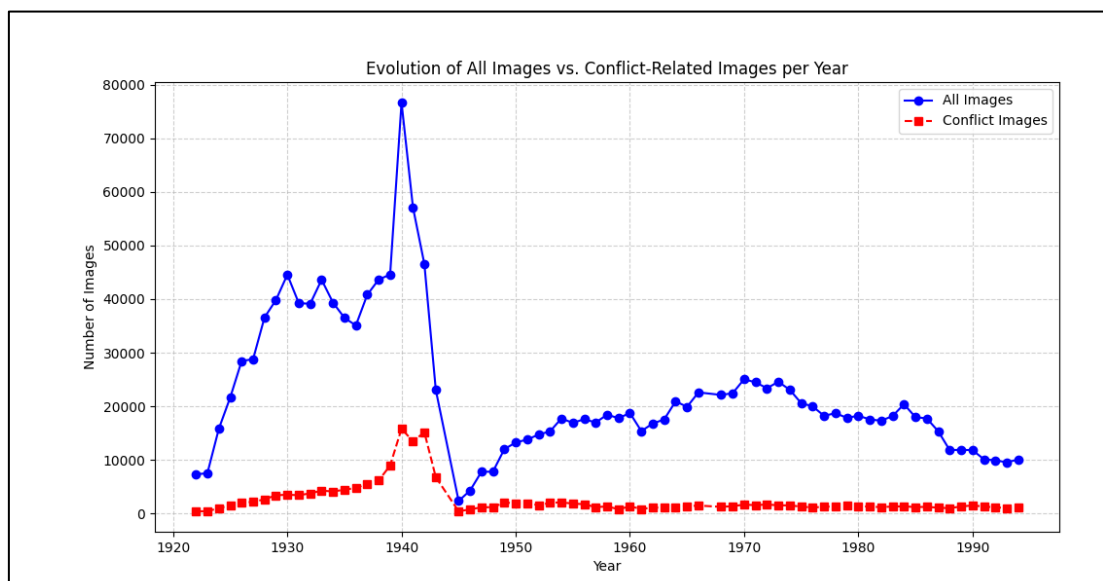


Figure 1.13 This graph compares all images in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen. dataset (blue line) with all conflict-related images after filtering (red line). Source: Own calculations, see Appendix 1

The conflict-related images in the dataset follow a slightly different path over time than the KBK-1M dataset. The conflict dataset is more represented between 1925 and 1943 and followed a more homogenous path after WWII. (Figure 1.13) This more stable line could be attributed to the subject of conflict being more evenly represented in newspaper formats, resulting in a more consistent number of images published annually. The representation of images in the conflict dataset between 1922 and 1939 is most impure, as the technique used to create the dataset, combined with the previously discussed method used for digitising the ‘photo pages,’ may lead to the unwanted exclusion of images or the neglect of valid ones. As previously observed, the KBK-1M dataset overrepresents the first years of WWII and the newspaper *De Telegraaf*. The overrepresentation of the latter is significantly less prominent in the filtered conflict dataset than in the KBK-1 M dataset. (Figure 1.14) While it remains the most dominant paper in the dataset, its distribution across all years reveals that other newspapers have been more actively representing conflict, indicating that *De Telegraaf* is a paper that publishes more images outside the conflict topic. (Figure 1.15)

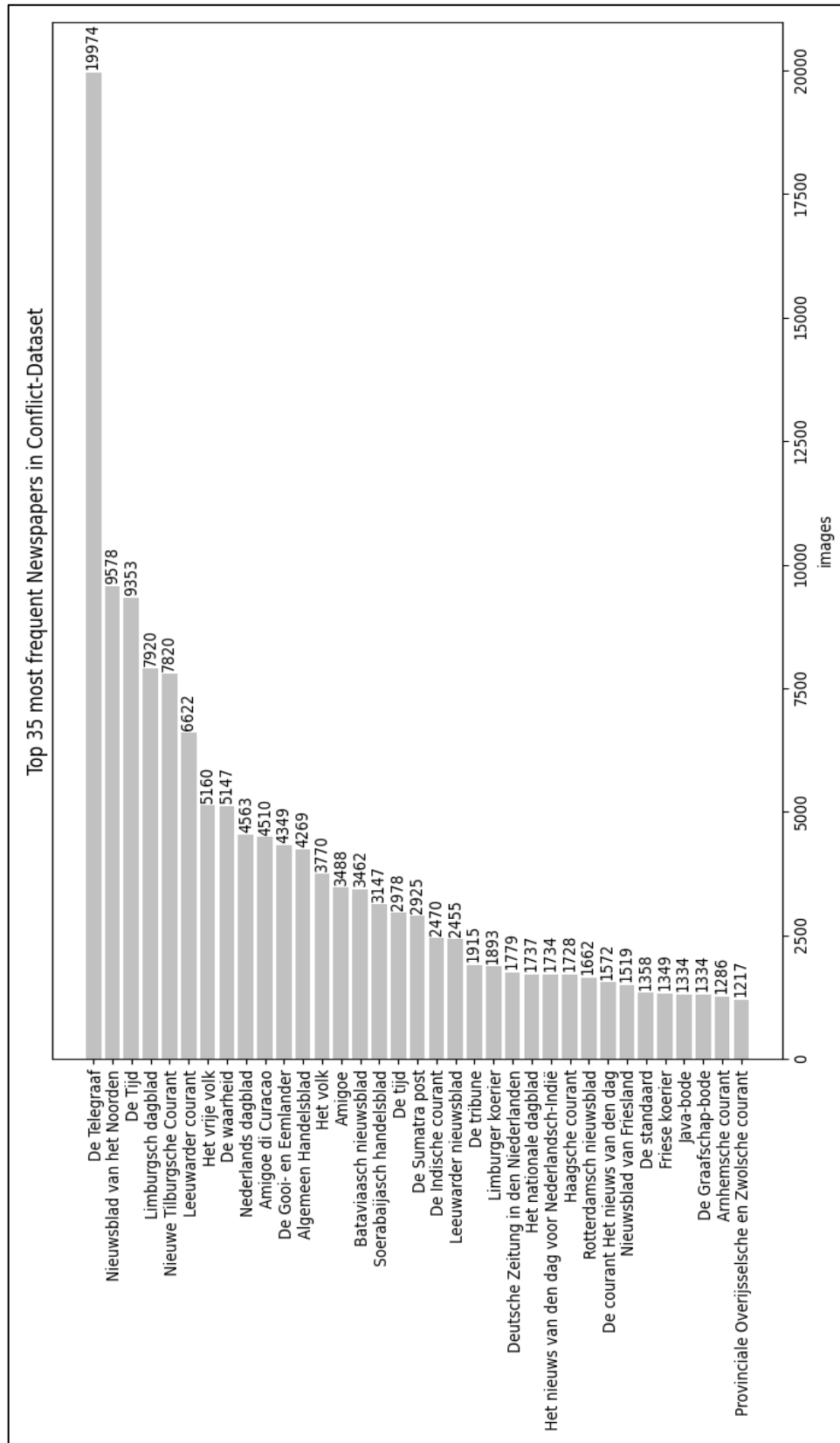


Figure 1.14 This graph showcases the top 35 newspapers in the conflict-related dataset. The graph shows that the paper De Telegraaf is significantly less dominant than the KBK-1M dataset (**Figure 1.7**). Source: Own calculations, see Appendix 1

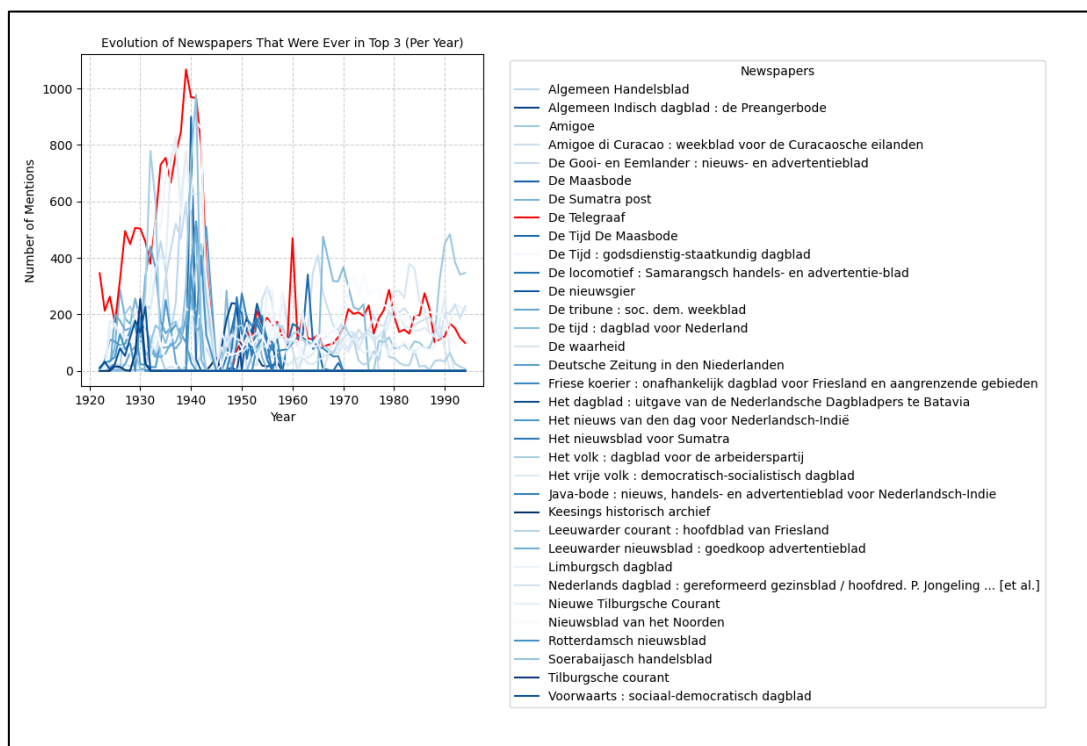


Figure 1.15 Top three newspapers per year in the conflict-related dataset. The graph shows that De Telegraaf is less dominant in the conflict dataset than in the overall Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen. dataset (see **Figure 1.8**), suggesting it published fewer conflict-related images than other newspapers. Source: Own calculations, see Appendix 1

Using the manually created wordlist and exclusion criteria to build the conflict dataset inevitably introduced some inaccuracies. Still, despite the possible inclusion of a few irrelevant images and the exclusion of some relevant ones, the multimodal topic modelling in the next step confirms that most retained images align with the defined conflict category.

1.6.1 Concept Modelling the Conflict-Dataset

After assembling the conflict dataset, a multimodal analysis with OpenAI's CLIP model was applied to identify and reveal the most dominant topics within the dataset.⁹⁶ The CLIP model uses information gathered from a combination of images and their captions to recognize concepts that occur within the dataset.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ 'CLIP: Connecting Text and Images', 16 December 2022, <https://openai.com/index/clip/>.

⁹⁷ Smits and Wevers, 'A Multimodal Turn in Digital Humanities. Using Contrastive Machine Learning Models to Explore, Enrich, and Analyze Digital Visual Historical Collections', 1268–70.

This method suits newspaper photography, as captions provide essential context for the depicted event and the image's editorial purpose, thereby operationalising Barthes' idea of the interdependence of image and text.⁹⁸

With the embeddings in place, an unsupervised, centroid-based K-means algorithm was employed to group them.⁹⁹ Because K-means requires a predefined number of clusters (k), several values were tested; $k = 12$ produced the most apparent thematic separation. The closest position to a concept assigns the image and its caption to one of the 12 clusters.¹⁰⁰ Each cluster is finally illustrated by six representative images, which help identify the concept's nature.

The process is similar to grouping an old box of buttons from your grandmother, where similarities can be found in size, colour, material, number of holes, or kinds. All these buttons belong to a specific concept more than another, but they also belong to multiple concepts to some extent, which places them in a three-dimensional space floating. By this, odd individual buttons stay unimportant, but the largest groupings of similarities shape the final concepts.

While CLIP replaces the human eye with a computational, human-trained process that 'sees' images and their captions through numbers. This does not follow human logic and notices values that humans have learned to ignore, therefore, undesired, or unexpected concepts can be formed. Taylor Arnold and Lauren Tilton argue that there is a disconnect between computers and our understanding of images. With a visual example, they demonstrate that the computer can recognize the eye of an animal, even when the image is zoomed to the extent that only pixels can be distinguished by humans.¹⁰¹ We can only identify an animal's eye when it's in context with its surroundings.¹⁰² Arnold and Tilton also conclude that

⁹⁸ Tingyu Qu, Tinne Tuytelaars, and Marie-Francine Moens, 'Visually-Aware Context Modeling for News Image Captioning' (arXiv, 21 March 2024), <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2308.08325>.

⁹⁹ Smits, 'Revisiting the Kahn Collection', 8–15.

¹⁰⁰ Smits, 9.

¹⁰¹ Taylor Arnold and Lauren Tilton, *Distant Viewing: Computational Exploration of Digital Images* (Cambridge, Massachusetts London, England: The MIT Press, 2023), 13–32, <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/14046.001.0001>.

¹⁰² Arnold and Tilton, 13–23.

changes in materiality, colour or contrast could affect the multimodal reading. It also can differentiate between a born-digital image and a scanned painting.¹⁰³

In the process of using CLIP, technical limitations of the tool were encountered. The 77-token limit for textual input, which is about three to four sentences in length, is too short for many captions in the conflict dataset.¹⁰⁴ As previously discovered, especially in the year 1924, this length is exceeded. To incorporate as many images as possible, a workaround was introduced in which captions were repeatedly analysed in chunks, which were then averaged into a single value (vector position).¹⁰⁵ While this approach avoids truncation, it risks semantic dilution, as combining varied sentence segments into a single representation can blur distinct meanings.

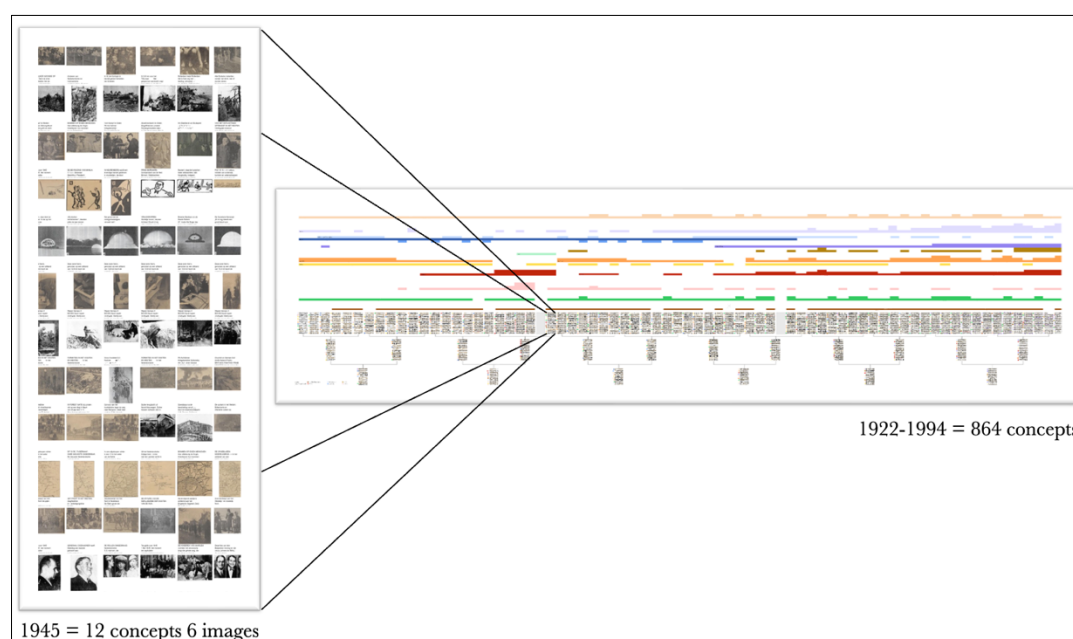


Figure 1.16 On the left: an example of a CLIP result of the year 1924 with 12 concepts (rows) represented each by six images. On the right side: The final 864 concepts generated by CLIP. Source: Own visualisation of Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen. material

¹⁰³ Arnold and Tilton, 13–23.

¹⁰⁴ ‘What Are Tokens and How to Count Them? | OpenAI Help Center’, accessed 22 April 2025, <https://help.openai.com/en/articles/4936856-what-are-tokens-and-how-to-count-them>.

¹⁰⁵ Patrick von Platen et al., ‘Diffusers: State-of-the-Art Diffusion Models’, Python, 22 April 2025, <https://github.com/huggingface/diffusers>.

By rendering the multimodal through each year, 864 concepts (12 for each year) are generated, which will be further analysed in the following two chapters. The analysis focuses on visual patterns, compositional strategies, and signifiers to trace how conflict-related imagery in Dutch news photography has evolved.

The details required to reproduce this methodology are provided in Appendix I, which outlines the technical code used for data processing, and Appendix II, which contains the word lists applied for concept-based filtering.

Chapter 2 :

Evolving Representation of Conflict

2.1 Introduction

In this first analytical chapter, the AI-derived conflict concepts are manually analysed to identify overarching topics, practices, and visual imaginaries they contain and to trace the ways these develop across the seven decades. The resulting synthesis provides a scaffolding of knowledge, a macroscopic view of the evolvement of the most dominant patterns in Dutch newspaper conflict imagery. This framework can serve as an additional analytical layer for scholars who undertake close readings of individual iconic photographs, specific events, or brief periods in history. Providing a greater overview of the visual evolution of these conflict-related images.

The guiding research question for Chapters 2 and 3 is:

Which long-term patterns can be identified in the visual representation of conflict in Dutch newspapers, specifically regarding depicted topics, objects, people, and perspectives?

Chapter 2 presents a comprehensive overview, highlighting the most significant shifts identified in the dataset and evaluating their relevance simultaneously. Therefore, long-term patterns identified in the AI-generated concepts are compared with the academic work of media scholars. Chapter 3 examines two dominant concepts identified, 'Warring in Action' and 'Victims'. A close visual analysis of these themes deepens the understanding of how the representations of depicted topics, objects, people, and perspectives changed over time.

2.2 Analysing the Multimodal Results

The rendered concepts were manually analysed by year, as well as in six- and twelve-year groupings, to identify the most frequently recurring topics. The twelve concepts of each year do not all entail valuable information as some impurities remain, such as previously discussed mislocated images during the digitalising process or images not related to conflict. The human interpretation of digital-made

concepts does not always yield conclusive results; therefore, not all twelve AI-generated concepts are of value for this research.



Figure 2.1 Example of the result of the multimodal analysis for the year 1945. Each row represents one concept, explained through six images and a brief excerpt from their captions. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

For example, the outcome of 1945 showcases not only a division in concepts by what they portray but also by the intensity of black and white, as seen in the second row from above, concept two. (Figure 2.1) Additionally, row four indicates that some visual stories and comics remained in the dataset, and row ten involves cartography. Nevertheless, many of these images and their captions belong to a very similar textual and visual representation of conflict. The most harmonious group is concept five, portraying the explosion of the atomic bomb during a test in New Mexico on 16 July 1945. Not only do these visuals have a high level of similarity, but they also have identical captions. Although one can only speculate about AI's intentions in generating these concepts, they have formed some logical divisions that resemble human thought patterns.

For example, the concept division of the year 1945 is interpretable into the following categories and category combinations:

- *Concept 1* (first row): groups/citizen
- *Concept 2* (second row): representation of conflict in action
- *Concept 3* (third row): full/half-length portraits
- *Concept 4* (fourth row): illustration
- *Concept 5* (fifth row): representation of conflict in action
- *Concept 6* (sixth row): representation of conflict in action / citizen
- *Concept 7* (seventh row): representation of conflict in action / soldiers
- *Concept 8* (eighth row): representation of conflict in action/site
- *Concept 9* (ninth row): demolished architecture
- *Concept 10* (tenth row): cartography
- *Concept 11* (eleventh row): full/half-length portraits
- *Concept 12* (twelfth row): portrait

While evaluating all other years similarly, the following list of thirteen dominantly found topics is formed:

- *Warring/action*: representations, active sites of conflict, such as battlefields
- *Protest/strikes*: representations of opposition in action
- *Sites*: representations of urban and natural landscapes during conflict
- *Demolitions*: representations of urban architectural destruction
- Representations of *Soldiers*
- Representations of *Victims*
- Representations of *Citizens/Civilians*
- *Transportation*: representation of cars, boats, tanks, aeroplanes

- Representations of *aeroplanes*
- *Maritime* representations
- *Portraits*: headshot
- *Full/half portraits*: depictions from toe to head or from waist to head
- *Groups*: depictions of multiple people together posing with mixed reasons

2.3 Diachronic Shifts in the Conflict Dataset

To reveal diachronic shifts in representation, the thirteen dominant topics were counted annually, displaying how frequently each one occurred over time. These results are mapped into a graph revealing their evolvement. (Figure 2.2) By further analyses, the graph exhibits some transitions in focus. In combination with the work of different media scholars, four dominant time frames emerged. Although dates are used to define this timeframe, especially the transition between the last two *Recovery and the Reader-Centred Turn* and *Blood, Death, and Critical Autonomy* occurred more gradually.

- *1922–1939: The Interbellum and the Image Explosion*, marking the rise of press photography between the wars.¹⁰⁶

The graph showcases a dominant use of portraits, maritime and sites

- *1940–1945: Censorship and the German Occupation*, shaped by wartime control.¹⁰⁷

The graph illustrates a dominant representation of soldiers and active conflict sites, with an abrupt halt in the portrayal of groups.

- *1946–1962: Recovery and the Reader-Centered Turn*, reflecting postwar reorganisation and shifts in media focus.¹⁰⁸

The graph illustrates several transitions, including an abrupt halt in representing active sites of conflict and the recurring presentation of groups at the beginning of the time frame, followed by the end, where the representation of citizens replaces that of soldiers.

¹⁰⁶ Thomas Smits, 'Een Explosie van Beeld 1840-1930', in *De Krant: Een Cultuurgeschiedenis*, ed. Huub Wijfjes and Frank Harbers (Amsterdam: Boom, 2019), 165–203.

¹⁰⁷ Mariëtte Wolf, Frank van Vree, and Frank Harbers, 'Oorlog, Herstel En Vernieuwing, 1940-1950', in *De Krant: Een Cultuurgeschiedenis*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Boom, n.d.).

¹⁰⁸ Mariëtte Wolf, Frank van Vree, and Frank Harbers.

- 1962–1994: *Blood, Death, and Critical Autonomy*,
highlighting a turn to a more critically thinking society.¹⁰⁹
During this period, there is an increase in the depictions of active sites of
conflict, protest, and strikes, as well as victims and citizens.

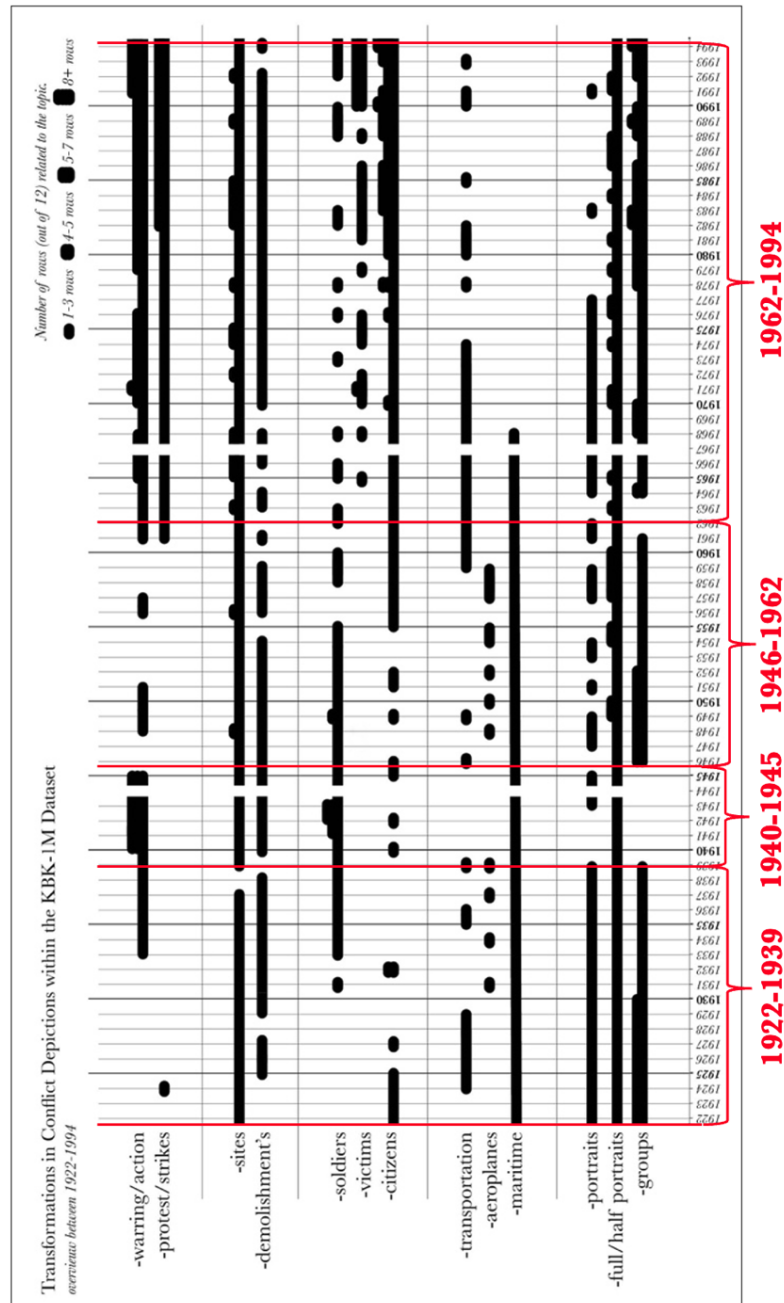


Figure 2.2 Results of the manual analysis of the conflict dataset concepts generated by AI. Thirteen recurring topics (such as warfare, action, protest, strikes, and sites) were identified across the

¹⁰⁹ Huub Wijffjes, *Journalistiek in Nederland 1850-2000: Beroep, Cultuur En Organisatie* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2004), 315–67.

dataset to observe their evolution. The black lines indicate the frequency with which these topics appear as distinct concepts. Red, the occurring periods. Source: own calculations.

In the following subchapters, these transitions are further analysed within these periods. Investigating the broader contexts of these shifts occurring.

2.3.1 1922-1939 The Interbellum and The Image Explosion

In 1921, De Telegraaf became the first Dutch newspaper to publish a half-page of photographs, marking the beginning of the photo-page trend, which introduced the use of images in a more structured manner.¹¹⁰ These pages, which combined various newsworthy images, were quickly adopted by other newspapers, resulting in a rapid growth of visual content during this period.¹¹¹ While De Telegraaf published 12 images per issue in 1922, the average number rose significantly to over 20 in the 1930s.¹¹² Therefore, the smaller number of photos available in the dataset's earliest two years results in less relevant concept groupings than those found just a few years later. (**Figure 2.3**)

Nonetheless, the concepts generated from this early phase exhibit distinct characteristics. They demonstrate the rapid developments in press photography, influenced not only by technological advancements in printing and picture-making but also by the scepticism, fears, and resistance that some journalists expressed toward the medium.¹¹³ In the early years, many conflict-related images in the concepts appear static; some are visually closer to the previously common illustrations in the papers than to a photograph. This effect is partly due to the image manipulation techniques commonly used at the time to enhance or emphasise central subjects.¹¹⁴ (**Figure 2.4**)

¹¹⁰ Thomas Smits, 'Een Explosie van Beeld 1840-1930', 187–88.

¹¹¹ Bernadette Kester and Martijn Kleppe, 'Acceptatie, Professionalisering En Innovatie Persfotografie in Nederland, 1837-2014', in *In Bardoel, J. & Wijffes, H., Journalistieke Cultuur in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 8.

¹¹² Kester and Kleppe, 3.

¹¹³ Thomas Smits, 'Een Explosie van Beeld 1840-1930', 187.

¹¹⁴ Thomas Smits, 181.



Figure 2.3 The thirteen topics and how they are visually represented in the years 1922 and 1933
Source: authors visualisation with images from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.



Figure 2.4 The Image p004-P4_CB00007.jpg, published in *De Telegraaf* on 23 April 1922, exemplifies early photographic manipulation, visually bordering the mediums of illustration and photography. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

Additionally, most individuals depicted were aware of the camera and consciously positioned themselves in relation to the photographer. As a result, only a limited number of images convey spontaneity or capture dynamic action. Many of the photos are portraits of high-ranking military officers, diplomats, or criminals. Portraits were easier and less costly to produce than news photographs, and their reusability, due to archival storage, made them a practical and recurring choice for publication.¹¹⁵ (Figure 2.3)

¹¹⁵ Marcel Broersma, 'Vormgeving tussen woord en beeld: De visuele infrastructuur van Nederlandse dagbladen, 1900–2000', *TMG Journal for Media History* 7, no. 1 (17 September 2014): 21, <https://doi.org/10.18146/tmg.223>.



Figure 2.5 The image p008-P8_CB00010.jpg, published in the *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant* on 20 November 1924, “DE BURGEROORLOG IN CHINA. - Generaal Woe rei Foe, met zijn lijfwacht, bestaande uit jongens van t 5 iasrl” Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

Captions are relevant for understanding what news these pictures intend to visualise. (Figure 2.3, 2.4, 2.5) This stands in contrast with what Marcel Boersma, Hoogleraar Media en Journalistieke Cultuur, notes: “On the photo page, the image had an independent function. Short captions gave a clue to what was seen, but the photographs were supposed to tell the story. Sometimes that was newsworthy, but often not.”¹¹⁶ This indicates that conflict-related images behave differently than other images during that time.

An example is the depiction of the civil war in China, which showcases a group of young men standing in front of what appears to be a tent, with an older man positioned in the foreground. The scene could easily be interpreted as an educational or cultural gathering without additional textual context. (Figure 2.5) Many images exemplify that conflict-related photos from that period can't be

¹¹⁶ Marcel Boersma, ‘Op de Fotopagina Had Het Beeld Een Zelfstandige Functie. Korte Onderschriften Gaven Een Aanduiding van Wat Er Te Zien Was, Maar de Foto's Moesten Het Verhaal Vertellen. Soms Was Dat Nieuwswaardig, Maar Vaak Ook Niet.’, 17 September 2014.

understood without their captions. (see additional example **Figure 2.6**) They often lack visual signifiers that convey the ‘actual’ news content and rely on their captions for meaning. This underscores the relevance of Roland Barthes’ theory of ‘anchoring’ and ‘relaying’, as discussed in the theoretical framework, in understanding the intention of images from this period.



Figure 2.6 The image p006-P6_CB00004.jpg, published in the *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* on 24 September 1924, With the caption “\n\tDe Herfst-manoeuvres.\n\tDe buitenlandsche officieren, die de manoeuvres volgen, kiekten wij te St. Oedenrode.\n” Showcases that the focus was, not on depicting the actual scene of the manoeuvres, but on the high-ranking man. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

From 1934 onwards, photographic imagery appeared more dynamic; subjects were increasingly engaged in their activities rather than posing for the camera. As a result, images in the concepts conveyed the news more frequently visually, shifting the caption's role from explaining to describing. (**Figure 2.6 and 2,7**) This shift reflects a broader transition from posed conflict portraits to more immediate, situational documentation, likely influenced by innovations such as the compact camera, which enabled greater spontaneity through lighter equipment and reduced setup time.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Kester and Kleppe, ‘Acceptatie, Professionalisering En Innovatie Persfotografie in Nederland, 1837-2014’, 63–64.

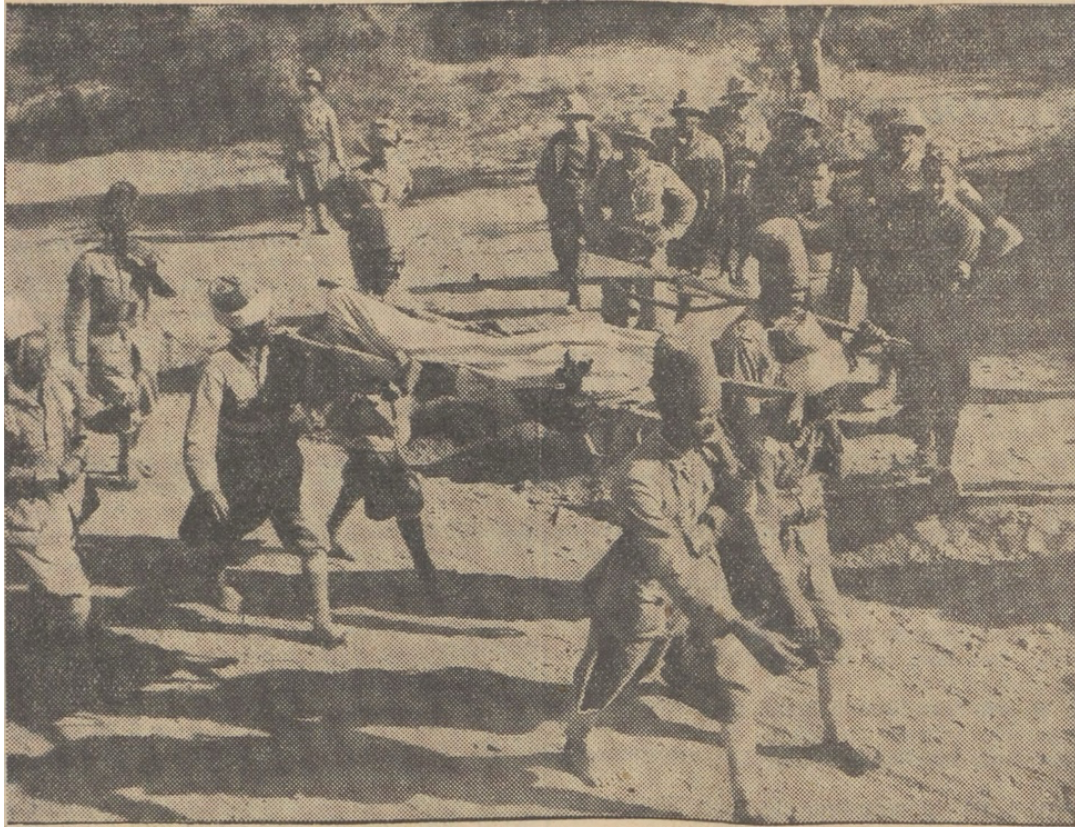


Figure 2.7 The image p009-P9_CB00004.jpg, published in the *De Tijd: godsdienstig-staatkundig dagblad* on 14 November 1935, depicts a group of Askari, serving European colonial powers in Afrika. The soldiers are carrying a stretcher. The image's descriptive caption notes: “\n\t\n\tAskari's dragen een gewonden kameraad naar een veldlazaret om zijn wonden te laten verzorgen\n” Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

Also, images of ‘soldiers’ and ‘active conflict’ sites became increasingly prominent. Both topics are mainly represented through the soldiers as the main protagonists, either in action, manoeuvring, or on parade. Captions from the 1920s and 1930s display a pronounced tactical orientation, as also evidenced by the frequent appearance of the term ‘*manoeuvres*’ in the KBK-1M dataset, underscoring its prominence in the visual framing of conflict during this period. (**Figure 2.8**)

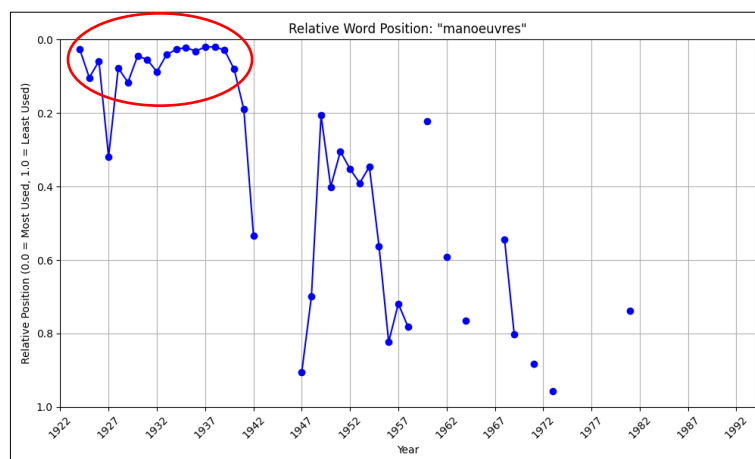


Figure 2.8 The graph shows the relative frequency of the word ‘manoeuvres’ in image captions, calculated by comparing its annual occurrence to the total number of words used in captions that year. Source: Author’s calculations; see Appendix 1.

2.3.2 1940-1945 Censorship and The German Occupation

As soon as the Germans occupied the Netherlands, they seized the Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau and used it to spread propaganda.¹¹⁸ This takeover granted the occupying forces control over all press and radio broadcasts.¹¹⁹ Although the Jewish employees were immediately dismissed, most newspapers continued to publish as if unaffected.¹²⁰ Censorship and restrictions were gradually introduced, yet many journalists initially maintained their routines, though their roles swiftly shifted toward that of a ‘public educator’.¹²¹ Under pressure, persuasion, or the promise of long-desired improvements in working conditions, many journalists adapted to the demands of the occupiers.¹²² The results of these dynamics are reflected in various ways within the conflict dataset. One of the clearest examples is the disappearance of imagery depicting strikes, protests, or other forms of opposition. These were commonly featured, although not dominantly, between 1922 and 1939 but were absent during the occupation, visually reinforcing the illusion of public compliance. This absence is evident not only in the 12 annually rendered concepts of the conflict dataset but also in the longitudinal analysis of

¹¹⁸ Wijffes, *Journalistiek in Nederland 1850-2000: Beroep, Cultuur En Organisatie*, 217–54.

¹¹⁹ Mariëtte Wolf and Frank van Vree, ‘Oorlog, herstel en vernieuwing, 1940-1950’, in *De krant: Een cultuurgeschiedenis*, 1 (Amsterdam: Boom, 2019), 206.

¹²⁰ Mariëtte Wolf and Frank van Vree, 205–18. Mariëtte Wolf and Frank van Vree, 205–18.

¹²¹ Mariëtte Wolf and Frank van Vree, 212–13.

¹²² Mariëtte Wolf and Frank van Vree, 205–18.

caption words, such as ‘protest’ or ‘riots’ (relletjes), across the entire KBK-1M dataset, where they are revealing a clear gap in their usage during the occupation period.

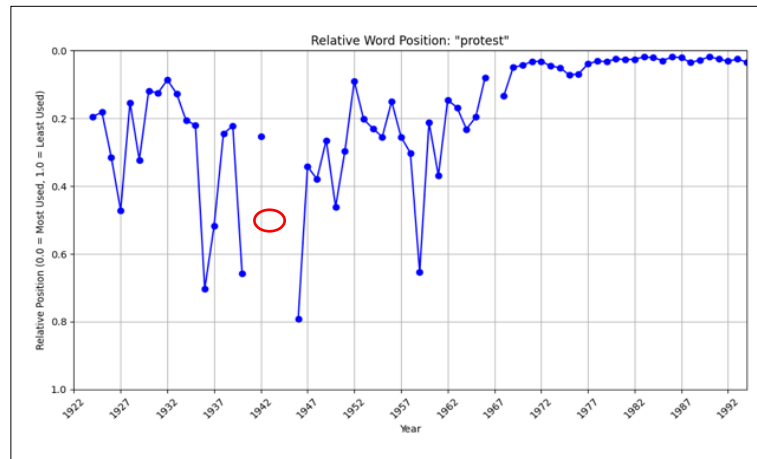


Figure 2.9 The graph shows the relative frequency of the word ‘protest’ (riots) in image captions, calculated by comparing its annual occurrence to the total number of words used in captions that year. Source: Author’s calculations; see Appendix 1.

