

Framing Digital Vigilantism in the Context of the Kopschop-Incident in Eindhoven

Student name: Mark Scheffers

Student number: 343571

Supervisor: Daniel Trottier

Master Media, Culture and Society

Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication

Erasmus University Rotterdam

Master Thesis

October 21, 2015

Framing Digital Vigilantism in the Context of the Kopschop-Incident in Eindhoven

Abstract

The aim of this thesis was to understand the concept digital vigilantism better by analysing how this concept was manifested in the dataset regarding the kopschop-incident. This thesis also studied how the incident, the alleged offenders, the victim and the (digital) vigilantes were framed in articles in the Dutch newspaper *De Telegraaf*, which is considered a form of tabloid media and on the Dutch website *GeenStijl.nl*, which is considered to be a blog. This thesis answered the following research question:

How does the social media platform *GeenStijl* and tabloid media in the form of *De Telegraaf* differ in their enactment and representation to digital vigilantism in the case of the kopschop-incident in Eindhoven?

The kopschop-incident refers to the assault by eight alleged offenders on an innocent victim in the city of Eindhoven on January 4, 2013. The CCTV footage of the incident, which included the assault that was released to identify the eight suspects caused moral outrage in Dutch society. This in turn resulted in attempts by digital vigilantes to identify the suspects online using social media platforms. The suspects eventually turned themselves in but received low sentences. According to the judge the suspects were already punished by the excessive media attention and the harassment by vigilantes.

Thematic analysis allowed this thesis to analyse how aspects and patterns of digital vigilantism were manifested in the dataset and how they recurred throughout the dataset. Digital vigilantism was broken down in four themes. These four themes were; moral outrage, the call for identification, the call for justice and distrust in the police. These themes derived from various studies done on digital vigilantism. Cultural embedded framing analysis focussed on the biases of the media platforms and how they emphasised certain aspects of the kopschop-incident and its aftermath in order to construct the story of the kopschop-incident. Five types of frames; values, narratives, myths, archetypes and stereotypes, were used to analyse the dataset. Each type of frame in turn was further conceptualized using various literature.

Results of the analysis showed that *GeenStijl* actively participated in digital vigilantism by openly naming and shaming the suspects with disregards to their privacy. Strong language and threats were used to emphasize *GeenStijl*'s discontent towards the suspects and criticism to the breach of

privacy of the suspects was heavily criticized. The policies and actions by law enforcement were also criticized and the blog showed discontent regarding the low punishments that the offenders received.

De Telegraaf showed a more nuanced and objective tone towards the kopschop-incident. *De Telegraaf* condemned both the actions of the suspects and of the (digital) vigilantes. The newspaper did not use threats and bad language but reminded the audience of the nature of the kopschop-incident and the public outrage that followed. *De Telegraaf* highlighted criticism of the suspects and their lawyers, the victim and public figures regarding the conflicting policies of law enforcement, the privacy infringement of the suspects and the sentences that the offenders received.

KEYWORDS: *Digital Vigilantism, Privacy Infringement, Web 2.0, Cultural Embedded Framing Analysis, Thematic Analysis, Kopschop-Incident, De Telegraaf, GeenStijl.*

Table of contents

1. Introduction.....	6
2. Theory and Previous Research.....	10
2.1 Digital Vigilantism.....	10
2.2 Tabloid Culture and Framing.....	15
2.3 Web 2.0 and Agenda Setting.....	19
3. Research Design.....	23
3.1 Methods.....	23
3.1.1 Qualitative Thematic Analysis.....	23
3.1.2 Qualitative Framing Analysis.....	25
3.2 Data and Data Collection.....	29
3.2.1 Data Collection.....	29
3.2.2 Reliability.....	33
3.2.3 Validity.....	33
4. Analyses and Results.....	36
4.1 GeenStijl.....	36
4.1.1 Digital Vigilantism.....	36
4.1.1.1 Moral Outrage.....	36
4.1.1.2 Call for Justice.....	38
4.1.1.3 Call for Identification.....	40
4.1.1.4 Distrust in the Police.....	41
4.1.2 Framing.....	42
4.1.2.1 Values.....	42
4.1.2.2 Narratives.....	43
4.1.2.3 Myths.....	44
4.1.2.4 Archetypes.....	45
4.1.2.5 Stereotypes.....	47
4.2 <i>De Telegraaf</i>	48
4.2.1 Digital Vigilantism.....	48
4.2.1.1 Moral Outrage.....	48
4.2.1.2 Call for Justice.....	49
4.2.1.3 Call for Identification.....	50
4.2.1.4 Distrust in the Police.....	51
4.2.2 Framing.....	53
4.2.2.1 Values.....	53
4.2.2.2 Narratives.....	54