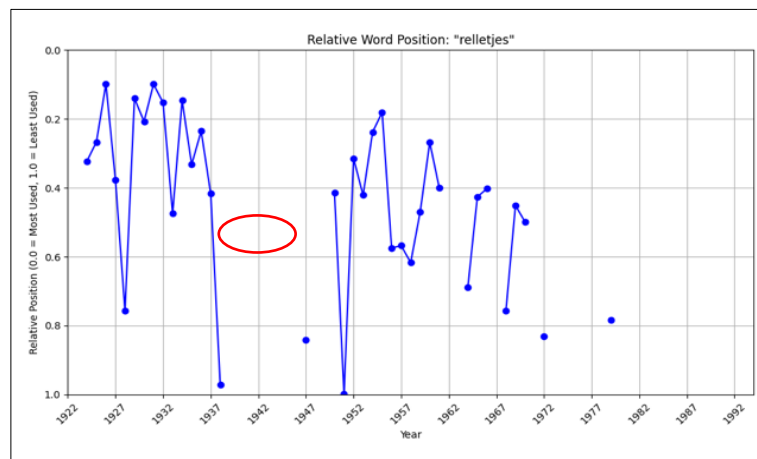


Figure 2.10 The graph shows the relative frequency of the word ‘relletjes’ (riots) in image captions, calculated by comparing its annual occurrence to the total number of words used in captions that year. Source: Author’s calculations; see Appendix 1.

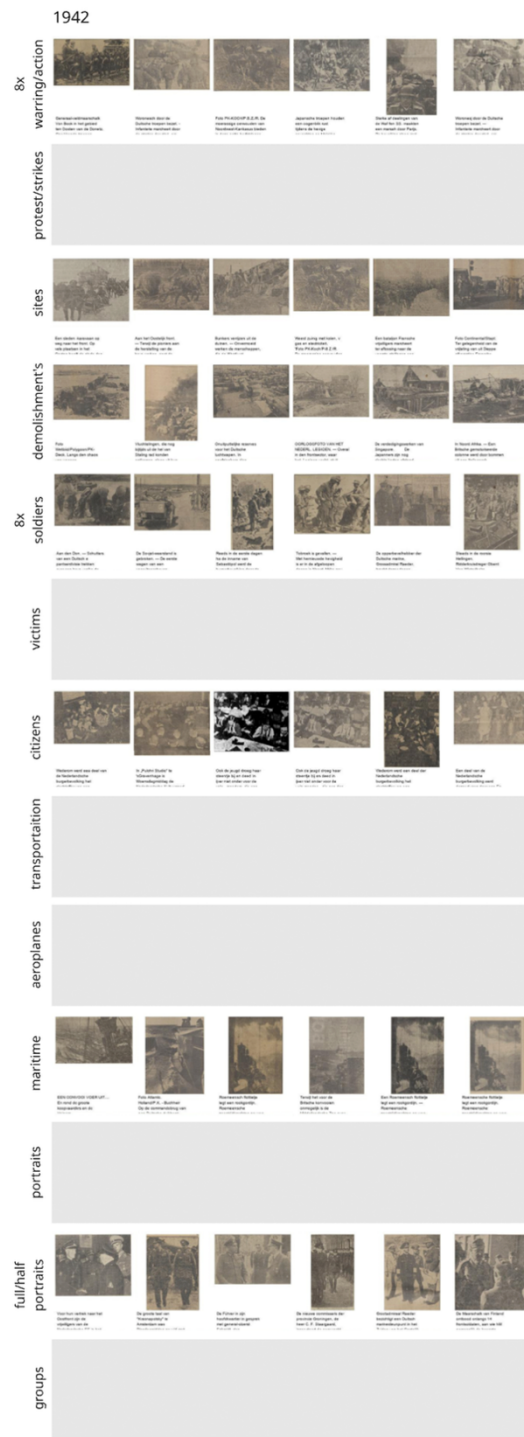


Figure 2.11 The thirteen topics and how they are visually represented in the year 1942
Source: author's visualisation with images from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.



Figure 2.12 The image p002-P2_CB00001.jpg, published in the *De Gooi-en Eemlander: nieuws- en advertentieblad* 12 December 1942, depicts a group of people sharing a meal, with a girl in the front right appearing to be joyful. Two women wearing ties may suggest the presence of aid workers. Nevertheless, there is nothing in the image that visually indicates the group had recently become victims of a bombing. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.

During WWII, there was a noticeable increase in the depiction of soldiers within the visual concepts. I discovered that these young men were often depicted in large groups, either marching in strict formation, observing, or appearing as groups of friends. Such imagery represents the role of soldiers as both heroic and enjoyable. At the same time, the representation of death and suffering is downplayed, which contributes to a sense of normalcy and cohesion, neglecting the harsh realities of war. The only direct depictions related to victims are those of wounded German soldiers. Yet even these images emphasise the care and medical aid they receive rather than the suffering or human cost of the conflict. In captions, victims are discussed, but exclusively with a focus on aid, like citizens suffering from hunger or bombardments, while emphasising how volunteers support them. Like the example from 1942: “Again, a part of the Dutch civilian population became the victim of a British airstrike, and where immediate help had to be also provided this time, the *Nederlandsche Volksdienst* was at its post to advise and assist the homeless

victims. Those who had lost all their belongings were immediately accommodated in different buildings. - A hot meal was consumed together.”¹²³ (Figure 2.13) The caption emphasises compassionate action, highlighting the prompt response and support provided by the *Nederlandsche Volksdienst*, a social welfare organisation established under Nazi direction, to those affected. It places the blame for the destruction on the British air strike while foregrounding themes of caregiving, solidarity, and communal resilience given by the Dutch citizens and occupiers. Citizens are often represented in war-supporting roles, such as children knitting for soldiers, volunteers providing medical aid, or civilians collecting donations for those experiencing poverty.

There is a complete absence of visual representations of the suffering among Jewish individuals or other groups targeted by Nazi Germany in the concepts. This is in line with the ban made by Nazi Germany, prohibiting the Dutch press from reporting about Jewish citizens.¹²⁴ Resulting in a lack of news surrounding the horrific actions, such as the massive deportation in June 1942 and the multiple razzias, although these deeds must have been evident in the urban setting.¹²⁵

In contrast to today’s media environment, characterised by an overload of visual stimuli across diverse channels and formats shaping public awareness, the WWII period offered limited access to then-illegal alternative media sources. Strict controls were in place: photographing military or strategic locations was explicitly forbidden, and by 1945, photography was entirely prohibited.¹²⁶ As a result, the deliberately selected images published by newspapers encountered no opposition or counter-narrative and benefited from an exclusive position in depicting the conflict.

¹²³ De Gooi-en Eemlander: nieuws- en advertentieblad, ‘Wederom Werd Een Deel Der Nederlandsche Burgerbevolking Het Slachtoffer van Een Britschen Luchtaanval En Waar Hier Onmiddellijk Hulp Geboden Moest Worden, Stond Ook Ditmaal de Nederlandsche Volksdienst Op Zijn Post Om de Dakloze Slachtoffers Met Raad En Daad Bij Te Staan. Zij, Die al Hun Have En Goed Verloren Hadden, Werden Onmiddellijk in Verschillende Gebouwen Ondergebracht. — Gezamenlijk Wordt de Warme Maaltijd Genuttigd.’, 12 December 1942, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010905708:mpeg21:p001>.

¹²⁴ Piet Hagen, *Dubbel Zondebok: Joodse Journalisten in Tijden van Antisemitisme En Vervolging 1920-1945* (Amsterdam ; Antwerpen: Uitgeverij De Arbeiderspers, 2022), 322.

¹²⁵ Hagen, 323.

¹²⁶ De Ondergedoken Camera et al., eds., *De Ondergedoken Camera: het laatste oorlogsjaar, Amsterdam 1944-1945* (Zwolle: WBOOKS, 2025), 5.

2.3.3 1946-1962 Recovery and The Reader-Centred Turn

The period after WWII was previously regarded as a conservative and unimportant era, merely a return to the pre-war, pillarised media landscape.¹²⁷ Nowadays, this idea has shifted, and multiple scholars see it as the period of the ‘calm before the storm’, a time that laid the groundwork for the social and cultural revolutions of the 1960s.¹²⁸ In the immediate aftermath of the war, formerly illegal newspapers experienced a brief heyday, promising a new direction in journalism. However, within five years, most readers returned to the known but redesigned pre-war newspapers.¹²⁹ These changes also occurred due to paper shortages.¹³⁰ Shifting from plain reporting to narrative conclusions and summations inspired by the Anglo-Saxon conventions.¹³¹ As a result, editors were compelled to make more deliberate and considered choices to fill the condensed layouts of the now limited newspaper pages, particularly in light of the political efforts to purge the media of past ‘wrongdoers,’ including journalists, editors, and papers that had shown support for the former occupiers.¹³² The growing journalistic aspirations, combined with a greater focus on the newspaper as a professional product, resulted in a stronger industry position and more independent reporting, although it continued to be pilloried.¹³³

This newly sharpened awareness of the media's role in society created more ‘decent’ reporting, with an English touch of ‘responsible sensation’.¹³⁴ This was inspired by the quote of the Daily Express editor-in-chief, Arthur Christiansen: “Always, always, tell the news through people.”¹³⁵ This increased focus on reporting the ‘human side’ of conflict is evident in the concepts. (Figure 2.1)

¹²⁷ Wijfjes, *Journalistiek in Nederland 1850-2000: Beroep, Cultuur En Organisatie*, 256.

¹²⁸ Wijfjes, 256.

¹²⁹ Wijfjes, 257–59.

¹³⁰ Broersma, ‘Vormgeving tussen woord en beeld’, 17.

¹³¹ Broersma, 17.

¹³² Mariëtte Wolf and Frank van Vree, ‘Oorlog, herstel en vernieuwing, 1940-1950’, 239.

¹³³ Mariëtte Wolf and Frank van Vree, 244.

¹³⁴ Pien van der Hoeven and Huub Wijfjes, ‘Concentratie en Kritische Autonomie, 1950-2000’, in *De Krant: Een cultuurgeschiedenis*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Boom, 2019), 256.

¹³⁵ Pien van der Hoeven, *Het Succes van Een Kwaliteitskrant: De Ontstaansgeschiedenis van NRC Handelsblad* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2012), 23.



Figure 2.13 The thirteen topics and how they are visually represented in the years 1947 and 1961
Source: authors visualisation with images from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

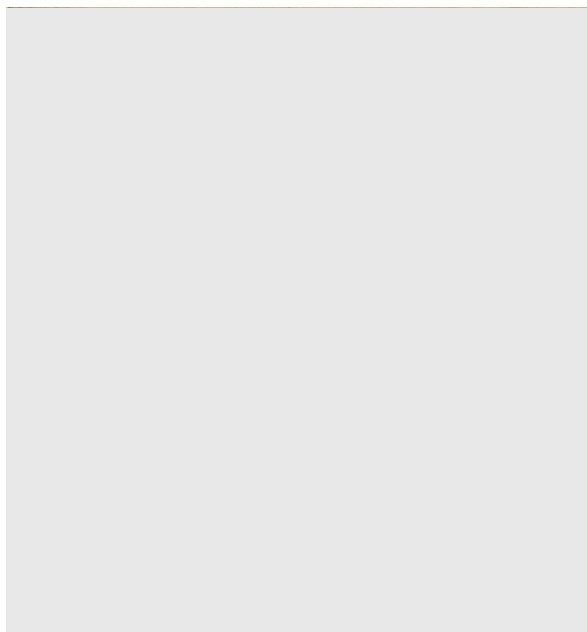


Figure 2.14 The image p002-P2_CB00002.jpg, published in the *Friese Koerier: Onafhankelijk Dagblad voor Friesland en Aangrenzende Gebieden* 9 September 1954, depicting a civilian. caption: Deze foto toont de Amerikaanse mevrouw Alvin Ka pp. die de foto's DUS* r.tiv haar vermiste broer sergeant Walther Kelss en van de man die enige lijd '■ Enschede werd aangetroffen iicüeit de politie en it prots raadsele stelt. Zoals I lijdt de man in Enschede aan geheugenverlies. De politic te Frank\" fort hecil inmiddels verklaard, dat Rollins of Swan in werkelijkheid een Duitser ir,, genaamd Gmnt.her Fischeher. De was lot deze conclusie gekomen aan de hand van krantenfoto's, Fi&cher was >n September pan hel vorig jaar te Frankfort b on Inmdlo-V toen onder de naam Ernst.\ [Link](#) Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

I found that civilians are being increasingly depicted in central positions or key roles. Although this period is marked by fewer images published per newspaper than earlier, the size of the images increased.¹³⁶ Combined with developments in print, their quality enhanced readability.¹³⁷ Additionally, photojournalism as a profession continued to evolve with the establishment of significant institutions such as Magnum Photos (1947) and World Press Photo (1955), thereby enhancing the quality and recognition of press photography.¹³⁸ As a result, artistic qualities and details such as facial expressions and deliberate image compositions that carry symbolic meaning have become more frequent in the concepts of the dataset. They are revealing clearer visual myths than in earlier imagery, such as the image of the sister searching for her missing brother (**Figure 2.14**), where facial expressions were

¹³⁶ Kester and Kleppe, 'Acceptatie, Professionalisering En Innovatie Persfotografie in Nederland, 1837-2014', 4.

¹³⁷ Kester and Kleppe, 53–76.

¹³⁸ Kester and Kleppe, 66.

previously unreadable; her mimic of desperation now carries the picture and possibly touches the audience. The image, which depicts a protester against atomic bombs, showcases a rather amusing scene of how a neatly dressed officer carries the protester away in an absurd position. It does not depict the protest itself; instead, it presents the matter to the audience in a more light-hearted manner. (Figure 2.15)

The last example illustrates a cinematic-style homecoming scene in which a young child and her mother embrace a returning soldier. The emotion on the woman's face signifies the profound sense of relief following his return. (Figure 2.16)

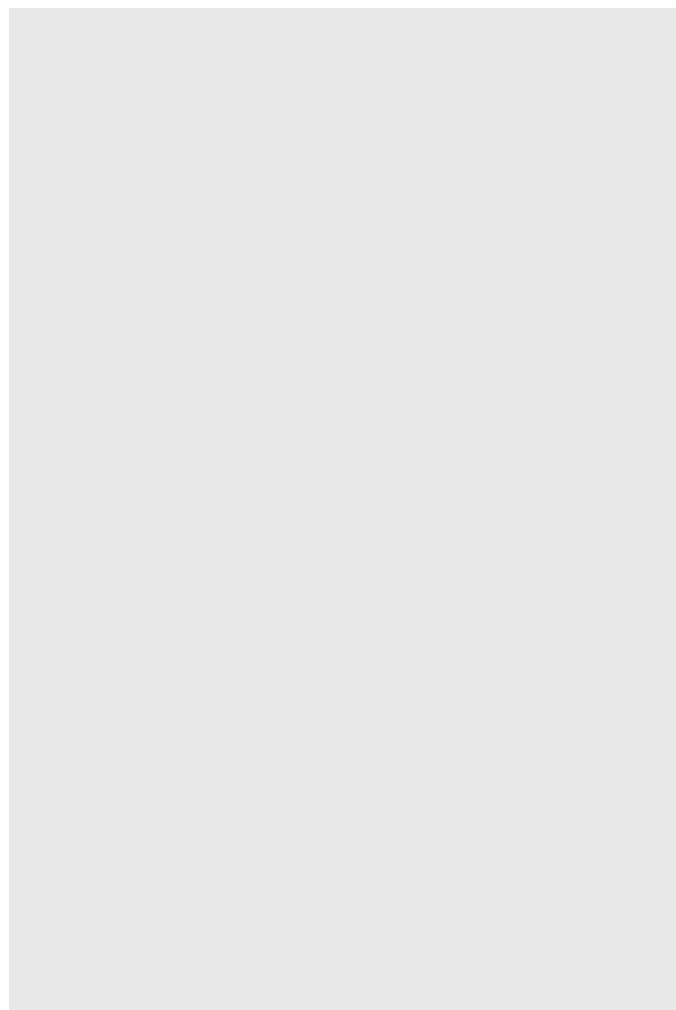


Figure 2.15 The image p003-P3_CB00003.jpg, published in the *Leeuwarder Courant: Hoofdblad van Friesland* 26 March 1962, depicting a civilian protester getting carried away in a funny position. caption: Een van de demonstranten, die zaterdag in Londen tegen de kernbom hebben gedemonstreerd – een aktie op initiatief van „Het komitee van honderd" – wordt hier door een stoere agent naar de arrestantenwagen gedragen. Korte tijd later hoorde de delinquent zich veroordelen tot een boete van tien gulden. [Link](#) Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

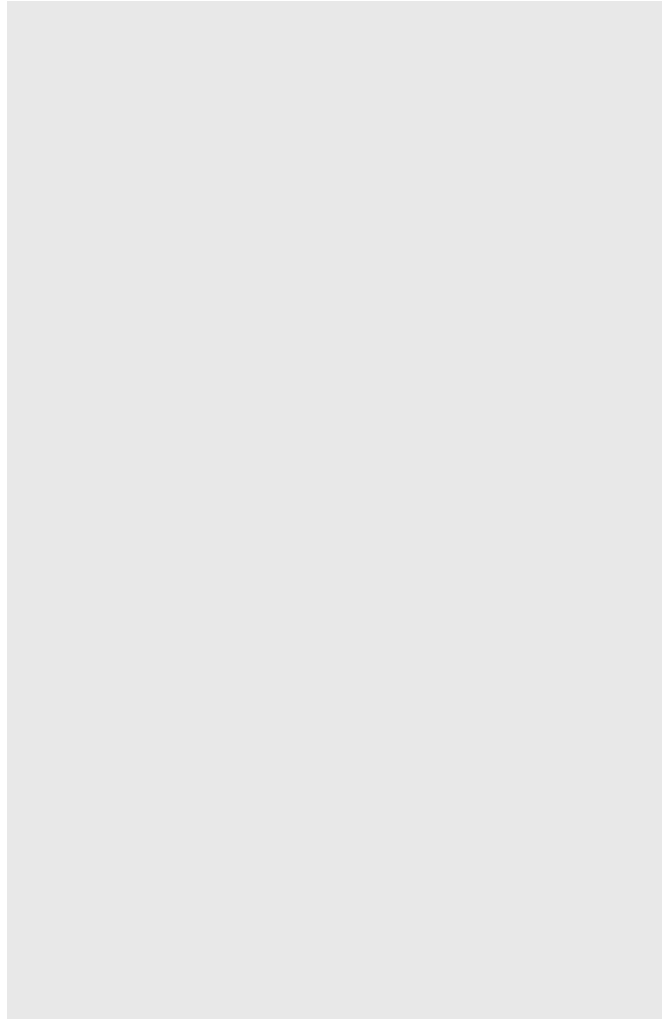


Figure 2.16 The image p003-P3_CB00003.jpg, published in the *Leeuwarder Courant: Hoofdblad van Friesland* 13 September 1962, depicting a romantic scene. caption: Gistermiddag is onderzeeboot „Zeeleeuw\" in het Nieuwediep te Den Helder afgemeerd voor de onderzeedienstkasierne, teruggekeerd van een reis naar Nieuw-Guinea. Het schip werd opgewacht door een grote schare belangstellenden, die kennelijk blij waren hun verwachten na een onverwacht lange afwezigheid terug te zien. De „Zeeleeuw\" heeft de heenreis via het Panamakanaal gemaakt en de terugreis rond Kaap de Goede Hoop. Hiermee werd de langste vaaropdracht sinds het einde van de tweede wereldoorlog met naar schatting 5.000 zeemijlen overschreden. [Link](#) Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

Not only was there an increase in citizen representation, but the images also extended beyond the primary locations and often reflected the aftermath, behind the scenes, and more unexpected, previously unseen consequences of conflict. As a result, depictions of military subjects became less dominant, not due to a reduced presence of global battlefields but because of a broader shift toward including diverse roles and perspectives within the context of conflict. This tendency continued to increase throughout the following period.

2.3.4 1962-1994 Blood, Death and Critical Autonomy

Two technological shifts in the early 1960s reshaped Dutch visual news. First, electronic transmission and editing enabled press photographs to move almost instantaneously from the field to the newsroom.¹³⁹ Therefore, conflict broadcasting became more immediate. Second, television, a then-novel medium that brought news directly into the homes of an increasingly fast-growing number of citizens.¹⁴⁰ Due to television targeting everyone, the still pillarised Dutch press increasingly freed itself from its traditional ideological alignments.¹⁴¹ The 1967 coverage of the World Press Photo Prize contest by the *Polygoon Hollands Nieuws* journal emphasised that “In photography, it often comes down to pressing the shutter at the right moment.”¹⁴² This new focus on capturing and halting a significant moment in time is evident in multiple images from the conflict concepts of this period.

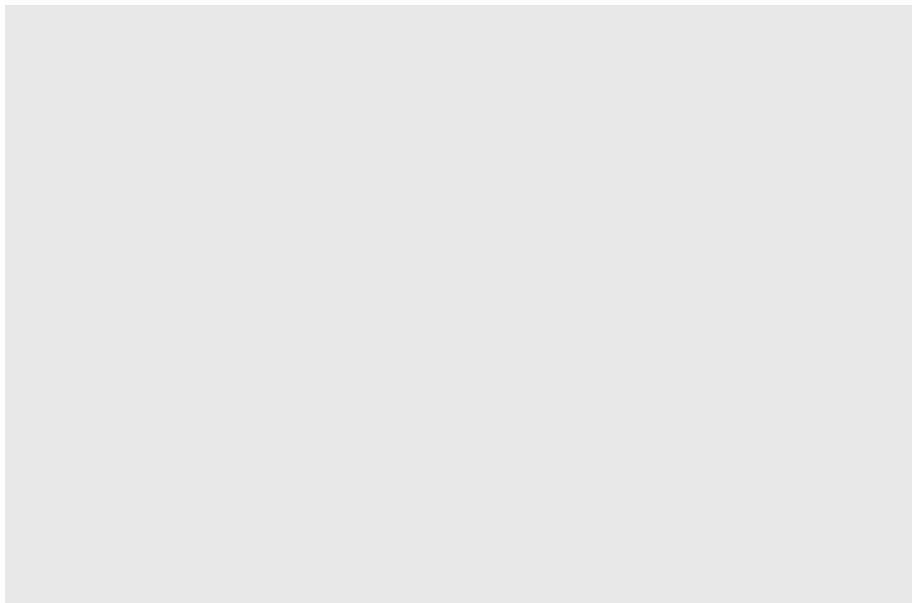


Figure 2.17 The image p003-P3_CB00001.jpg, published in the *Leeuwarder Courant: Hoofdblad van Friesland*, 15 May 1972, depicting a group of citizens running. caption: **Burgers in An Loc op de vlucht voor de artilleriegranaten van het Noordvietnamese geschut. An Loc is inmiddels voor het grootste deel in een puinhoop veranderd.** [Link](#) Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

¹³⁹ Pien van der Hoeven and Huub Wijffjes, ‘Concentratie en Kritische Autonomie, 1950-2000’, 262.

¹⁴⁰ Pien van der Hoeven and Huub Wijffjes, 260.

¹⁴¹ Pien van der Hoeven and Huub Wijffjes, 260.

¹⁴² Polygoon Hollands Nieuws, ‘In de Fotografie Komt Het Er Vaak Op Aan Om Op Het Juiste Moment Af Te Drukken.’, 1 December 1967, <https://zoeken.beeldengeluid.nl/program/urn:vme:default:program:2101608140120223631/asset/urn:vme:default:asset:2101609050155667521/segment/urn:vme:default:logtrackitem:2101703040128694124?ac=dgtl%2Canlg&q=world+press+photo>.



Figure 2.18 The thirteen topics and how they are visually represented in the years 1947 and 1961
Source: authors visualisation with images from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

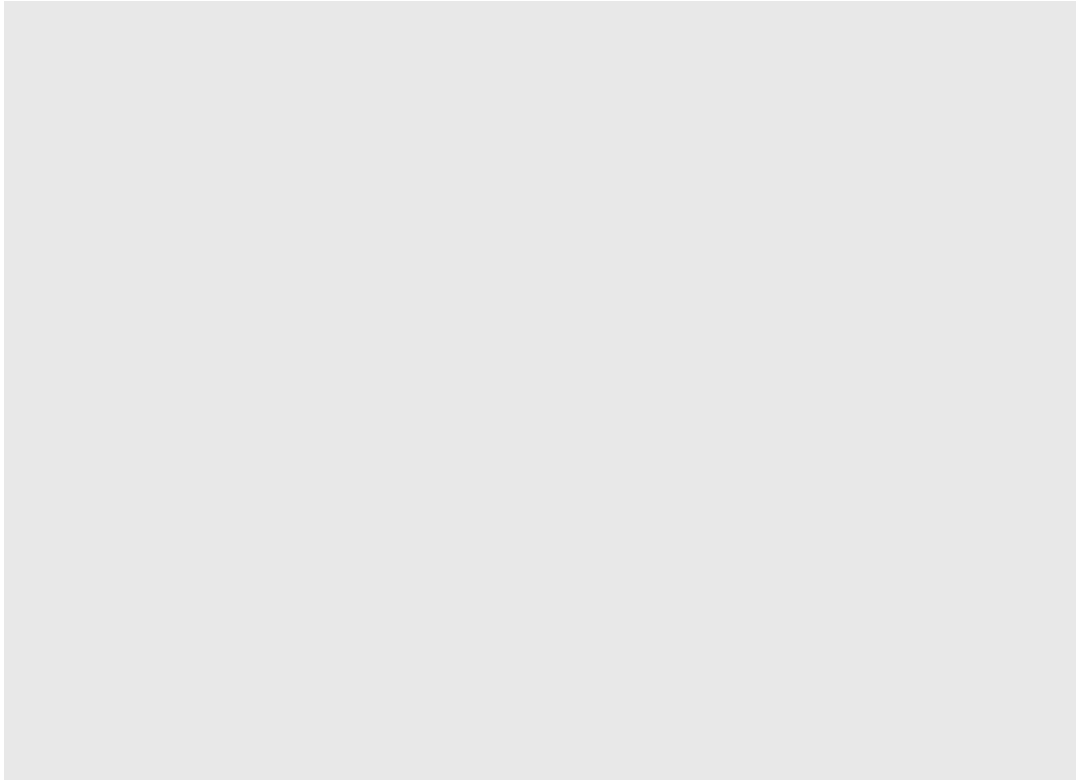


Figure 2.19 The image p001-P1_CB00003.jpg, published in the *Amigoe*, 26 November 1993, depicting a Palestinian which moment later was shot in his head. caption: Laatste gebaar van Palestijn voor kogel hem trof. \ GAZA - Een Palestijn gewapend met stenen maakt een bezwerend gebaar tijdens een confrontatie met Israëlische militairen in Gaza. Kort daarna werd de man door een kogel in het hoofd geraakt. Meer dan 20 Palestijnen raakten gewond tijdens de rellen die volgden na het doodschietsen van een leider van de Ham.as-militie. [Link](#) Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

To capture these ‘decisive moments in history’, photojournalists placed themselves on the frontlines of conflict, often documenting victims who were being targeted or shot just meters away. **(Figure 2.18)** This marks a shift from the previous period, during which subjects were more frequently photographed alongside the journalists. In contrast, photographers in this era embedded themselves directly within active conflict zones, positioning their lenses and bodies amid the violence and ceasefires. Resulting in these pictures, such as the photograph depicting the moment just before someone’s death. **(Figure 2.19)** These about-to-die images are considered less graphic than the already dead, sparing readers from visual gruesomeness, while their meaning can only be discerned through their

surrounding texts.¹⁴³ Multiple puzzler Prizes were given to images depicting just about-to-die moments; as they opened, the thought of “what if” prompted an urgency to prevent the situation from happening.¹⁴⁴ There are ethical dilemmas surrounding these about-to-die images regarding the extent to which a photojournalist should interfere.¹⁴⁵ Susan Sontag argues that “photographing is essentially an act of non-intervention” and that “where the photographer has the choice between a photograph and life, to choose the photograph.”¹⁴⁶ This highlights the gruesomeness of the profession during this period.

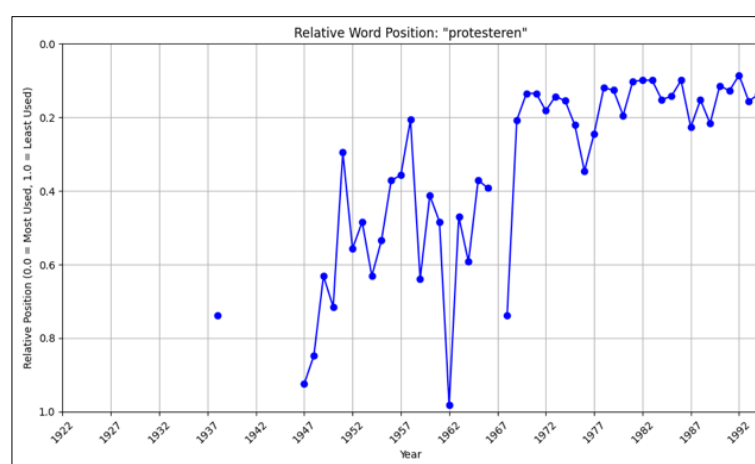


Figure 2.20 The graph shows the relative frequency of the word ‘protesteren’ (to protest) in image captions, calculated by comparing its annual occurrence to the total number of words used in captions that year. Source: Author’s calculations; see Appendix 1.

In addition to the growing presence of civilians in conflict-related imagery, there has also been a rise in the depiction of civilian-led actions, including protests and strikes. **(Figure 2.3)** This can be witnessed in the evolvement of the image caption words ‘protest’ (protesteren) and ‘protesters’ (demonstranten). **(Figures 2.20, 2.21)** Both words show an apparent increase in use, which resembles the rise in depictions of adversary culture and supports the trend toward a more independent, critically

¹⁴³ Barbie Zelizer, *About to Die: How News Images Move the Public* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 29.

¹⁴⁴ Zelizer, 43.

¹⁴⁵ Zelizer, 168.

¹⁴⁶ Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (S.I.: RosettaBooks, 2020), 8.

thinking society. Huub Wijfjes notes: “Rising prosperity, better education, and the broadening of horizons offered by the media stimulated a new culture in which the focus was not on grand cultural ideals.”¹⁴⁷

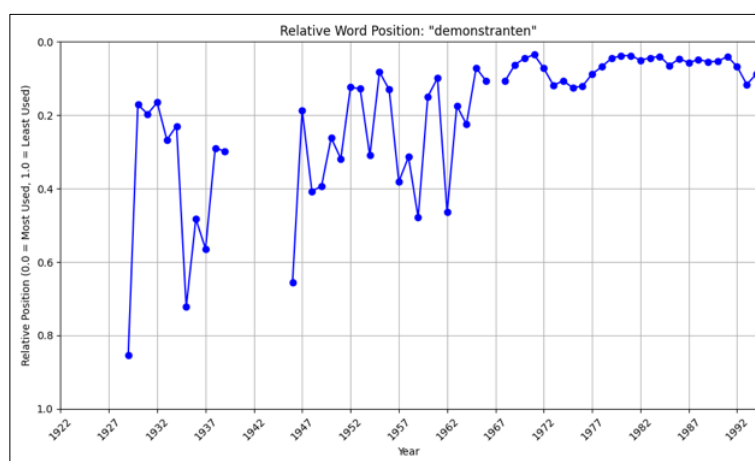


Figure 2.21 The graph shows the relative frequency of the word ‘demonstranten’ (protesters) in image captions, calculated by comparing its annual occurrence to the total number of words used in captions that year. Source: Author’s calculations; see Appendix 1.

2.4 Conclusion

This overview highlights the most significant shifts identified through manual analysis of the AI-generated multimodal concepts. It reveals that many observed tendencies align with and can be explained by established findings in media history. Therefore, this method of macroscopic research can create supporting and additional knowledge in the field, demonstrating to some extent the reliability and the dataset’s capacity. Although the technique doesn’t yield precise outcomes, it can provide insight into trends within the archive and uncover meaningful longitudinal patterns. The analysis reveals that the depiction of conflict in Dutch newspapers underwent significant evolution. In the following graph, the most dominant shifts are noted by period, followed by a summary. **(Figure 2.22)**

¹⁴⁷ Huub Wijfjes, ‘De Stijgende Welvaart, de Betere Scholing, Maar Ook de Horizonverbreiding Die de Media Aanboden, Stimuleerden Een Nieuwe Cultuur Waarin Niet Grote Cultuuridealen over Opvoeding En Beschaving Maar En Mondig Individu Centraal Kwam Te Staan.’, 2004.

Conflict Reporting

Period	Visual Topics	Media	Technology	Photographers' Role	Visual Imaginaries
1922–1939	Portraits of officials, maritime scenes, sites, military parades civilian groups	Photo pages Photograph replaces illustration Scepticism towards photography Pillarised media landscape Images relay on caption	Printing photography Compact camera	Static observers No dynamic pictures Limited visual signifiers Portrait photography	Tactics, hierarchy, order, stability, control.
1940–1945	Soldiers, military parades, aid efforts, military life, military manoeuvres, no protests or civilian suffering.	Propaganda machine Censorship Public educator	Photogra. banned in 1945 Limited photo circulation	Restricted, No autonomy Reinforcing propaganda and state-curated narratives	Compliance, control, order national unity, camaraderie, heroism, absence of suffering.
1946–1962	Civilians in key roles, human side of conflict, sites, demolition, groups, portraits	Reorganisation, Professionalisation Growing independence Anglo-Saxon influence Human centred storytelling	Paper shortages Larger, better-quality Clearer prints Improved layout	More autonomous Emotional nuance and story Human-focused reporting Quality and recognition	Empathy, humanisation of conflict, emotional storytelling.
1962–1994	Victims, protests, strikes, brutal images during direct action, protest culture. increased civilian, active conflict and representation of opposition	Television competition Critical press emerges Depillarisation	Electronic image transfer Near-instant news	Front-line witnesses Personal risk moral complexity Seizing the right moment	Realism, emotional confrontation, opposition, shock.

Figure 2.22 Summary of findings per period, based on a combination of media-historical research and the author's analysis of conflict-related concepts.

During the Interbellum, when photography was increasingly integrated into journalistic practices, the medium began transitioning from illustrative drawings to photographic images. At this early stage, portraiture emerged as the most dominant genre. Other imagery commonly featured static compositions and carefully posed scenes, indicating that conflict-related photographs were less focused on capturing spontaneous moments and more on constructing a representational tableau. As a result, captions were essential in conveying the news value of an image. The visual content predominantly focused on official figures, maritime themes, military personnel, soldiers portrayed in parades and civilians attending jubilees and ceremonies. They reinforce an imaginary of order, strength, and control, supporting a broader visual imaginary aligned with discipline and social cohesion.

During the WWII, under German occupation, censorship shaped what could be photographed and published.¹⁴⁸ Victims were rarely shown; instead, state-sanctioned imagery centred on order, heroism and camaraderie. Captions have referenced suffering, but photographs carefully excluded it from view emphasising the provided aid given by Dutch civilians under the Nazi regime. The resulting visual record contributed to an imaginary: of unity, duty, and resilience, devoid of the full horrors of war.

The postwar year is considered a time of reorganisation and reform. Affected by the rise of modern photojournalism, paper shortages, and changing editorial priorities, newspapers began to depict conflict through the lens of personal experiences.¹⁴⁹ Conflict photographs increasingly served as tools to elicit strong emotional responses from readers by telling the news ‘Through people’ while giving civilians a central role.¹⁵⁰ The concepts reveal a growing reliance on facial expressions to narrate the news. Advancements in photography and printing techniques enhanced this by creating sharper images that could capture emotional moments, such as grief, relief, determination, passion, and suffering, resulting in more intimate and humanised portrayals of conflict.

¹⁴⁸ Wijffes, *Journalistiek in Nederland 1850-2000: Beroep, Cultuur En Organisatie*, 217–54.

¹⁴⁹ Broersma, ‘Vormgeving tussen woord en beeld’, 17.

¹⁵⁰ Pien van der Hoeven and Huub Wijffes, ‘Concentratie en Kritische Autonomie, 1950-2000’, 256.

In the final period of the dataset, Dutch newspapers began to prioritise critical engagement.¹⁵¹ The emphasis shifted to capture the precise moment that could best document the unfolding news, resulting in a notable rise in the representation of brutal situations, which potentially evoked emotional engagement from viewers. Compared to earlier periods, images and captions were less obviously aligned with one side in conflict, offering a more complex and multifaceted portrayal of war.¹⁵² The visual imaginary represents the notion of undisclosed reality, unfiltered representations of actual happenings, implying that readers interpret its meaning and act upon it.

While the multimodal method used in this analysis has proven valuable for identifying dominant trends and long-term shifts in visual conflict reporting, it also presents several important limitations, such as the outcomes being shaped by archival limitations and the curatorial ideologies of the KB. Although each year was reduced to a comparable number of concepts (~12), thereby mitigating the effects of over- or underrepresentation across periods, the strength of concepts may have been weakened or artificially amplified due to the unequal availability of visual materials per year. Additionally, several concepts featured non-conflict-related images, including those depicting sports, crime scenes, accidents, or graphic novels. These were mostly the result of errors in the manual digitalisation process or limitations in keyword filtering. As a result, although a standard number of concepts was rendered per year, their thematic relevance varied. This inconsistency complicates direct year-to-year comparisons. Furthermore, in later decades, many concepts became multi-thematic. For example, depictions of civilians increasingly appear within other categories, such as ‘war in action,’ which contributes to the perceived growth of civilian-related concepts over time; although true, it also could be affected by the practice of using more signifiers in an image than in the first period potentially effecting interpretations and comparison.

Another structural limitation is the unequal digitisation of Dutch newspapers. Titles like *De Telegraaf* are overrepresented in the KBK-1M dataset as a whole. Although

¹⁵¹ Huub Wijffjes, ‘Journalistiek in Nederland 1850-2000’, 2004.

¹⁵² Pien van der Hoeven and Huub Wijffjes, ‘Concentratie en Kritische Autonomie, 1950-2000’.

its dominance is less extreme within the conflict subset, this imbalance remains important to consider when assessing representational bias.

Finally, the multimodal model itself is trained predominantly on modern, full-colour imagery. This influences how the model detects and prioritises visual content, sometimes giving weight to attributes such as colour intensity or photographic style that are unrelated to the historical or thematic significance of the research. Moreover, my human interpretation of visual concepts may not align with the mathematical abstraction underlying AI-generated results. These discrepancies underline the importance of complementing multimodal analysis with contextual expertise and manual close reading.

The results presented in this chapter provide an overview of the most prominent emerging patterns that have been identified. However, they are primarily based on recurring subjects within images and do not fully capture how these images construct or convey visual imaginaries. Therefore, the following chapter deepens the analysis by providing a close reading of two recurring topics. This approach facilitates a deeper understanding of the compositional elements within images and their contributions to the construction of visual imaginaries.

Chapter 3 :

The Visual Evolution of Conflict in Action and Victims

3.1 Introduction

Building on the broader scope of visual development analysed in the preceding section, this subchapter focuses on two recurring conceptual topics: *Conflict in Action* and *The Victim*. By examining visual patterns, signifiers, and composition across six representative images, each corresponding to a specific timeframe in the dataset, the evolution of the visual imaginaries can be observed thematically. This section investigates how representations of active conflict scenes and depictions of victims have evolved by tracing the choices made by photographers and editors in crafting the visual narrative. It explores how the framing of images reveals what was deemed essential to capture, what was excluded, and how these decisions shape the underlying connotations and deeper meanings conveyed through the photographs.

Images were selected by dividing the dataset into six equal twelve-year periods (**Figure 3.1**). For each period, photographs were chosen that most clearly illustrated the defining visual characteristics of that era. As a result, the selected images may emphasise dominant tendencies, while more subtle or ambiguous cases may be underrepresented. In the earlier periods, when both selected topics appeared less frequently, the selection process was relatively straightforward. However, in later decades, as the frequency and variety of relevant imagery increased, the process became more complex. When multiple visual tendencies were equally prominent, the image representing the most dominant tendency was selected. Therefore, the chosen images should not be understood as statistically representative of an entire period, but rather as illustrative of the most influential visual patterns identified through analysis.