4.2.2.3	Myths.....	55
4.2.2.4	Archetypes.....	56
4.2.2.5	Stereotypes.....	57
4.3	Summary.....	58
5.	Conclusion and Reflection.....	63
5.1	Conclusion.....	63
5.2	Reflection.....	66
	Literature and References.....	68
	Appendix A: Articles to All Articles Found.....	76
	Appendix B: Coding Schemas.....	84

1. Introduction

Technological changes over the last decades have made it possible to take pictures or videos with smartphones and tablets. Since a lot, if not all, of these devices have the capability to connect to the Internet, it has become much easier to upload pictures or videos from one's smartphone to the Internet (Castells, 2011). Alleged offenders of relatively small acts of asocial behaviour, like parking incorrectly or taking up more space on public transport than one needs, have become more vulnerable to online exposure. People who take offence to these acts of asocial behaviour can take photos and upload them to websites or social media communities that are set up to shame alleged offenders of such acts of asocial behaviour. For example, someone who parks his or her car in an asocial way might be exposed on the Reddit community for badly parked vehicles.

These types of actions by citizens who are annoyed by the behaviour of offenders can be labelled as acts of digital vigilantism. Digital vigilantism can be defined in various ways, such as “a process where citizens are collectively offended by other citizens' activity, and respond through coordinated retaliation” (Trottier, 2014, p. 60). Acts of digital vigilantism are not limited to minor offences, such as incorrect parking, but also include more serious topics like violence and sexual harassment. While vigilante justice itself is not a recent phenomenon, the technological developments that have taken place over the last decades, such as being able to go online on handheld devices that have cameras and the introduction of social platforms focused on sharing visual content and personal information, have introduced the act of vigilantism to the Internet (Marx, 2013). Since this digital form of vigilantism is a relatively new phenomenon, it deserves more attention in academic research.

Acts of digital vigilantism seem to get more media attention in contemporary media (De Vries, 2014). A recent example is the Boston Marathon bombing. After the bombings occurred a community was set up on Reddit where common civilians looked for anyone acting suspicious during the attacks on CCTV footage (Lee, 2013). It should be said that digital vigilantism is not something that only occurs in the United States. The Vancouver riots (Schneider & Trottier, 2012) and the shooting on the Norwegian island of Utøya (Koehler, 2011) are just two examples of crimes outside the United States that have led to an online manhunt for the people who were believed to be involved in the riots or the shooting (Schneider & Trottier, 2012; Koehler, 2011).

Furthermore, digital vigilantism has also occurred in the Netherlands. On January 4, 2013 eight teenagers attacked a twenty-two year old man in Eindhoven, kicking the victim in the head several times while he lay helplessly on the ground. The incident caused moral outrage in both contemporary media, like television and newspapers, but especially in online media (De Vries, 2014). Video footage of the incident, which was recorded by security cameras, quickly appeared online and the case became known as the kopschop-incident (head-kicking incident). The police urged people to identify the offenders and to contact the police if they had any tips that might lead to the arrest of the suspects. Popular Dutch blog sites like GeenStijl encouraged their followers to identify the offenders,

so they could be brought to justice. The alleged offenders were tracked online by civilians who were morally offended by the incidents. This online identification process, which included identifying the offenders and collecting personal data through Facebook and Twitter and posting this information online on blogs for everybody to see, could be labelled as a form of digital vigilantism (Schneider and Trotter, 2012). The identification process and the media attention that the case received caused the main suspect to turn himself in. Other suspects were also brought to trial. The main suspect was sentenced to two years of juvenile detention with six months' probation. What made this case special in the Dutch criminal and legal context were the sentences that the offenders received. The judge argued that there was an infraction of the suspects' privacy due to the media attention and the acts of digital vigilantes and that this in itself was already a form of public punishment, leading to reduced sentences. This sparked the debate about to what extent the privacy of criminal offenders should be respected and if infraction on a suspects' privacy should be considered when coming to a verdict in court (De Vries, 2014). The fact that the judge took the actions of digital vigilantes into account when coming to a verdict shows that studying digital vigilantism and understanding this phenomenon is of great social importance in order to prevent interference in the legal process by (digital) vigilantes in future cases.