Each image is further examined using ‘geometric structuring’ to uncover the ‘secret geometry’ which supports identifying frameworks that guide the viewer’s attention.¹⁵³ Additionally, signifying roles, behaviours, and objects were recorded interpret their connotative meanings and their contribution to the broader visual imaginary.

¹⁵³ Charls Bouleau, *The Painter’s Secret Geometry: A Study of Composition in Art* (New York: Hartcourt, Brace & World, inc., 1963).

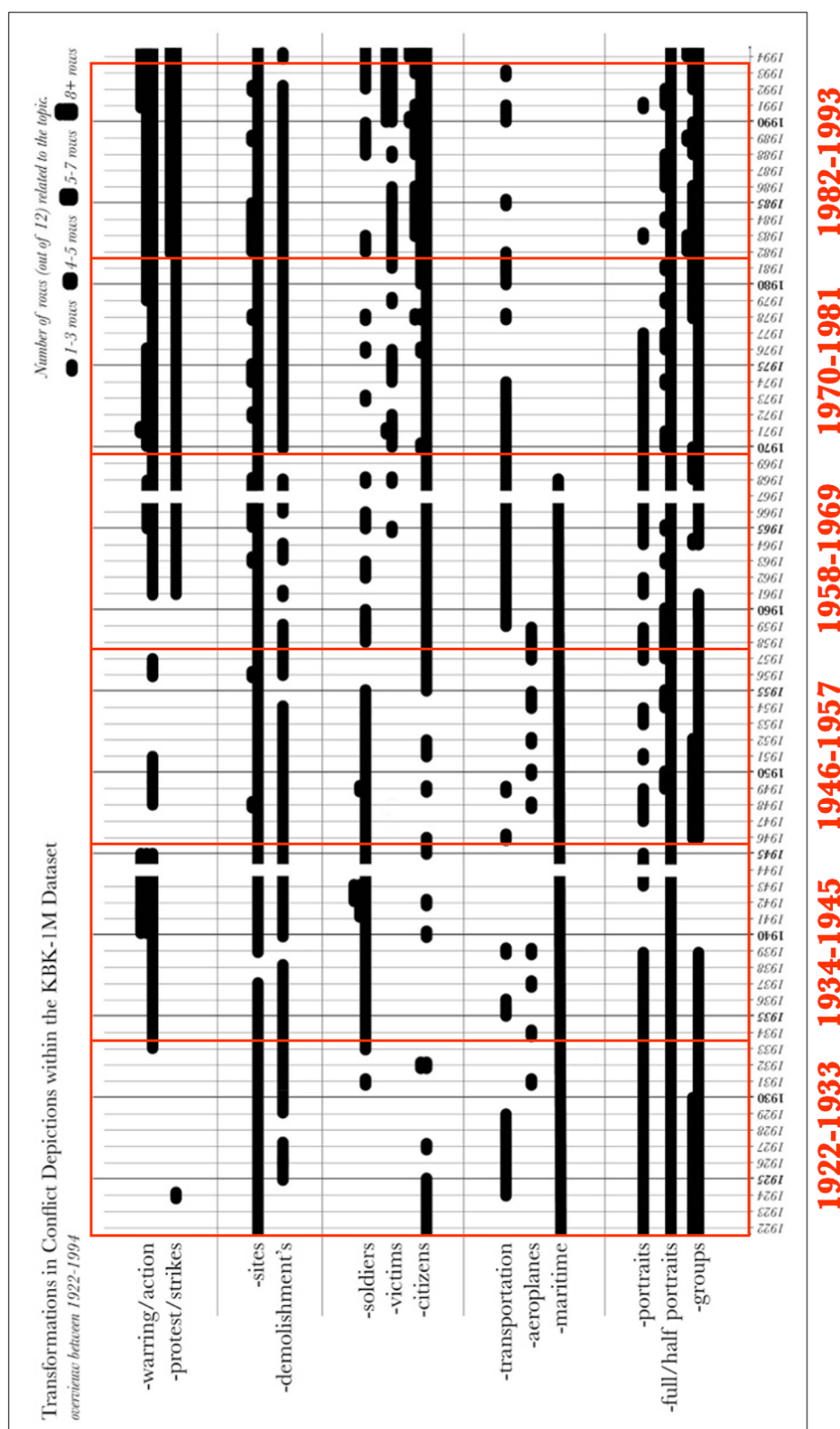


Figure 3.1 The thirteen topics and how they are visually represented in the years 1922 and 1933. In red is the periodic division used in this chapter. Source: authors visualisation of analysis images from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

3.2 Representation of Conflict in Action

The 72 years covered by the conflict dataset span a broad spectrum of warfare formats, including civil wars, guerrilla conflicts, nuclear tensions, and religiously motivated violence. Each type of conflict is shaped by its own unique political, geographical, and cultural context and, therefore, generates a distinct visual language. As such, the images within the dataset cannot be meaningfully compared without acknowledging the diverse modalities of warfare they depict. However, despite these differences, a set of evolving visual expectations emerged, shaped by a shared imaginary of what a compelling or legitimate representation of conflict should look like within each period. Rather than focusing on the specific conflicts themselves, this analysis examines the visual strategies and representational conventions through which conflict is visually constructed and made meaningful.

3.2.1 1922-1933



Figure 3.2 Scope of images depicting ‘Representation of Conflict in Action’ during the period 1922-1933. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

In the early years of the dataset, portraits were frequently used in conjunction with captions related to conflict sites. The selected image is the earliest representation of an active conflict found among the CLIP-generated concepts. **(Figure 3.2)** It depicts a battery of nationalist soldiers during the Albanian June Revolution, led by Prime Minister Ahmet Zogolli (later King Zogu). **(Figure 3.3)** The compositional analysis of the image reveals that the photograph is structured around a dominant signifying figure, with perspective lines and spatial arrangement directing the viewer’s gaze toward this focal point.



Figure 3.3 The Image p008-P8_CB00008.jpg, published in the *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant* 12 June 1924, caption: DE OPSTAND IN ALIJd... Een batterij der nationalisten voor Tirana, dat inmiddels door hen veroverd is. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.

The three signifying figures are in slow action, observing an unseen opponent beyond the frame, likely facing toward Tirana, as suggested by the caption. A row of cannons is positioned in the same direction, reinforcing the implied focus of attention towards what happens outside the frame. The figures are dressed in traditional attire, including wide trousers, belts, and gilets. Rather than capturing active combat, the image emphasises the tactical arrangement of the battlefield and its equipment. **(Figure 3.4)**

The visual imaginary can be interpreted as an illustration of a foreign military organisation, conveying a sense of discipline and preparedness. The traditional clothing reinforces a sense of cultural identity, while the overall scene appears controlled and calm rather than aggressive or chaotic. **(Figure 3.5)**

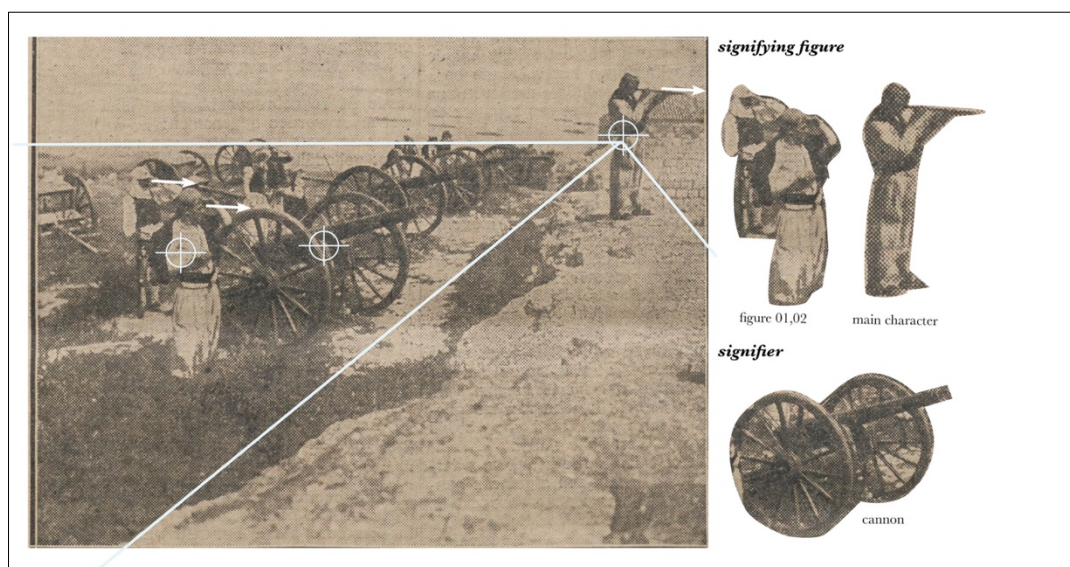


Figure 3.4 Analysis of image p008-P8_CB00008.jpg, representing the period 1922-1933. Source: Author's analysis image from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

Conflict in Action 1922-1933

Category	Details
Composition	Leading Lines, Perspective
Signifying figure	- Main: Soldier - Soldiers
Signifier	- act: looks through binoculars - act: gazing into the distance - object: row of cannons - clothing: traditional attire
Connotation	Strategic awareness, Anticipation or control, Heritage, cultural pride, Imminent conflict or threat, Military strength or preparedness
Photographers' Role	- Frame excludes future - Quiet scenery - Feels to some extent staged
Visual Imaginaries	Prepared, proud, and guided by tradition, not reckless or aggressive, tied to a larger duty to protect.

Figure 3.5 Analytical findings for image p008-P8_CB00008.jpg, representing the period 1922-1933. Source: Author's analysis.

3.2.2 1934-1945



Figure 3.6 Scope of images depicting 'Representation of Conflict in Action' during the period 1934-1945. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen

Representations of active conflict sites became more prominent during the WWII period, with a noticeable increase around the early 1940s. For this reason, an image from 1941 has been selected. Dominant visual themes characterising this period focused on military equipment and the everyday life of a soldier. **(Figure 3.6)** The chosen photograph depicts a group of German soldiers resting in a shelter. According to the caption, they have just crossed the Desna River and are taking a break for breakfast. **(Figure 3.7)**



Figure 3.7 The image p001-P1_CB00003.jpg, published in the *De Telegraaf* 27 September 1941, caption: Na den overtocht over de Desna. \n\tFoto Atlantic. Holland. Terwijl steeds nieuwe troepen in rubberbooten over de Desna worden gezet, nuttigen degenen die zich reeds in de voormalige Sovjet-strillingen aan den tegenovergestelden oever hebben genesteld, haastig een stevig ontbijt, om zich tegen de vermoeienissen van de komende marschen te sterken. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

The compositional analysis of the image reveals a visual focus toward the centre, highlighting the interaction between the three most prominent figures. One holds a set of papers, suggesting a discussion or exchange of information, while another smokes a pipe, reinforcing a sense of ease and comfort. At the centre, two men sit comfortably on the floor, echoing the relaxed posture of the two figures in the background. The camera angle looks downward into the trench, emphasising the calm and contained atmosphere. **(Figure 3.8)**

Overall, the visual imaginary presents an unproblematic, calm portrayal of the ‘soldier’s life’ and routines, with a clear emphasis on male bonding and companionship. **(Figure 3.9)**

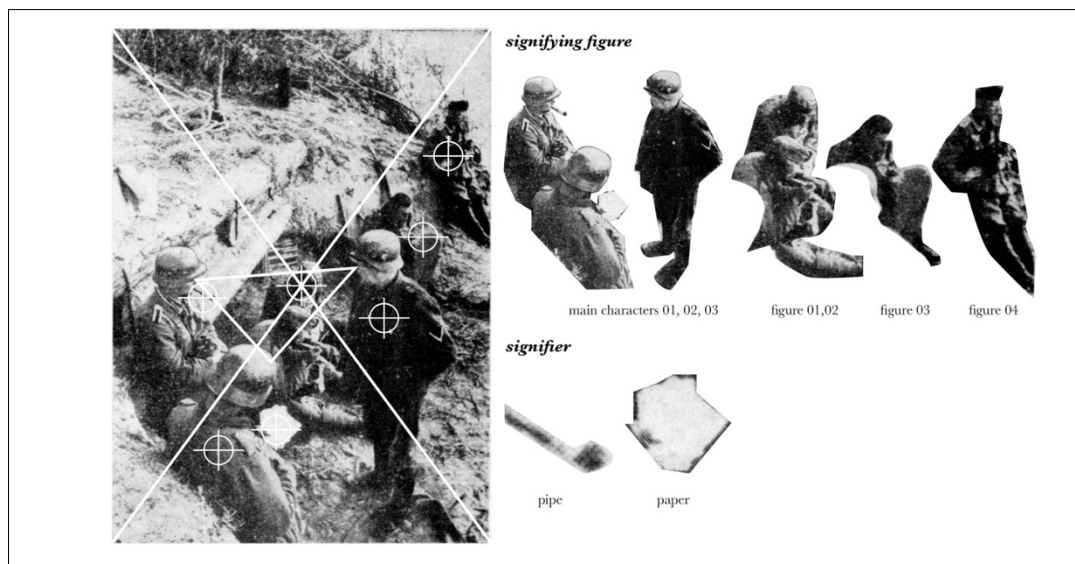


Figure 3.8 Analysis of image p001-P1_CB00003.jpg, representing the period 1934-1945. Source: Author’s analysis image from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.

Conflict in Action 1934-1945

Category	Details
Composition	Centered Composition
Signifying figure	- Main: three soldiers - Soldiers
Signifier	- act: conversation - act: smoking - act: relaxed posture - object: a set of papers - object: pipe - clothing: in full combat
Connotation	Camaraderie, trust, informal planning, ritual pause, masculinity, control, normalcy, absence of panic or immediate danger, institutional discipline
Photographers' Role	- Frame focus on soldiers - Quiet scenery - Unproblematic
Visual Imaginaries	War as routine, a space of professional calm, masculine ritual, gendered space of male bonding and control.

Figure 3.9 Analytical findings for image p001-P1_CB00003.jpg, representing the period 1934-1945. Source: Author's analysis.

3.2.3 1946-1957



Figure 3.10 Scope of images depicting 'Representation of Conflict in Action' during the period 1946-1957. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen

Active conflict sites are rarely depicted in the period from 1946 to 1957. Instead, the visual focus is on the daily lives of soldiers and the manoeuvring of troops. (Figure 3.10) The selected image features an American soldier during the Korean War. According to the caption, the soldier carried a wounded comrade for two kilometres to receive medical aid, pushing himself to the point of complete exhaustion. (Figure 3.11)



Figure 3.11 p001-P1_CB00001.jpg, published in the *Algemeen Indisch dagblad: de Preangerbode* 11 Octobre 1950, caption: Ik heb een wapenbroeder\n\tEen Amerikaanse infan'enst. die een geioonde makker van net gevechtsterrein op Korea over een afstand van bijna *fwee kilometer naar een medische post heeft aedra. gen, is aan het einde van zijn krachten gekomen op het mo. 'ment, dat manschappen de gewonde van zijn schouders wil. len tuien- Met een van pijn verwrongen gezicht stort hij neer. (Foto A-N.P.) Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen

The compositional analysis of the image reveals a visual focus on the face of the soldier carrying the wounded comrade. Surrounding him are three signifying figures, including the injured man. The other two appear to support the act: one holds the carrier's helmet while the other assists in lifting the wounded man from his back. All are dressed in full combat attire. The carrying soldier forms the visual and emotional centre of the image; his facial expression, combined with the caption, connotes pain and exhaustion. His action of carrying a wounded companion over a long distance further connotes the emotional bonds and solidarity shared among the soldiers. **(Figure 3.12)**

Overall, the visual imaginary conveys themes of sacrifice for brotherhood, the physical toll of war, and the heroic actions of an American soldier. **(Figure 3.13)**

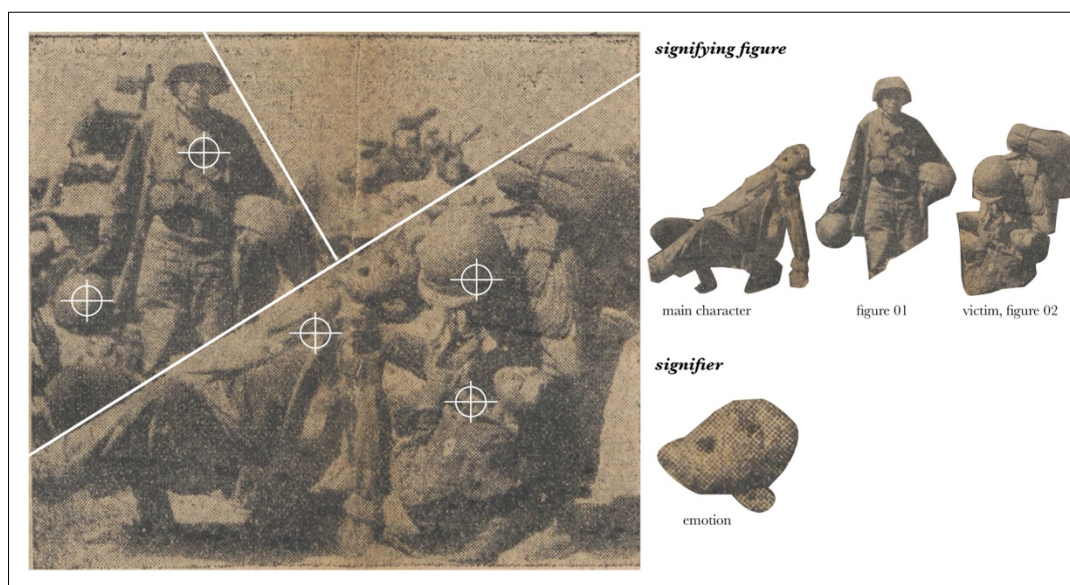


Figure 3.12 Analysis of image p001-P1_CB00002.jpg, representing the period 1946-1957. Source: Author's analysis image from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

Conflict in Action 1946-1957

Category	Details
Composition	Golden Triangles
Signifying figure	- Main: Carrying soldier - Soldiers - Injured soldier
Signifier	- act: carrying injured companion - act: helping - act: collapse - facial expression: pain, exhaustion - object: carrying helmet - clothing: in full combat
Connotation	Camaraderie, duty, loyalty, sacrifice, moral strength, collective responsibility, the physical/emotional toll, institutional identity, masculine ideal of the soldier
Photographers' Role	- Eye hight - Stands close to the scenery
Visual Imaginaries	Sacrificial brotherhood, exhausted face might pierce the viewer with its realism, War as emotionally and physically overwhelming, human-centered narrative,

Figure 3.13 Analytical findings for image p001-P1_CB00002.jpg, representing the period 1946–1957. Source: Author's analysis.

3.2.4 1958-1969



Figure 3.14 Scope of images depicting ‘Representation of Conflict in Action’ during the period 1958–1969. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen

During this period, pictures of active conflict emerged significantly more frequently, although there is still an emphasis on showcasing, as before, the military aspects of conflicts and their preparedness, as well as heroic actions. Additionally, pictures started to emerge that showcased the ‘other side’ of the conflict. **(Figure 3.15)** To exemplify this shift, an image from the latter category was chosen. The image seems simple to read, but in combination with its caption, which is anchored in a pro-colonial demeanour, it entails an extra interpretive layer.

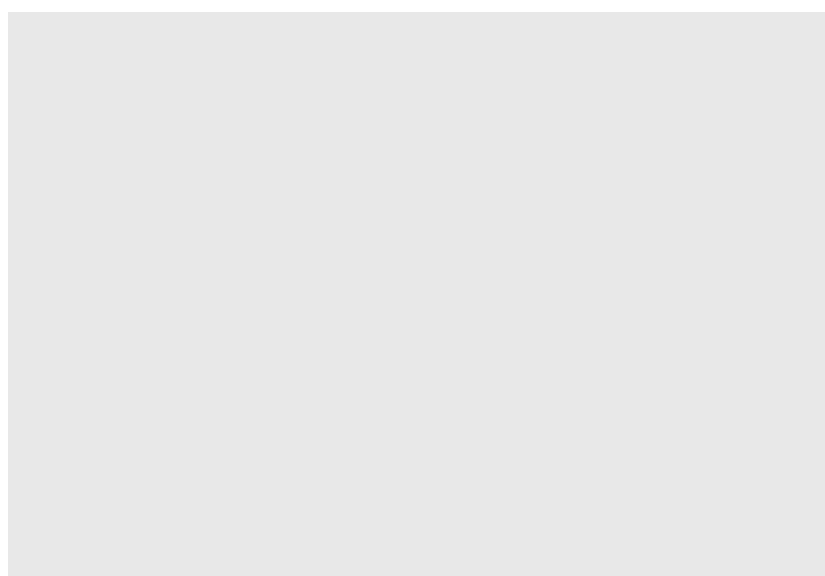


Figure 3.15 p001-P1_CB00002.jpg, published in the *Amigoe di Curacao: weekblad voor de Curacaosche eilanden* 18 August 1964, caption: Noord-Rhodesische militairen ne men de gruwelijke situatie > op in de kraal Paishuko bij i Lundaz';, een Loempa-dorp, waar l omwonende inboorlingen onder (de volgelingen van „pr.ofetes>\" < Alice Lensjina zo\"\\n slachting] aanrichtten, dat slechts zevenl Loempa's ontkomen konden. AU- > ce Lensjina is aangehouden, maar > de strijc tussen haar volgelingen t en de overige inboorlingen gaat t verbitterd voort. [Link](#) Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.

The photograph depicts a soldier from the Northern Rhodesian colonial army inspecting the aftermath of a massacre reportedly carried out by followers of Alice Lenshina, a self-declared Lumpa prophet who led a religious movement and rejected colonial authority. The multiple bodies lying on the ground are not dressed in combat uniforms or equipped with military gear, suggesting they are likely local civilians or Lumpa members from the village. The caption explicitly blames Lenshina's followers for the massacre, describing it as a 'slaughter' and implying an attack on fellow villagers. However, given the broader context of colonial suppression, it remains most probable that the casualties resulted from violence by the colonial army. (Figure 3.16)



Figure 3.16 Analysis of image p001-P1_CB00002.jpg, representing the period 1958-1969. Source: Author's analysis image from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

The image employs a well-known compositional technique, the rule of thirds, with the soldier positioned in the left third of the frame.¹⁵⁴ A clear horizon line separates the middle segment, where the bodies are placed, from the forested background, guiding the viewer's focus and structuring the scene. There is one dominant signifying figure: the heavily armed soldier in combat. The rifle is positioned precisely on the left line of the rule of thirds, drawing the gaze towards it. (Figure 3.17)

¹⁵⁴ Barry O Carroll, '28 Composition Techniques That Will Improve Your Photos', PetaPixel, 14 September 2016, <https://petapixel.com/photography-composition-techniques/>.

The visual imaginary, reinforced by the caption, frames the Northern Rhodesian (colonial) soldier as an anonymous agent of state violence, appearing in control and emotionally detached. Positioned between duty and consequence, the soldier's portrayal (with caption) implies a justified intervention against the perceived transgressions of Alice Lenshina's followers. (Figure 3.18)

Conflict in Action 1958-1969

Category	Details
Composition	The rule of thirds
Signifying figure	- Main: Soldier - Victims
Signifier	- act: facing the scenery - act: death victims lying - act: standing straight back to camera - object: weapon - clothing: in full combat
Connotation	Aftermath, the silent result of action, violence, human cost, detachment, anonymity, witness without identity, implication of responsibility, fragility
Photographers' Role	- Eye hight - Stands behind soldier
Visual Imaginaries	Soldier as an anonymous agent of violence, witnessing or overlooking the cost of conflict, caught between duty and consequence, suggests emotional disconnection.

Figure 3.17 Analytical findings for image p001-P1_CB00002.jpg, representing the period 1958-1969. Source: Author's analysis.

3.2.5 1970-1981



Figure 3.18 Scope of images depicting 'Representation of Conflict in Action' during the period 1970-1981. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

This period is characterised by depictions that capture the exact moment of violence, often with a strong focus on victims and the civilian experience of conflict. Although the selected image does not represent the graphic brutality found in many photographs from this era, it highlights a previously underrepresented perspective: that of the civilian bystander, the third, often overlooked party caught between opposing forces. **(Figure 3.18)**

The image portrays a mother and daughter taking cover behind cars during an exchange of gunfire between guerrilla fighters and junta troops in San Marcos. The caption further elaborates on the tensions in the area and the number of human casualties that have been suffered. **(Figure 3.19)**

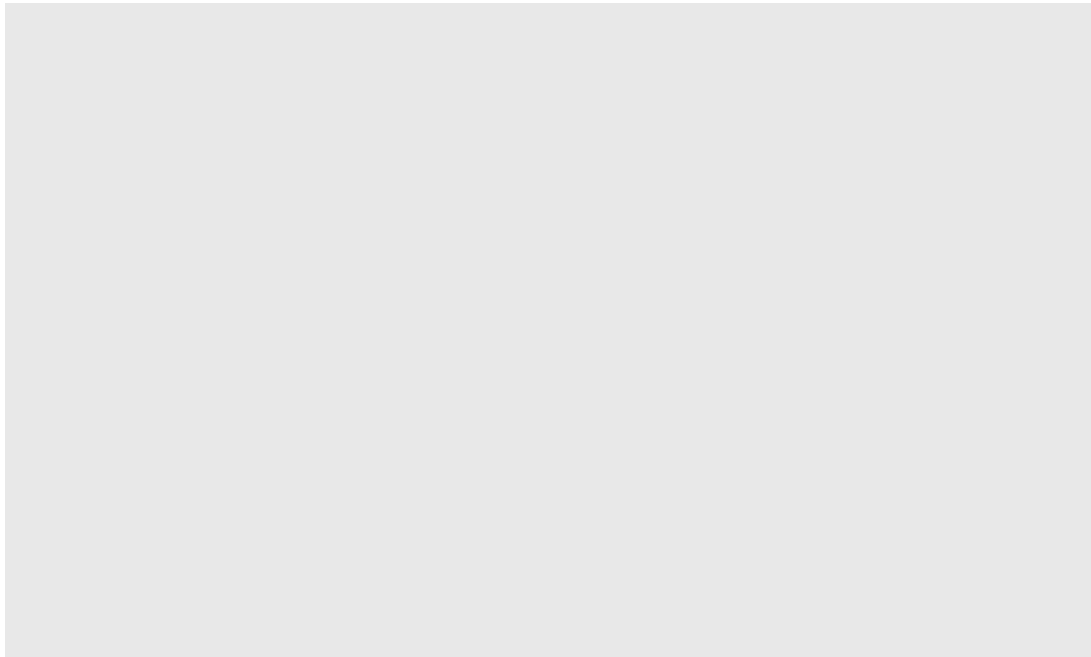


Figure 3.19 p001-P1_CB00004.jpg, published in the *Limburgsch Dagblad*, 19 October 1979, caption: Een moeder met haar dochter zoeken achter een omvergeworpen vrachtwagen dekking in het vuurgevecht dat plaats vond tussen guerilleros en juntatroepen in San Marcos in San Salvador. Minstens tien mensen werden gedood, aldus is uit ziekenhuiskringen vernomen. In El Salvador, waar deze week een militaire junta president Romero verdreef, is vooral de laatste dagen de toestand zeer gespannen. [Link](#) Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.

The photograph employs the golden triangle composition, dividing the frame with a dominant diagonal line intersected by two smaller lines at right angles.

This structure creates four distinct triangular sections, guiding the viewer's eye.¹⁵⁵ The mother and her daughter are the two main signifying figures in the foreground. Multiple other hiding civilians are in the frame, facing the couple. The most dominant signifier of the image is the emotion of fear and stress portrayed in the mother's and child's faces. **(Figure 3.20)**

The visual imaginary conveys the unpredictability and insecurity of daily life experienced by civilians. Empathy is evoked through the depiction of ordinary people, particularly the familiar representation of motherhood. The visible fear and tension on the mother's face make the scene emotionally accessible and relatable to a Western audience. **(Figure 3.21)**



Figure 3.20 Analysis of p001-P1_CB00004.jpg, representing the period 1970-1981. Source: Author's analysis image from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

¹⁵⁵ Barry O Carroll.

Conflict in Action 1970-1981

Category	Details
Composition	Golden Triangle
Signifying figure	- Main: Mother, Child - Civilians
Signifier	- act: hiding behind car - act: lying on ground - facial expression: fear and stress - clothing: typical civilian wear
Connotation	Vulnerability, family, the civilian cost of conflict, desperation, danger, submission, helplessness, immediate threat, "wrong place, wrong time".
Photographers' Role	- lying, eye high - facing mother and child
Visual Imaginaries	Civilians caught in moments of terror, conflict through the eyes of the innocent, unarmed and exposed, powerless, innocent vs. aggressor, telling the news through personal suffering

Figure 3.21 Analytical findings for image p001-P1_CB00004.jpg, representing the period 1970–1981. Source: Author’s analysis.

3.2.6 1982-1993



Figure 3.22 Scope of images depicting ‘Representation of Conflict in Action’ during the period 1982–1993. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen

During this period, there was a noticeable increase in brutality depicted, with many images capturing both sides of the conflict, often clashes between state forces (military or police) and civilians or under-equipped opponents. **(Figure 3.22)** The selected image documents the aftermath of violence in the Palestinian refugee camp Mieh Mieh in Lebanon. It shows Lebanese soldiers covering two casualties,

identified in the caption as Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) fighters. The caption reports that the Lebanese army launched an attack on the camp to eliminate PLO fighters hiding among Palestinian civilians, resulting in eight deaths and around ninety injuries. (Figure 3.23)

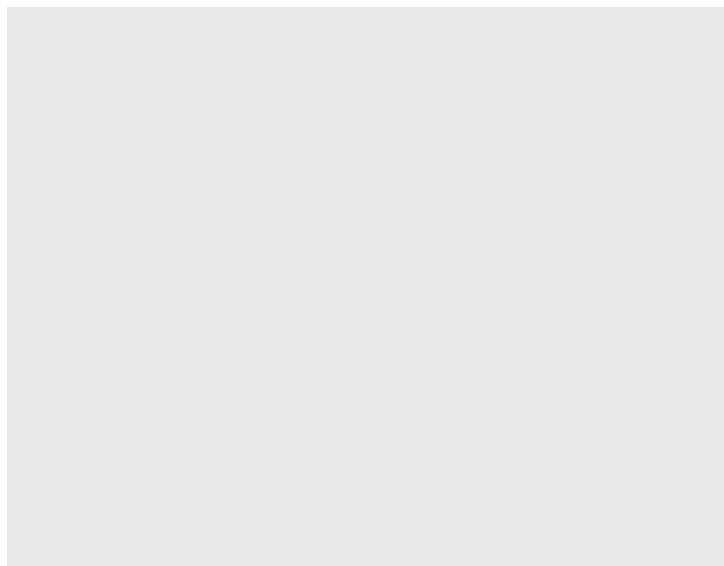


Figure 3.23 p003-P3_CB00001.jpg, published in the *Limburgsch Dagblad*, 05 July 1991, caption: Bloedbad in Palestijnse kampen\n\t• Soldaten van het Libanese leger bedekken de stoffelijke overschotten van twee PLO-strijders bij het vluchtelingenkamp Mieh Mieh. Het Libanese leger heeft ook gisteren de Palestijnse vluchtelingenkampen aan de oostelijke rand van Sidon onophoudelijk onder vuur genomen. De politie meldde dat bij de aanval al acht doden en bijna 90 gewonden zijn gevallen. De Libanezen hebben de kampen, waar totaal 60.000 Palestijnen wonen, van de buitenwereld afgegrensd. De meeste van de 5.000 PLO-strijders in het gebied hebben zich in de kampen teruggetrokken. [Link](#) Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.

The image employs an L-shaped composition, with the two soldiers positioned vertically and the two bodies lying horizontally across the lower part of the frame. It contains a striking number of visual signifiers: one soldier is seen covering his nose, possibly due to the smell of death, while wearing a distinctly American-style cowboy hat and holding a cloth in his hand. Additionally, two rifles are visibly directed toward the victims, who, based on their simple clothing, appear more like civilians than fighters. (Figure 3.24)

The visual imaginary is primarily constructed around the soldier standing in the background, embodying the image's strongest signifier. His posture and gestures toward the victims suggest a process of dehumanisation, possibly even

ridicule, as he holds his nose to indicate an unpleasant smell. The informal cowboy hat further undermines any sense of solemnity or respect, adding an element of visual dissonance. These cues invite a critical reading of the image and the conflict. (Figure 3.25)

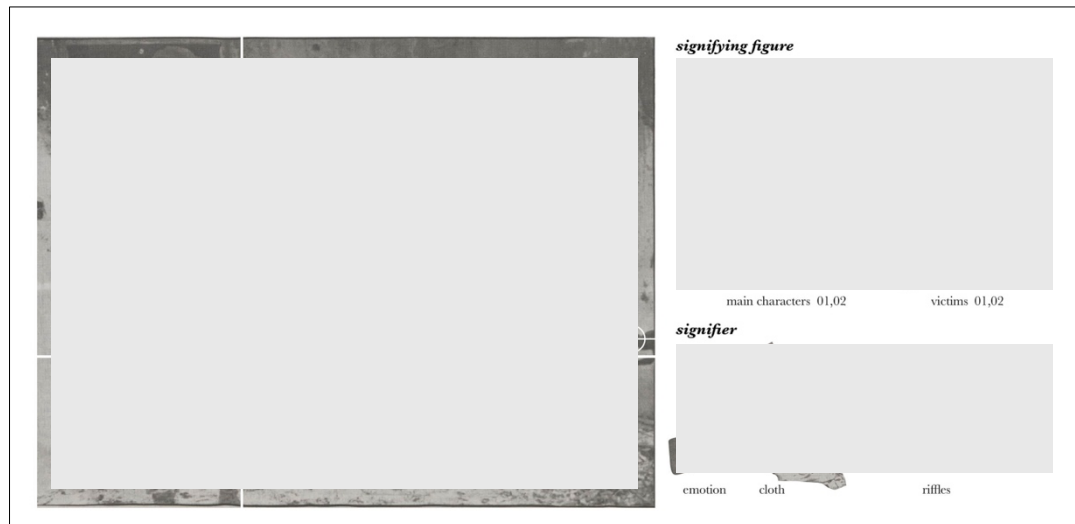


Figure 3.24 Analysis of p003-P3_CB00001.jpg, representing the period 1982-1993. Source: Author's analysis image from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

Conflict in Action 1982-1993

Category	Details
Composition	Rule of Thirds, L-shape
Signifying figure	- Main: Two soldiers - two death people
Signifier	- act: holding nose - act: pointing gun at death - act: taking blanket cover from death - act: death sitting and lying - facial expression: smel - clothing: full combat - clothing: Cowboy hat
Connotation	Dehumanisation, or ritualised dominance over death, violation of dignity, decay, physical disgust, emotional distance, Western iconography.
Photographers' Role	- standing surrounded by soldiers
Visual Imaginaries	A breakdown of clear ethical categories, death is not sacred, uncomfortable, or absurd, surreal and violent banality of war.

Figure 3.25 Analytical findings for image p003-P3_CB00001.jpg, representing the period 1982-1993. Source: Author's analysis.

3.2.7. Conclusion ‘Conflict in Action’

Key visual findings, conflict in action, by timeframe

Timeframe	Key Findings
1922–1933	• Rare depictions of active conflict sites. • Focus on tactical setup and visual composition rather than action. • Use of dominant signifying figures and traditional attire. • Visual imaginary: Prepared, proud, guided by tradition, not reckless or aggressive, tied to a larger duty to protect.
1934–1945	• Increase in depictions of active sites during WWII. • Emphasis on daily life of soldiers and equipment. • Visual focus on camaraderie and order rather than violence. • Framing conveys calmness and routine within conflict zones. • Visual imaginary: War as routine, a space of professional calm, masculine ritual, gendered space of male bonding and control.
1946–1957	• Decline in images of active battlefields; focus still on soldier life and logistics. • Heroism and sacrifice foregrounded through emotional storytelling. • Facial expressions as signifier. • Visual imaginary: Sacrifice for brotherhood, realism, conflict as emotionally and physically overwhelming.
1958–1969	• Significant increase in conflict imagery, including civilian perspectives. • Captioned narrative reflects colonial framing of violence. • Composition (rule of thirds) directs gaze and reinforces control. • Visual imaginary: Soldier as an anonymous agent of violence, witnessing or overlooking the cost of conflict, caught between duty and emotional disconnect.
1970–1981	• Increased depiction of violence and civilian suffering. • Emergence of the civilian bystander as central subject. • Composition techniques (e.g., golden triangles) guide emotional focus. • Emphasis on emotions of fear and stress, especially in mother-child figures. • Visual imaginary: Civilians caught in moments of terror, conflict through the eyes of the innocent, unarmed and exposed, powerless,
1982–1993	• Notable rise in brutal depictions and dual-perspective conflict imagery. • Focus on clashes between state forces and under-equipped opponents. • Complex signifiers reveal both military control and potential dehumanisation. • Composition and attire contrast authority with informal, dissonant cues. • Visual imaginary: A breakdown of clear ethical categories, death is not uncomfortable, or absurd, the surreal and violent banality of war.

Figure 3.26 Results of the analysis of six visual representations of conflict in action by period 1922–1994 Source: Author’s analysis.

Analysing the images in comparison suggests an increasing reliance on visual complexity and emotional expressiveness to engage the viewer. In early photos, I found that meaning often depended heavily on captions to anchor and relay interpretation, whereas later photographs integrate more self-contained visual narratives. The growing emphasis on facial expressions, particularly those conveying strong emotions such as fear, exhaustion, or grief, functions as an accessible perceptible language, inviting empathy and shaping the audience’s reading of the event in newer images.

Alongside this development, conflict images became more dynamic and immediate, increasingly capturing moments of action and brutality rather than static or staged scenes. Where early depictions often focused on heraldic representations of soldiers, standing central to the composition, later periods shifted attention toward civilians. Once dominant and idealised, soldiers began to appear in more ambiguous roles in the last periods.

3.3 Representation of the Victim

Over the 72-year timespan, Dutch newspapers reported on many different types of conflicts in which victims played a role. Each decade developed its visual strategies for acknowledging and narrating victimhood. While victims were rarely depicted visually in the early years, their presence became increasingly prominent toward the end of the dataset. **(Figure 3.1)** However, an analysis of the caption word frequencies for ‘victims’ across the entire KBK-1M dataset shows that the term appears consistently throughout the period. This suggests that victimhood was a recurring theme in written reporting, even when it was not always foregrounded in the images themselves. **(Figure 3.27)**

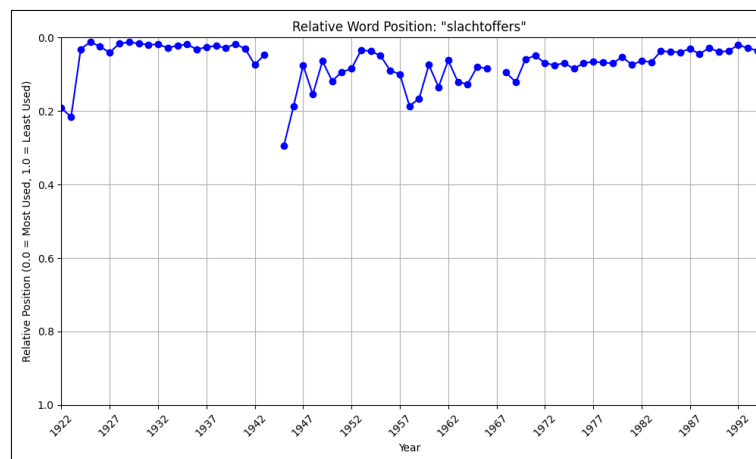


Figure 3.27 The graph shows the relative frequency of the word ‘slachtoffers’ (victims) in image captions, calculated by comparing its annual occurrence to the total number of words used in captions that year. Source: Author’s calculations; see Appendix 1.

3.3.1 1922-1933



Figure 3.28 Scope of images depicting ‘Representation of the Victim’ during the period 1922-1933. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen

As noted earlier, it is challenging to identify visual depictions of conflict victims in the early years of the dataset within the CLIP-generated concepts. When victims are referenced in captions, the accompanying images more often depict portraits or funeral ceremonies rather than individuals visibly affected by the violence of the conflict. (Figure 3.28)



Figure 3.29 p004-P4_CB00001.jpg, published in the *De Telegraaf*, 07 March 1928, caption: DOORDAT TWEE LIETKOOTEN STORTTEN, i tti ih I naldtnl in h I rkenM'hild bij Reckltngr'iu-i ii tDultschiland) inaall ■ - gedood en 56 _"\\\».»ihl !><• oorzaak n -rili gezochli In een defeei aan deu tleptewljzer. — Een der gewonden wordt naar h kenhuls hl. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

The selected image is one of only a few that visually presents an actual victim. Due to significant OCR distortion in the caption, it remains unclear whether the image portrays a conflict-related casualty. The caption appears to describe a victim of a mid-air collision involving two aeroplanes in Recklinghausen, Germany. It does not specify whether the aircraft were military, leaving the image's connection to armed conflict ambiguous. (Figure 3.29)

The compositional analysis of the image reveals a diagonal visual structure that draws focus toward the victim's face and the stretcher. The victim's neutral facial expression and direct gaze into the camera suggest awareness of being photographed. This awareness creates a somewhat staged or posed quality to the image, implying that it may not depict a spontaneous moment but rather a carefully composed scene. (Figure 3.30)

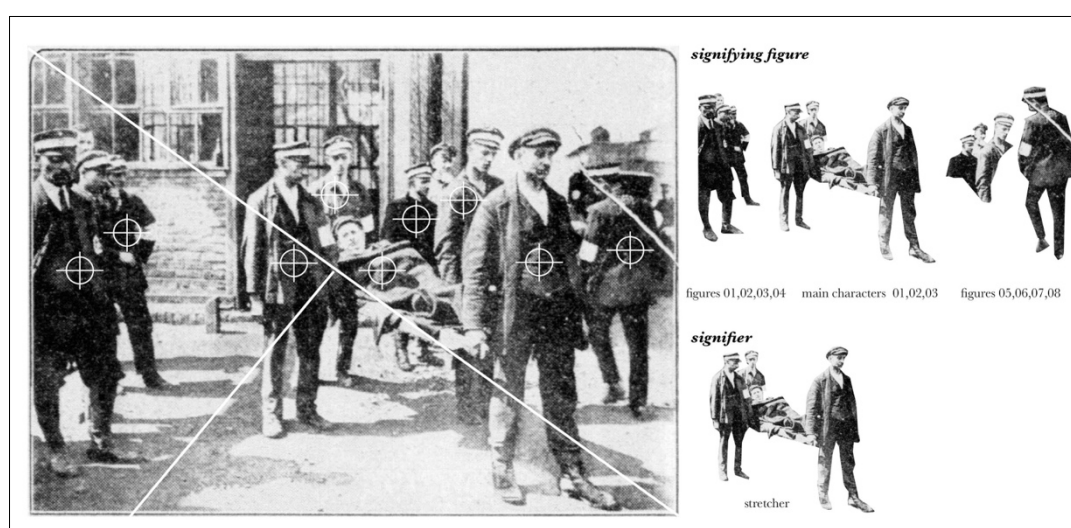


Figure 3.30 Analysis of p004-P4_CB00001.jpg, representing the period 1922-1933. Source: Author's analysis image from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

The visual imaginary centres on the civic/official solidarity of providing aid. The numerous formally dressed individuals surrounding the victim convey a sense of order and authority, suggesting that the situation is under control. Although the referenced plane crash must have caused significant disruption and distress, none of this turmoil is visually conveyed in the image. Instead, the scene offers a composed and restrained depiction, omitting visible traces of chaos or emotional response. (Figure 3.31)

The Victim 1922-1933

Category	Details
Composition	Golden Triangles
Signifying figure	- Main: Group of man - Wounded
Signifier	- act: carrying wounded on stretcher - act: wounded faces camera - facial expression: serious - clothing: suit and hat - clothing: wounded in blanket
Connotation	Civilian duty, officials, recognition of suffering, the injured person is passive, dependent, solidarity, civilian duty, seriousness, compassion, and responsibility.
Photographers' Role	- standing facing the scenery
Visual Imaginaries	Civic solidarity in the aftermath

Figure 3.31 Analytical findings for image p004-P4_CB00001.jpg, representing the period 1922–1933. Source: Author’s analysis.

3.3.2 1934-1945



Figure 3.32 Scope of images depicting ‘Representation of the Victim’ during the period 1934–1945. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.

In the second period, the recovery of victims takes centre stage. Images focus on new techniques and interventions for salvage, caregiving or large official funerals. Although victims are frequently mentioned in captions, they are seldom depicted. (Figure 3.32)

The selected image depicts a wartime civil defence exercise at the strategic bridge of Katerveer. It simulates a bombing scenario and victims affected by a gas attack as part of a passive defence drill. In the background, high-ranking military

officers and local officials observe the proceedings, underscoring the official and performative nature of the event. (Figure 3.33)



Figure 3.33 p005-P5_CB00002.jpg, published in the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 13 September 1934, caption: DE PASSIEVE VERDEDIGING VAN OVERIJSEL TEGEN HET GEVAAR UIT DE LUCHT. — Een der vele plaatsen die gisteren ernstig bedreigd werden door vijandelijke bommenwerpers was de brug bij Katerveer. Verscheidene bommen werden op dit belangrijke punt geworpen. Onze foto toont de hulpverlening aan door gas buiten gevecht gestelden, waarbij toezien, v. l. n. r.: oud-generaal Snijders, de burgemeester van Zwollerkerspel, de heer Cavaljé, de commandant van het Veldleger, luitenant-generaal jhr. W. Röell, en generaal De Ridder, die de leiding van de oefening had. Link Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.

The composition of the image is structured into a foreground and a background. The primary focus lies in the foreground, where the main protagonists form a visual triangle that directs the viewer's gaze toward the 'centre of action'. The image contains numerous visual signifiers, suggesting that it was deliberately constructed to be read symbolically by its audience and to convey a specific message. The central figures, who are aiding a hidden victim, are turned away from the viewer. They wear gas masks and simulate a hazardous environment. Two of the three caregivers are women. In the background, a large group of officials, some of whom face the camera, stand as composed observers, reinforcing the staged quality of the exercise. (Figure 3.34)

The image ultimately communicates a visual imaginary of control and readiness for future attacks. Showcasing specialised protective equipment such as

gas masks and a coordinated response serves as a visual display of preparedness and authority. (Figure 3.35)

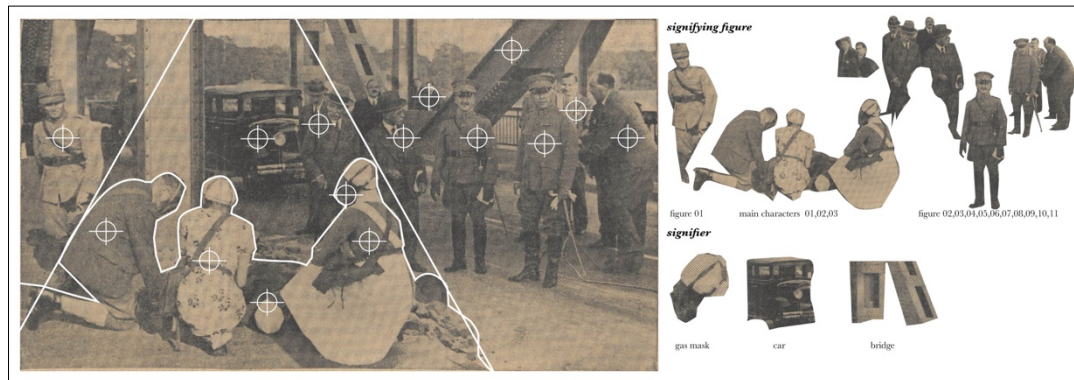


Figure 3.34 Analysis of image p005-P5_CB00002.jpg, representing the period 1934-1945. Source: Author's analysis image from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

The Victim 1934-1945

Category	Details
Composition	Foreground and background
Signifying figure	- Main: Three caregivers - Officials multiple
Signifier	- act: caregivers aiding wounded - act: officials observing - clothing: gas masks - clothing: apron - clothing: official military - location: bridge
Connotation	Humanitarian response, institutional, regulation of crisis, response, control, chemical threat, post-attack conditions, fear of contamination, caregiving, women's labour roles, strategic importance.
Photographers' Role	- standing facing the scenery - photographing composed scenery
Visual Imaginaries	Crisis management, humanitarian aid unfolds under the watchful eye of authority.

Figure 3.35 Analytical findings for image p005-P5_CB00002.jpg, representing the period 1934-1945. Source: Author's analysis.

3.3.3 1946-1957



Figure 3.36 Scope of images depicting ‘Representation of the Victim’ during the period 1946-1957. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

During this period, victims become increasingly prominent in visual representations. Whereas earlier depictions focused on equipment, control, and organised aid, the emphasis now shifts toward showing the direct human suffering caused by conflict. (Figure 3.36)



Figure 3.37 p005-P5_CB00010.jpg, published in the *De Waarheid*, 10 January 1953, caption: AMERIKANEN BOVEN KOREA. Bekijk deze foto's uit Korea met aandacht. Het kost ons moeite. Het zijn bewijzen van de misdrijven van de Amerikaanse „beschavingbrengers” in Korea. Volgens deze Amerikaanse interveniënten zijn de Koreanen een minderwaardig volk. Daarom moeten de kinderen van de Koreaanse boeren Li Minh Sek en Pak Ok Soe gemित्रailleerd worden vanuit een vliegtuig. De kinderen zochten beschutting buiten het dorp, omdat de Amerikanen dit dorp aanvielen. Maar zij ontsnapten niet aan het oog van de man, die door de Amerikaanse regering achter het machinegeweer in het vliegtuig was geplaatst, 'n Vliegtuig, misschien net zo uitgedost als op onderstaande foto! Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

The picture selected for this period depicts a Korean family suffering in the aftermath of an American attack on their village. The caption adopts a political tone intended to inflame anti-American sentiment. It is deliberately crafted to provoke an emotional response from the viewer, accusing the United States military of intentionally targeting civilians and children during air raids. The caption claims that Americans regard Koreans as racially inferior, reinforcing a narrative of imperialist brutality. This ideologically charged caption anchors and frames the interpretation of the image, leaving little room for alternative readings. (Figure 3.37)

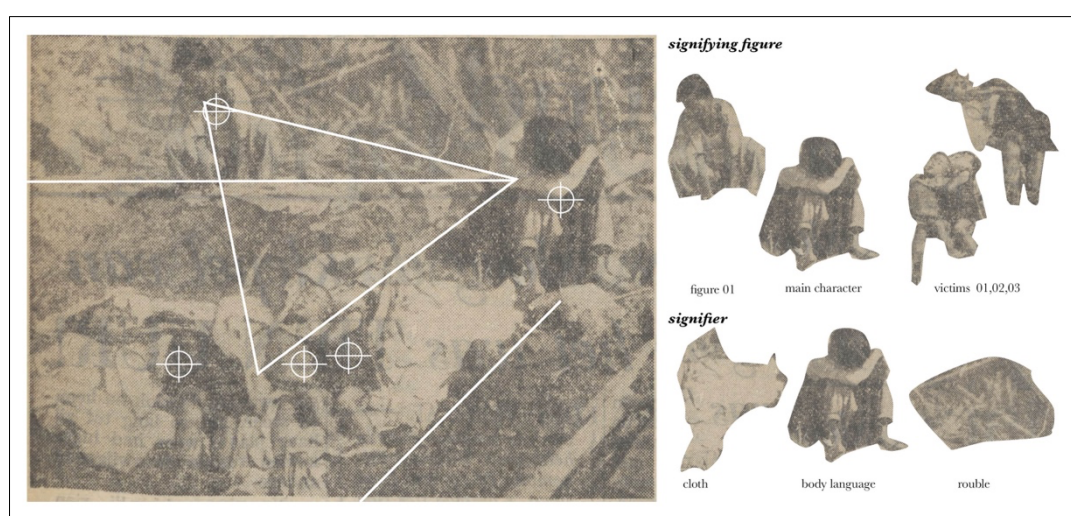


Figure 3.38 Analysis of image p005-P5_CB00010.jpg, representing the period 1946–1957. Source: Author's analysis image from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

The image's composition draws attention to the relationship between the depicted victims. In the foreground, three deceased children lie on a white blanket, while to their right, likely a family member, embodies visible grief. The children on the cloth seem to be positioned deliberately for the camera. In the background, another figure turns away from the brutal scene. (Figure 3.38)

The visual imaginary constructed here conveys a profound sense of powerlessness and grief. The deliberate positioning of the children, highlighting the brutality inflicted upon civilians, suggests an intent to provoke political awareness or response. The image transforms the family's private mourning into a public statement. (Figure 3.39)

The Victim 1946-1957

Category	Details
Composition	Central, Triangular
Signifying figure	- Main: Korean family - Death children
Signifier	- act: lying death on white blanket - act: grieving while squatting on rubble - location: rubble - object: white blanket
Connotation	The human cost of war, vulnerability, innocence lost, mourning, physical and emotional collapse, deep sorrow, powerlessness, destruction of home and life, displacement, aftermath of violence, highlighting familial suffering rather than military action.
Photographers' Role	- standing facing the scenery - photographing composed scenery - showcasing aftermath
Visual Imaginaries	The unbearable loss, devastation and familial grief. Placed amid rubble, the family's private mourning is made public. quiet, unbearable tragedy

Figure 3.39 Analytical findings for image p005-P5_CB00010.jpg, representing the period 1946–1957. Source: Author's analysis.

3.3.4 1958-1969



Figure 3.40 Scope of images depicting 'Representation of the Victim' during the period 1958–1969. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen

Photographs of victims from this period are notably dynamic and filled with immediate action. They often depict victims in moments of extreme vulnerability, sometimes just before a potential act of violence or death. (Figure 3.40)

The selected image captures a scene from the major battle in the Van Tuong area, showing a Viet Cong suspect begging for his life while an American marine stands over him, forcing him to the ground. The accompanying caption states that over five hundred Viet Cong fighters were killed during the battle, suggesting that the depicted individual may be killed a moment later. (Figure 2.41)

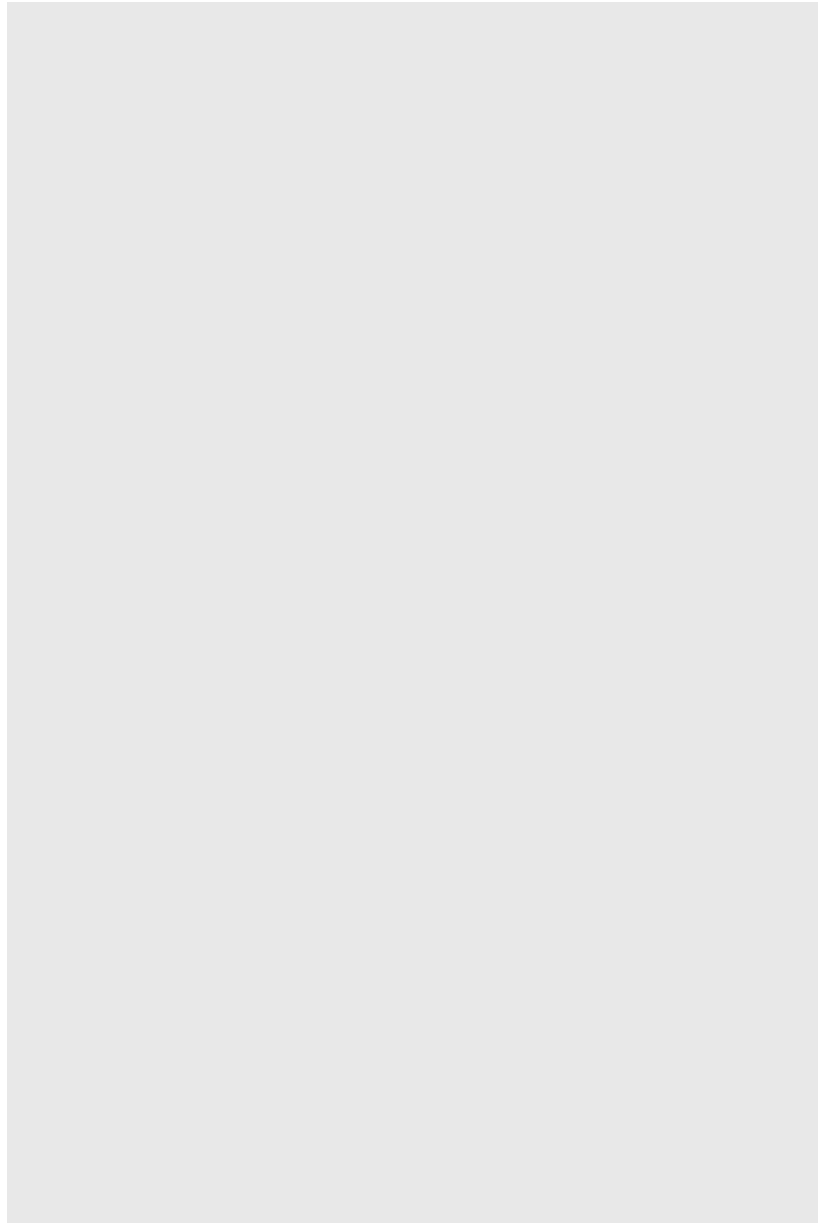


Figure 3.41 p001-P1_CB00002.jpg, published in *the Amigoe di Curacao: weekblad voor de Curacaosche eilanden*, 24 August 1965, caption: Een Vietcong verdachte smeekt voor zijn leven, terwijl een Amerikaanse marinier zijn geweer met bajonet in de grond heeft geprikt. Een tafereel tijdens het grote gevecht in het gebied van Van Toeong, waarbij meer dan vijfhonderd Vietcongstrijders werden gedood; [Link](#) Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

The composition of the image follows an L-shaped structure, with the American marine facing the Viet Cong suspect while the suspect's gaze is fixed intensely on the rifle held by the marine. The dominant signifiers are the visible emotional distress of the suspect and the threatening presence of the gun, which together convey the image's central message of the power imbalance and the vulnerability of the victim. The presence of the photojournalist introduces a further layer of complexity. Though physically close to the scene, the photographer chooses to document rather than intervene. (Figure 2.42)

The visual imaginary evokes ethical reflection and moral dilemmas. It aims to emotionally engage the viewer, provoking a bodily response by confronting imminent violence and the hopeless last gasp. (Figure 2.43)



Figure 3.42 Analysis of image p001-P1_CB00002.jpg, representing the period 1958-1969. Source: Author's analysis image from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

The Victim 1958-1969

Category	Details
Composition	Rule of Thirds, L-shape
Signifying figure	- Main: Soldier, Victim
Signifier	- act: hovering over victim - act: victim lying - facial expression: stress, forgiveness - object: rifle - clothing: civilian - clothing: in full combat
Connotation	Dominance, power imbalance, tension, defeat, vulnerability, threat, violence, control, armed authority, ethical confrontation.
Photographers' Role	- standing facing the scenery - ethical dilemma
Visual Imaginaries	The moral ambiguity of war and the fragile line between enemy and human. Emotional and ethical grey zones of conflict.

Figure 3.43 Analytical findings for image p001-P1_CB00002.jpg, representing the period 1958-1969. Source: Author's analysis.

3.3.5 1970-1981



Figure 3.44 Scope of images depicting 'Representation of the Victim' during the period 1970-1981. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen

This period is marked by a dominant focus on civilian victims, particularly families and children. Common visual themes include expressions of grief among family members and children depicted surrounded by the scenery of destruction. Many images also depict scenes of everyday domestic life, such as children at play. (Figure 2.44)

The selected photograph captures a moment of stress, probably involving a father and his injured child. Fully naked and with a contorted face, the child is rushed to a hospital after the bombing of their shelter in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The accompanying caption references the ongoing daily bombardments and severe food shortages, noting that authorities are appealing to the United States for assistance. (Figure 2.45)

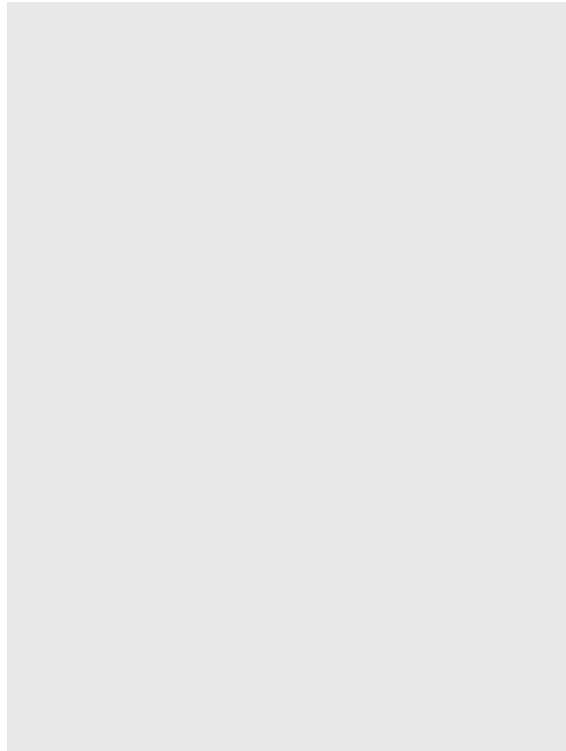


Figure 3.45 p001-P1_CB00004.jpg, published in the *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* 25 February 1975, caption: Situatie in Phnom Penh verslechterd\n\tDe Cambodjaanse hoofdstad Phnom Penh wordt nu ernstiger bedreigd dan ooit. Elke dag zijn er bombardementen en de blokkade op alle fronten is de oorzaak van grote voedselschaarste. Cambodja heeft behalve voedsel, ook om extra wapens aan de VS gevraagd. Op de foto wordt een kind dat gewond werd bij een aanval op een schuilkelder, vervoerd naar het ziekenhuis. [Link](#) Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.

The image's composition focuses on the two main protagonists, arranged in a triangular formation, accentuating the child being carried. The perspective leads us to where they came from, depicting another figure seemingly carrying a child in the distance, which indicates that the scenery reappears more frequently. The most dominant signifiers are the faces, the child's nakedness, and the action of carrying. They connote the ultimate distress these people are in, rushing towards aid.

While the child's face is full of pain and shock, the father's face seems to express panic. (Figure 2.46)

The visual imaginary depicts the unbearable cost of war. With the innocent child as a symbol of war brutality. (Figure 2.47)



Figure 3.46 Analysis of p001-P1_CB00004.jpg, representing the period 1970-1981. Source: Author's analysis image from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.

The Victim 1970-1981

Category	Details
Composition	Triangular Formation
Signifying figure	- Main: Man, Child
Signifier	- act: carrying child - act: rushing towards aid - clothing: civilian - clothing: naked child - facial expression: fear, shock, pain, stress
Connotation	Extreme vulnerability, innocence, exposure to harm, care, urgency, protective instinct, emergency, chaos, search for safety, human cost of conflict, emotional trauma, the immediacy of danger
Photographers' Role	- standing facing the scenery - ethical dilemma
Visual Imaginaries	The unbearable human cost of war. Innocent child as a symbol of war's indiscriminate brutality, civilian suffering.

Figure 3.47 Analytical findings for image p001-P1_CB00004.jpg, representing the period 1970-1981. Source: Author's analysis.

3.3.6 1982-1993



Figure 3.48 Scope of images depicting 'Representation of the Victim' during the period 1982-1993. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen

The visual themes established in the previous decades, such as the portrayal of civilians and the immediate brutality of conflict, remained prominent in this period. **(Figure 2.48)** The selected image for this analysis highlights the depicted continuation of everyday life during the conflict. Scenes of civilians performing daily life tasks during wartime began appearing more frequently about a decade earlier. In later years, these images increasingly placed victims in carefully arranged domestic settings.

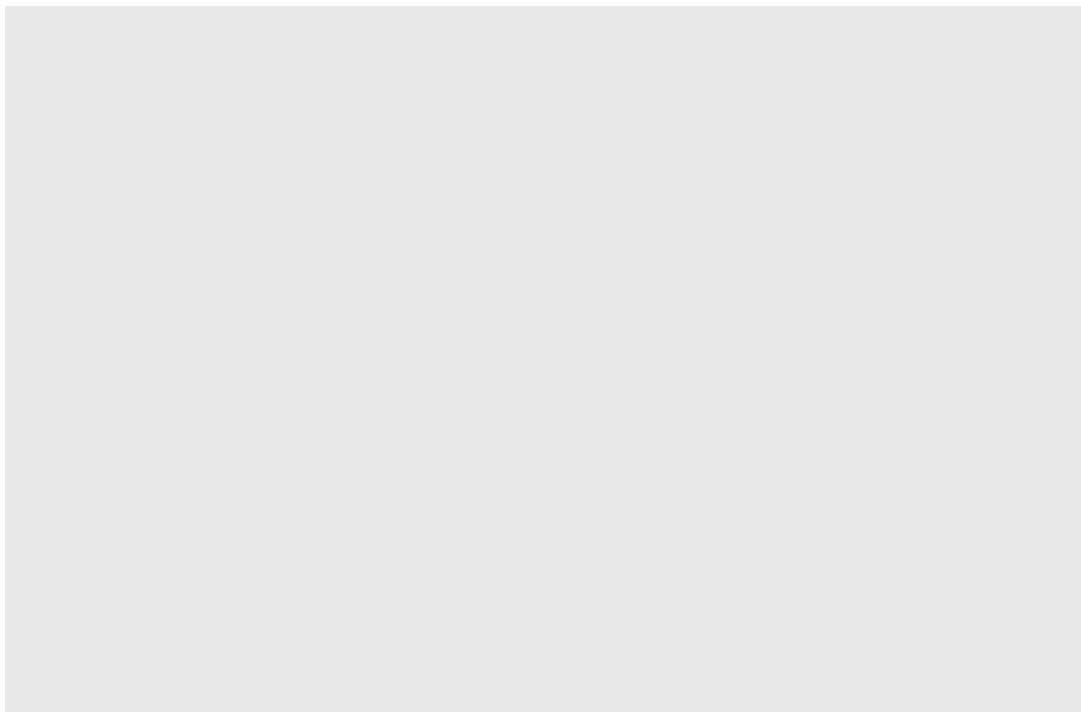


Figure 3.49 The image p005-P5_CB00001.jpg, published in the Nederlands Dagblad: gereformeerd gezinsblad, 15 February 1990, caption: Een lid van de christelijke militie speelt temidden van de puinhopen in Oost-Bayrut met een kind een spelletje, tijdens een korte pauze in de felle gevechten. [Link](#)
Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.

The caption of the selected image reveals that it depicts a member of the Christian militia playing a game with a child surrounded by rubble in East Beirut. It further notes that this interaction occurs during a brief pause in intense fighting. (Figure 2.49)

The composition draws the viewer into a circular space formed by the two protagonists, with their interaction positioned at the centre of the frame. This focus is reinforced by the rule of thirds, which divides the scene horizontally into the foreground, the central action of the game, and the background cityscape, guiding the viewer's gaze toward the bond shared amid surrounding destruction. The image encompasses multiple signifiers, including the domestic setting, a table, a chair, and a tricycle. The surrounding remnants of the conflict contrast sharply with the serene calm of the gameplay within the safe bubble. (Figure 2.50)

The visual imagery entails the paradox of conflict between the continuation of dailiness. Depicting endurance and resilience in an inhumane situation. (Figure 2.51)



Figure 3.50 Analysis of p005-P5_CB00001.jpg, representing the period 1982-1993. Source: Author's analysis image from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

The Victim 1982-1993

Category	Details
Composition	Circular
Signifying figure	- Main: Man, Child
Signifier	- act: brief pause in intense fighting - act: playing board game - act: sitting on tricycle while playing - clothing: civilian - site: rubble
Connotation	Resilience, return to normalcy, coping mechanism, innocence of childhood, contrast between chaos and domestic routine, society, daily life
Photographers' Role	- standing facing the scenery
Visual Imaginaries	Fragile normalcy amid devastation, The domestic act of playing a board game becomes a quiet form of resistance or survival.

F

figure 3.51 Analytical findings for image p005-P5_CB00001.jpg, representing the period 1982-1993. Source: Author's analysis.

3.3.7. Conclusion 'The Victim'

In the first two decades of the dataset, I found that visual depictions of victims and suffering were rare. Instead, the focus was on caregiving, tactical preparedness, ceremonial funerals, and the display of aid equipment, constructing a visual imaginary of control, order, and resilience in the face of conflict while neglecting to depict any caused suffering or harm. This is especially noteworthy regarding the large amount of civilian suffering occurring during WWII. Gradually, after WWII, this narrative began to shift. Photographs increasingly centred on civilian suffering, often paired with captions designed to shape public sentiment or political understanding.

In the 1960s, the imagery became more graphic, capturing individuals in moments of acute distress. During the 1970s, the visual focus shifted toward brutal scenes, including the impact of war on children and domestic life, aiming to evoke empathy and emotional recognition from viewers while encouraging reflection and calls for action. Although captions during this period became less explicitly

directive, implying neutral reporting, the emotionally charged images strongly guided interpretation. In the final decades, a broader category of victimhood emerged, entailing the indirectly affected civilians, such as victims navigating life in conflict zones or refugees displaced by war. This expanded the scope of victimhood represented and included the prolonged and structural consequences of conflict. .
(Figure 2.52)

Key visual findings, the victim, by timeframe

Timeframe	Key Findings
1922–1933	• Depictions of victims are rare. • Victim faces camera, seemingly emotionless. Feels staged. • Diagonal structure directing gaze to victim's face and stretcher. • Visual imaginary: Centres on aid and order and civic solidarity. Omits emotional or chaotic elements and real suffering.
1934–1945	• Victims often mentioned in captions, rarely depicted. • Emphasis on aid and equipment. • Foreground, background composition with attention to aid, no visual victim • Visual imaginary: Crisis management, post-attack, fear, control, coordination, authority and readiness.
1946–1957	• Civil victims become increasingly more prominent in the depictions. • Depicting the actual suffering caused by conflict. • Central composition draws attention to the relationship between the victims. • Visual imaginary: Unbearable loss, devastation and familial grief, Private mourning is made public, deliberate showcasing the brutality, implying a desire for political action.
1958–1969	• Dynamic, immediate-action depictions. • Victims shown in moments of vulnerability and immediate danger. • L-shaped composition, rule of thirds. • Visual imaginary: Emotional distress and power imbalance, evokes ethical reflection and moral dilemmas, depicting fragile line between enemy and human. 'About to die' image
1970–1981	• Focus on civilians, especially families and children and brutal depictions. • Frequent portrayal of grief and civil life amid destruction. Depicts a private, intense moment of suffering captured in real-time. • Faces, nudity, and the act of carrying signal distress and urgency. • Visual imaginary: Evokes shock and helplessness, the unbearable human cost of war, the innocent child as a symbol of wars brutality.
1982–1993	• Continued focus on civilians, more critical depictions of soldiers. • Visualisation of reconstructed everyday life (domestic elements) under conflict. • Composition: center; rule of thirds structures the image. • Visual imaginary: paradox of daily normalcy amid conflict, suggests resilience, resistance, survival, adaptation, and enduring humanity.

Figure 3.52 Results of the analysis of six visual representations of 'the victim' by period 1922-1994
Source: Author's analysis.

3.4 Conclusion

Both topics reveal a gradual shift toward depicting humans as individual subjects with personal identities. In the earliest years of the dataset, individuals were primarily visualised through their roles or professions, functioning as representatives of broader social categories. Soldiers, for example, were depicted not as distinct persons but as components of a collective soldier identity, anonymous figures embodying military service. A similar pattern emerges in the representation of the victim depicted in the image from 1922 to 1933; the man on the stretcher, although centrally positioned and facing the camera, conveys no identifiable emotion or personal narrative. His role as ‘the victim’ is emphasised, rather than his individuality, suggesting that his presence could be interchangeable with any other body serving the same narrative function.



Figure 3.53 Overview of the selected images per time frame and topic. Source: Autor selection of pictures from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

This began to change during the period 1946–1957 when representations of both 'the victim' and 'conflict in action' started to represent human emotion more explicitly. The father figure, for instance, shown squatting in agony beside his three deceased children, may not be portrayed as a distinct individual with a personal

identity. Still, his posture communicates a human response aligned with the emotional gravity of the situation. Similarly, the image of a soldier carrying his comrade to an aid post conveys embodied exhaustion as he appears to be on the verge of collapse under physical strain. While the photograph does not highlight the soldier as a unique individual, it visually represents the culture of solidarity in the concept of ‘soldierhood’. Although his face is at the centre of the image, with his mouth wide open, particularly due to the influence of the limited image quality, it is the combination of the physical act of stumbling and his expression that builds the narrative.

Between 1958 and 1969, improvements in photo quality made the depicted facial expressions more crucial for conveying the story. Both selected images from this timeframe show different sides of a conflict. In the image chosen to represent ‘the victim’, the face of a Vietcong fighter is visible as an American marine pins him down. His expression adds a human and emotional layer to the scene, although the strong imbalance of power remains the main message. In the image selected for ‘conflict in action’, a soldier in full combat gear looks over many bodies lying on the ground. Unlike the first image, this one removes any sense of individuality from the victims, portraying them as a group rather than as distinct individuals. One image humanises, and the other dehumanises. Yet both portray the soldier not as an individual but as part of a larger system, carrying out decisions made beyond the frame.

The images from the period 1970–1981 focus on civilians in immediate danger, highlighting facial expressions that reveal the emotional impact of the unfolding crisis. Both photographs show a child being cared for by an adult, likely a parent, evoking a familiar scene of human connection and vulnerability. No perpetrators are shown, the focus rests entirely on the affected civilians. Their emotions and actions narrate the situation, underscoring their powerlessness. While the individuals are not named, they are depicted not just in their familial roles but as living human beings marked by complex emotions. The situation is easily understood and emotionally relatable to viewers through the universally recognisable depicted parental care.

The images from the final period, spanning 1981 to 1993, reflect two distinct yet complex dimensions of conflict. The victim portrayed is not harmed directly but lives within the destructive conditions of war. The child, calmly sitting on a tricycle and playing a game, appears like any other child. Yet, his presence in a devastated setting highlights how conflict has become an integral part of everyday life. The image selected for ‘conflict in action’ echoes the dehumanisation seen in the 1958-1969 period. However, while the earlier example suggests soldiers as executors of distant commands, the later image conveys a more personal sense of recklessness and detachment in the soldier’s behaviour.

A significant shift in the visual representation of conflict occurs between 1958 and 1969. Before this period, images often depicted staged or carefully directed scenes, deliberately framed by the photographer to support a broader narrative, likely with the full awareness and cooperation of the subjects. After this turning point, the focus moved toward capturing spontaneous, unplanned moments that appeared accidental or immediate. This change is also reflected in the lack of direct engagement with the camera; subjects often seem unaware of the photographer's presence, who is positioned alongside them amid the situation. This more immersive style of photography remained dominant throughout the following decades. However, in the final period of the dataset, there is a visible return to emotionally charged and symbolically staged imagery. These later images adopt a more deliberate narrative framing, such as the domestic yet surreal scene of a child playing a board game amidst the ruins of conflict.

This study has several limitations. First, the use of compositional lines to infer artistic intent may be problematic. Although geometric analysis is a well-established art-historical method, early photographers still mastering a new medium, may not have used such compositional schemes consciously.¹⁵⁶ Which leads to that some “readings” could be accidental rather than intentional.

Second, the image set is subject to selection bias. In periods with many relevant photographs, choosing only one representative example inevitably narrows

¹⁵⁶ Charles Bouleau, *The Painter's Secret Geometry: A Study of Composition in Art* (New York: Hartcourt, Brace & World, inc., 1963).

the visual range. In addition, the multimodal model introduces its own bias: its automated, mathematical selection reflects patterns it has learned from data rather than human reasoning or editorial judgment.

In the final analytical chapter, the visualisation of domesticity used in conflict reporting is historically analysed to gain a deeper understanding of how this seemingly contradictory depiction evolved.

Chapter 4 :

Domestic Representations in Conflict Reporting

4.1 Introduction

Semantically, domesticity and conflict occupy opposing spheres: the former relates to care, routine, and protection, while the latter is associated with threat and public disruption. Yet, in traditional visual culture, these two oppositions are commonly used together since they narrate the extremities boldly. Often, they employ gendered roles, which can also be seen in the engraving by Hieronymus Wierix.¹⁵⁷ Where the female figure represents life, nourishment, and salvation, symbolising domesticity, the male figure is engaged in destructive warring, representing conflict. The combination of both narrates the continuity of devastation while depicting the circle of life. (Figure 4.1)



Figure 4.1 Verschrikkingen van de oorlog, engraving by Hieronymus Wierix, Antwerp, 1583 object number: RP-1907-3907 [Link](https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collectie/object/Verschrikkingen-van-de-oorlog--3dcfd9c2e1feccc07302d7b3d9692c3e) Source: Rijksmuseum Collectie.

¹⁵⁷ 'Verschrikkingen van de oorlog', Rijksmuseum.nl, accessed 8 June 2025, <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collectie/object/Verschrikkingen-van-de-oorlog--3dcfd9c2e1feccc07302d7b3d9692c3e>.

As previously mentioned, this study was inspired by observations surrounding current conflict reporting, for example, the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. Multiple Dutch newspapers feature images of domestic Ukrainian spaces, such as damaged living rooms, kitchens, and furnishings. These household details, belonging to the most private spaces, encapsulate memories of salvation and identity.¹⁵⁸ Yet they are also entailing archetypal aspects which are widely recognisable across Western societies. As such, they not only serve as strong visual narrators but also foster empathy by mirroring the viewer's private spaces, offering an emotional bridge between distant conflict and everyday life without directly documenting devastation through human suffering. In doing so, these images transcend straightforward reportage, touching upon how conflict could disrupt the familiar life of the reader and his possessions.

In this final chapter, these strong narrating pictures of domesticity and conflict were analysed by investigating the previously generated multimodal conflict concepts. An image is seen as a domestic representation if it relates to the home, the household, daily chores, or family life. Following the definition from the Cambridge Dictionary, which describes domesticity as “life at home taking care of your house and family.”¹⁵⁹ Domesticity is, therefore, not only about the space itself but also about the everyday tasks and routines surrounding it.

Two sub-questions are formulated to guide this chapter analysis:

How did the depiction of 'domesticity' evolve between 1922 and 1994 in Dutch newspaper coverage of conflict?

This question examines how the now common practice of using domestic representations of conflict in Dutch newspapers evolved, as these images often evoke empathy. It also prompts a further inquiry into whose domestic spaces were broadcast and how the newspaper media utilised them.

¹⁵⁸ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space: The Classic Look at How We Experience Intimate Places*, trans. Maria Jolas, Nachdr. (Boston: Beacon Press, 2009), 14.

¹⁵⁹ 'Domesticity', 4 June 2025, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/domesticity>.

Who is 'granted' the representation of 'domesticity' in conflict imagery by Dutch newspapers, and how can we characterise the overall portrayal of 'domesticity' in this context?

Out of all the conflict-related concepts identified by the multimodal dataset (~5,112 images), only 73 images were manually selected for their apparent connection to domestic environments or actions. Notably, only one concept from the year 1945 is fully dedicated to domesticity. This small selection, approximately ~1.5% of the total, suggests that domesticity was a relatively marginal topic within the broader visual coverage of the conflict. Although it is possible that some relevant images were overlooked in the manual selection process, the data still indicate that domesticity is a niche subject within the visual conflict dataset. A niche in such a large dataset still contains an enormous number of images which can't all be analysed through close reading. Therefore, the basis of the analysis are these 73 images, which represent the most dominant tendencies in conflict reporting.