Like digital vigilantism, tabloid media is also quick when it comes to naming and shaming alleged offenders (Preston, 2004; Skovsgaard, 2014). In short, where digital vigilantes takes offence to (minor) signs of asocial behaviour and name and shame the alleged offenders of such behaviour, tabloid media names and shames celebrities and politicians for their asocial behaviour (Preston, 2004; Skovsgaard, 2014). A more elaborate comparison between digital vigilantism and tabloid media can be found in chapter two, but it can be said that the link between tabloid media and digital vigilantism is especially interesting because both share the idea of naming and shaming offenders, even though they might be innocent. Since the field of digital vigilantism is still relatively new adding to this field by focusing on the comparison is something that will be done in this research. Due to the limited scope of this master's thesis the choice was made to focus on one specific event, namely the previously mentioned kopschop-incident in Eindhoven. Drawing on information gathered through thematic analysis and cultural embedded framing analysis focused on digital vigilantism of articles concerning this incident in what could be considered a tabloid media outlet as well as an online blog, this thesis aims to answer the following research question:

How do the social media platform GeenStijl and tabloid media in the form of *De Telegraaf* differ in their enactment and representation of digital vigilantism in the case of the kopschop-incident in Eindhoven?

This research used the following sub-questions to elaborate more upon the main concept, digital vigilantism, and to help answer the research question:

- (SQ1) How are components of digital vigilantism represented in articles on the kopschop-incident in articles of *De Telegraaf* and on GeenStijl?
- (SQ2) How are targets and participants of digital vigilantism, in case of the kopschop-incident, framed and represented in *De Telegraaf* and on GeenStijl?

SQ1 will help answer the RQ by studying how the themes that make up the concept of digital vigilantism are manifested in the dataset and whether the media platform is actively involved in acts of digital vigilantism. SQ2 will help answer the RQ by studying how the kopschop-incident, the suspects, the victim and the reactions to the incident are presented in the different form of media, and whether this includes a biased view by the media formats regarding the incident.

This research thus consists of a comparison between the framing of the news in contemporary media, in this case the Dutch sensationalist newspaper *De Telegraaf*, which is considered part of tabloid media as will be argued in chapter three, and the website GeenStijl.nl, which will be used as the online social media platform. An aggressive and sensationalist type of news reporting is something that GeenStijl and *De Telegraaf* have in common. Both media are also criticized for the way they present and report the news. These similar styles of news reporting make it interesting to study if there are any similarities and/or differences in the way both media cover an incident such as the kopschop-incident that occurred in Eindhoven.

The most important concept for this research is digital vigilantism. There is a wide range of irritations, offences, and crimes that can lead to acts of digital vigilantism. This thesis will focus on the incident in Eindhoven as a case study because it is a unique case in a Dutch legal context, as the visibility of the alleged offenders was considered a punishment in itself. Furthermore, it was the first time that the offense itself, captured by CCTV footage, was shown on national television and the Internet, clearly showing the non-blurred faces of the suspects. While the kopschop-incident took place in 2013, GeenStijl.nl continued to be actively involved in showing videos of incidents and assaults since then, asking their members to hunt the alleged offenders down using social media. This shows that digital vigilantism is a recurring theme on this online media platform, a recurring theme that could benefit from more academic attention.

Two other concepts in this research are news framing in contemporary media with emphasis on tabloid media and Web 2.0. These two concepts, along with digital vigilantism, tabloid media, and agenda setting will be elaborated upon in the literature review in chapter two. It is important to mention that the themes that are used to describe digital vigilantism derived from various authors, and were used in analysing digital vigilantism in the dataset, which will be articles from *De Telegraaf* and articles on GeenStijl which covered the kopschop-incident and the aftermath of this incident. The main themes that were included in describing digital vigilantism are; moral outrage, the call for identification, the call for justice, and distrust in the police and law enforcement. For the framing

analysis part of this thesis, this thesis used what Baldwin van Gorp (2010) considers to be the most-used, and most recognizable, types of frames when it comes to framing the news. These frames are; values, narratives, archetypes, myths, and stereotypes. How these themes and types of frames were used in analysing the data will be explained in chapter three.

The aim of this thesis is to explain digital vigilantism by analysing tabloid media, in this thesis represented by *De Telegraaf*, and online media, in this thesis represented by GeenStijl. There will not be a focus on any causal relations between digital vigilantism and tabloid- or online media. In short it can be said that the data was analysed through two types of qualitative analysis. Both thematic analyses and culturally embedded framing analysis are a form of qualitative content analysis with similar coding procedures. Thematic analysis was used to analyse how the various themes that make up the concept of digital vigilantism were manifested in the dataset and if, and how, they recurred in other articles. Qualitative framing analysis was used to study how the story of the kopschop-incident was framed. The focus was on the role of the participants in digital vigilantism, the acts of digital vigilantism, the role of the alleged offenders and the role of the victim. A more extensive and detailed explanation of the methods will be provided in chapter three.

Since digital vigilantism relies on relatively new technology, especially the use of social media platforms, it is important to study how digital vigilantism makes use of these new technologies. It is also important to study what effect the use of technology might have on social issues, like privacy infringement. These social issues will be mentioned in chapter two and privacy infringement will be an important aspect in the analysis. The literature on digital vigilantism in the literature review mostly concerns features of digital vigilantism, advantages and disadvantages of vigilante behaviour, and/or how the features of digital vigilantism appeared in reactions to an incident, as will be shown in chapter two. The lack of literature on how digital vigilantism is framed shows that there is still a need for research on this topic, which is why this study on framing the kopschop-incident and the reactions to the incident is relevant on both a social and scientific level.

This thesis is structured into five chapters. Following this introduction, chapter two describes the theory and previous research. It contains the literature and theories behind the main concepts driving this thesis, namely digital vigilantism, tabloid culture and framing. Web 2.0, and agenda setting are also two concepts that will be addressed for a complete picture or the context of digital vigilantism. Chapter three is the methods and research design chapter. This chapter explains the research design in detail, explaining the chosen forms of analysis, as well as focusing on the data collection, the reliability, and the validity of the research. Following this, chapter four answers the sub-questions through the analyses and results of this study. Finally, chapter five answers the research question and provides a conclusion, while at the same time reflecting on this research project and its accompanying complications, as well as recommending further research in this field.

2. Theory and Previous Research

Digital vigilantism is heavily intertwined with Web 2.0 since this new form of internet usage, as will be argued in the literature review, serves as a platform for digital vigilantism. The expectation was that digital vigilantism and tabloid media shared similar features, such as naming and shaming, as will be explained later on in this chapter. This expectation was based on the sensationalist cover pages of most tabloids and their aggressive style of news reporting. Rectification of tabloid articles is also not uncommon since tabloids are quick to point out the wrongdoing of individual(s), mostly celebrities, and can make claims based on questionable sources (Preston, 2004; Skovsgaard, 2014). This might lead to publishing unfounded or untrue stories that later have to be rectified because innocent people are slandered. This is comparable to wrongfully accused offenders by digital vigilantes.

This thesis divides the concept of digital vigilantism into four themes, based on previous work on this subject by various authors that are used in the analyses of *De Telegraaf* and *GeenStijl*. These four themes are: moral outrage, the call for identification, the call for justice and distrust in the police and law enforcement. These themes are derived from the literature mentioned later on in this chapter.

2.1 Digital Vigilantism

The main concept for this research is digital vigilantism. But what exactly is vigilantism? The act of vigilantism is not new. In the Middle Ages, after a crime occurred, citizens themselves took the initiative to catch the alleged offender (Marx, 2013). The citizens of Venice, for example, could anonymously drop notes in boxes to inform the authorities of someone's misdeeds (Marx, 2013). One important difference between these early examples of vigilantism and the current forms of vigilantism is that in the Middle Ages there was a lack of a professional police force (Marx, 2013). Vigilantes, however, remain active in today's world, despite the presence of a professional police force (Marx, 2013). Vigilantism consists of six features (Johnston, 1996). One: vigilante actions involve planning by people who participate in vigilantism (Johnston, 1996). Two: the participants are ordinary citizens who volunteer to take part in acts of vigilantism (Johnston, 1996). Three: these citizens form a social movement (Johnston, 1996). Four: people who participate also use or threaten to use force (Johnston, 1996). Five: "Vigilantism arises when an established order is under threat from the transgression, the potential transgression, or the imputed transgression of institutionalized norms" (Johnston 1996, p. 220). Six: vigilantism aims to control crime. Minor offences that go against social values also are labelled as "crimes" (Johnston, 1996). Since these six features of vigilantism seem to be present in the coverage of the kopschop-incident, they are taken as criteria to establish whether the data shows signs of vigilantism. After the incident occurred the media showed the CCTV footage of the incident that included the alleged offenders, the victim and the assault (De Vries, 2014). Viewers were urged to share information on the alleged offenders with the media that showed or posted the footage, which

could be seen as the planning of an act of vigilantism. The viewers were ordinary civilians (feature two) who formed internet communities, like followers of GeenStijl (feature three). GeenStijl, as will be shown in the analysis and results chapter, used threatening language directed at the alleged offenders (feature four). The actions undertaken by GeenStijl could therefore be seen as a reaction to behaviour that the people running the website deemed unmoral in order to control (feature five and six). A thorough analysis based on this six features was thus deemed useful and used to analyse the dataset.