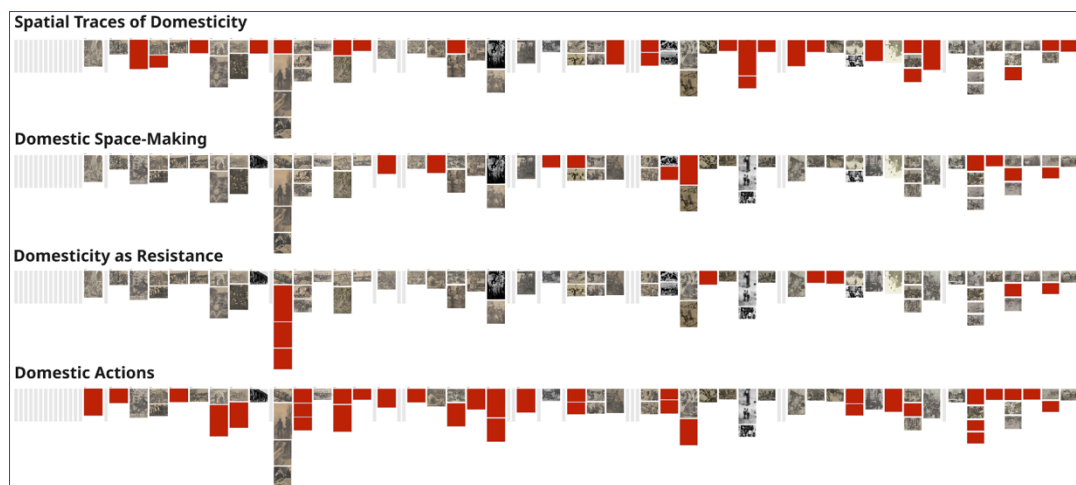


Figure 4.2 The four topics of domesticity identified in this chapter are based on the 78 images selected from the conflict-related concepts generated by the multimodal model. In red are the images important to the topic. Source: Autor selection of pictures from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

After my first general analysis, four dominant topics using domesticity differently emerged; *Spatial Traces of Domesticity* depicts interiors, private spaces and elements of domesticity. *Domestic Space Making* entails images showing rebuilds of domestic environments during the conflict. *Domestic as Resistance* entails images

where domesticity is used in opposition, such as resistance and protest. The largest of all topics is *Domestic Actions*, encompassing images which document domestic labour during the conflict, from domestic duties such as cooking, washing, and cleaning to caregiving.

Each entails another narrative use of the representation, which will be individually analysed in the following sub-chapters. **(Figure 4.2)**

4.1.1 Spatial Traces of Domesticity



Figure 4.3 All found images depicting conflict relate to ‘Spatial Traces of Domesticity’ in the multimodal generated concepts. Source: Autor’s selection from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

This category refers to visual representations of domestic objects, interiors and sites within conflict reporting. These ‘spatial leftovers’ include broken doors, scattered furniture, washing machines, bathtubs, personal items, or the remnants of entire living spaces, often offering silent testimonies of the violence endured and marking the transformation of once private-domains into exposed disrupted public-sites. The topic encompasses not only the remnants of destroyed domesticity but also instances where domestic spaces play a role in the conflict, such as the bathroom used in a post-conflict act to restore books from the Berlin library. **(Figure 4.3)** The scene connotes the absurdity of a man taking desperate measures to save books in his own private space. According to the caption, he lacks coal to heat the bathwater, which symbolises a broader scarcity of resources in the postwar period.

At the same time, the image conveys a strong sense of civic responsibility. The man's actions reflect a personal commitment to preserving cultural heritage despite the constraints of his domestic setting. (Figure 4.4)



Figure 4.4 The image p002-P2_CB00002.jpg, published in *Het Nieuwsblad voor Sumatra* on 01 December 1948. caption: Boeken in het had. \n\tDe kostbaarste boeken uit de grote Berlijnse biblotheken zijn tijdens de oorlog in de zoutvijn en in veiligheid gebracht. Nu zij weer te voorschijn zijn gehaald, is gebleken, dat de bladen door het zout aan elkaar kleefden. Bij gebrek aan betere hulpmiddelen worden nu de badkuipen, die loegens kolengebrek toch niet gebruikt kunnen worden, te hulp geroepen om de aangetaste delen los te weken en te ontvleken. Met een fijn mesje worden deergste zoutvlekken onder water verwijderd, terwijl de dunste bladen eerst met lijm houdbaar worden gemaakt. Op deze wijze worden kostbare cultuurgoedere n Voor het nageslacht behouden. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

The most dominant group showcases spatial remnants of homes; most of these images don't entail a primary focus on people, merely use them as shadows for scale. These are the images that resemble the currently used images in Dutch Newspaper media. These photographs began to appear in the concepts from 1937

onwards. Although they are in black and white, they strongly resemble the pictures we are currently witnessing. For example, the image of the bombardment of Barcelona in 1938 does not differ much from the portraits of the domicide in Palestina. These images, to some extent, are acopolitic and challenging to fully comprehend. There is a lack of domestic recognisability in the frame, as the domestic attributes are secondary to the architectonic ones. **(Figure 4.5)** This differs from the similar situation depicted nearly five decades later in Beirut, where the silhouette of the chandelier hanging from the ceiling more strongly anchors the image, aligning it with how Dutch readers could recognise and be emotionally affected by it. While most commonly, the photographer depicts the situation from outside in the years 1945, 1948, 1949, 1983, and 1985, the photographer enters the domestic site and documents the most intimate and private space. **(Figure 4.6)**



Figure 4.5 The image p009-P9_CB00002.jpg, published in *De Indische Courant* on 14 February 1938 is depicting a destructed house with chandelier. caption: Bombardement op Barcelona. \n\tHET BOMBARDEMENT VAN BARCELONA door Franco's luchtmacht, heeft honderden mensenlevens gekost en ontzettende verwoestingen aangericht. Het zoeken naar slachtoffers in de ruïnes. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

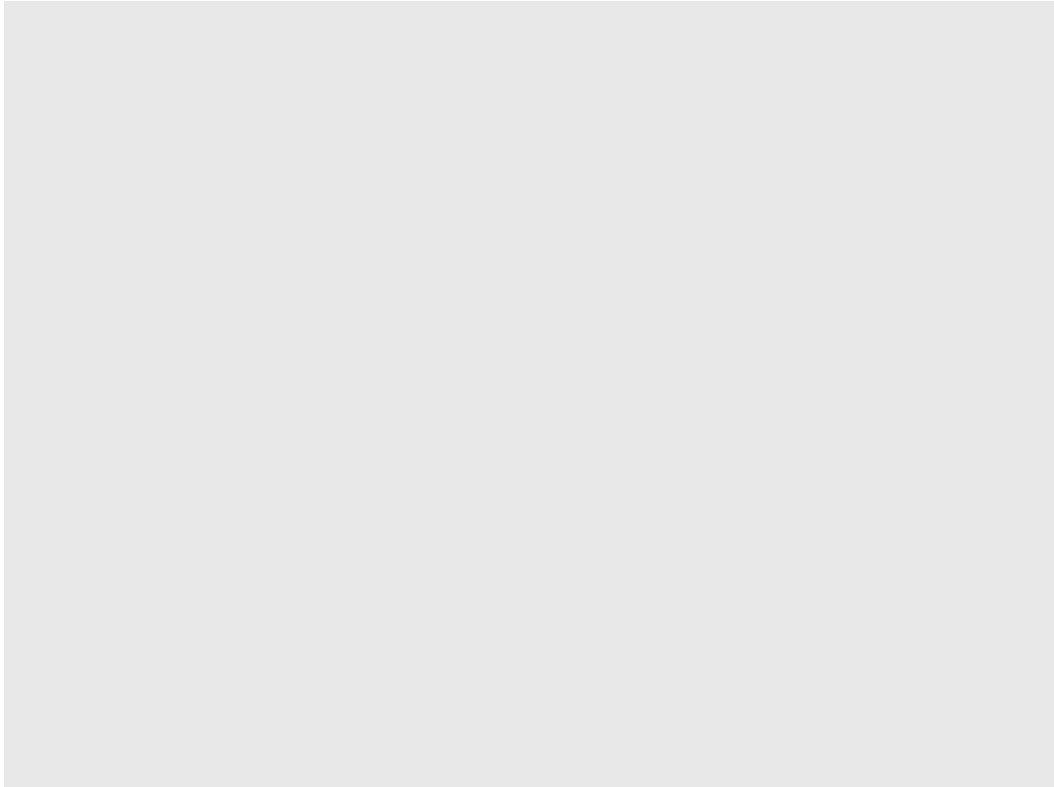


Figure 4.6 The image p001-P1_CB00003.jpg, published in *Nederlands dagblad: gereformeerd gezinsblad* on 15 August 1985 is depicting a destructed house with chandelier. caption: Hulpverleners in één van de twee zeven verdiepingen tellende flatgebouwen, die gisteren in het christelijke deel van Beirut door een autobom totaal verwoest werden. Bij deze aanslag vielen ten minste twaalf doden en ongeveer 75 gewonden. [Link](#) Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

4.1.2 Domestic Space-Making



Figure 4.7 All found images depicting conflict relate to ‘Domestic Space-Making’ in the multimodal generated concepts. Source: Autor’s selection from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

This topic focuses on the visual documentation of creating or restoring a sense of home amidst conflict. These may include improvised shelters, refugee camps and other household-like spaces. It shows the human longing for domesticity, as these

spaces are fundamental to our perception and self-awareness.¹⁶⁰ Beatrice Damamme-Gilbert argues that when the soldier leaves his home, the nurturing base that sustains his identity, he requires a self-protective apparatus; therefore, he urges himself to build a shelter, to gather physically and recreate access to nurturing cultural and mental space.¹⁶¹ This can be seen in the 1951 image, which depicts a soldier coking in his self-built shelter. A space of self-created calm and control amid unexpectency. (Figure 4.8)



Figure 4.8 The image p001-P1_CB00002, published in *Limburgsch Dagblad* on 01 June 1951. caption: LIMBURGS SOLDAAT IN KOREA\n\tSoldaat le klasse 3. H. Heuts uit Maastricht heeft zijn eigen „bomvrije\" blokhut gebouwd. Hier ziet U hem bezig met het bereiden van zijn „warme shap\". War™ eten kan niet „boven\" worden gebracht, zodat men van zijn rantsoenen zelf zn potje moet koken. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

¹⁶⁰ Béatrice Damamme-Gilbert, 'Male Imagination and Representation of Home Spaces in Times of War: Julien Gracq's *Un Balcon En Forêt* [Balcony in the Forest]', in *Domestic Imaginaries, Navigating the Home in Global Literary and Visual Cultures*, ed. Bex Harper and Holloe Price (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, n.d.), 58.

¹⁶¹ Béatrice Damamme-Gilbert, 59.

In later years, images begin to show shelters built by fugitives, illustrating an effort to reclaim a sense of ownership over their situation.¹⁶² Domesticity, deeply tied to our perception of self and stability, emerges here as a fundamental human response.¹⁶³ In the context of conflict, where the legitimacy of territorial ownership is often contested, the act of rebuilding or claiming space becomes a form of resistance. This shift becomes particularly visible in the late 1960s, most strikingly in an image of a woman cooking a meal for her family on a public square in the centre of Mexico City as she protests the dismissal of her husband. **(Figure 4.9)**

These photographs convey a strong visual imaginary of human resilience in the face of adversity. Over time, they evolve from depicting soldiers creating temporary domestic spaces in 1951 and 1971 to refugees reclaiming a sense of home in 1954, 1962, 1964 and 1972, to soldiers assisting civilians in domestic activities in 1989 and 1990, ending with civilians using domestic rebuilding as a tool in resistance and protest in 1991 and 1993. **(Figure 4.7)**

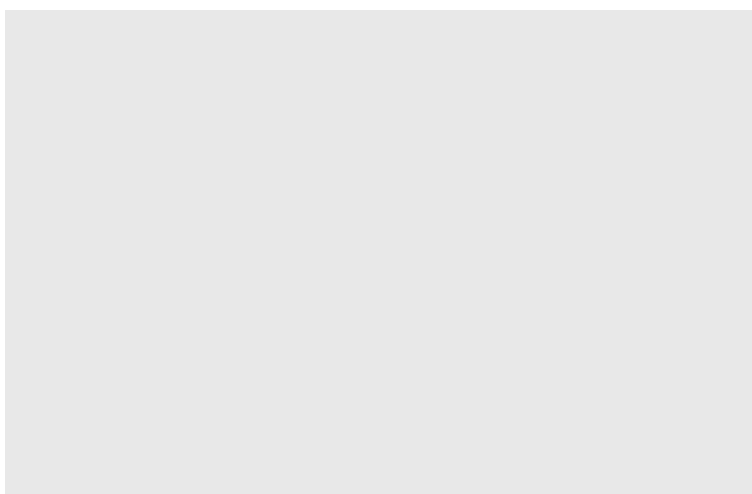


Figure 4.9 The image p005-P5_CB00001.jpg, published in *Nederlands Dagblad B. V.* 10. September 1993. is depicting a family cooking in a rebuild kitchen setting. caption: De vrouw van een ontslagen werknemer bereidt, op een plein in het centrum van Mexico-Stad, op een primitief vuurtje een maaltijd. Honderden ontslagenen of anderszins werklozen bivakkeren momenteel met hun gezinnen op het plein, uit protest tegen de omstandigheden waarin ze genoodzaakt zijn te leven. [Link](#) Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

¹⁶² *Voorlopig Is Er Nog Geen Uitzicht Voor de Indiase Vluchtelingen*,..., 31 December 1962, Limburgsch dagblad, 31 December 1962, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen, Delpher, <http://imageviewer.kb.nl/ImagingService/imagingService?id=ddd:011027935:mpeg21:p001:image>.

¹⁶³ Bex Harper and Hollie Price, eds., *Domestic Imaginaries* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017), 58, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66490-3>.

4.1.3 Domesticity as Resistance



Figure 4.10 All found images depicting conflict relate to ‘Domestic Resistance’ in the multimodal generated concepts. Source: Autor’s selection from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.

Introduced by the previous image (**Figure 4.9**), this topic explores how domesticity is used as a tool in protest or resistance. Although the dataset includes only a small number of such images, mostly appearing from around 1973 onwards, the first two examples date back to 1945 and 1946. The first appearance is part of an explanatory photo story explaining how resistance fighters during WWII used domestic objects, such as a cradle with a baby, to smuggle weapons.¹⁶⁴ A year later, an image depicts four border guards on strike playing a demonstrative game while citizens wait for them on the train. (**Figure 4.11**)



Figure 4.11 The image p004-P4_CB00001jpg, published in *Limburgsch Dagblad* on 02 October 1946. Caption: In smukkelaar.v hntldcn vrij xitel in Frankrijk, tori, 3e don/incbeambten en andere ambtenaren in staking gingen, Terwijl de trein klaar staat om de grens te passerren, zitten de grens- heamhten doodgemoedereerd np het perron een spelletje kaart te leggen. Bmocketuxi net honderden reUjk in. en uitgevoerd. All-een de paspoorten werden gecontroleerd. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.

¹⁶⁴ *Van de Vele Vernuftige Ideeën, Om Terwijl de Duitse Terreur Meedoogenloos Huishield Het Oogenblik Der Bevrijding Voor Te Bereiden...*, 9 June 1945, *Ons vrije Nederland: voortzetting van Geïllustreerd Vrij Nederland*, 9 June 1945, <http://imageviewer.kb.nl/ImagingService/imagingService?id=ddd:010434992:mpeg21:p008:image>.

In the following images, these active scenes of resistance continue. Two of the more violent images from 1973 and 1980 capture the protest against decreasing student support while depicting the moment that a student is throwing a metal household bin at a teacher.¹⁶⁵ And the documentation of the violent destruction of the ‘Anti-Atomdorf’ (anti-nuclear village) in Germany, a makeshift domestic site constructed by activists to oppose the atomic industry.¹⁶⁶ All other images depict non-violent forms of resistance, such as the residents hurling household waste at their town hall to express discontent over rising waste disposal prizes. **(Figure 4.12)** Across these examples, domesticity functions as a political tool, transforming everyday objects and spaces into instruments of resistance and civil dissent. In the case of the anti-nuclear village, the overreaching governmental powers brutally defeat the opposition, showcasing their powers.

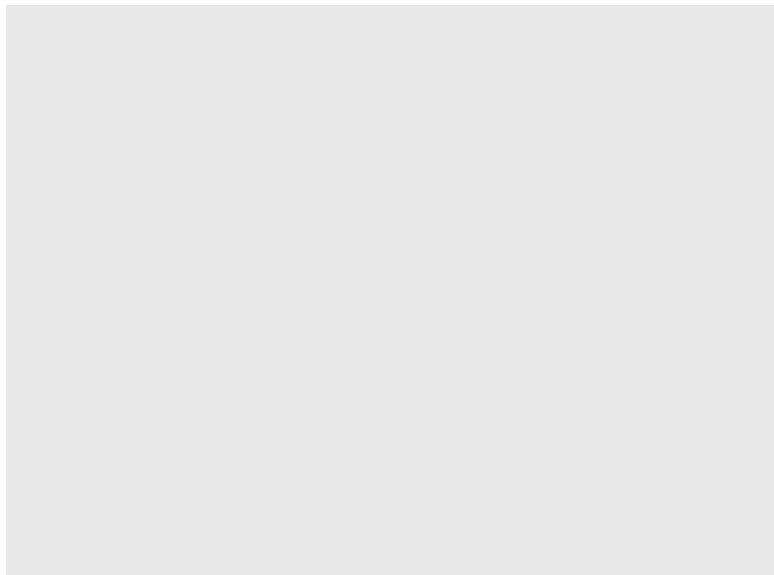


Figure 4.12 The image p003-P3_CB00004.jpg, published in *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* on 29 January 1981. caption Huisvuil op de stoep\n\t • Een aantal inwoners van Vlaardingen heeft gisteren anderhalve ton huisvuil op de stoep 'van het gemeentehuis gestort: Dit uit protest tegen het feit dat zij meer moeten gaan betalen voor de wekelijkse ronde van hun vuilnisman. [Link](#) Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.

¹⁶⁵ *Vuilnisvat Voor Leraar*, 5 June 1973, *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 5 June 1973, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen, Delpher,

<http://imageviewer.kb.nl/ImagingService/imagingService?id=ddd:011016647:mpeg21:p002:image>.

¹⁶⁶ *Bulldozers Vernietigen 'anti-Atomdorp*, 5 June 1980, *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 5 June 1980, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen, Delpher,

<http://imageviewer.kb.nl/ImagingService/imagingService?id=ddd:011019045:mpeg21:p005:image>.

4.1.4 Domestic Actions



Figure 4.13 All found images depicting conflict relate to ‘Domestic Actions’ in the multimodal generated concepts. Source: Autor’s selection from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.

The most prominent theme encompasses depictions of everyday domestic duties, such as cleaning, washing, caregiving, and cooking. These mundane duties of normality are in contrast to the abnormality of conflict. Yet, they are inherently part of human survival. It is the act of photographically enhancing these cyclical, ongoing moments of labour which do not define a person but merely maintain his being.¹⁶⁷

Although domestic acts originate within private life, they represent a form of embodied and collectively shared human knowledge. When visually depicted, such actions are broadly recognisable and universally understood. However, domestic labour is powerfully shaped by gendered norms. Within the predominantly

¹⁶⁷ Hannah Arendt and Margaret Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 2. ed., [Nachdr.] (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2010), 83.

masculine context of the conflict dataset, male soldiers are typically shown in roles that exclude domestic tasks, making any visual representation of male domesticity or the presence of a female soldier engaged in warring symbolically loaded.



Figure 4.14 The image p004-P4_CB00009.jpg, published in *De Tijd: Godsdiensig-Staatkundig Dagblad* on 01 December 1936. Caption: Etenstijd aan het front rond Madrid. - De soldaten aan het middagmaal tijdens een oogenblik pauze in den strijd om de Spaansche hoofdstad. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

One of the larger groups of domestic actions involves labour and activities surrounding food-related depictions, such as grocery shopping, cooking, and eating a meal. Of the 35 found images in the conflict concepts, fourteen encompassed food-related photos. (**Figure 4.13**) Which evolved beginning with the 1934 unproblematic depiction of the Libertad market before its bombing.¹⁶⁸ Images of

¹⁶⁸ *De Markt van Libertad*, 22 March 1934, *De Tribune: Soc. Dem. Weekblad*, 22 March 1934, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen, Delpher, <http://imageviewer.kb.nl/ImagingService/imagingService?id=ddd:010482545:mpeg21:p005:image>.

soldiers scooping food while taking a break depict the relaxed atmosphere of soldier life. **(Figure 4.14)** This is followed by a couple of pictures from the 40ies and 50ies depicting how food is provided to the less fortunate among which are the victims of the British bombardment **(Figure 2.12)** and photographs depicting food scarcity, such as the civilians of Modera, with a focus on the provided help by the ‘Dutch’.¹⁶⁹ The portrayal of a man searching a dumpster in Moskow in 1991 is the first more disturbing image among the group, visualising the scarcity of food and the inhuman consequences.¹⁷⁰

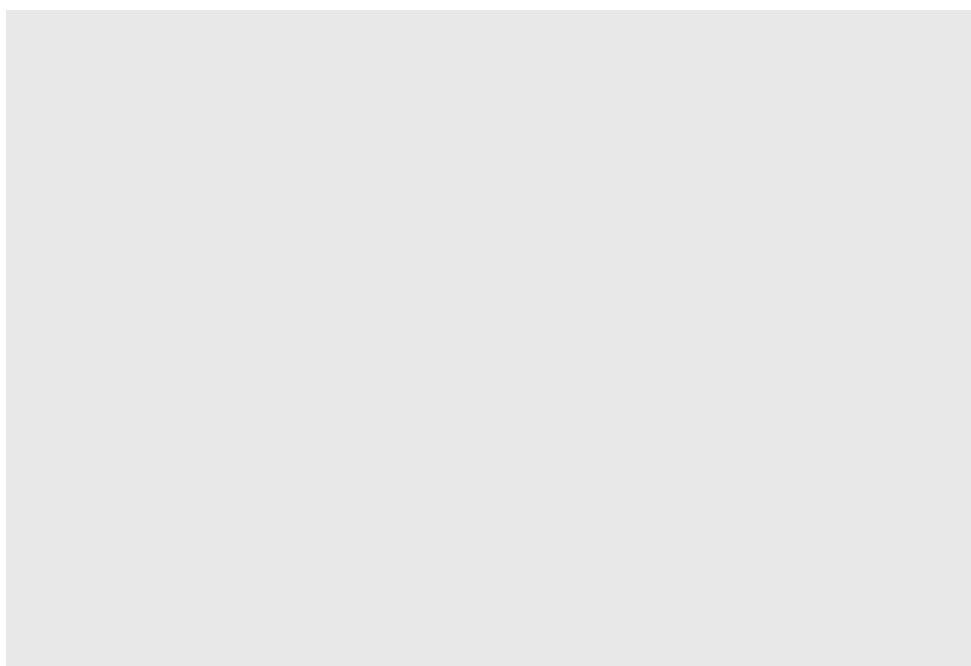


Figure 4.15 The image p005-P5_CB00002.jpg, published in *Leeuwarder Courant: Hoofdblad van Friesland* on 31 July 1964. Caption: Een Zuid-Vietnamese vrouw draagt haar kindje en bezittingen in twee manden aan een stok over haar schouder. Op de achtergrond keren militairen terug uit het My-Hoeng gebied na een actie tegen de Vieteong rebellen. [Link](#) Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.

Another prominent theme is the capture of caregiving, particularly the portrayal of a mother figure caring for a small child. This theme appears in eight

¹⁶⁹ *Bij Hun Komst Op Madoera Vonden de Nederlanders de Bevolking In Een Teer Vervallen Toestand*, 10 January 1948, Leeuwarder Courant: Hoofdblad van Friesland, 10 January 1948, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen, Delpher,

<http://imageviewer.kb.nl/ImagingService/imagingService?id=ddd:010610220:mpeg21:p007:image>.

¹⁷⁰ *In Bittere Kou Zoekt Een Moskoviet in Een Hoeveelheid Afval Naar Iets Dat Misschien Nog Enigszins Eetbaar Is.*, n.d., Nederlands Dagblad: Gereformeerd Gezinsblad, n.d.,

<http://imageviewer.kb.nl/ImagingService/imagingService?id=ddd:010559850:mpeg21:p001:image>.

images from the 1960s onward, all of which are set in foreign contexts. Two dominant forms of representation emerge: one features groups of children being evacuated from regions such as South Vietnam (1964, 1965, 1972) and Cambodia (1985).¹⁷¹ In these scenes, slender women are shown carrying heavy loads, balancing their possessions on long sticks, with a child in a basket on one end and their personal effects on the other. These images powerfully communicate both the unimaginable hardship of displacement and the strength and resilience required to seek safety. At the same time, the unfamiliar method of transporting children underscores the cultural distance, evoking both empathy and estrangement. (Figure 4.15)

The other guise features Woman carrying their children on their chests, which is more a Western-expected method of caregiving and, therefore, is a less estranged representation of motherhood. (1962, 1982).¹⁷²



Figure 4.16 The image p002-P2_CB00003.jpg, published in *Het Vrije Volk: Democratisch-Docialistisch Dagblad* on 29 March 1946. Caption: OOK IN DE POOLSE HOOFDSTAD herneemt het leven zijn rechten-. Kinderen spelen tussen de puinhopen van het in de oorlog zo zwaar geteisterde Warschau. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen.

¹⁷¹ *Een Kampucheaanse Vluchtelingenvrouw, Met in Een Doek Haar Kind En Wankelend Onder Het Gewicht van Haar Laatste Spulletjes.*, 14 February 1985, *Nederlands Dagblad: Gereformeerd Gezinsblad*, 14 February 1985, <http://imageviewer.kb.nl/ImagingService/imagingService?id=ddd:010569871:mpeg21:p001:image>.

¹⁷² *Walesa: Geen Hoop Op Vrijheid*, 6 August 1982, *De Telegraaf*, 6 August 1982, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen, Delpher, <http://imageviewer.kb.nl/ImagingService/imagingService?id=ddd:110608407:mpeg21:p009:image>.

The act of playing with a toy or game, occurs six times in the selection: 1939, 1946, 1971, 1984, and 1990. All these games are either played by children or by male officials. The representation of relaxed playing soldiers in 1939 reinforces the previously identified tendency of soldier-companionship. In 1946, the first group of civilian children is depicted dancing in a circle amid the rubble in Warsaw; the image conveys a message of return to normality. **(Figure 4.16)** Although representing a break in ongoing warring, the picture of 1990 depicting a soldier playing a board game conveys a similar message of moments of normalisation amid disrupted surroundings. **(Figure 3.49)** The two images of children playing in rubble, from 1971 and 1984, convey a strong sense of resilience and a desperate attempt to reclaim a lost childhood amidst the harsh realities of conflict. **(Figure 4.17)** These scenes mark a broader visual transition from the earlier, dominant focus on soldier life toward an increasing emphasis on the suffering of civilians.

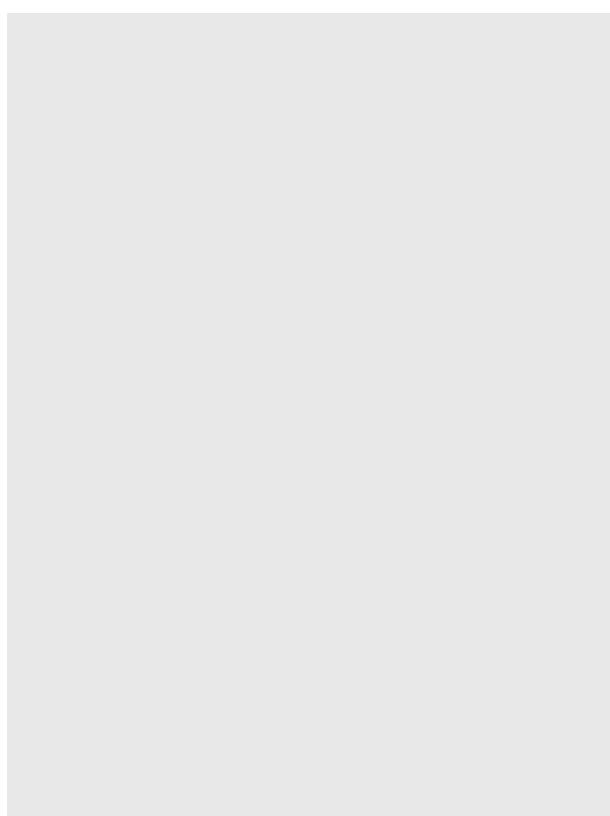


Figure 4.17 The image p007-P7_CB00004.jpg, published in *Het Vrije Volk: Democratisch-Docialistisch Dagblad* on 23 June 1984. Caption: Driewieler 'gered'\n\tEen Libanees meisje heeft een dierbaar stuk speelgoed weten te redden uit de puinhopen van wat eens haar huis was: een driewieler. De zuidelijke wijken van Beiroet kwamen ook gisteren weer onder vuur te liggen. Sinds februari dalen bijna dagelijks granaten op de huizen van de geplaagde bewoners neer. In het gebied wonen vooral moslims. [Link](#) Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

The final recurring group depicts domestic labour in its most traditional sense: the act of cleaning. This form of labour is strongly gendered and typically associated with the female sphere. But most importantly, it is the representation of the most basic form of small labour essential for human survival.¹⁷³ Notably, three of the identified images prominently feature soldiers engaging in such tasks. One striking example is a 1971 photograph of a soldier dressed only in underwear, standing beside a washing line amidst the battlefield. **(Figure 4.18)**

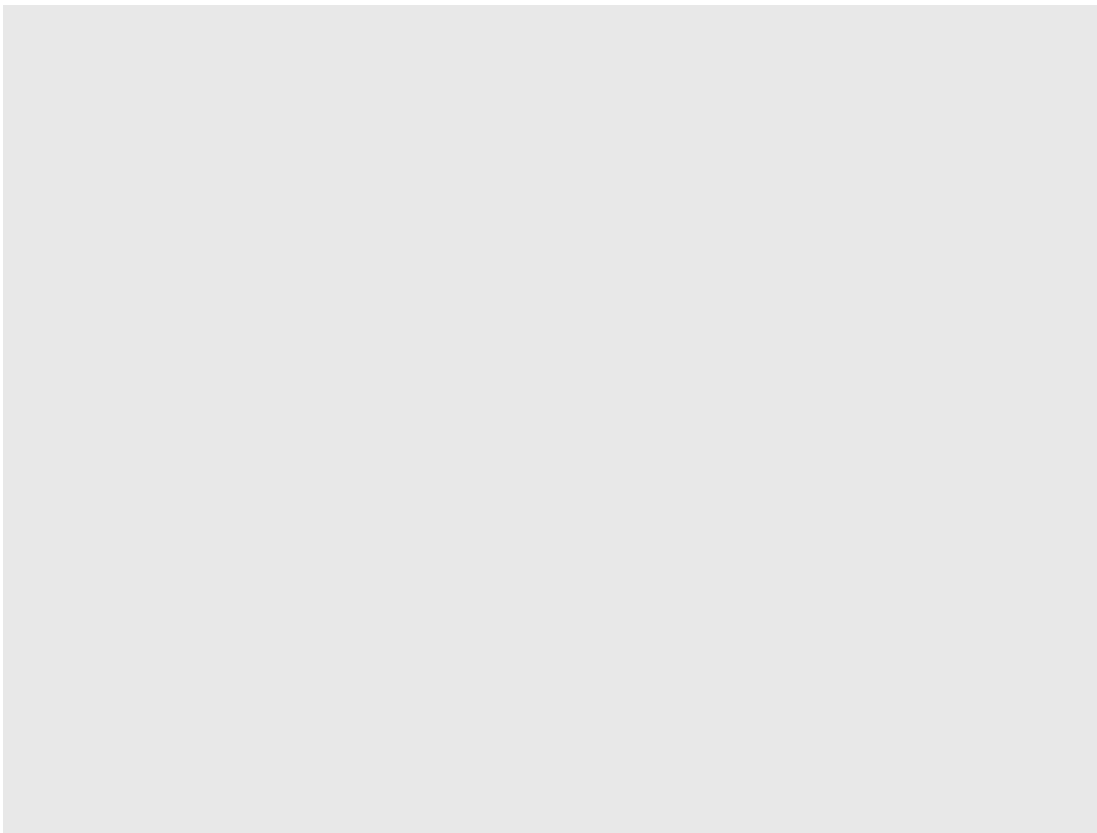


Figure 4.18 The image p009-P9_CB00002.jpg, published in *De Telegraaf* on 11 March 1971. Caption: Barricade als waslijn\n\tEen Zuidvietnamese soldaat houdt de wacht bij Dong Da in Laos terwijl zijn kleren hangen te drogen, over een prikkeldraadversperring. [Link](#) Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

The image sparks interest in how the domestic act of cleaning evolved. Although it is only minuscule represented in the multimodal outcome, it is an

¹⁷³ Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 82.

absolute depiction and representation of the ordinary. Therefore, an extra small wordlist was created, which was used for concept-based filtering of all captions in the entire conflict dataset, which comprises 180,054 images, in search of representations of cleaning. (Appendix II)

The outcome reinforces the tendency observed in the results generated by CLIP, the use of visual signifiers that deliberately support the imaginary of normalcy during the German occupation. Among the 92 images found, the majority, dating from 1939 to 1943, depict soldiers engaged in cleaning activities. Although this timeframe is over-represented in the dataset, it does not occur as strongly in other timeframes. (Figure 4.19)

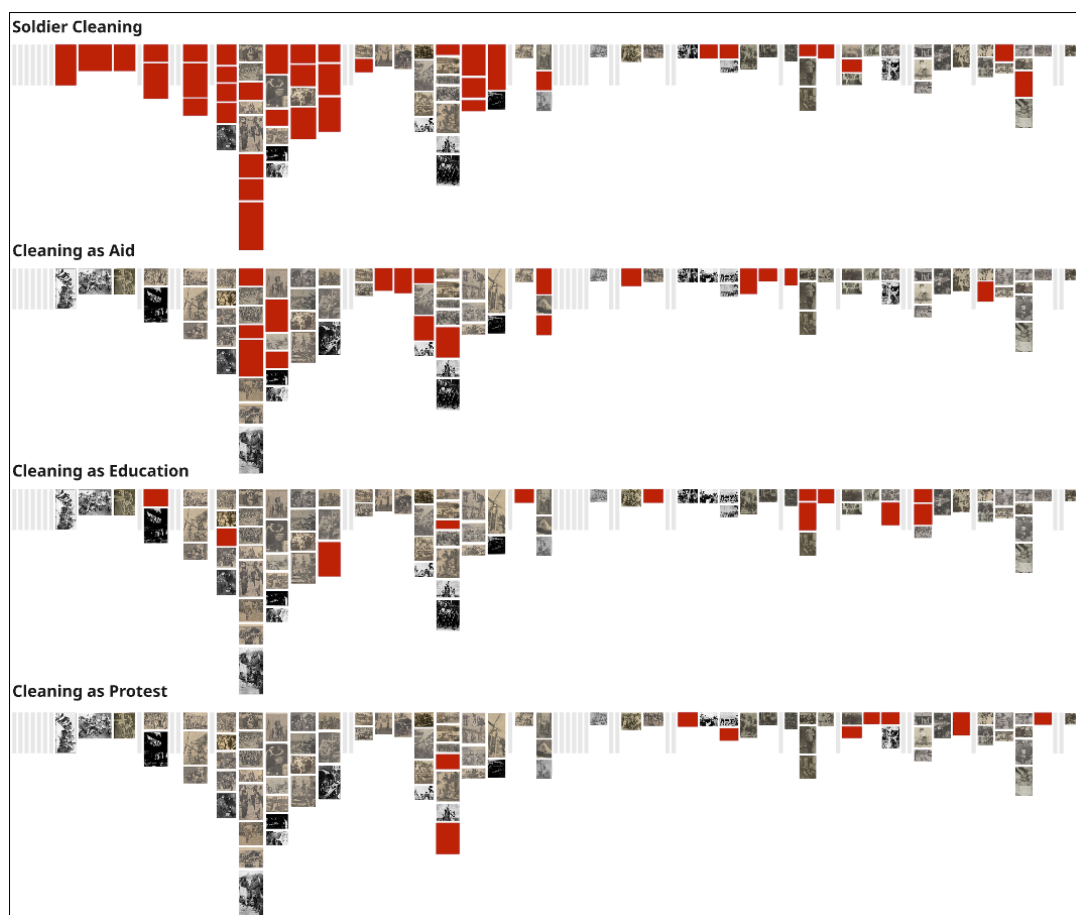


Figure 4.19 The four 'cleaning' related topics identified in this sub-chapter are based on the 92 images filtered by a small, selected word list. In red are the images important to the topic. Source: selection of pictures by Autor from Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten - 1 Miljoen.

4.2 Who is 'granted' domesticity

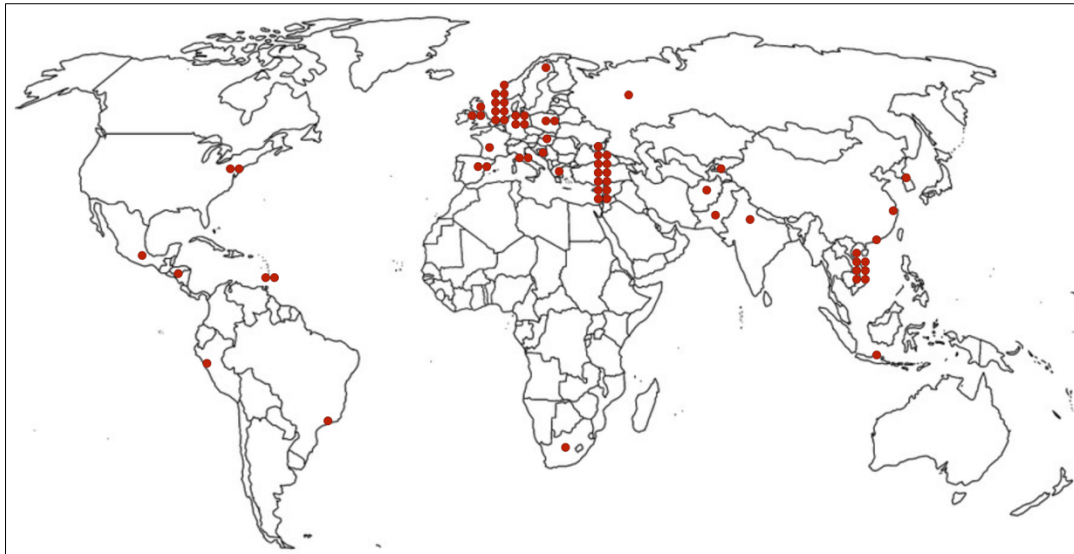


Figure 4.20 Map with the distribution of the locations where the 73 domestic images retrieved from the multimodal concepts originate. Information from captions. Source: Autor's calculation.

While domesticity appears prominently in visual representations of conflict in Europe, the Levant, and Vietnam/Indochina, the Dutch-involved conflict in Indonesia is notably underrepresented. The selection used to create the map, based on 73 images, reflects only a small portion of the dataset and thus highlights only the most dominant visual patterns. Other geographic areas may also be present in the archive, but their representation is either less frequent or less strongly associated with domestic imagery. The limited visibility of the Indonesian War of Independence, despite its relevance to Dutch history, is striking but aligns with the efforts of the military information service, which were the absolute creators of media information and propaganda in Batavia and aimed to generate a sanitized version of news for the Dutch public, which lacked any representation of actual warfare.¹⁷⁴ (Figure 4.20)

An analysis of the main protagonists by gender in the domestic-related images reveals that over half of the pictures are narrated through a male figure.

¹⁷⁴ Paul Doolan, *Collective Memory and the Dutch East Indies: Unremembering Decolonization* (Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 28, <https://doi.org/10.5117/9789463728744>.

(Figure 4.21) However, more than 80% of the women depicted are defined by their engagement in domestic labour, such as caregiving, cooking, or washing. In contrast, the male figures are primarily framed not by their actions but by their professional identity: 60.53% are portrayed in uniform, linked to military or other official roles. Thus, even though the concept of domesticity is typically associated with female roles, it is the male professional engaged in domestic tasks who receives more visual representation overall.