The digital form of vigilantism is labelled in various ways, such as online vigilantism (Wall & Williams, 2007), digilantism (Prins, 2010), cyber vigilantism (Marx, 2013), or digital vigilantism (Trottier, 2014); They all have a common belief that this phenomena is a result of the moral outrage among ordinary civilians that was caused by an incident in either the offline or the online world. These citizens seek some sort of justice without the help of law enforcement (Wall & Williams, 2007; Trottier, 2014; Marx, 2013; Johnston, 1996; Prins, 2010). This research will continue to work with the term digital vigilantism. Despite the common feature of the citizens' initiative that was caused by moral outrage, digital vigilantism itself is also described in several ways. As mentioned earlier, digital vigilantism is "a process where citizens are collectively offended by other citizen activity, and respond through coordinated retaliation on digital media, including mobile devices and social media platforms" (Trottier, 2014, p. 60). Digital vigilantism can include naming and shaming and posting personal information of the suspects online. Digital vigilantes can use big data for tracking and tracing alleged offenders. Big data is a side product of user generated content, like a Facebook page. In 2012 Facebook alone processed 2.5 billion pieces of content on a daily basis, a fact that provides an impression of how much user generated content is produced (Constine, 2012). This data is used by both police and digital vigilantes (Trottier, 2014; Andrejevic & Gates, 2014). Alleged offenders are identified using social media. When a suspect is identified, he or she is made visible on social media or online blogs. The coverage of the incident in Eindhoven by the website GeenStijl.nl is an example of the description of digital vigilantism as mentioned by Daniel Trottier (2014). The alleged offenders were tracked and identified by morally outraged citizens using social media. GeenStijl in turn posted this information online. *De Telegraaf* in turn spoke of national outrage in their coverage of the reactions to the kopschop-incident, therefore the moral outrage as described by Trottier (2014) was expected to be present in their articles as well. Besides the moral outrage, the naming and the shaming aspects of this description were also used when analysing the dataset.

There are several reasons why people participate in digital vigilantism (Albrechtslund, 2008). Lack of confidence in the police, not caring for the privacy of others, peer pressure, and trust in the Internet service and those behind these Internet services can be indicators for participating in digital vigilantism (Albrechtslund, 2008). Lack of confidence in the police became apparent in the Eindhoven case when it took the police too long according to citizens to catch the offenders. The police were also criticized for their policies when it came to releasing the CCTV footage. Privacy infringement seems

to be an important characteristic in the Eindhoven incident and for other cases of digital vigilantism alike. Digital vigilantes that participate in posting someone's private information on the Internet take the risk that the information might be false or that the person in question has nothing to do with the incident. Privacy infringement by digital vigilantes can have side effects. People can be wrongfully accused for committing an offence and become victim of harassment by vigilantes. Furthermore, the privacy infringement can have a negative effect for a legal process against suspects. In the introduction it was mentioned that the offenders in the case of the kopschop-incident received lower jail-sentences since the judge deemed the privacy infringement of the offenders' privacy a punishment by itself. Since the results of privacy infringement can have such devastating effects it was taken into account when analysing the dataset. Since the lack of confidence in the police and privacy infringement played a big role in the kopschop-incident it was decided to add these features to the coding schema.

Crowdsourced policing can be defined as civilians joining forces to try and solve a crime or incident (Altheide, 2013). This definition shows strong resemblance with digital vigilantism. Features like naming and shaming, lack of confidence in the police, lack of a sense of privacy for alleged offenders (anyone who is a suspect should be persecuted), are all part of digital vigilantism. However, when it comes to crowdsourced policing, the call for justice in the sense that the alleged offenders are all considered criminals that should pay for their crimes without any form of legal process that holds these alleged offenders accountable for their alleged crimes is added (Altheide, 2013). This feature was taken into account when analysing the data because of the outspoken nature of *GeenStijl* and *De Telegraaf*.