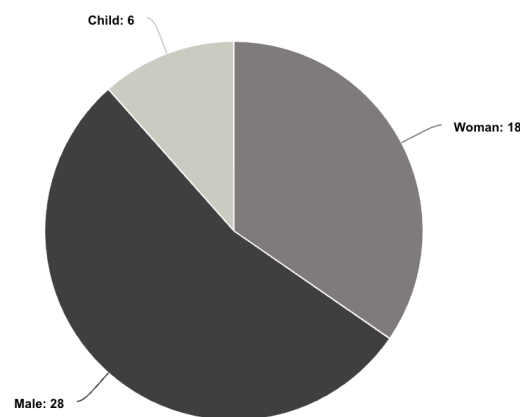


Figure 4.21 Calculation of use of gender and child central narrating human figures of the 73 domestic images manually selected from the multi-modal conflict concepts Source: Autor's calculation.

There is a general male dominance within the total conflict dataset, particularly evident in concepts depicting portraits. Of the 864 rendered concepts, 47 feature male portraits, while only one, dated 1973, presents an exclusively female concept, and two others depict mixed-gender compositions. This imbalance is likely influenced by the dataset's substantial focus on military figures, a domain that men have historically dominated. However, the latest study by the Global Media Project Monitoring, conducted in 2021, which has tracked gender representation since 1995, reveals that women are still underrepresented in media today.¹⁷⁵ The marginal female representation in the domestic-conflict related images reflects broader systemic biases in visual journalism, biases that, despite decades of awareness, remain largely uncorrected today.

¹⁷⁵ Doolan, *Collective Memory and the Dutch East Indies*.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter explored the role of domesticity in the visual representation of conflict within Dutch newspapers from 1922 to 1994. By analysing 73 manually selected images out of over 5,000 conflict-related visuals selected by the multimodal CLIP, the study demonstrates, within a relatively small corpus, that while domesticity is a niche within the dataset, it entails significant narrative potential to influence audiences visually.

The gendered use of narrative, with the opposition of domesticity as female and conflict as male, is not specific to twentieth-century visual media. But, it has deep historical roots, as seen in the engraving by Hieronymus Wierix. His engraving reflects the ongoing absurdity of life, caught between creation and destruction. The female figure takes the foreground, depicted as a caregiver and life-giver, sustaining even the conditions of conflict. **(Figure 4.1)** In the early part of the dataset (1922–1945), caregiving is a visible theme, but the imaginary is framed more as a civic duty than as an expression of individual female strength. As Hannah Arendt notes, domestic labour is the most basic form of human work, essential for survival. Yet domesticity is not granted equal representational value in conflict-related concepts. While male figures are present in domestic settings, their domestic acts do not define their identity within the image; they remain primarily characterised by their professional roles, often signified by uniforms. In contrast, female protagonists are characterised by their domestic function alone. Thus, although these women visually embody domesticity, it is the male figure who performs domestic tasks without being reduced to them who receives more visibility and symbolic authority in the dataset.

The distribution of domestic conflict images all over the world reveals the deliberate neglect in reporting emotionally loaded or strong pictures, such as depicting domesticity from the Indonesian war and demonstrating that media censorship did not end with WWII. Although this analysis is based on a relatively

small dataset and requires further investigation, the results reveal these visual tendencies, which align with scholarly findings.¹⁷⁶

The analysis of the domestic topic's evolvement revealed four different uses of domesticity in Dutch news media photography. Two of these behaved periods specific. *Domestic Space Making* and *Domestic as Resistance* are both most actively used from 1946 onwards, as they predominantly use a human perspective on the scenery. Both topics depicted soldiers, officials or professionals in the 1946-1962 timeframe and gradually shifted toward civilians taking ownership of public space in immediate activism to be seen, heard, and understood. **(Figure 4.22)**

Spatial Traces of Domesticity and *Domestic Actions*, however, were present throughout the entire time span, though their focus shifted over the decades.

The category of *Spatial Traces of Domesticity* is what initially sparked my interest, as I observed it as a current trend in conflict reporting. However, this analysis reveals that its roots lie much earlier in the practice of visual conflict coverage. In the earliest period, these images were typically taken from the street and focused more on architectural damage than interior destruction while still showcasing the human life surrounding it. During WWII, similar depictions showcased an absence of civic life among them, creating an image of material destruction that did not affect citizens. These depictions from earlier decades can still be recognised today as domestic environments, and they entail some substantial visual similarity. It is especially also the later depictions of personal details in spaces, such as a chandelier or doorknob, that powerfully narrate the intimate loss and private devastation embedded within the rubble, which resemble the current conflict representations. **(Figure 4.22)**

Domestic Actions, the largest of the four topics, encompasses a wide range of practices, including food-related tasks, caregiving in motherhood, play, and cleaning. In the earliest timeframe, the imagery primarily constructed a visual narrative of light and carefree soldier life, highlighting male companionship and leisure. During the Second World War, this shifted towards representations of

¹⁷⁶ Doolan, *Collective Memory and the Dutch East Indies*.

civilian care, particularly directed at the less fortunate, such as victims of British bombings, or towards supporting soldiers while never depicting human suffering. After 1945, the focus moved away from the battlefield and towards the civilian experience of conflict. Images increasingly depicted food scarcity, civic resistance, and a sense of civic duty. In the final period, from 1962 to 1994, the representations became more complex, relying heavily on immediate, real-life moments in civilian life during the conflict. The subtopic of cleaning was examined in more detail, revealing how, during the WWII years, images depicting soldiers labouring daily chores, such as cleaning, contributed to a narrative of normalisation, portraying soldier life as stable and unproblematic despite the surrounding violence.

The analysis of domesticity reveals essential limitations in the application of multimodal models. Domesticity is rarely made explicit in image captions and is visually expressed not through singular, easily recognisable objects but through more complex sceneries, actions, and atmospheres. As a result, the vector values produced by multimodal models such as CLIP are likely weaker for such images, as the model tends to favour clearly defined, literal correspondences between text and image. In other words, the more direct and descriptive a caption is, such as one that mentions a ‘soldier’ alongside a photograph of a soldier, the stronger the resulting concept becomes. Conversely, captions that convey additional meaning without explicitly naming the subject generate weaker vector associations. The more abstract or nuanced a visual concept is, and the less it relies on clear, singular visual anchors, the less likely it is to be detected or grouped meaningfully by the model. As a result, a concept like domesticity, though visually present in a variety of forms, is unlikely to emerge as a dominant category without human interpretation to guide and contextualise it.

The relatively small corpus of images selected from the multimodal conflict concepts, based on manual identification rather than algorithmic tagging, may introduce a degree of selection bias. However, as discussed, a concept as nuanced and multifaceted as domesticity is unlikely to emerge solely through automated processes. Its visual complexity and lack of explicit textual markers require extensive human interpretation, making a fully comprehensive selection only possible through a labour-intensive manual curation.

Domesticity				
Timeframe	Spatial Traces of Domesticity	Domestic Space-Making	Domesticity as Resistance	Domestic Actions
1922–1939	- Focus on architectural destruction - with civilians - Photographer stands outside - Visual imaginary: city/village is destroyed no individual loss	-	-	- bombed market depicted before, - soldiers eating, soldiers playing a game - Photographer in mids of scenery - Visual imaginary: companionship, relaxed soldier life, no casualty, vivid
1940–1945	- Focus on architectural destruction - without civilians - Photographer stands mostly outside - Visual imaginary: architectural loss only	-	- Explanation of resistance tactics after WWII - resistance - Photographer creates photo story, instruction - Visual imaginary: heroic, crafty, thrilling	- Images depict people receiving food. - Aid - Photographer in mids of scenery - Visual imaginary: collective resilience, glorification of aid
1946–1962	- Also interiors are depicted - Photographer stands mostly outside but sometimes in domestic spaces - Visual imaginary: spatial resilience and community	- creating ownership over situation - soldier - Photographer portrays a domestic situation - Visual imaginary: Self-reliance in distress	- Playing a game during strike - Photographer documents scenery - Visual imaginary: peaceful protest, companionship, traveler's need to wait, accepted hierarchy	- Hunger, Food scarcity - Civilian life - Photographer often from top down, ore enfance - Visual imaginary: Food scarcity, poverty, oppression, civil duty
1962–1994	- Depiction of the chandelier as a strong domestic signifier - Photographer stands mostly outside but sometimes also in domestic spaces - Visual imaginary: The chandelier connotes that an individual had been taking care of the private space	- Re-claiming space as resistance - family - Photographer portrays a domestic situation - Visual imaginary: Self-reliance in distress, and peaceful demonstration, protest	- Active scenes of resistance, domesticity as a political tool - civilians - Photographer in the scenery - Visual imaginary: activism, power dynamics, oppression, civilians with own opinion	- Personal depictions, behind the scenes - Civilian life, life abroad, - Photographer documents scenery, spontaneous and careful compositions - Visual imaginary: orientaliation, complex situation of conflict

Figure 4.22 Summary of findings per period, Source: based on the author's analysis of domestic-related images found in the conflict-related concepts.

Chapter 5 :

Conclusion

This thesis explores how the visual imaginary of conflict evolved in Dutch newspaper photography between 1922 and 1994, with a particular focus on long-term patterns, emerging visual imaginaries, and the representation of domesticity. A multimodal, AI-assisted survey of 180'000 images revealed four phases of visual practice:

1922-1939 The Interbellum and the Image Explosion

During this period, photography was still negotiating its place alongside text, and Dutch newspapers remained structured by pillarised. The images did not convey human emotion or personal narratives. Although there was a significant emphasis on static portraits, these pictures conveyed individuality primarily through the roles the depicted individuals had assumed, primarily through their clothing. Images were predominantly static and in need of captions to anchor the explicit “news”, while images served as legitimating décor, with a yet not fully developed language. As a result, conflict was portrayed indirectly: emphasis rested on tactics or aftermath rather than on immediate battlefield action. Destruction was primarily depicted through architectural damage rather than human suffering. The photographer acted as a static observer, with subjects often aware of the camera, producing staged, less authentic scenes. Overall, the dominant visual imaginary stressed control, hierarchy, stability, and civic duty, presenting a relaxed vision of soldierly life with virtually no casualties in view.

1940 - 1945 Censorship and the German Occupation

During the WWII occupation, press photography came under strict German control. Visual output was shaped by censorship, propaganda directives, and severe restrictions on what could be photographed. Images focused on unity, order, heroism, and camaraderie among German and Dutch collaborationist forces, while any depiction of resistance or human suffering was systematically excluded. Scenes of aid, depicting Dutch volunteers helping victims or supporting soldiers, were used

to reinforce a narrative of cohesion and civic duty. Photographers operated as instruments of state messaging and public educators, reinforcing carefully crafted visual imaginaries of German-Dutch alignment, collective resilience, the glorification of aid, National unity, camaraderie, heroism, a relaxed vision of soldierly life, and unproblematic warfare, while erasing all traces of civilian and military casualties.

1946 - 1962: Recovery and the Reader-Centered Turn

Post-war paper shortages forced newspapers to be more selective, which in turn reinforced new layouts featuring fewer but larger images. Technological advances in printing and camera technology enabled sharper images, conveying more detail. Influenced by Anglo-Saxon photojournalism, editors shifted to personalised narratives and human-centred storytelling, “telling the news through people.” Civilians and their lives amid conflict moved to the forefront, depicting the emotions and struggles they face, which are affected by food scarcity, oppression, poverty, and conflict. Captions became less directive as photographs began to narrate more independently. Photographers gained more autonomy and professionalised, capturing more often immediate, spontaneous moments that humanised conflict and highlighted its aftereffects on ordinary lives. The Visual imaginaries now focus on empathy through emotional storytelling, humanisation, individualisation, reconstruction, community and everyday resilience.

1962 - 1994 Blood, Death, and Critical Autonomy,

With the advent of electronic image transmission and the rise of television, newspaper photography entered a new era of speed and competition. The socially minded, human-centred narration introduced in the post-war years intensified: photojournalists now embedded themselves on the front lines, delivering vivid coverage of protests, civilian suffering, and moments captured just before or after death. Scenes of war’s impact on children and domestic life became more graphic

and common, depictions of occurring brutality to evoke empathy and moral urgency. Soldiers were shown for the first time in ethically ambiguous roles, while civilians and their enduring were mostly the central protagonists. The visual imaginary shifted toward raw realism and critical engagement, emphasising independence and civilian activism, inviting readers to confront and draw their own conclusions, despite being directed by the depicted realities, about the human cost of conflict, inviting readers to reach their own judgments about the wars depicted.

Key findings

My paper began with a fascination for what I initially perceived as a new phenomenon in domestic-conflict reporting. I came to realise, however, that domestic settings, though seemingly distant from the domain of conflict, are often its very origin, and perhaps even its sustaining ground. As early as 1583, Hieronymus Wierix illustrated this entanglement through scenes that revealed a cyclical banality tied to gendered conceptions of both domesticity and violence. Inherently, often the conflict is the defence of the domestic environment. Similarly, the spatial interiors depicted in the conflict dataset echo visual tropes familiar in contemporary representations of domestic life. These domestic sceneries have been present since the advent of photojournalism, suggesting that the relationship between domesticity and conflict has been intertwined from the very beginning of their visual representation.

Throughout the twentieth century, Dutch conflict photography underwent several transformations. From carefully staged tableaux of the interwar and occupation years, images that reinforce hierarchy, order, and control, offering a directive narrative, to spontaneous, morally complex scenes that leave interpretation to the viewer and signal less obvious political alignments. This transition is accompanied by a rise in emotional expressiveness: bodily gestures and facial close-ups depicting genuine emotions increasingly humanise subjects, allowing readers to see people rather than mere uniforms or roles. Over time, visual

attention has also shifted from a soldier-centric perspective to one in which civilians and victims take leading narrative roles, redefining whose experience of conflict is considered newsworthy. Additionally, the archive reveals notable silences and underrepresentation across various periods. WWII images in the concept sets do not represent any victims during the German occupation. The Indonesian War of Independence is visually underrepresented in domestic image selection and more so in the depiction of the female gender.

The study has some limitations to consider when interpreting the results, which stem from the use of multimodal models for analysing historical conflict photography. There are inherent biases in both manual and digital, image selection and data representation. Manual curation, while necessary for capturing the concepts, introduces a selection bias. Additionally, the KBK-1M dataset is shaped by the unequal digitisation of Dutch newspapers. Errors in processing steps have led to mishaps in the inclusion or exclusion of materials, thereby distorting thematic consistency. The multimodal model itself, which operates the thematic division, is primarily trained on modern, full-colour imagery and text. It has its own mathematical reasoning on how concepts are supposed to be grouped; my interpretation of such can differ from its actual intent. More complex human definitions, such as domesticity, may not form concepts because they often belong to a scenery not worthy of mention in a caption. Therefore, their vector position is weaker and might be overshadowed by simple findings, such as boats or aeroplanes, which are visually recognisable and textually mentioned. Therefore, the results should be interpreted as dominant tendencies, but not as comprehensive results.

Although many shortcomings contribute to these results, the created macroscopic analysis of conflict images has resulted in a scaffolding ready to be built upon. Then, only by adding bricks of knowledge produced by other scholarly work can a stable façade be built. This thesis greatly benefited from research conducted by Dutch media historians, which provided an underlying foundation for evaluating and interpreting the results found. And the scaffolding design I rebuilt was retrieved from pioneering Digital Historians. Therefore, in this tradition, I hope my paper can be a small addition to the field of visual Historical studies.

Archive

- KB Nationale Bibliotheek
- The KBK-1M dataset, 'Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen'.

Kleppe, M., Elliott, D., Faber, W. J. (2016), *Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – Miljoen (KBK-1M)*. KB Lab: The Hague. <http://lab.kb.nl/dataset/kbk-1m>
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AMERIKANEN BOVEN KOREA
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Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen. _____ 100

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Curacaosche eilanden, 24 August 1965, caption: Een Vietcong verdachte smeekt voor zijn leven, terwijl een Amerikaanse marinier zijn geweer met bajonet in de grond heeft geprikt.

Een tafereel tijdens het grote gevecht in het gebied van Van Toeong, waarbij meer dan vijfhonderd Vietcong-strijders werden gedood; Link Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1

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ontvleken. Met een fijn mesje worden deergste zoutvlekken onder water verwijderd, terwijl de dunste bladen eerst met lijm houdbaar worden gemaakt. Op deze wijze worden kostbare cultuurgoederen voor het nageslacht behouden. Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen. _____ 121

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Figure 4.12 The image p003-P3_CB00004.jpg, published in Nieuwsblad van het Noorden on 29 January 1981. caption Huisvuil op de stoep\n\t• Een aantal inwoners van Vlaardingen heeft gisteren anderhalve ton huisvuil op de stoep 'van het gemeentehuis gestort: Dit uit protest tegen het feit dat zij meer moeten gaan betalen voor de wekelijkse ronde van hun vuilnisman. Link Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Kranten – 1 Miljoen. _____ 127

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Appendix I

I hereby would like to introduce you to the used phyton codes in this research which all can be found at: (accessible after request)

<https://github.com/zuiopa/The-Power-of-Domesticity.git>

By interest and further support please don't hesitate to contact:

mail@nanon.info

- **Creating the Conflict Dataset Word list, Single Word visualisation**

The code used to make the word list, and visualisation graphs of the evolvment of specific words such as 'slachtoffer'

<https://github.com/zuiopa/The-Power-of-Domesticity/blob/CAPTION-WORD-List-KBK-M/README.md>

- **Codes for Filtering Phases**

<https://github.com/zuiopa/The-Power-of-Domesticity/edit/3-Step-Filtering-for-Conflict-Dataset/README.md>

- **Code for visualisation KBK-1M dataset, Conflict dataset**

<https://github.com/zuiopa/The-Power-of-Domesticity/blob/Visual-KBK-1M-dataset-v-Conflict-dataset/README.md>

- **KBK-1M CLIP code**

The code used to operate the Multimodal CLIP by OpenAI to generate the Concepts for each year and year groupings:

<https://github.com/zuiopa/The-Power-of-Domesticity/blob/CLIP-CODE-KBK-1M/README.md>

Appendix II

Below are the different word lists created to support this research. Each list includes specific exclusion criteria designed to further refine the results and ensure a more accurate focus on conflict-related content.

Wordlist conflict words, Chapter 1

"aanslag", "aanslagen", "aanslagpleger", "aanvalslinies", "aanvalsrichtingen",
"adjutant", "admiraal", "admiraal", "afgevuurd", "aflossingstroepen",
"afrikacorps", "afrikafront", "afrikakorps", "afweerfront", "afweergeschut",
"afweergevechten", "afweerslag", "afweerwapen", "alpenjagers", "arsenaal",
"artillerie", "artilleriestelling", "artillerievuur", "artilleriewaarnemer",
"artilleriewaarnemingsposten", "artillerist", "artilleristen",
"atoombomproeven", "atoombom", "atoombommen", "atoombomproeven",
"atoomduikboot", "atoomonderzeeboot", "balling", "ballingschap",
"ballistische", "bataljon", "bataljons", "bataljonscommandant", "battle",
"battling", "bedieningsmanschappen", "bedreigd", "berging", "bergjagers",
"beroepsrijders", "bestormd", "beveiligingsstrijdkrachten", "bevelhebber",
"bevrijd", "bevrijden", "bevrijding", "bevrijdingsleger", "bewakingstroepen",
"bewapend", "bewapende", "bewapening", "bewapeningsbedrijven",
"bewapeningscapaciteit", "bezette", "bezetten", "bezetters", "bezetting",
"bezettingen", "bezettingsjaren", "bezwaken", "bezwijken", "blauwhelmen",
"bloedbad", "bolsjewistische", "bomaanslag", "bomaanslagen", "bomaanval",
"bomaanvallen", "bombardement", "bombardementen", "bombardementsvliegtuig",
"bombardementsvliegtuigen", "bombarderen", "bombenwarte", "bommen",
"bommenburg", "bommenlast", "bommenregen", "bommenwerper", "bommenwerpers",
"bommetjes", "bomtrechter", "boomschutter", "boordkanonnen", "bouwtroepen",
"brigade", "brigades", "brigadier", "bunker", "burgerbevolking", "burgerlijken",
"burgeroorlog", "burgerwacht", "burgerwachten", "camouflage", "cavalerie",
"cavallerie", "chloroform", "colonne", "commandant", "commandanten",
"commander", "commandeur", "commando", "commandobrug", "commandopost",
"commandotoren", "compagnie", "concentratiekamp", "confrontatie", "convooi",
"convool", "defensie", "defensieve", "demonstrant", "demonstranten",
"demonstratie", "demonstreerende", "demonstrerende", "dienstplichtigen",
"districtsleider", "divisie", "divisies", "documentaire", "doden", "doodde",
"doodgeschoten", "doodsstrijd", "duikbommenwerper", "duikbommenwerpers",
"duikboot", "duikbootbasis", "duikbooten", "duikbootwapen", "eenheden",

"eereformaties", "eerewacht", "einmarsch", "expeditiecorps", "explosieven",
 "fokkermachine", "frontkameraden", "frontlinie", "frontsoldaten",
 "frontstrijders", "fuehrer", "fuhrer", "gardisten", "garnizoenscommandant",
 "gasaanvallen", "gasmasker", "gasmaskerhandelaar", "gasmaskers", "gcneral",
 "geaeraal", "geallieerde", "geallieerden", "gebietsführer", "gebombardeerd",
 "gecamoufleerd", "gecamoufleerde", "gedood", "gefouilleerd", "geneeskundige",
 "generaal", "generaalmasoor", "generaals", "generaalveldmaarschalk",
 "generaat", "general", "generalen", "generalfeldmarschall", "generalkommissar",
 "generalleutnant", "generalmajor", "generaloberst", "genietroepen",
 "gepantserde", "geprotesteerd", "gerepatrieerden", "geschoten", "geschut",
 "geschutfabriek", "geschutsafdeelingen", "geschutsloopen", "geschutsstelling",
 "geschutstukken", "gesneuveld", "gesneuvelde", "gesneuvelden",
 "gestationeerd", "gestationneerd", "gestationneeru", "getroffene", "gevallene",
 "gevallenen", "gevangenenkamp", "gevangenkamp", "gevangenkampen",
 "gevangenneming", "gevechten", "gevechtsgebied", "gevechtsgroep",
 "gevechtshandelingen", "gevechtsweg", "gevechtspauze", "gevechtspost",
 "gevechtsstelling", "gevechtsterrein", "gevechtstoestellen",
 "gevechtswaard", "gevechtswaarden", "gevechtswaardig", "gevechtswaardigen",
 "gevechtswaardig", "gevechtswaardigen", "gevlucht", "gevluchte",
 "gevochten", "gewapend", "gewapende", "geweergrepen", "gewond", "gewonde",
 "gewonden", "geïnstalleerd", "gijzelaars", "gladiatorengevecht",
 "golfcrisis", "granaat", "granaatscherven", "granaatsplinters",
 "granaattreffer", "granaatwerper", "granaatwerpers", "granaten",
 "grenadiers", "groepscommandant", "grondgebied", "grondtroepen",
 "grootadmiraal", "gruppenführer", "guerilla", "guerrilla",
 "guerrillastrijders", "handgranaat", "handgranaten", "hauptdienstleiter",
 "hauptmann", "herfstmanoeuvres", "hinderlaag", "hongerstaking",
 "hoofdinspecteur", "ikeeroorlogfederatie", "indrukwekkendheid",
 "infanterie", "infanteriegeschut", "infanterieregiment", "infanterist",
 "infanteristen", "infanterle", "infiltranten", "infiltrerende",
 "inlichtingen", "inlichtingenstation", "invasie", "invasiepoging",
 "jachtvlieger", "jachtvliegers", "jachtvliegtuig", "jachtvliegtuigen",
 "jeugdslorm", "jeugdstorm", "jeugdstormers", "journalistenkamp", "kanon",
 "kanonloop", "kanonneerboot", "kanonnen", "kanonnier", "kanonniers",
 "kapitanleutnant", "karavaanleider", "kazerne", "kazernes", "kernkoppen",
 "kolonei", "kolonel", "kolonisatie", "kolonisten", "kommandant", "kommandeur",
 "konvooi", "konvooien", "korporaal", "korps", "kriegsberichter", "kriegsmarine",
 "krijgertje", "krijgsdans", "krijgsgevangen", "krijgsgevangenen",
 "krijgsgevangenenkamp", "krijgsgevangenschap", "krijgsmacht",
 "krijgsoperatie", "krijgsoperaties", "krijgsraad", "krijgsscholen",
 "krijgsverrichtingen", "kruistocht", "kuststrijdkrachten", "lanceerbasis",
 "lanceerbuis", "landgraafse", "landmacht", "landstorm", "landstrijdkrachten",
 "landstrom", "landweerman", "leger", "legeraanvoerder", "legeraanvoerders",
 "legerafdeeling", "legerafdeelingen", "legercommandant", "legercorps",
 "legerkamp", "legerkeuken", "legerleiding", "legermanoeuvres",

"legeroefeningen", "legers", "legervliegtuig", "legervliegtuigen", "legioen",
 "leiders", "lichamen", "lijfwatch", "loopgraaf", "loopgraven", "luchtaanval",
 "luchtaanvallen", "luchtafweer", "luchtafweerbatterij", "luchtafweergeschut",
 "luchtafweerpost", "luchtafweerstelling", "luchtalarm",
 "luchtbeschermingsdienst", "luchtbeschermingsoefening",
 "luchtbeschermingsoefeningen", "luchtbeschermingstentoonstelling",
 "luchtbombardementen", "lucht doelartillerie", "lucht doelgeschut",
 "luchtgevaar", "luchtgevechten", "luchtmacht", "luchtmachtbasis",
 "luchtmanoeuvres", "luchtstrijdkrachten", "luchtvaartafdeeling",
 "luchtverdediging", "luchtvloot", "luchtwacht", "luchtwapen", "luehtwapen",
 "luftgaukcommando", "luftwaffe", "luftwaffen", "luitenant", "luitenantgeneraal",
 "maarschalk", "maarschalksstaf", "machinegeweer", "machinegeweerneest",
 "machinegeweerneesten", "machinegeweerpost", "machinegeweerposten",
 "machinegeweerstelling", "machinegeweren", "machtswisseling", "majesteit",
 "majoor", "major", "majors", "manoeuvre", "manoeuvreeerenden", "manoeuvres",
 "manschappen", "marcheerde", "marcheeren", "marcheert", "marcheren", "marine",
 "marinebatterij", "marinehaven", "marineofficieren", "marinepersoneel",
 "marineschip", "marinestaf", "marinesteunpunt", "marinevaartuig",
 "marinevoorlichtingsdienst", "marinier", "mariniers", "marinierskazerne",
 "maroeuvretocht", "massagraf", "mayor", "mensenlevens", "mensenleven",
 "mensenlevens", "mijnenlegger", "mijnenveger", "mijnenvegers", "mijnenvelden",
 "mijnenzoekers", "mijnversperring", "militair", "militaire", "militairen",
 "militante", "military", "militie", "milities", "mitrailleur",
 "mitrailleurpost", "mitrailleurs", "moddergreppels", "molotov", "molotow",
 "moordaanslag", "moordenaars", "munitie", "munitiedrager", "munitietransport",
 "neergeschoten", "neutronenbom", "noodlijdende", "noodlijdenden",
 "nootlottige", "obcrgrouppenführer", "oberfeldwebel", "obergruppennführer",
 "obergruppennführer", "obergruppennführer", "oberleutnant", "oberst",
 "oberstleutnant", "obersturmführer", "oberwachtmeister", "observatiepoot",
 "observatiepost", "oceaanstootner", "oceaanvlieger", "officier", "officieren",
 "officierencorps", "omgekomen", "omkwamen", "omsingelingsgevechten",
 "omsingelingsslag", "onafhankelijkheid", "onderdrukken", "onderdrukking",
 "onderofficier", "onderofficieren", "onderzeeboot", "onderzeebooten",
 "onderzeeboten", "onderzeeër", "onderzeeërs", "onrust", "ontvlucht",
 "ontvluchten", "ontwapening", "ontwapeningsconferentie", "oorlogsbodem",
 oorlog", "oorlogsbericht", "oorlogsbo", "oorlogsbodem", "oorlogsbodems",
 "oorlogsbuit", "oorlogschip", "oorlogscorr", "oorlogse", "oorlogservaringen",
 "oorlogsflottielje", "oorlogsfronten", "oorlogsgewonden",
 "oorlogshandelingen", "oorlogshaven", "oorlogsindustrie",
 "oorlogsindustrieën", "oorlogsinvaliden", "oorlogsjaren", "oorlogsmarine",
 "oorlogsmateriaal", "oorlogsmisdadigers", "oorlogsmonument",
 "oorlogsschepen", "oorlogsschilder", "oorlogsschip", "oorlogstijd",
 "oorlogstooneel", "oorlogstuig", "oorlogsverdienste", "oorlogsverslaggever",
 "oorlogsverslaggevers", "oorlogsvliegers", "oorlogsvloot",

"strijdmiddelen", "strijdtoneel", "strijdtooneel", "strijdwagen",
 "stukabommen", "sturmbannführer", "sturmführer", "tankgeschut", "terreur",
 "terreuraanvallen", "terrorisme", "terroristen", "terroristische",
 "terugtocht", "terugtochtswegen", "tommies", "torpedo", "torpedoboot",
 "torpedobooten", "torpedobootjager", "torpedobootjagers", "torpedojager",
 "torpedojagers", "torpedotreffers", "traangas", "traangasgranaten",
 "tribunaal", "troepen", "troepenmacht", "troepenparade", "troepenrevue",
 "troepenscheiding", "troepentransport", "troepentransportschip",
 "troepenverzorging", "trommelvuur", "troubelle", "truppen", "truppenbetreuung",
 "uitgezonden", "untersturmführer", "valschermjagers", "valschermtroepen",
 "vechtwagens", "veiligheidsagenten", "veiligheidsdienst",
 "veiligheidsmaatregelen", "veldgendarmerie", "veldgeschut", "veldmaarschaik",
 "veldmaarschalk", "veldmaarscholk", "veldslag", "veldstellingen", "veldtocht",
 "veldwacht", "veldwachter", "verbindingsofficier", "verdedigingsgordel",
 "verdedigingslinie", "verdedigingssysteem", "verdedigingswerken",
 "verkenningstocht", "verkenningstroep", "verkenningsvliegtuig",
 "verkenningsvlucht", "vermoorden", "vernietigingsslag",
 "vernietigingstroepen", "verzet", "verzetssrijder", "verzetssrijders",
 "verzetten", "vestinggordel", "vijandelijke", "vlammenwerpers", "vliegbasis",
 "vliegercorps", "vliegtuigbom", "vliegtuigbommen", "vlootbasis",
 "vlootconferentie", "vlootconiereiitie", "vlooteenheden", "vlootmanoeuvres",
 "vlootovereenkomst", "vlootschouw", "vlootsteunpunt", "vlootvoogd",
 "vlotgesleept", "vluchteling", "vluchtelingen", "voorpostenbooten",
 "vredescongres", "vredesmacht", "vredesonderhandelingen",
 "vrijwilligerslegioen", "vrouwenvredeskamp", "vuurpijlen", "vuurwapen",
 "waarnemingspost", "wachtmeester", "wachtpost", "wachtposten", "wappe",
 "wapen", "waffie", "wanhopig", "wanhopige", "wapen", "wapenaar",
 "wapenbroederschap", "wapenen", "wapenmagazijnen", "wapens", "wapenschouw",
 "wapenstilstand", "wapenstilstanddag", "wapenstilstandsday", "weermacht",
 "weermachtbericht", "weermachtsberichten", "weermachtsbevelhebber",
 "wehrmacht", "wehrmachts", "wehrmachtsbefehlshaber", "wehrmachtsheim",
 "wereldoorlog", "woestijnfront", "woestijnoorlog", "wolchowfront", "zeemacht",
 "zeestrijdkrachten", "zwaargewonde"

Wordlist Victim related (excluded from previous conflict list), Chapter 1

"slachtoffers", "slachtoffer", "gewonden", "gewonde", "vermoord",
 "vermoorde", "getroffene", "dood", "doden", "omgekomen",
 "stoffelijk", "stoffelijke",

Wordlist unique not evident words, Chapter 1

"aanslag", "aanslagen", "actievoerders", "afgeslacht", "afschrikwekkend",
 "aftocht", "aktiegroep", "attachés", "apartheid", "artillerieduel",

"atoomboom", "aunvullingstroepen", "autobom", "avondklok", "barricade",
 "bedriegelijke", "beestachtige", "bekogeld", "bepantserde", "bestorming",
 "betogende", "betoging", "betooging", "betoogsters", "bevrijd", "beweging
 tegen apartheid", "bezetters", "binnengerukt", "bloedige", "bloedige
 botsingen", "bloedige onlusten", "bloedigen", "bom", "bomaanslag",
 "bomaanslagen", "bomalarms", "bombardement", "bombardementen",
 "bombardementsvliegtuig", "bommen", "bommenterreur", "bommenwerper",
 "bommenwerpers", "bomontploffingen", "brancard", "brandpunt",
 "brisantgranaten", "burgerkrijg", "burgeroorlog", "burgerslachtoffer",
 "burgerwacht", "catapultvliegtuig", "cavalerie", "cavaleristen",
 "commandokamp", "concentratiekamp", "croydon", "de aanvallen", "de slag",
 "debacle", "defensie", "detachement", "dictatuur", "dienstpjiichtigen",
 "divisie", "doelwit van", "doorboord", "driemanschap", "droeve", "droeve
 uittocht", "duikbooten", "eere-wacht", "egervliegtuigen", "evacuatie",
 "executie", "extremisien", "extremisme", "fascisten", "fascistische",
 "fokkerbommenwerper", "fokkervliegtuig", "frauenschaft ", "front",
 "fronten", "fundamentalisten", "fuseliers", "gasaanval",
 "gasbeschermingsschool", "gasmasker", "gebombardeerd", "gecxeutcerd",
 "gemaskerde", "genietroepen", "gepantserde", "gepleegd", "geraakt",
 "gerichte beweging", "geschoten", "gestationneerd", "geteisterd",
 "gevangenenkamp", "gevangenkamp", "gevecht", "gevechten",
 "gevechtstvliegtuig", "gevechtswagen", "gewapend", "gewapende",
 "gewelddadige", "gewelddigeslachting", "geëxecuteerde", "geïnstalleerd",
 "gijzeldrama", "golf van geweld", "granaat", "granaten", "grenadiers",
 "grenstroepen", "grimmig", "grondgebied", "gruwel", "guerrilleros",
 "gummiknuppel", "gummiknuppels", "heimwehr", "herfstmanoeuvres",
 "herfstmanoeuvres", "het verzet", "hongerprotest", "identificeren",
 "imperialisme", "in de aanslag", "incident", "infanterie", "infiltratie",
 "invasie", "kampement", "kernonderzeeër", "kernproef", "kernwapens",
 "kolonisatie", "kolonisten", "kompagnio", "krijgers", "krijgsgevangenen",
 "krijgsheren", "krijgsplannetje", "krijgsraad", "krijgsvrouw",
 "kruistocht", "lafhartige", "landingsdivisie", "landstorm", "leger",
 "legeraanvoerder", "legeraanvoerders", "legermutaties", "legertanks",
 "legertruck", "legertrucks", "legervliegtuigen", "lichamen", "lijfwatch",
 "loopgraven", "lucht-duel", "luchtaanval", "luchtaanvallen",
 "luchtbeschermingsdienst", "luchtvloot", "machinegeweren",
 "manoeuvreeën", "marcheeren", "mariniersbaas", "marsen", "marteling",
 "martelingen", "maskeeren", "meedogenloze", "metgezel", "militaire
 controle", "militairisten", "militarisme", "milities", "militär",
 "mitrailleur", "mobilisatie", "moeder-schutter", "moordtuig", "munitie",
 "munitievondst", "nationalistische leger", "navo", "nederzetting",
 "negersoldaat", "onderdrukte", "ondergrondsche", "onderofficieren",
 "onderzeeboot", "onderzeebootjager", "onderzeeërs", "ongeregeldheden",
 "onlusten", "onrust", "onschadelijk maken", "ontmanteld", "ontsnappen",

"ontsteltenis", "ontwapening", "ontwapeningsaktie", "onvermoeid",
 "oorlogsbodem", "oorlogsbotooglng", "oorlogsdoden", "oorlogsinvaliden",
 "oorlogsmateriaal", "oorlogsmisdadige", "oorlogsmisdadigers",
 "oorlogsschepen", "oorlogsschip", "oorlogsspel", "oorlogsterrein",
 "oorlogsverklaring", "oorlogsvoorbereiding", "op wacht", "operaties",
 "opmarsch", "opperbevelhebber", "opperhoofden", "oproer", "oproerpolitie",
 "opstand", "opstandelingen", "opstandige", "opstandigheid", "optocht",
 "optrekken", "opvoeren", "ordonnans", "overgegeven", "overlevende",
 "overrompeld", "paniek", "pantserauto", "pantserauto's", "pantserwagens",
 "patrouilleeren", "pontonniers", "pontonniers", "prikkelraad",
 "prikkelraadversperringen", "projectiel", "protestdemonstraties",
 "provocaties", "provokatie", "puinhoopen", "puinhopen", "putsch",
 "quarantaine", "racisme", "raketten", "ravage", "rebellen",
 "reddingsbrigade", "regeeringstroepen", "regeringstroepen", "relletjes",
 "repatriëring", "restanten", "revolutionnaire", "rondvliegende stukken",
 "roode oproer", "roode terreur", "rukken op", "rumoerige", "rumoerige
 avond", "rücksweer", "samenscholing", "schermutselingen",
 "scherpschutters", "schietstoel", "schreven", "schutters", "separatisten",
 "separatistische", "slachtoffertje", "slagschepen", "slagveld",
 "sovereinen", "sovjet-leger", "splinters", "spoedhuwelijken",
 "staatsgreep", "starfighter", "straaljader", "straaljager",
 "straatgevechten", "straf", "strijdkrachten", "strijdwagen",
 "studentenonlusten", "te pletter geslagen", "te schieten",
 "tegenstanders", "teistert", "terroristen", "terugtocht", "toenemende
 geweld", "toestand", "toestellen", "tommies", "torpedobooten",
 "traangasbommen", "treurende", "trieste", "troebelen", "troep", "troepen",
 "troepenbewegingen", "troepeninspectie", "uitgerust", "uitgezonden",
 "uitzondellngstoestand", "vaderland wuivend", "valscherp", "vechten",
 "veldbedden", "veldleger", "veldmaarschalk", "veldmaarschlk", "veldslag",
 "veldwachter", "vemielsingwapén", "verdedigingslinie", "verdedigixgmsie",
 "verdwaalden", "vergeldingsmoord", "verkeningsptrouille", "verniëld",
 "vernietiging", "verrader", "verschansen zich", "verwoeste", "verwoeste
 woning", "verzet-actie", "verzorgen van gewonden", "vijand",
 "vijandelijke", "vijandelikheden", "vliegenier", "vliegekamp",
 "vliegmaachines", "vliegtocht", "vloot", "vlooteskader", "vlootmanoeuvres",
 "vlootmanoeuvres", "vluchtelingenstroom", "vluchtelingetjes",
 "vluchtkelder", "voorfront", "vredesarbeid", "vredesonderhandelingen",
 "vrouwelijke soldaten", "vuist", "vuurgevecht", "vuurpijlen", "wachtmes",
 "wanhoop en verwarring", "wapendepot", "wapenstilstand",
 "wapenstilstandsday", "wapenstilstandsverdrag", "wintermanoeuvres",
 "wraakneming", "wrakstukken", "zandzakbarricades", "zuurstofapparaten",
 "zwaarbewapende", "zwaargewapende"

Wordlist for domestic action, Chapter 4, with a strong focus on cleaning:

"afwassen", "boenen", "de was", "douchen", "drogen gehangen", "kleren hangen", "kuisen", "ondergoed", "onderhoud der kleding", "poetsen", "schoonmaken", "schrobben", "spoelen", "te drogen", "vegen", "vuile was", "wasbeurt", "waschdag", "waschgoed", "wasdag", "wasgoed", "waslijn", "wasmachine", "wassen", "zeep",

An exclusion word list was applied to the conflict-related word list and unique-word list to filter out unrelated or ambiguous terms, particularly those that are not explicitly indicative of conflict.

#STRIPS & Illustrations

"flippie", "koning hollewijn", "heer bommel", "appie happy", "dikkie", "jopie", "stadsbcsuur", "film", "de verkoopster:", "atlantis", "flint van de vliegende", "mevrouw pieterse", "bikker", "mikkie", "teddybeer", "rufus en flok", "walter e connie", "paul vlaanderen", "hollwijn", "portret van een dame aan 't venster", "wilhelm woitf", "claudia alba", "oeneraal jansen", "zoo", "gesprekken in ballingschap", "gerhart hauptmann", "oeneraal", "john bull", "de gestolen scepter", "mijnneer dansen", "bewaakt", "reverend spardock", "le mcsg", "morhange", "jan soldaat", "tekenaar", "9k ben", "illepinoc", "gasstal", "harm en hella", "pssst...", "poppenkast", "voor de kinderen", "strik en stropdas", "hotze sjonger", "de wereld in caricatuur", "humorist", "wonderlijke avonturen", "hevige dandy", "de kunst van niezen", "pimmie pimmel", "vervelende zeurpiet", "twee wanhopige duikers", "jan hurken in de ton", "jumbo", "rob en ans", "zegt ans", "roept rob", "een avontuur van domme zwartvlek", "troelstra", "rob's jongste avonturen", "fietser is geen", "overdenking", "stroppie", "smollett", "panda en", "flash gordon", "flash gokoon", "lash gordon", "smidje verholen", "leo tolstoi", "andries brandt", "hollewijn", "krans gelegd", "jimmie", "frits", "kabouter", "elfje myra", "tarzan", "mikkie", "de dieren-jamboree", "graf", "janus", "otto", "ontdekkingstochten van", "gazettino hlustrato", "wind zijn krachten", "olifant", "hollewijn", "generaal hoetentoeter", "de kruistocht van kapitein rijkers", "panda en de meesterlijfwacht", "annie m.g. schmidt", "duimelaar", "wat is er aan de hand", "als het warm is aan het strand", "brand te oss", "petit parisien", "japie hollander", "pietje pluis", "jantje joppe", "nadruk vetboden", "tijs wijs", "de torenwachter", "vliegende brigade", "de kazerne der toekomst", "wiet je en joop", "wietje en joop", "kleine pom", "kroniek van grondel", "lex overeynder", "ambtenaresje", "wanhopig echtgenoot", "niet knoeien", "beleefde onbekende", "daladier", "met pieter jan in afrika", "onze illustraties", "gehoongheid", "piloot storm", "luistervinken",

"drein drentel en piet prikkel", "de negerhut van oom tom", "koning hollweijn", "marten toonder", "eddy lamers gered", "joris valckenier", "joris valckemer", "de ramp overleefd heeft", "joe pyne", "teekening", "baron kneut", "mutt en jeff", "de wereld in de caricatuur", "vader leest voor", "wanhopige klant", "dansende braadpan", "wanhopig man", "cipter", "de noodlottige tonreis van dolf dreumelmans en tinuske van tienem", "spillebeen", "sopje", "rob en de schatgravers", "de parachute landt", "ab's avonturen", "de verre reis van wanne reikel", "caricaturist", "mijnheer huygens", "het oude kerstliedje", "stompie werft een leger", "de week in caricatuur", "radiator", "wie zijn er vandaag jarig", "horatius verlicht zijn pantser", "carlo krijgsgevangen", "stompie vindt carlo", "kleine smarten met het vaderland", "juup en plop", "de nieuwe woning van de poes", "huiswerk maken", "een andere wilde hond", "stompie", "stomple", "iturbi's verjaardag", "een vleek op zijn smoking", "mut en jef", "olivier's wensch wordt vervuld", "een rookwolkje", "gorilla", "bericht van spion", "de zeven punten van duys", "gazzettino illustrato", "een toovenaar met glas", "de avonturen van profje en struisje", "de vlucht door de woestijn", "de papierkorf van den kampioen-scherpschutter", "toontje van teuten, de millionnair", "jeff cobb", "rob de avonturier", "aboe hassan", "rob's nieuws avonturen", "een lening met voorwaarden", "kniekruiper is overtuigd", "een kleine vergissing", "de gebroeders gochem", "dringend radiotelegram", "euwe achter het stuur", "duitsland wil koloniën", "het groene oog van baa", "rob's jongste avonturen", "miepsie is brutaal", "op de verkeerde plaats", "een eend op avontuur", "van vrijheid tot slavernij", "paul vlaandeban", "vier petjes", "de geschiedenis van een toverleerling", "brick", "kufus en flok", "eric de noorman de valse koning", "ternationale soonlijkheden", "professor zegellak", "actrice", "flint van de vliegendes brigade", "cor ruys in acht van zijn onvergetelijke glansrollen", "eufus en flok", "flint van de vliedende brigade", "opstanding", "koning holelwijn", "tommie de soldaat", "inspecteur knerpslijper", "de geschiedenis van de raket", "koning hollewijn", "eric de noorman", "joris vaeckenier", "walter en connie", "janssen", "kangoeroe moeilijk te vangen", "drie kleine kleutertjes", "carlo krijgsgevangen", "de lotgevallen van snuffelgraag en knagelijntje", "juup en plop", "juffrouw van der zee", "een andere wilde hond", "pieter, de wind en de reuzenwaterfiets", "bamboetrap", "koeboe de koe", "vips maken strip bij expositie",

#Sport

"doelpunten", "psv", "ajax", "bal", "doelman", "concours", "sehaaktournooi", "sport", "sport2", "feijenoord", "doelwachter", "schaaktournooi", "doelverdediger", "athletiekbond", "athletiekdag", "athletiekwedstrijden", "athletiek", "voetbalwedstrijd", "voetbalveld",

"voetbalfans", "ijshockeyer", "feyenoord", "turnen", "meerkamp",
"strafschopgebied", "schaakvereniging", "kwalificatie", "formule",
"wedstrijd", "ajax-aanhangers", "kampioenschap", "spoorbaan", "wielrenner",
"atletico madrid", "coureur", "finish", "marathon", "wereldrecord", "tour
de france", "uit het parcours", "wielrijder", "wielerbaan",
"wereldkampioen", "hardlopen", "autorenner", "golfspeler", "doelpunt",
"fraaie voorzet", "tennis", "keeper", "zwembond", "pleiziervaartuigen",
"kerstmis 1927", "visschers", "renbaan te monza", "wereldsnelheidsrecord",
"paardenrennen", "racebaan", "kano", "davis cup", "olympiade", "bobslede",
"zwem-enthousiasten", "jachtrit", "club manchester", "vissers", "golfclub",
"wedstryd", "trainer", "olympia", "jacht", "finales te wimbledon",
"paardenrace", "vlinderslag", "gestarte renners", "circuit",
"simultaanschaaktoernee", "zweminrichtingen", "acrobaten", "olympische",
"winterspelen", "figuurzwemmen", "zwembad", "voetbalploeg",

#Culture

"theater", "alpenfilm", "mode", "zijde", "modeontwerper", "beton",
"betonbouw", "circus", "filmacteurs", "leger des heils", "alaaf",
"carnaval", "regisseur", "opera", "parade", "monument", "herstellingsoord",
"modeshow", "kermis", "toeristen", "rockgroep", "karregat", "acteur",
"scene uit", "dagboek", "zanger", "vuurwerk", "modieuze primeur", "sauna",
"schrijfster", "theater", "dansgroepen", "damesmodezaak", "schrijver",
"muzikant", "kamermuziek", "lezing", "orkest", "ruiterfeest",
"brandweerdemonstraties", "krans", "tentoonstelling", "denkende hond",
"regisseur", "opera", "standbeeld", "show", "ponymarkt", "paal geheid",
"hoedenfabrikant", "runderhoorns", "huurwetten", "verjaardag",
"gasfabriek", "concert", "ploegtractor", "kleermaker", "poolreiziger",
"bouwvalligheid", "festiviteiten", "na de oorlog", "oefening",
"winteroefening", "doodsbed", "aardbeving", "drooggekomen polder",
"watersnoodslachtoffers", "slooping", "watersnood", "gepensioneerde",
"bijlmer", "urne", "opening", "gasfabriek", "inbrekers",
"diamantslijperij", "nobel", "zuidpooexpeditie", "badgasten", "bestormd
door en belangstellenden", "siemens", "wereldtentoonstelling",
"toonkunstenaarsband", "openingsrede", "beeldhouwwerken", "gedenksteen",
"motorsproeimachine", "slootenreinigingsmachine", "riolen", "trambotsing",
"brandweertentoonstelling", "gymasten", "zeeroovers",
"motorsproelmachines", "schokken", "diamond", "ongeval", "redden van
drenkelingen", "noordpoolreis", "leggen van een kabel",
"oorlogsgedenkteken", "kunstvoorwerpen", "schilder", "augurkenoogst",
"hevigen brand", "textiel", "windhoos", "pruisenverkiezingen", "veilig
verkeer", "wereldtentoonstelling", "aeroclub", "rijksbankgebouw",
"stormweer", "walvischvaarder",

"gouverneur generaal", "onze nieuwe ministers", "planken", "onze nieuwe regeering", "vacantie", "feesten te orange", "gedenkteeken", "wind en water", "zomerverblijf", "luchtrace", "bandieten", "amsterdams nieuwe gemeenteraad", "kweekschool", "bijgezet", "autofabriek", "niagarawaterval", "veerbootramp", "herdenking", "ministersploeg", "straatventers", "koopjesjagers", "jarige", "kentekenplaten", "nobelprijs", "rioleringsmonteurs", "kunstwerk", "bloemenhulde", "vliegkamp", "bloemenpracht", "bouwkraan gekanteld", "kiwanisleden", "show", "daklozen", "frontale botsing", "piano te water", "uit stadskanaal", "geldroof", "onder sneeuw bedolven", "de nieuwe ploeg", "kettingbotsing", "pony", "kinderboeken", "inbreker", "boom weg te halen", "standbeeld", "bezoek aan zimbabwe", "inbrekers", "monarch", "zeehond", "dagjesmensen", "bevrijd automobilist", "grasmaaimachines", "terdoodveroordeelde", "zwemvesten", "hevige brand", "walrus", "oude ziekte", "gevaarlijke verkeerssituatie", "houten gevels", "bank overvallen", "invasie van duitse sterren", "overvaller", "lichtmast", "verkeersongeval", "ontploffing tankwagen", "miss universe", "sneeuwruimen", "bankrovers", "gebarentaal", "tax free", "javakade botste", "ijs in beweging", "auto tegen boom", "waterscooter", "reconstructie moord", "barettenaaffaire", "zingen", "ramp met veerboot", "misdaad", "drieling", "dubbelmoord", "veilig verkeer", "huzaar met eikeblad", "topindustriëlen", "havik", "in nieuwe uniformen", "schieten met woorden", "geruchtmakende proces", "flats ingestort", "waterwolf", "spookachtig", "dierentuin",

Extra Filtering for Victim word list

#Natuur

"overstromingen", "overstroomingsgebied", "overstroom", "stormramp", "watersnoodramp", "overstroomd", "aardbeving", "overstrooming", "regenval", "regenbui", "bliksem", "natuurgeweld", "zware storm", "windstoten", "zondvloed", "zeebeving", "bosbrand", "springvloed", "brandende zon", "vogelpest", "bijenvolkeren", "geiten", "hagelbuien", "natuur verwoest", "tyfoon", "aardbevingsramp", "modderramp", "gladheid", "gewonde zwaan", "wervelstorm", "modderramp", "hittegolf", "aardverschuivingen", "modderstromen", "vissterfte", "watersnood", "muggenplaag", "muggen", "schorpioen", "vulkaan", "stieren", "eendenkuiken", "lammetje", "noodweer", "puppies", "orkaan", "chimpansee", "paddestoelen kweken", "kat", "dolfijnen", "mist en nevel", "olievogels", "cycloon", "windkracht", "grondverzakking", "stier", "wild zwijn", "maanvis", "aardschok", "pitbull", "schapen", "buitjes", "tornado", "krokodillenhuiden", "aardverschuiving", "straathonden", "egels", "wespennest", "moessonregens", "spreeuwenplaag", "walvissen",

"hondje", "zeehonden", "hondsdelte", "overstroming", "ooievaar",
 "soortgenoot", "stroming", "modderlawines", "ijzel", "tijger", "gorilla",
 "alligator", "stormen woeden", "valkenier", "lawine", "droogte", "paarden
 op hol", "vogelklas", "muizenplaag", "poes overleeft", "reusachtige
 golven", "reebokje", "zware mist", "zwanen", "stevige wind",
 "dierenverzorgster", "van de hitte", "sneeuwstorm", "slagregens",
 "weeskonijn", "plantenslierten", "bisamratten", "kalkoen", "comet stort
 neer", "vloedgolf", "vier eilanden", "natuurramp", "hier in het
 avondzonnetje", "zomerse dagen", "per dag in kooi", "eiland bhola",
 "vloedgolven", "vlucht voor het water", "bello, herdershond", "door de
 storm", "de mist", "zeehond", "windhoos", "hevige storm", "voortbewegende
 ijs", "aapjes", "gans", "ijsschotsen", "kruiende ijs", "takkenbossen",
 "mosselen", "fruitplukkers", "kapdemonstratie", "vruchtbomen", "landerijen
 blank", "door het ijs", "fruitboomen", "druk van de sneeuw", "de sneeuw
 bezwijken", "prnl", "weggezakt in de sneeuw", "een wak", "beer", "slang",
 "drooglegging", "ruitersteeg", "kwelgat", "uitbarstingen", "een
 slachtoffer van den storm", "storm sloeg", "ganzen", "modderbandjir",
 "stuwdam", "mist", "zuidwesterstorm", "uitbarsting", "merapi", "dieren",
 "de warmte", "ratten", "storm ontkapt", "jongsten storm", "zomer is
 gewonden", "stortvloeden", "hevige regens", "de verboden vrucht",
 "koetjepof", "de helling", "voorjaarswindje", "walvisch", "sneeuwlast
 bezwijken", "door den storm", "bijenkoningin", "streng vorst", "onweer",
 "de hitte", "nachttegaal", "boschbranden", "insecten", "plant", "rivier een
 nieuwen loop", "machtige golf", "klein riviértje", "doode zee",
 "luipaard", "menselijke vlieg", "etna", "droogmaking", "noordwester
 storm", "waar de storm", "dijk dreigt", "golven", "stormschaad",
 "boschwachter", "doodgevroren", "diepe water", "kwakkelwinter", "prachtige
 zomersche dag", "woei een boom om", "zeekoet", "hoog water",
 "vruchtboomen", "storm druk", "slachtoffer van het water",
 "najaarsstormen", "aardbevinoscatastrophe", "dijkdoorbraak", "lavastroom",
 "de doorbraak in maastricht", "druivenpluk", "stormwind", "dykën", "knieën
 in liet water", "water tood", "aardstorting", "oneindige watervlakte",
 "binnendijk", "grachten dempen", "regenstorm", "gletsjerramp",
 "hondenweer", "bergwand", "zeemeeuwen", "magnolia", "aardbetfing", "bomen
 sneuvelen", "iepenbevolking", "ijsschots", "hevigen wind", "laatsten
 storm", "ijs", "de storm van", "over stroomingen", "sneeuwruimen", "winter
 ontvlucht", "zilvervisch", "der stroomen", "ondergelopen", "verrassenden
 vloed", "gewonde reuzenvogel", "doorbraakramp", "veenbranden",
 "slechtvalk", "storm woedt", "noodpoolgeest", "stormgeweld", "vliegen
 gedood", "stroomde het water", "groote honden", "wolkbreuk",
 "najaarsstorm", "afgeknapt boom", "afsluiting der zuiderzee",
 "ansjovischvangst", "na den storm", "van den storm", "aarde
 wegzakt", "rotswand", "vee omgekomen", "president koosevolt te mlaml",
 "boschbrand", "klauwzeerepidemie", "windhond", "voorjaarsstormen",

"oceanstormen", "zwaan", "paddestoelen", "tropische weer", "zonnige weer", "landverschuiving", "konijntje", "de vogel", "seizoenen", "aanzienlijke watermassa", "nachtvorst", "vogels", "fikse storm", "dolle koe", "bijen", "motorzaagmaniak velt bomen", "hondewacht", "sneeuwkunst", "zwarte regen", "fruitboom", "vos in stockholm", "tiber slaat toe", "merkwaardigen beuk", "van den stoem", "ruines van hakodote", "sombere weer", "vulkaan", "moulin-sous-fléron", "het gruis", "wervelwind", "champignonkwekers", "appel", "van de storm", "welpen", "spaarvarkens", "bezwijkt onder sneeuw", "sneeuwval", "watervloed", "graanschaarste", "mammoettand", "vossen", "siberische winter", "de ramp in perzië", "de storm richtte vannacht", "streng winter", "rode pimperl", "storm die de oostkust", "een hindernis te nemen", "rivier in pauztucket", "branding steeds dieper in het zand", "trein inreed", "lava", "vruchtenbongerds", "haar doode hout afgeworpen", "bessenplukkers", "meervisscherij", "voorjaarswandeling", "wintersch landschap", "dooode vredesduif", "motten niet doden", "herfststormen", "lievelingspaard", "eik en duinen", "mooiste alleeeën van nederland", "een storm grote schade", "lawin bedolven", "statige eiken", "strijd tegen het water", "ongunstige weer", "het neerstorten werden de bossen", "gunstige weer blijft aanhouden", "wil het dier niet doden", "lokeenden", "voorst tot voorst", "hevigcn storm", "alle zwijnen", "aapieskoetsiers", "jonge reebok", "slechts drie paarden", "meteoor sloeg", "omgeving geheel onder water", "laagje sneeuw", "meteoor ontploft", "de storm heeft", "van den dooi", "zee eischt slachtoffers", "storm over engeland", "wat eens een auto was", "het drama te echt", "zwijnenjacht", "wervelstorm", "beroemde bloedhonden", "rundvee", "wind bezwaken", "waterwild", "hagelslag", "haasjes", "koe die bij slager",

#Misdaad

"juweelenroover", "rover", "zakkenroller", "misdaad", "dieven", "misdadigers", "inbrekers", "inbreker", "brandstichting", "vandalisme", "criminele", "opstanding", "gevangenis", "bankrover", "gesmokkelde", "schietincident", "hennepplantage", "seriemoordenaar", "gestolen", "rooftocht", "verdoofd", "verslaafden", "uitbraakpoging", "illegale watertank", "verdachte", "vermoedelijk aangestoken", "pottenkijker", "medeplichtigheid", "roofovervaller", "rummelsburggevangenenis", "mishandeling van", "drugoverlast", "dreigement aan paus", "rechercheurs", "steekpartij", "schietpartij", "illegaal vuurwerk", "overvallers", "autodief", "gekapseide cruiseschip", "smokkelen", "drugshandelaren", "vermoorde bediende", "gekapseide", "criminaliteit", "bankbediende", "man dreigt kind te doden", "moordpartij", "vermoorde collega", "beroofd en vermoord", "wurging", "motief voor de moorden", "executie van de moordenaar", "opsporing", "overdosis", "vergeldingsmoord", "overvaller", "drugsdeal", "motief roof", "typhoon", "ruzie tussen de gevangenen",

"kelner overleden na mishandeling", "overval", "in een privé zwembad",
 "bejaarde sluipschutter", "een'tmotief", "kaapster", "ringen geroofd",
 "laffe moordenaar", "smokkelauto", "maskerdrager", "rukwind",
 "speurdercamera", "politeke moord", "moordzaak", "beklimmen der alpen",
 "twist met een ambtenaar", "smokkelaars", "vrouwenroof", "ambtenaar
 doodgeschoten", "hutkoffer", "moordenaar", "koningsmoord", "een
 moordaanslag", "moord te bennekom", "dubbele moord", "misdadiger",
 "bejaarde man gedood", "moordenaar in den muur", "schurk", "bandiet", "aan
 een overtreding hadden", "achtervolging", "stroopersdrama", "minnaar",
 "slachtoffer in de koffer", "rechter doodschoot", "grootmoeder
 doodgeschoten", "vermoorde filiaalhouder", "agent hebben doodgeschoten",
 "hebben opgegeten", "dijk", "septemberhitte", "menscheneters", "moord op",
 "moordjomtif", "een twist gedood", "vermoorde graaf", "dorp wautm",
 "vreeselijken moord", "berooving", "winkelroof", "vechtpartij",
 "chantage", "werd hij vermoord", "gedood werd", "patiënt doodgeschoten",
 "een moord was gepleegd", "de lucht laten vliegen", "afschuwelijke moord
 gekeurd", "moord te naaldwijk", "van den moord te berghe", "een bom door
 het venster", "kaper", "de doodgeschoten president", "afschuwelijken
 moordaanslag", "den moord te bergen", "aanslag op roosevelt", "de
 moordaanslag te muiden", "muiters morden", "gewonde muiters", "de
 mouterij", "ernstige moordaanslag", "brandstichters", "overbrenging van
 maarschalk", "gestoorde man", "schutter overmeesterd", "woning van de
 dader", "vindplaats", "ontvoering en afpersing", "buurman aan honden
 gevoerd", "handboeien", "moord uit medelijden", "wordt door zijn vader van
 het politiebureau", "in het wilde weg", "vermoorde geleerde", "plundering",
 "lijk in kelder", "uitgemoord gezin", "wapenzoekactie", "vliegtuigkaping",
 "indringer met een jachtgeweer", "plaats van moord", "wagen werd
 geroofd", "heroïne", "zuster van joenblatt vermoord", "ex-student doodt
 twee professoren", "daders ontmaskerde", "moordwapen", "moordaanslag in
 scène", "zaterdag vermoorde mevrouw", "sluipschutter britse militairen
 onder", "buit slechts", "familie met een geweer uitgemoord", "winkelhulp
 vermoord", "invallers gedood", "hermetisch gesloten kluis", "de twee
 getuigen", "sluipschutters en de politie", "bewaking voor bank",
 "slachtoffer van haat", "rechercheur buigt zich", "gangster beschoten",
 "hamburg een politieman doodgeschoten", "kinderen werden vermoord", "van
 de recherche", "kaappoging", "lugubere vondst", "emaskerd en beschermd met
 rubberhandschoenen", "lijken opgehaald van de", "politie onderzoekt",
 "waarin baum werd doodgeschoten", "door hun vader gedood", "sprake is van
 moord", "door hun vader werden doodgeschoten", "amokmaker napoleon",
 "roovershand", "in sticht brand", "daarna neergeslagen", "sabotagedaad",
 "goudtrein gestolen", "de moord in de bickerstraat", "22 mensen
 vermoordde", "eerste moord in '75",

#Sport

"doelpunten", "winnaar", "psv", "ajax", "bal", "doelman", "spelers",
"concours", "sport", "sport2", "feijenoord", "doelwachter",
"schaaktournooi", "sportdag", "athletiekbond",
"athletiekdag", "athletiekwedstrijden", "athletiek", "voetbalwedstrijd",
"voetbalveld", "voetbalfans", "supporters", "skiliften", "ijshockeyer",
"feyenoord", "turnen", "meerkamp", "strafschopgebied", "schaakvereniging",
"kwalificatie", "formule", "wedstrijd", "ajax-aanhangers",
"kampioenschap", "drama op spoorbaan", "wielrenner", "atletico madrid",
"coureur", "florettoernooi", "van de startbaan", "finish", "marathon",
"wereldrecord", "tour de france", "uit het parcours",
"wielrijder", "rijwielplaatje", "wielerbaan", "wereldkampioen",
"hardlopen", "autorenner", "nogmaals een poging", "ruth nieholls",
"kabelbaan", "tribune", "woeste oceaan", "kopgroep", "gescoord",
"golfspeler", "doelpunt", "fraaie voorzet", "tennis", "oceanvlieger",
"kerstmis 1927", "visschers", "na het duel", "renbaan te monza",
"wereldsnelheidsrecord", "paardenrennen", "paard silvertail", "vielen
talrijke paarden", "hazenjacht", "aal-steken", "olympiade", "bobslede",
"zwem-enthousiasten", "davis cup", "bij het skiën", "club manchester",
"vissers", "golfclub", "wedstryd", "trainer", "finales te wimbledon",
"paardenrace", "vlinderslag", "gestarte renners", "olympia",
"simultaanschaaktoernee", "zweminrichtingen", "valpartij", "racewagen",
"keeper", "bus slipt", "een duik", "acrobaten", "olympische", "engelse
jockey", "scheidsrechter", "oceaan over te gaan roeien",
"bobsleeweastnjaen", "recordjacht bij", "speerworp", "exkampioen
worstelen", "winterspelen", "duikt met eën sierlijken", "zwembasiin",
"racebaan", "ruiter axel holst", "kano",

#Ongeluken

"stoomketel", "verongelukte", "poorwegcatastrophe", "spoorwegramp",
"vliegkamp", "autoweg versperd", "geborgten uit het wrak", "gasexplosie",
"ongeluk" "aanrijding", "ongeval", "verkeersongeluk", "aanvaring",
"busongeluk", "treinongeluk", "airbus", "explosie van gas",
"vliegtuigbrand", "verkeersongevallen", "container-aanhangwagen",
"overreden", "auto geëxplodeerd", "ketteringsbotsing", "treinramp",
"botsing", "avondspits", "kraanmachinist", "auto gelanceerd",
"tankwagons", "spoorwegongeluk", "slooppand", "ochtendspits",
"verkeersongeval", "scheepsongeluk", "dierenambulance", "kantelde",
"kantelde", "woningbrand", "bijlmerramp" "olieramp", "overweg",
"schoolbus onder trein", "brand eiste het leven", "uitslaande brand",
"sporen van geweld", "gasleiding", "ehbo", "brandwondencentrum", "gedood
bij werkzaamheden", "brandweerlieden", "speurwerk", "dodelijke brand",

"omgekomen alpinisten", "koeien ontvluchten vuurzee", "rampauto", "stort van brug", "bijlmer", "uit het raam", "auto schept", "uitgejouwd", "dollemansrit", "vervoerbedrijf", "ontspoord", "rampoefening", "oorzaak van de brand", "middenberm", "recherchepersoneel", "over de kop", "vliegtuigramp", "gewonde man", "gasontploffing", "botste", "gaspijpleidingen", "brug begeeft het", "vallende stelling", "ramp bij", "reanimatiepoging", "man bekneeld", "instortingsramp", "de auto waarin", "in brand vloog", "tsjernobyl", "brand te blussen", "verdrongen", "vastgelopen", "brand te bestrijden", "ramp-nachtclub", "reddingswerkzaamheden", "auto te water", "veerboot zinkt", "mambrug", "kerktoren ingestort", "geramd door een vrachtwagen", "rampvlucht", "provinciale weg", "op leven en dood", "chemicaliën ontplofte", "gifvaten", "surinaamse luchtramp", "tyson", "fout geparkeerd", "vrachtvliegtuig met motorpech", "rampboot", "verkeersdoden", "slm-doden", "flatgebouw stort", "discotheque escape", "bestelauto", "treirisurfen", "brand uitgebroken", "gaslek", "busramp", "auto geschept", "dakotawrak", "brand in", "brand gesticht", "autogordel", "boeing 707", "auto's vernield", "gasramp", "stuntteam", "ramp tijdens luchtshow", "chemicaliëntanker", "stookolie-slachtoffers", "onstporing", "chemicalientanker", "fietser", "duik in de bietenakker", "giftige stoffen geladen schip", "hotel af gebrand", "belandde de caravan in", "olievervuiling", "gijzeling", "parkeerplaats", "winkelcentrum in as", "verkeersknooppunt", "treinontsporing", "nucleair-afvalschip", "intercity experimental", "chemische fabriek", "boeing", "chemiebedrijf", "zombiebus", "continental express", "nederlandse bus", "mijnwerkers", "zwaailichten", "verkeersdrempel", "onbemande locomotieven", "wegwijzer", "magnetische trein", "olieraffinaderij een opslagtank", "zuidafrikaanse vliegtuig", "hersenschudding", "automobilist", "luifel valt", "vangrail", "flat van zes verdiepingen instortte", "aluminium reddingsslee", "wolframoniakgas", "hotelbrand", "nodig gesloopt moeten worden", "tram rijdt huis binnen", "butagas", "gipsvluchttoestel", "van de weg afgeraakt", "brand verwoest conferentieoord", "stuntman", "gladde weg", "hekken belemmeren vlucht", "onder het ijs", "stuntsprong", "amok op veerboot", "auto gesleept", "valt van paard", "kabels geknapt", "vuurzee in wagenloods", "dambreuk", "gelanceerde auto", "american airlines", "van de weg geraakt", "van de weg afraakte", "luchtramp", "brand raffinaderij", "columbian airlines", "dak stort in", "gekapseid", "vliegtuig botst", "blauwzuurgas", "uit de rails liepen", "kijker voor rook", "scheepsramp", "miljoenenbrand", "auto onder trein", "veewagen slaat om", "prooi der vlammen", "rampwijk", "brand kruitfabriek", "mijnramp", "vermoedelijk door gas", "koe in berging", "vliegtuig een schuur", "motor ging in vlammen", "spoorbrug over de warmonder", "giframp", "bus onder trein", "gas-explosie", "na haar verdwijning", "brand brak uit", "gasknal", "brug kapot", "vlam in de frituurpan", "personenauto", "noodlanding", "van de

baan raakte", "over het stuur", "oorzaak gekanteld", "brandpreventie",
 "ontploffte speedboot", "bayer-fabriek", "ramp met pont", "franse
 supertanker betelgeuse", "gezonken tanker", "bouwterrein", "booreiland",
 "spookrijdster", "twee gezinnen dakloos", "op weg gestrand", "de berm",
 "congresgebouw stortte", "vliegtuig stort op woonwijk", "energy
 concentration", "wolkenkrabber in brand", "breekt blokkade vissers",
 "motorraces", "explosie op een booreiland", "de oorzaak is nog",
 "schiphol-spoorwegtunnel", "in de krottenwijk amadora", "buspassagiers",
 "bus door een trein", "ayrshire", "ontploffing thaise wapenfabriek",
 "bayer ag in leverkussen", "bouwkraan viel", "vrachtwagen door
 brugleuning", "brak het. landingsgestel af", "verkeersmoloeh", "de wagen
 geslingerd", "gereedstaande ambulance", "toestoel vloog in brand",
 "japanse kust een zware ontploffing", "ruiters liep ernstige
 verwondingen", "uit de rails", "landing met gat in romp", "tramwagen
 verbrande", "met grote snelheid van de weg", "zwrstoetank explodeert", "de
 ramp overleefden", "landingsgestel af", "in een sloot terecht",
 "neergestort in een bos", "slachtoffers van het verkeer", "kabelbaan
 losschoot", "brand aan de steiger", "auto van de omgekomen", "vliegtuig op
 een boerderij", "koelschip", "slachtoffer ver het verkeer", "new bork
 binnengsleept", "bejaarden bij brand", "luchthaven fiumicino", "het
 staartstuk van", "van gent bezweek", "op elkaar gereden", "vliegt uig
 ongel uk", "saluutschoten", "vliegtuig ongedeed", "twee auto's met volle
 snelheid", "op onze wegen", "ramp met de artemis", "trolleybussen",
 "defect aan de remmen", "avoniuren van ioon okkernoot",
 "acetyleneegasfles", "door onveilig signaal", "in de tram", "een pas
 gebouwd muurtje", "rpoorttaal breuk", "schols en gruyters", "neerstortende
 muur", "uit de bocht", "ramp met de tudor", "eenvoudig viltten kapje",
 "kruitfabriek", "xijn in vlammen opgegaan", "volendam weer bewoonbaar",
 "overlevenden van tankschip", "passagiersschip", "ramp te zaltbommel",
 "door een trein gegrepen", "sleepboot werd geramd", "ijsselmeerbooten",
 "nachtelijke ontploffing in haagsche straat.", "landingsgestel klemde",
 "getorpedeerde tankschip", "barcelona in brand geraakte en zonk",
 "bestuurster", "vrachtauto inreed", "explosie tot zinken gebrachte",
 "bakfiets", "onzen wagen uit te graven", "gezonken noorsche stoomschip",
 "studentencorpormties", "het verkeer ernstig gestagneerd", "opvarenden",
 "slechte situatie op de wegen", "overlevenden van de „sliedrecht“",
 "ambulanceauto met aanhangwagen", "het weggedragen slachtoffer", "madrid
 stortte een", "stikstoffabriek", "vuurproef volgt", "piloot henderson,
 neergestort.", "ketelontplonffing", "sneltrein", "gederailleerd",
 "haventje bij koblenz", "mijnexplosie", "ramp in de mijn", "het
 stoomschip", "alsdorf", "overlijden te rome", "autobusverkeer", "tegen een
 tram", "de zeppelin aan een tractor", "itanic", "ramp te alsdorf", "de
 ramp te columbus", "de andrée expeditie", "onstuimige reis", "wanhopig
 hoof", "staatsmiinen", "machinist koning", "hongersnood in china",

"ketelontploffing", "motorboot", "ramp van de r", "r 101", "aangereden",
 "medereizigers", "volte taart", "werklui door een om", "met zijn vliegtuig
 naar beneden gestort", "vliegmachine vandelijk", "defect", "duitsch
 vrachtvliegtuig", "reergestort", "roofmoord", "particulier vliegtuig", "de
 ramp te lyon", "zijn leven op het spel gezet", "offerdahl", "het gebroken
 stuurrad", "brug ingestort", "de piloot werd gewond", "auto beklemd",
 "vliegmaschinen raakten in elkaar", "kolenopslagplantsen", "verwoesting van
 het klooster", "kolenvelden ten doode", "catasfrophe der 11", "gezichtsba
 drog", "twee wanhopige", "verzakking van de spoorlijn", "in de lucht
 vloog", "dat zal afgebroken", "huis stort in krater", "vliegtuig stortte
 op flatwoning", "gecontroleerd", "patronenfabriek", "medepassagier",
 "geramd", "bestuurder werd gedood", "geluid van de ontploffing", "zware
 brand teistert", "een onderzoek in", "watermolens", "omgevallen muur",
 "tegen een boom", "neeßgestort", "geweldige ontploffing", "stortte een
 vliegboot", "gewond gezelschap", "muurinstorting", "oude kerk gezonken",
 "marktkramen ingestort", "beschadigde locomotieven", "sloeg door", "de
 ramp van de leeuwerik", "chloorgastank-explosie", "gevaar langs de weg",
 "van zijn snelheid", "plotselingen dood", "wrak van den auto", "zware
 schutting", "passagier gewond", "drenkelingen", "personen in de vlammen",
 "autocar met veertien", "noodbruggen", "ramp van den express",
 "ontploffingsramp", "derailleurde", "schie gaat verdwijnen",
 "expresstrein", "door den trein gegrepen", "brandcatastrofe", "vreeselijke
 explosieramp", "kapitale boerderij", "te vallen", "dam",
 "spoorwegongeluk", "weigeren der remmen", "instorting te diemen", "de
 goede reis op de doode te paard", "tramwagen", "verkeersvliegtuig",
 "bezweek, stortte", "staatsmijnen", "door de lucht", "kampplaats",
 "gevecht voor new yorks stadhuis", "sloopen ingestort", "medepassagiers",
 "watervliegtuig stortte", "falls view bridge", "glen marttnvliegtuig",
 "woeker", "meegesleurd", "autobus", "explosie kagerplassen", "tegen
 elkaar gebotst", "noord italië bezweek", "sneitrein algiers", "gevangene
 ontvlucht", "ontploffing aan boord", "brand te gorkum", "verwoesting in
 gemeentegebouwen", "ondergelopen", "nieuwste opname", "drierootorige
 fokkar", "te asten is weer", "verwoestte het vuur de hoeve", "franschen
 aviateur maneyrol", "dood vlieger", "auto op den ridder", "auto
 bestuurd", "verkeersverbetering", "allernoodzakelpste", "litvaart", "de
 fiets van", "stoffelijk overschot van den ex", "stad ging in vlammen op",
 "centurion", "fabrieksbrand", "gasreservoir", "trein stortte in", "oudjes
 naar het hospitaal", "instorten van hun huisje", "vliegongeluk bij
 beuningen", "tramongeluk", "reddingsdemonstraties", "veilig verkeer",
 "toerist", "bij de landing geheel vernield", "goederentrein op elkaar",
 "overschot van een vliegtuig", "mijnongeluk", "chemlsrlie fabriek",
 "motorongeluk", "drama te putbroek", "betrouwbaarheid der brug", "ongeluk
 met een kraan", "goederentrein stort van", "reed en zwaar beschadigd
 werd", "instorting in de vaticaanse", "motor met zijspan", "hoe de brand

ontstond", "beschonken", "een breuk in", "luke auto", "gas-ejxplosie",
 "vrachtauto in volts vaart", "ongeluk", "ontploffing", "in het water
 terechtgekomen", "anderhalve ton ingestort", "wagen uit het huis", "auto
 sneuvelde", "geweldige explosie", "locomotief", "beruchte weg",
 "sleepschip", "overblijfselen van het vliegtuig", "gegrepen door",
 "vrachtauto met tractor", "zandstormen", "oostenrijkschen bondskanselier",
 "geen voorrang", "zand rondom het schip", "noodlottige wijze", "reed tegen
 drie", "stortte een", "vliegtuigje", "geschoten op auto", "stoomleiding",
 "ramde auto", "machtpiloot", "busje", "valpartijen", "daklanding", "hevige
 explosie", "kerkje van radstadt", "treinmachinist", "trein ontsporen",
 "toerwagen", "uit de mijn", "treinen botsen", "rampmiin", "autowrak", "gas
 ontplofte", "was ingereden", "wurgpaal", "barbara wilson", "paard was
 gevallen", "verkeerd geladen", "weigeren van de remmen", "rampschip",
 "gaswolk", "pijpenlegger", "toen de bus", "e-express", "lading stalen
 buizen", "benidorm door brand", "met snijbranders", "vroeg een hevige
 brand gewoed", "twee tankers met", "wetenschappelijke expeditie", "in de
 evacuatie-boot,", "wagen slipte", "gevaarlijke kruispunt", "kaaïman",
 "passagierstreinen", "grote brand heeft het plaatsje" "blikken staat
 water", "motorrijder", "een andere trein", "vrachtschip", "schoolschip",
 "kinderen in vlammen omgekomen", "in een ravijn stortte", "het beaver-
 vliegtuig", "snelverkeer", "opvarende", "tegen een fabrieksschoorsteen",
 "waren ingereden", "opvarende van", "te water reed", "volle vaart van", "
 aan den grond liep", "een ontplofting geschied", "mvngasontptofftitg",
 "gashouder", "brand aan boord", "twee treinen", "locomotlei", "te land
 kwam op het dak", "moment van duizeligheid", "den brand op de", "tram
 gegrepen", "terecht gekomen op", "met zulk een kracht", "olie-explosie",
 "gekraak instortte", "om naar den wal gebracht", "vallend gesteente
 bedolven", "van den storm stukgeslagen", "volle vaart ontsppord", "ernstig
 gewonde monteur", "de waal eischt", "rijtuigen telescopeerden",
 "sigarenkistenfabriek", "ingestorte muren bedolven", "hulde aan een
 redder", "toestel werd", "zeilvliegtuig neergestort", "oceaan over te
 vliegen", "zwaar beschadigde auto", "zichzelf getorpedeerd", "botting",
 "neerstortte", "ontztlunde explosie", "tusschen het geboomte",
 "olietanks", "inzittenden werden eruit geslingerd", "raceauto", "een
 heilige ontplof", "de tram begrepen", "ramp te gronlnircn", "parys
 neergestort", "spoorwgonueluk", "besweek de brug", "kanaal neergestorte
 vliegtuig", "woning tot slachtoffer", "over den kop geslagen",
 "werkzaamheden ingestort", "den verdronk", "sarottifabrieken", "naar
 beneden stortte", "brand te vaassen", "het dak van den open", "een
 noodlottige", "boerderij afgebrand", "arbeiders gedood",
 "wagenbestuurder", "van een brug gestort", "volle vaart tegen",
 "brugleuning sloeg", "ontsporing", "door het instorten", "chamberlain
 gewond", "oorzaak onbekend", "tragische dood", "verkeerscatastrophe",
 "inzittenden zwaar gewond", "an stapel loopen", "met een vaart", "fellen

brand te berlijn", "verband werd", "negen fransche vliegtuigen",
 "waarschijnlijk is omgekomen", "slachtoffers van de auto", "draden van een
 elektrische leiding", "sluisdeur omgevallen", "bedolven werden", "door een
 val van zijn paard", "bocht er afgeslirigerd", "trampassagiers",
 "catastrofe in engeland", "werd direct gedood", "wordt door een kraan", "7
 étages instortte", "door dn vrachtwagen", "ten auto op eenige", "van de
 instorting", "wezep brandde in den nacht", "een; auto tegen", "ernstige
 brand gewoed in het huis", "bij instorting zwaar gewond",
 "instortingramp", "in nood verkrerende personen", "verbrande café",
 "noodlottige aanrijding", "in volle vaart door", "bruginstorting bij
 essen", "loods ingestort", "vliegtuig na de ramp", "brug over de ems
 gestort", "drie slachtoffers van de ramp", "omslaan van de sleepboot
 bona", "stortte het dak van een hal", "berkel plotseling naar beneden",
 "geschikt landingsterrein", "pakhuis door overbelasting", "de ramp van de
 promethée", "engelsche tankboot", "engebch tankboot", "rtannerauto",
 "overschot van wijlen mfjr", "groep te redden", "dooden bij instorting",
 "landbouwchuren door brand", "graanpakhuis", "ramp met het
 opleidingsschip", "luke-auto in aanraking", "zwaar gehavende schip",
 "neereeslort en gedood", "treinhamp", "sprookjesachtige", "aanrijdingen",
 "oceananvlucht", "in elkaar gestorte resten", "een ernstige brand",
 "slachtoffers niet meer kon bereiken", "gestort en omgekomen", "het
 versperde weggedeelte", "aviatrice miss doreen", "petroleum-opslagplaats",
 "ramspoedigen trein", "perceel aan de daendelstraat", "mijncatastrophe",
 "ruïne van het hotel", "mijncatastrophe", "verloren bij een fellen brand",
 "gedood bij auto-oingeluk", "expressetrein", "ontzettende explosie
 plaatsgehad", "goederentrein in een ajgrona", "handelsvliegtuig stortte
 neer", "houten trein", "snelste ter wereld", "bevoegde leiding van de",
 "ramp met het amerikaansche luchtschip", "van auto kracht", "veenbrand",
 "reusachtigen brand verwondingen", "zullen moeten verdwijnen", "stalen
 wagons van", "vreesde voor zijn leven", "vuurramp in japan", "gewelf boven
 het orgel ingestort", "brandcatastrophe", "te pletter", "instorting van
 een huls", "bij vergissing", "tankwagens en negen", "chauffeurs raakten
 gewond", "benzinebrand", "overvaren door een duwboot", "xplosie onder
 flatgebouw", "neenstorten van het flatgebouw", "vrachtwagen neemt duik",
 "neergestorte toestel", "zinkende schip in hun", "in brand was gevlogen",
 "dak robotfabriek stort in", "helikopter neergestort", "zweefvlieger
 omgekomen", "aanrijding voor", "truk ramt brug", "de bijrijder van",
 "slippartij", "gebroken vliegtuig", "brug zakt in", "vuurzee in
 winkelcomplex", "brand eist acht levens", "explosie verwoest huis", "auto
 rijdt huis omve", "in tweeën gebroken", "raket ontploft bij test",
 "smurrie op de weg", "flat als kaartenhuis ingestort", "is gestrand",
 "explosie in de trein", "het dak naar beneden", "verkeer 123 doden",
 "toesiel in drieën gebroken", "vliegtuig in ravijn", "tegen een
 spoorwegviaduct aangeknald", "dode bij oliebrand", "plotseling instortte",