Another theory (Haas, De Keijser & Bruinsma, 2014) mentions that any form of vigilantism can be considered a criminal act where a citizen targets an alleged offender in reaction to a crime. Here it is important to note that the vigilante does not have to be a victim or bystander of the crime to which he or she respond to (Haas, De Keijser & Bruinsma, 2014). This theory also state that vigilantism is a phenomenon that occurs in countries where there is a great mistrust towards the police (Haas, De Keijser & Bruinsma, 2014). The theory also argues that because there is more trust in the police and legal system in the Western world, acts of vigilantism do not occur on a regular basis (Haas, De Keijser & Bruinsma, 2014). One can agree that vigilantism occurs because there is a lack of confidence in the legal system, including the police, but since digital vigilantism is a form of vigilantism this thesis disagrees that vigilantism does not occur often in the Western world. Reactions to the Vancouver riots mentioned earlier (Schneider & Trottier, 2012), the reactions to the Boston marathon bombings (Lee, 2013) and the reactions to the shooting on the Norwegian island of Utøya (Koehler, 2011) are all examples of digital vigilantism in the Western world.

Digital vigilantism is a reaction to an incident, mostly sparked by moral outrage among citizens (Trottier, 2014; Marx, 2013, Johnston, 1996). Instead of the police or any other security institutions watching society, people are actually watching each other in both public and private life (Kingsley, 2008; Andrejevic, 2005). People have quick and easy access to the Internet, thanks to

handheld devices (Castells, 2011). This makes it possible for people to participate in acts of digital vigilantism regardless of their location. Connection to the online world “should encourage appropriate participatory action and not spread paranoia or unjustified humiliation and punishment” (Kingsley, 2008, p. 355). If *De Telegraaf* or *GeenStijl* mentioned citizens uploading pictures they took of the offenders it was mentioned in the analysis.

It was mentioned earlier that vigilantism can be seen as a form of civil policing (Johnston, 1996). In the offline world there are laws and regulations that are enforced and controlled by the police, however, official policing of the online world can be more challenging. With the increasing amount of possibilities that the Internet provides us, there is also an increase of cybercrime, ranging from “textual assault” to “identity theft” (Wall & Williams, 2007, p. 399). Checking someone’s social media page and tracking someone’s whereabouts could lead to spying and stalking. With regards to spying, criminals can use a social media updates about being on vacation to target homes to rob. By hacking someone’s computer or bank account or using fishing emails to retrieve personal information, cyber criminals can get a hold of information that they can use to transfer money or make fake passports. Even though there are laws that try to contain cybercrime, dealing with cybercrime and prosecuting cybercriminals are largely offline forms of policing (Wall & Williams, 2007). Online communities therefore control their own communities to prevent cybercriminal activities (Wall & Williams, 2007). The rules and regulations that dictate what kind of comments can be posted in a comment section of *GeenStijl* and what behaviour could result in a ban from the *GeenStijl* comment section are examples of online community social control. The technologies that provide the possibility for cybercrimes are also its limitation (Wall & Williams, 2007). Users can be tracked down by IP address and moderators/administrators of online communities can block content or the users that post unwanted content.

Several authors argue whether digital vigilantes actually are useful when it comes to solving crimes or whether they should be considered a nuisance for the police force (Prins, 2010; Marx, 2013; Goldsmith, 2010). According to a study on this subject (Prins, 2010), laws should be made to restrict and direct the initiatives of digital vigilantism because wrongfully accusing a person of a crime he or she did not commit can inflict tremendous harm to the alleged offender (Prins, 2010). Civilians lack the knowledge and training to effectively track and identify suspects correctly (Altheide, 2013). There are also advantages of using digital vigilantes for tracking down suspects. Big data gives digital vigilantes more access to means for surveying the Internet. Big data refers to data derived from social media platforms (Trottier, 2014). By posting personal information, such as status updates or current living address, or by liking various products, such as movies, music, etc., one creates a digital identity. This information can be used by the social media platform itself, for instance for recommending selected products or businesses to specific users. However, it also provides opportunities for digital vigilantes trying to identify alleged offenders. The reach of law enforcement can thus be extended by using the services of digital vigilantes (Schaefer and Steinmetz, 2014). Yet, the police face conflicting

interests when asking digital vigilantes for help (Marx, 2013). On the one hand, the police try to make police work more transparent by actively involving civilians. On the other hand, the police wants to keep a degree of secrecy about the identity of the alleged offender and try to prevent wrongfully accusing alleged offenders (Marx, 2013). The Eindhoven case embodies the conflicts police faces when involving citizens. In that case the police released CCTV footage asking civilians to identify the alleged offenders. When the first arrests were made and it became clear that the suspects that were caught were involved in the assault, the police blurred the faces on the CCTV footage and demanded several websites, including GeenStijl.nl to take down the footage and any other pictures of the offenders they had used. GeenStijl's administrators decided that the offenders deserved all the negative attention and did not remove any footage. It was expected that the role of the police, whether they are criticized or face conflicting needs, played a big role in the Eindhoven case. Therefore, signs of distrust in the police have been added to the coding matrix.