"brandende faltgebouw", "val uit de voortrazende trein", "bespreken de brand", "warenhuis in brand", "portiek werd aangetroffen", "benoemd tot ambassadeur", "helicopter door dak", "gewond bij brand", "voor brand gevlucht", "erewacht opgesteld", "jonge fritz boutain", "verkeersslachtoffers", "veerboot loopt vast", "ramptrein", "rampvliegtuig", "verkeersongeval", "bejaardentehuis afgebrand", "onder een auto", "vliegtuig op huizen", "te grote vaart", "ernstige aanraking", "landingsgestel zakte", "rijdende vrachtwagen", "monteurs omkwamen", "vliegtuig op huizen", "tankauto ontploft", "boerderij in as", "locale trein", "trein ramt muur", "hevige brand woedt", "twee auto's op elkaar", "zwaar gewond", "ingestorte huizen", "vluchtwegen afsnijdt", "boerderijtje", "flat van zes etages", "een felle brand", "bruginstorting", "passagier flook", "himalaya", "reusachtigen brand", "bruginstorting in engeland", "bruginstorting", "met den neus op den grond", "zwakke vloeren geslagen", "het hotel in lamsing", "op elkaar in", "aangerichte stoffelijke schade", "verbranden vrachtauto", "ingestorte school", "tot ontploffen", "groote boerderij in vlammen", "houden de erewacht", "afgezet en gisteren doodgeschoten", "op den terugtocht naar het vaderland", "mijnontploffing", "eische weer slachtoffers", "een hevigen brand", "worden aan wal gedragen", "autokerkhof van californië", "engelse trawler", "mijncatastrophs", "overschot wordt den veldheerstoren", "brand op de tanker", "doodlopende straat", "cairo neergestorte", "moskou wordt verwijderd", "negentien bewoner", "trein rijdt blok huizen", "doden op de weg", "vermorzelde een schuurtje", "op het dak", "nieuwste toestel van dit type", "geslipt en na een boom te hebben geraakt", "zware vrachtauto een kruidenierswinkel", "de brand heeft gewoed", "gezinsdrama", "wilt te redden wordt", "slachtoffers van de onlusten", "belgische bus", "weg liggen", "oververmoeid was", "erdiepingen tellend gebouw", "bakkersauto", "op zijn kop terecht kwam", "ondersteboven gegooid", "griekse veerboot", "trein stort in baai", "brancard uit het parlamentsgebouw", "mislukte landing", "in een greppel", "wegenwacht", "kraanwagen van de shell", "reinigingsdienst geëxplodeerd", "kleuter stookt vuurtje", "overvaart kotter", "wet vol gas te water", "ramp te barletta", "auto in locarno", "oliebrand gewoed", "enorme instorting", "kwam een auto van de", "gingen door de vloer", "het stoffelijk overschot van de amerikaanse", "voetgangersbrug", "explosie verwoest fabriek", "ondersteboven ligt", "val van", "rassenrel", "explosie in een springstoffenfabriek", "brug stort in", "brandende torenflat", "kraanwagen op drift", "werklieden kwamen om", "rijnbrug bij koblenz", "gewonde machinist", "bij moskou neergestort", "gisteren door het dak", "half uit het water", "het bergingsschip", "vernieldde wagens", "dodenrit op britse achtbaan", "brug werd te vroeg opgeblazen", "hotel afbrandde", "uitgebrande voertuigen", "een aantal autos", "schreeuwde een man", "gewonde passagiers", "overlevenden krijgen een", "een vrachttoestel",

"ingesloten mensen", "gezin komt om in vlammenzee", "auto gehalveerd",
 "levend verbrand", "verkeerde manoeuvre", "ouderhuis te venray", "brug
 stortte in", "opgehesen wagen", "lijntoestel", "verwoeste haagse pand",
 "goirle binnengereden", "razende schutter", "verkeersdrukte", "bestuurder
 van een personenwagen", "francisco stortte", "bezweken onder druk",
 "felle brand", "gasvlam", "londen heeft verwoest", "ramp in het station
 van lissabon", "van de baan schoot", "terrein van een hoogovenbediijt",
 "rijn tehietstoel gebruik moest", "schip juan ferrer gezonken", "met
 motorstoornis", "viscount neergestort", "etalageruit toploze", "een
 reizigerstrein", "vrachtauto met 200.000 eieren", "geïmproviseerde brug",
 "aanhangwagen van een vrachtwagen", "onder het vallende puin", "in de
 vlammen omgekomen", "onder een stilstaande drachtster", "spoorwagons
 schoten", "kraan op een personenbus", "verdiepingen hoor
 departementsgebouw", "de bouwvallen", "dc-8 stort neer", "auto vouwde zich
 dubbel", "helicopter verplettert", "brand waarbij een moeder", "aanrijding
 op de", "enorme brand gewoed in", "staat lowa omviel", "zijn paard kwamen
 op hun nek", "verzorgingstehuis voor bejaarden uitgebrand", "nog tijdig,
 hoewel gewond", "dood verraste hem in zwembroek", "huis in brand staat",
 "zün raceboo", "die zich hadden verschanst in het howard", "vuurgevecht de
 21-jarige", "tankwagen met propaangas", "zweefvliegers botsen", "van de
 verdrinkingsdood", "oliebrandje", "beschadigde veerpont dolфина", "de
 opdringende vlammen", "gewond toen een vrachtauto", "exprestrein van
 bilbao", "ontploften twee gascilinders", "in de vlammen omkwamen", "zware
 explosie heeft gisteren in", "auto van de brusselse politie", "italiaanse
 jager ontploft", "oorvijs brandt", "doden bij explosie in akio", "gered
 uit zee van vuur", "een aanrijding", "station in luzern afgebrand",
 "volkomen vernielde auto", "aanvaller te ontvluchten", "doden bij
 tankerbrand", "de vrachtwagen met oplegger", "maas reed bij", "vliegtuig
 stort neer in binnenstad van miami", "reed door tot aan het eind van de
 baan", "levensgevaarlijke vlucht", "vlieg boot van de", "tegen de rotsen",
 "vallende schoorsteen", "kind bij brand omgekomen", "culinaire naar
 verkeersperikelen", "leen een vrachtauto", "overbelaste veerpont", "een
 auto hoort niet op de trambaan", "school ingestort", "vloer hield het
 niet", "acht geraakte een auto", "de marconist van de", "de schoorsteen",
 "omgeslagen reddingboot", "ook brand tracht nu", "de blauwe tram",
 "verdiepingen ingestort", "geweldige brand", "metershoge vlammen", "de
 door brand grillig", "begaf de vloer van de bovenste verdieping", "gewond
 bij een spoorweg", "broeken gepast", "bestrijding van een brand", "op
 hoekse pier geworpen", "shannon neergestorte", "londens consulaat
 diplomaat door vriend", "onlangs hongkong teisterde", "nieuwe waterweg",
 "de ramp van de constellation", "trein grijpt auto", "bus was nét te
 laat", "wat er van de trein over is", "gezonken oude vrachtboot", "poging
 om op het vliegveld",

"catastrophale brand", "vliegtuig stortte neer in seattle", "kerkje van truns uitgebrand", "goederentrein tegen een andere goederentrein", "truck met aanhangwagen reed", "bedolven onder een vracht bloemen", "ramp met het motorschip", "op instorten stond", "een mijn ontplofte", "vliegtuig stortte op", "van een tractor", "bij het landen na een", "bootramp op de rivier spree", "op engels dodenschip", "brand een ontzaglijke verwoesting", "verkeer eist drie doden", "belgrado zonk", "ramp op deense scheepswerf", "onbeblachto waakte", "zilveren reliekschrijn", "motorbotter", "chineezenwraak", "drama te opijnen", "gewond bij den brand", "olie-explosie", "van den brand", "bloemen bedekte wagen", "de mseeton worden gedood", "een viaduct ingestort", "slachtoffer van het", "ireweldicen brand", "het viaduct van", "olieschip in brand", "indlanapollg naar liciicilon stortte", "auto-oingeluk", "een kraan om", "is een auto van den", "erwijl tachtig anderen werden", "ernstige brand vijf slachtoffers", "rosehaerty ts vergaan", "arbeiders ernstig gewond", "dorpsbrand", "de ingestorte brug", "van een zuurstofcilinder", "menseben uit brandende halzen", "de muur van het", "kolenmijn eischt", "brand verwoest werden", "zaterdag twee vliegtuigen met", "voortrein ramde", "duitsche zweefvliegers", "de noodlottige brand", "het vergaan van de", "koopvaardijvloot", "beauvais is neergestort", "ernstig ongelug nabij", "fey ernstig gewond", "buitenste stadswa", "ernstig ongeluk", "onveilig verkeer", "spoorwegongeluk", "luchtruim eischt zijn offers", "treinbotsing", "de ramp van de t-1", "ernstig ongeluk", "kampong in brand", "zes personen op straatweg", "van het stoffelijk overschot", "noordpool", "openluehtspel", "limtir la brand", "het gemeentebestuur", "de wachtkamer",

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"kabinetscrisis", "modeshow", "kermis", "restaurant", "toeristen", "reclame", "schoolreünie", "marketing", "jaarwisseling", "prinsjesdag", "geofferd", "circusnummer", "qing ming", "zomercarnaval", "tentoonstelling", "vakantieplan", "stieregevechten", "najaarsmarkt", "openingstoespraak", "kroegeigenaar", "stierenvechter", "eendenfokker", "berenbeurs", "museum boymans", "presentatrice" "café", "circus", "fergie", "doden de tijd", "opgegraven", "kerstvakantie", "schoolbus", "rockgroep", "haags pension", "jonge scouts", "conducteur", "toneelfestival", "lachend publiek", "prostitutiekoning", "gereformeerde kerk van budapest", "bericht van overlijden", "speelkwartier", "familiedrama", "killing fields", "fakkeloptocht", "vpro-programma", "loterij", "karregat", "zwemwater", "pretpark", "minister smit-kroes", "ruimtevaartprogramma", "milieudefensie", "13e eeuw", "museumplein", "rijkswaterstaat", "oudste inwonster", "ruimtevaartshow", "zuidlaardermarkt", "prins charles", "kersebomen", "ruimteveer",

"filmster", "zanger/gitarist", "onderzoeksschip plancius", "waterbed",
 "john en yoko", "michael jackson", "scheepswrak uit 1700", "bemanning van
 de challenger", "de chef is de baas", "waldheim geïnstalleerd", "kapers",
 "ggdmedewerker", "ché guevara", "acteur", "scene uit", "dagboek",
 "zanger", "vreugdevuur", "vuurwerk", "liefdesdrama", "amerikaanse
 restaurant", "fakkelwacht", "staatnaambordje", "modieuze primeur",
 "sauna", "huetteruit", "schrijfster", "bijeenkomst bijgewoond",
 "videospelletjes", "actrice", "rituele duivelsuitdrijving", "foliebaby",
 "aantal cheques", "ten huwelijk", "opgravingen", "theater",
 "kaartverkoop", "dansgroepen", "platenmaatschappijen", "gitaarspel",
 "gala-diner", "aartsbisschop oscar arnulfo", "goudschat", "apotheek van
 het bejaardencentrum", "popgroep", "gcrard harshout", "getuige van
 gesprek", "bevrijdingsvuur", "schepen te bezichtigen", "goochelaars", "de
 heer j. bosma", "koninginnedag", "beëdiging van", "hij: speelt", "motel",
 "damesmodezaak", "pierre laporte", "wereldvoedselcongres", "autocoureur",
 "dario martinus girigori", "president in dallas", "woonvormen", "ruby",
 "kantklossen", "een bezoek gebracht", "schrijver", "kerkhof te huizum",
 "mhtan vlieying", "concertgebouw", "bloemen ontving", "opende de prinses",
 "bezichtigde prinses", "laktputerij", "bezoek aan", "nicole michelin",
 "muzikant", "clubhuis", "monument", "heer getty", "kinderen vinden",
 "huwelijksvoltrekking", "toneelspeler", "eric de noorman", "kamperen",
 "siggy lohmer", "koning Gustaaf", "hamsteraars", "padvindere", "donors",
 "frankenstein", "graanoogst", "grappenmakers", "tooneelspeler",
 "verkeersbrigade", "concerthuis aan de vaart", "grapje", "collectanten",
 "verwisseling", "misverstand aan de grens", "collecte", "kerstmannetjes",
 "bezoeken", "kamermuziek", "najaarsbeurs", "schipbreukelingen",
 "schimmelpenningh", "teraardebesteding", "de stoet passeert het huis",
 "lekkernijen", "cursus", "glasmaken", "scheepvaartschool",
 "bloesemweelde", "kardinaal", "grooten meester", "de lift",
 "autobusbestuurder", "brandde een houten kerk", "rijwielbi",
 "rijwielplaat.ies.", "president van sedan", "ruime salon", "rector van",
 "toonkunstenaar", "bioscoopramp", "het waler", "miss denemarken",
 "patenten", "lijk van koningin victoria", "tombe",
 "zuiderzeevisscherijfpnfnnsfpplinn", "praalwagen", "leeuwenjacht",
 "zweedsche koningin", "cécile sorel", "kerkbrand", "wanhopige vader",
 "wanhoop een vader", "the humorist", "dinsdag plotseling te", "andree",
 "tuindorp", "sterven in china tienduizenden den hongerdood",
 "venetiaansche amsterdam", "koningin van zweden", "goudzoekertin",
 "goudzoeker", "goud", "koningin victoria" "paus pius", "lyautey",
 "woningnood", "ontploffen van kool", "chineesch nieuwjaar",
 "rijwielplaat", "pootretrigers", "graftombe", "festiviteiten", "uit het
 hotel", "tooneelspel van", "van president eber", "parijsche zwervers",
 "bezoekster", "harry piel", "koningin margaretha", "frans hals", "dirk
 tabak", "bezoekt de", "weer een molen", "korenmolen", "lezing", "goudet",

"romantiek", "taxi", "glas cognac", "sloopers", "bakkerij", "slagerij",
 "droogdok", "hobby", "paus", "dronkenschap", "overlijden van primo",
 "prince george", "kerstsmulpartijen", "verdwenen leider", "aratitenaar",
 "een oostersche marskramer.", "elkaar ingereilen", "carabinieri", "moker",
 "stuntrijder", "koningin maud", "goga", "uitwijken voor", "padvindsters",
 "tooneeluitvoeringen", "kruiswoord", "tournee", "stadsschouwburg", "dé
 trevessa", "president barding", "de dochters van den landbouwer",
 "tooristenland", "treinontsproting", "schoeaenfabriek", "sloopwerk",
 "gaai", "prins karel", "zal worden gesloopt", "ingenieur cook",
 "kruitmagazijn", "max opgebaard", "simon bolivar", "mevrouw caili",
 "koningin alexandra", "surber", "pilsodski", "belastingverhogingen",
 "pijnlijke voeten", "les nouvelles galleries", "kinderen gekraakt
 tusschen", "advocaat", "opgebaard in zijn kerk", "tvashington",
 "waschbazen", "rogier vanderhaeghen", "bisdom", "genoeglijk praatje",
 "elkaar ingereilen", "oud-president van paraguay", "oefeningen",
 "verstikking", "inventaris", "bataviaasch genootschap", "warenhuisbrand",
 "maria van roemenië", "koningin maud", "warenhuis naar slachtoffers",
 "politiek", "stoutmoedigheid", "wijnflesch gewonden", "rijwielbelasting",
 "japansch feest", "handelsvertegenwoordiging", "dichter", "boomen",
 "zorgvlied", "poelier", "duitschen ambassade", "het lijk geworpen",
 "autobussen", "een blik in de nieuwe wereld", "ruim baan", "om het leven.
 bracht", "vitry neergestort", "inboedel was slechts laag verzekerd",
 "prins ludwig von bayern", "opbreken", "toeschouwers", "beroemden",
 "gedenk", "kantoren ontvlucht", "paus pius", "brandweercommandant",
 "bascule", "kunstenaars", "kunsthandel", "ruyter gewond", "ontploffing in
 een rijwielfabriek", "stoom heerlijk werd gewond", "vloog echter in
 brand", "auto door tram", "aloude molen", "messenartiest", "danseres",
 "moobdpboes", "muziek", "de watermolen", "demonstratie te wassenaar.",
 "weefindustrie", "stram de wacht bij de kist", "slachtoffers van hun
 plicht", "défileeren", "onderwijs te jubbea", "robert thième", "koningin
 astrid", "willy post en wiel rogers", "overschot van wijlen baron",
 "minister kalff", "bisschoppelijk paleis", "studeervertrek", "berlijns
 bisschop", "meijuffrouw carlstadt", "kunst en letteren", "minister kalff",
 "de beatles", "fietsenstalling gesneuveld", "kleinburgerlijkheid",
 "momenteel opgebaard", "roman", "televisie", "raketproef", "ruimtevaart",
 "concessie", "boulevardpers", "show", "staatsiebezoek", "delgado", "naakt
 onder de wolven", "beëdigde politieagenten", "utrechtse antonio",
 "opvangcentrum", "gijsbertus boel", "buiklanding van f16",
 "persconferentie", "perscentrum", "oorhangers", "oostirn voor auto's",
 "ernst reuter", "musicoloog", "stoffelijk overschot van koningin mary",
 "traditionele", "slachtoffer uit s-gravendeel", "jsiamese tweeling",
 "alföriso fajarda", "kunstavond", "kom, pierre", "het boek", "spelling",
 "voorjaarsschoonmaak", "ritmeester", "aartsbisschop", "bisschop",
 "sarkofaag", "bevrijder van china", "ambassadeur der", "hoofdrol",

"viering", "minister dr", "waterleidingen zijn gesprongen", "feestzaal",
 "pieter de haan", "triomf der beschaving", "laatste paard man", "bekende
 café", "op marktdag", "danszaal", "maria christina", "oogebaard op het
 praalbed", "defileerde", "wickttctctclcke laddert", "opgeworpen geldstuk",
 "drukkerij", "mantra", "paarlen en robijnen", "proces", "staarde
 wanhopig", "berlage", "textielfabriek", "doode meester", "ten doode is
 opgeschreven", "chamonix", "persfotograaf", "kerstmis 1927", "bleekerij",
 "plukken van pluimvee", "molen tracht", "zeven arbeiders vielen", "de tand
 des tijds", "de beste maatjcs", "grieksche gezant", "onder hem wegzonk",
 "de stoet op", "redder van 22 menschenlevens", "petroleum gedrenkte
 costuum", "electrijene gemaal", "nederlandsche molen", "waaghalzerij",
 "decoraties", "schouwburgbrand", "jan toorop", "kruis-demonstratie",
 "altijd correct", "na den slag", "demonstratie op de nenijto",
 "verzekeringsagent", "wanhopige echtgenoot", "roode kruishonden", "leelijke
 gezichten", "roode kruis verschillende demonstraties", "emilio cajwnzo",
 "luie werklooze", "kunstjes", "even vriendelijk kijken", "normalisatie der
 molenbeek", "molorzesdnngsche", "vliegster gedood", "vice-prcsldent van
 den raad van state", "stoffelijk overschot van briand", "kindertehuis",
 "demonstratie in de appëlbergen", "ln het gedrang werden gedood", "doode
 president", "noodlijdende nederlandsche", "gewonden vinger", "begeeft zich
 naar de zitting", "pedro joaquin", "leraardebestelling", "veenkoloniale
 boeren", "bleekneusjes", "baggermolen", "donker beroep", "schipper
 jansen", "die door het crisis", "wanhopige pogingen", "verjaardag",
 "schilderij", "franschen president doumer", "oude pontveer", "onze lezers
 koopen bij onze adverteerders", "paul doumer", "kunsten en wetenschappen",
 "weggejaagde laatste koning", "kofkerk", "strandhoekje", "bezoek gezocht",
 "graaf van lynden van sandenburg", "amusementscentrum", "krantenjongen
 riep", "doodsbed", "tot collega-slachtoffer", "bouwvallig", "tuinders",
 "jeugdige slachtoffers", "noodlijdende studenten", "parasileerend
 familielid", "schipbrug", "tuinder", "winterhulp", "zijn functie
 neerlegt", "laatste tocht", "het vallen moet men leeren", "liefkoozingen",
 "fanatieke menigte", "economische wereldconferentie", "drenkeling te
 redden", "oude molen", "reukwaterfabriek in de lucht", "kom binnen", "vier
 leeraren van eton", "schoot een race", "slagersknecht", "doode koning
 verliet marseille", "dollfuss", "james brady", "weduwe maria van
 joegoslavië", "roemrijkste overwinnim", "biggenmakrt te terborg", "van hun
 beroep", "steekt tot over de ooren", "monster", "der traditie", "liefkoost
 zijn mascotte", "ouderkerk staat ten doode", "plaaggeest", "schoorsteen
 was het laatste", "textielindustrie", "zelfbeschermingsorganisaties", "de
 kerst voorbij", "explosie kosmetikafabriek", "dronken politiemann",
 "museum", "vakantie", "slachter", "kinderwagen volgeladen", "achteruit de
 schroothoop", "welzijnsbeurs", "tuinkast", "drama in vol café", "wou niet
 opstaan", "einde van secte", "miss universe",

"weduwe mussolini", "alarmcentrale", "honger in cambodja", "voor
 raadssel", "liefdesverdriet", "radioprogramma", "koffie", "gebed voor
 doden", "zij ruste in vrede", "josé geerman", "vermoorde procureur",
 "onderscheiden voor moed", "vliegveld kloten", "grootscheepse oefening",
 "kapitein kodriguez", "kajuit zeiljacht", "zilveren kettinkje",
 "machtigste kranen", "trouwfoto", "overschot van de vrouw", "mevrouw
 sprong", "roomschen staatsman", " koning alexander aan boord",
 "honderdduizenden", "laatste eer aan den doode", "vrienden van
 sigaretten", "een minuut stilte", "roquebilliere opnieuw in gevaar",
 "doode koning reist", "druk aan het strand", "mond gilt", "stoffelijke
 welvaart", "liefdadigheid", "koninsrin-moeder", "vao den gemeenteraad",
 "aarde bestelling van", "sacher gesloten", "voor het tannenberg",
 "barthou", "alexander van joego", "corewacht", "albert is omgekomen",
 "geheel witte lrykkoets", "delft binnengedragen", "dancing",
 "vaandeldrager", "overschot houdt", "van het kerkgewel", "naar het paleis
 te brussel", "bekleedde hij een functie", "schichtig paard", "verdwaalde
 auto", "raakte de kluis kwijt", "waar is de vlieger ulm", "laatste reis",
 "opruimen van het wrak van het", "loemoemba", "mevrouw stavisky", "het
 risico van reizen", "noodlottig einde van kabelspoor", "snikkend welkom",
 "portret van koningin emma", "koning keert vaar zijn land terug",
 "financieringsmaatschappijen", "die negen juni is overleden", "in de buik
 geschoten", "initialen van bruno", "vogélvcachtvoorzitter", "pleegmoeder",
 "zuidafrikaanse premier", "vaderlandse politicus",
 "vogclivachtvoorzitter", "uit het parlem entsgebouw", "bloemenhulde",
 "kanselier en oud-premier", "van brunswijk naar delft", "huwelijk",
 "vliegtuig uitgeworpen fakkel", "forensentrein gebotst", "felle brand
 gedood", "boekverkopers", "vrolijke", "vaderschap", "glimlach", "gerrit
 pfrommer", "na eeuwen gevonden", "dominguin", "matadores", "zomerkamp",
 "echtgenote van de omgekomen", "8-jarige monique", "er de tijd mee",
 "slordige karin", "eigenaar van bet kleet", "etalagepop", "gevel blijft
 behouden", "tijdens het bezoek van president nixon", "gian maria volonte",
 " het palcis gedragen", "honger in ancona", "aatste gang van koning
 frederik", "raadselachtige", "aan de hongersnood alsmede", "bevat voor
 prinses marijke", "hamlet", " reislustigen", "praehistorische vondst",
 "bloemen en nog eens bloemen", "shakespeare", "martin luther king",
 "veertienjarige robert kennedy", "landbouwvergif", "gevolg van
 ondervoeding", "hongerende", "kapper", "wanhopig ouderpaar", "overmand
 door emotie in het dorpshuis", "daterende molen", "mevrouw johnson",
 "gewillig slachtoffer", "in de vara", "gisteren drie jaar werd",
 "voorjaarsmoeheid", "neergeslagen buffetjuffrouw", "sleepboten en de vaste
 wal", "amerikaanse vinding", "washington is gehoord", "naar rechts
 chantal", "familie ten hom", "professiefeest", "baby bleef maar huilen",
 "brede grijns", "hoofd boven water", "brande boeken en vernield",
 "overschot van prinses wilhelmina", "een nieuwe krachtcentrale", "lachend

en wuivend loopt", "condoléancebezoek", "sjeik gedood", "uit het paleis
 lange voorhout", "van het sterfhuis naar", "het kinderfonds", "prostitutee
 grietje meijer", "drijvend afval", "varkens op weg geslacht", "cees priem
 gewond", "puzzelactie", "stewardess van panam", "laura allende", "ontwerp
 van ing", "de vredige optocht naar", "doden in het verkeer", "misdeelde
 kind", "voorbeeld voor zijn onderdanen", "femme fatale", "douanebeambten
 in het been", "sluis tóch bezweken", "werd door de deur van president",
 "heropende vrijdagmiddag het hek officieel", "adonis", "tot verboden
 gebied verklaard", "trompettist", "eerste amerikaanse vijfpling",
 "snoeksprong", "westerse journalist", "ellendige hongerdood", "aatste eer
 kwamen bewijzen", "ter dood veroordeeld", "verkiezingsbijeenkomst",
 "volstreckte eenzaamheid", "een hoofdweg en een spoorbaan", "bazaar ten",
 "vliegende schotels", "llnda ciiristian", "spoed politie assistentie",
 "strijd om logger", "kalf op mysterieuze wijze", "junidag samen met haar
 moeder", "buis van het lichtgas lek", "bruid leert lopen", "in diep
 gepeins verzonken", "deze levenservaring aan zijn laak", "kerstgeschenken
 voor de gewonden", "gasverbruik in toom", "als opvolger van", "overschot
 van wijnen", "hongersnood in bengalen", "leven te redden van een koe", "an
 de brand die donderdag", "vlammen en dichte rookwolken sloegen", "geeft
 geschenken aan", "sieraad", "wichclroedclooper", "hiermede ten doode
 opgeschreven", "restaurant van den toren", "ter heruining", "moorddadig
 allure gekregen", "rijksminister goebbels ontving dezer", "examen",
 "baardgroel", "vacantiegangers", "pet i aanwezig bij de aankomst der",
 "architectonisch kunstwerk", "lichtschepen in den mond", "wachtende
 menigte", "een proefrit", "afscheid genomen van den gezant", "geweldige
 be'angsteling", "heer hazenberg wordt", "bejaarde echtpaar verschuure",
 "zomertijd", "george v in westminster", "station wolferton overgebracht",
 "moeder europa", "gloucester en kent en lord harewood", "van wijlen
 edeleer van aken", "aan het gouvernemmentsgebouw", "sandringham houden de
 wacht bij", "terug naar zijn eiland", "roscoe turner", "marionetten",
 "cromvlietkade te rüswijk", "tlifklulir stortte tan", "in haar netelige
 positie", "in gesprek met eenige gewonden", "herinnering aan de
 recordjacht", "dessié binnenge strompeld", "geschenken van den
 rijkscommissaris", "kroonprins bezoekt te rome een bazar", "roger
 salengro", "van zijn beroep", "fotograaf van ipphos", "zeevaartschool",
 "operette", "motorstrandreddingboot", "verkeer in ons land",
 "bewondering", "heer jungschlaeger", "waarvan de restauratie", "ski in
 ski", "zich te bezinnen op", "gokspelen", "tenten en de banken", "david en
 peter goldner uil brighton", "peter goldner", "resten verast van
 minister", "stadhuisramp", "op nieuwjaarsdag ontstond", "vuurproef
 doorstaan", "hoge kerkelijke en wereldlijke", "luisterend naar een",
 "groot orkest", "een onderscheiding", "le ramp van dc constcuation",
 "beeldhouwer", "overlegt met twee gedelegeerden",

"ontheven en gearresteerd", "winterjas haastig aangetrokken", "marcel loubens", "van de constellation", "ontgroeningsfeesten", "wereldvoedseltekort", "vuist op tafel geslagen", "van zijn eigen uitvinding", "wiedbaehdal wordt hersteld", "honger staart uit haar ogen", "knecht van de heer dé leeuw", "zwitserse bondskanselier", "storm van journalisten", "concert wilde", "gladgeschoren", "mevrouw spoor", "kurkdroog op de zolder", "landbouwkundig onderwerp", "oogsten in duitsland", "zweden en zijn adjudant", "tekening van piet", "gewond en gevangen", "tramzondaars", "wereldgezondheids conferentie", "dienst recreatie", "driekoningen", "legeroefeningen", "joe en tony macchiarole", "kerstpakketjes", "house verliet op weg naar", "verzameling griezels", "overschot van gravin de", "egyptische hnlppolitie", "terwijl hij wordt gegroet", "venoeningspoging", "joodse feest", "het reddingswerk heelt gegeven", "nederlandse ambassade te loonden", "van saiulringham house", "ontsnappingspoging toen", "gefloten auto", "het londense kings cross station", "laatste gang van een koning", "heb ie honjjer", "conferentie in amerika", "medina biedt de zusters clemence", "klasgenootjes werd", "bloemenmarkt", "veebandelaren", "paarden getrokken staatsiekaros", "barbaran en collar gedood", "hst gons et valoire", "parfumeriefabriek te londen", "tegenwoordigheid van prins", "amerikaansche luchtschip", "bern overleden koning", "schip had opgehaald", "het alte schloss", "aardbevuia", "en een klein apparaat", "russische hout", "onaangename verrassing", "van de republiek", "vermaarde poolreiziger", "plotseling overleden", "monseigneur nolens is gisteren", "met de eerste gevonden slachtoffers", "welvaartspostzegel", "noodlottige tonreis", "van zijn woning naar", "overschot van mgr", "kostbare sleraden", "slachtoffers van de trawler", "de kuil", "vertraagde postbestelling", "de prins op inspectie", "in de dorpskerk", "de vermaarde poolreiziger", "vervangen door elektrische kracht", "van de sphinx", "van de beminde vorstin", "waarin het stoffelijk overschot van koningin", "hof van internationale justitie", "rioleeringswerken", "hebben de dooden wacht by het stoffelijk", "uitdragen van het stoffelijk overschot", "duizenden nebben", "gelegenheid gesteld te defileeren", "taijouze geestdriflingen", "verjaringsfeest", "regeering vannacht gesneuveld", "een schal van bloemen", "behoefte van het nationaal", "een spoorwegovergang", "ramp van de kwikstaart", "door zijn echtgenootte verpleegd", "aangespoeld lijk den", "catalonisch machthebber", "stoffelijk overschot van zijn vader", "aankomst van het stoffelijk overschot van", "verscheiden van marconi", "ramsay macdonalds", "villa bij driebergen", "wetenschap", "looneelspel", "bond van mobilisatie", "overbrengen van napoleons asch", "arbeidsverdeeling", "een olietank van", "degenslikker", "een sensationelle landing", "puinhoop van de boerderij", "bij den drenkeling", "der koningin in limburg", "waar een moeder en acht i kinderen", "winkelbedienden van een supermarkt", "kinderspel kost 5 mensenlevens",

"student doodt twee professoren", "slachting in pakhuis", "na de slag",
"baby door toilet", "hoogwaardigheidsbekleders", "theater", "alpenfilm",
"mode", "zijde", "modeontwerper", "beton", "betonbouw", "voetbalploeg",
"filmacteurs", "leger des heils", "alaaf", "carnaval", "regisseur"
"opera", "parade", "monument", "herstellingsoord", "een oostersche
marskramer", "postzakken",

#health

"longziekte", "longkanker", "aids", "soa", "gymnastiek",
"lichaamsoefeningen", "giftgasseö", "van honger omgekomen", "griepaanval",
"griep", "ouderdomsverschijnselen", "papegaaienziekte", "dementeer",
"iepziekte", "papeoaaie.vziekte", "geheimzinnige ziekte", "onverdedigbare
praktijken", "bestrijding van kanker", "d3pziekte", "gedood te worden",
"vereniging opgericht om hun belangen", "himmel7.iekte",
"roodvonkbestrijding", "ernstis ziek", "hartkwaal", "einde aan zijn leven
maakte", "operatie niet had overleefd", "zelfmoord verijdeld", "hartpomp",
"herpes encephalitis", "cholera", "medische hulp", "anne uit ziekenhuis",
"gevolg van deze ziekte", "brandwonden aan hoofd en handen", "hand
gewond", "overgebracht naar het ziekenhuis", "doden van geestespatiënten",
"zere rug hebben", "archieffoto van de overleden meins", "pokkengeval",
"kankerpatiënt", "levensgevaarlijk had", "twee weken hebben verpleegd",
"zestig inenting", "tegen de pokken", "medikamenten heeft", "op
ziekenbezoek", "verschrikkelijke polio", "psychiatrische inrichting",
"typhusepidemie", "zocht in het hospitaal", "koning george gisteravond
is", "ernstige bloedziekte", "bloedplasma", "evecht om ziek", "spieren van
haar armen opnieuw gebruiken", "waarmee hij afgelegen patiënten bezoekt",
"penicillin kuur", "mycosis", "indische slaapziekte", "waal ten grave
gedraagen", "laschapparaat uit elkaar gesprongen", "de lepziekte", "kiekte
van", "na de oorlog", "oefening", "winteroefening",

"faillissement", "zeep-oorlog", "kaasoorlog", "werkloosheid", "shopping",
"penningmeester", "rampslachtoffers", "brand uitbrak", "stembus",
"bestuurscrisis", "spijsolieschandaal", "wetenschappelijke blunder",
"posthume overweging", "breedbeeldwarmtekijker", "pensioentoeckenning",
"tal cheques", "stervende havens", "bezuiniging", "spoorwegautoriteiten",
"advocaten", "rechtbank", "huisvesting der slachtoffers",
"verzekeringssom", "economische crisis", "een hooikist",
"bezuiging", "rechtszitting", "hooger beroep", "de rechter",
"gerechtsgebouw", "varkenswet", "hongaarsche justitie", "londense
effectenbeurs", "normatief van een gezinsbudget", "economische belangen",
"van discriminatie", "gerechtshof in dusseldorf", "tramtarieven",
"minister van i inanciën", "giro 777", "vertegenwoordiger der klm",

"stakende organisatie", "ruïne van een welvarend kleinbedrijf",
"slachtoffer van eigen theorie",

funeral (public, royals ..related)

"uitvaart", "begraven", "belangstelling", "crematie", "begrafenis",
"oosterbegraafplaats", "begraafplaats", "plechtigheden", "kransen",
"plechtige", "rustplaats", "crematorium", "begrafenis", "plechtigheid",
"rouwdienst", "uitvaartmis", "herdenkingsplechtigheden", "herdenken",
"herdenking", "herdenkt", "cemetery", "uitvaartdienst",
"gedenkplaat", "rouwstoet", "ter herinnering", "begraafplaats",
"gedenksteen", "doodenvaart.", "gecremeerd", "gedenkteckeu",
"nagedachtenis", "begraven", "droeve stoet", "standbeeld", "oogenschouw",
"stoet met het", "bijgezet", "laatste eerbewijs", "laatsten groet", "ten
grave gedragen", "laatste groet", "herdacht", "opgebaard", "den schoot der
aarde toevertrouwd", "bijzetting plaats", "op weg naar het kerkhof",
"lijkstoet", "gedefileerd", "défilé", "de rouwwagen", "de bijzetting van
de urn", "in den stoet", "laatste eerbetoon", "het nederlandsche volk
neemt afscheid", "ter aarde besteld", "slippendrager", "bijzetting van",
"konings laatste gang", "condoleantie", "droeve stoet", "werd door een
twaalfstal pachters", "uit den lijkwagen naar",