The concern about digital vigilantes violating privacy and wrongfully accusing individuals has been mentioned before. Ray Pawson (2002) studied whether citizen's participation in police work is helpful and desired by law enforcement. He also studied how citizen's participation in (online) police work is conducted and what effects it might have. Pawson (2002) constructed two schemas to illustrate what happens when the process of involving citizens in police work works correctly and incorrectly. When citizen participation is successful, the first step is identification of the crime; the inappropriate behaviour is noticed and classified. The next step involves naming; the identity of the alleged offender is presented. The third step is the public sanction; the offender is shamed and reprimanded or punished. This results in the last step, the recipient response; the offender's attitude changes and he or she is reintegrated (Pawson, 2002). In the negative schema, the first step is culprit misidentification; due to miscommunication or censorship by the police, the wrong people are identified. The second step is dissemination dissimulation; there is an excess of publicity and the presentation of the alleged offender is simplified or too complicated. Next is sanction misapplication; the punishment goes beyond shaming and involves acts of vigilantism and humiliation. The outcome is that the offender accepts the label and demonstrates more deviant behaviour. (Pawson, 2002). This schema is highly applicable for analysing the kopschop-incident. CCTV footage was released with approval of the police. This implicates that the police was willing to call for upon civilians to come forward with tips about the identities of the alleged offenders, which in turns lead to crowdsourced policing. Despite successfully identifying the alleged offenders there were also cases of citizens wrongfully accusing individuals of participating in the assault in Eindhoven, as will be shown in the analysis and results chapter. The schema provided by Pawson (2002) will help understand what the effect was of letting citizens participate in identifying the alleged offenders of the kopschop-incident. Wrongfully accusing an alleged offender is not uncommon in digital vigilantism. For example it occurred in reaction to the Boston marathon bombings (Lee, 2013), the Vancouver riots (Schneider &

Trottier, 2012) and the shooting on the Norwegian island of Utøya (Koehler, 2011), as mentioned in the introduction.

2.2 Tabloid Culture and Framing

Contemporary media, such as television, radio, and newspapers still play a role in how people receive and perceive the news (Scheufele, 1999; Altheide 2013). The ideals of the traditional newspaper press are based on fairness and objectivity (Schudson, 2011). However, some papers switched from traditional reporting to a more entertainment based form of reporting in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These papers were labelled “new journalism” and “penny newspapers”. These types of newspapers consisted of shorter paragraphs, bigger headlines, and a lighter form of writing (Schudson, 2011; Gorman & McLean, 2009). They inspired so-called “yellow journalism”, which focusses more on sensationalism and emotive headlines that try to attract a large audience to maximize profit. Yellow journalism is the basis for sensationalist newspapers that are still in circulation today (Gorman & McLean, 2009).

Yellow journalism itself formed the basis for the modern tabloid that started to appear in the late nineteenth century and became popular in the interbellum period (Gorman & McLean, 2009). Tabloids consisted of sensationalist journalism focused more on gossip, sin, and scandal; features that are still present in tabloids today (Gorman & McLean, 2009). The focus on gossip and scandal might also be considered a form of vigilantism since the targeted people are visible and their names are often mentioned. *De Telegraaf*, which was used for the analysis in this research, is a direct descendant of yellow journalism (Wolf, 2009), and shares the historic foundation of tabloid newspapers. The newspaper has been around since the nineteenth century and was the first yellow journalism newspaper in the Netherlands (Wolf, 2009). Quality newspapers regarded *De Telegraaf* throughout its history as overly sensationalist (Wolf, 2009). This sensationalistic news coverage is also a key feature of tabloid media. *De Telegraaf* states that it has no political affiliation and tries to bring the news to the audience the way it is (Wolf, 2009). The newspaper’s motto: “Objectivism in journalism is an illusion, so it is better to voice your opinion” (journalistieke objectiviteit is een illusie, dus je kunt maar beter voor je mening uitkomen) (Wolf, 2009 p. 476), makes it clear that like tabloids, *De Telegraaf* is not always favouring objective reporting over subjectivity. *De Telegraaf* uses large print headlines, rumours, and scandals to grab the audience’s attention (Wolf, 2009). A major concept of digital vigilantism is naming and shaming (Trottier, 2014). Tabloids focus on gossip and exposure of alleged offenders, for instance a celebrity cheating on his wife, by using big photographs and outspoken headlines (Preston, 2004; Skovsgaard, 2014), which can be interpreted as naming and shaming. The possible similarities between tabloid median and digital vigilantism would be interesting to study. The emotional tone that is used in reporting scandals in tabloids (Preston, 2004; Skovsgaard, 2014) and the moral outrage that is expressed in articles that concern these scandals (Preston, 2004;

Skovsgaard, 2014) could relate to the vigilante actions that follow. However, there are also some noticeable differences between tabloid media and digital vigilantism. Tabloids work with news editors and try to sell as many papers as possible to make a profit. Vigilante actions are based on ordinary citizens who share a sense of moral outrage. Making money is therefore not the priority for vigilantes.

Not only do digital vigilantism and tabloid media share the common feature of naming and shaming (Preston, 2004; Skovsgaard, 2014), the tabloid style coverage of high profile crime cases is caused by distrust in law enforcement (Rose & Fox, 2014). The distrust in law enforcement combined with the use of social media creates a lack of trust in the credibility of news media, which drives the audience towards tabloid media instead (Rose & Fox, 2014). The increased competition and ease of access to news because of the Internet has caused newspapers to compete for their audiences by

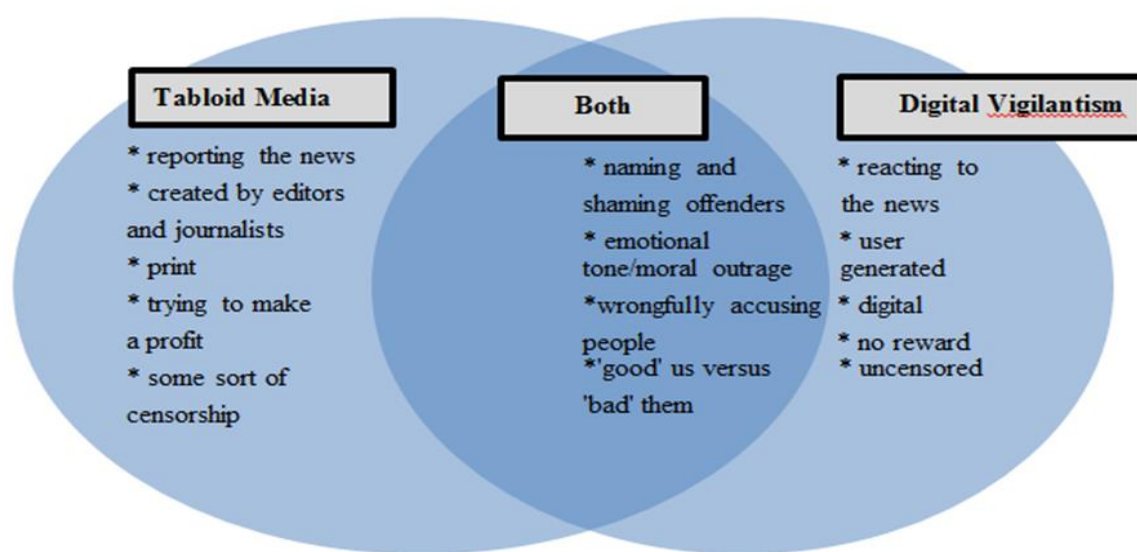


Figure One: The differences and similarities between tabloid media and digital vigilantism

emphasising unique and breaking news (Greer & McLaughlin, 2011). Popular topics according to the authors are campaigns against the institutionally powerful, which they refer to as 'trial by media' (Greer & McLaughlin, 2011). By putting a spotlight on the behaviour of powerful individuals, the news media gives the audience the chance to judge these individuals, in much the same way as digital vigilantes name and shame alleged offenders. However, it is again worth mentioning that rumour and scandals are probably part of the tabloid's marketing strategy. Figure one illustrates the similarities and the differences between the tabloid press and digital vigilantism.

Tabloid media can be considered a sensationalist method of news reporting (Preston, 2004; Skovsgaard, 2014; Greer & McLaughlin, 2011). However, tabloid media can arguably provide us the chance to view the news from a different perspective (Örnebring, 2006). Tabloids address different issues with a different kind of debate style, the focus being more on speculations and rumours than on objectivity and checking facts (Preston, 2004; Skovsgaard, 2014; Greer & McLaughlin, 2011). By addressing alternative news stories, like scandals involving politicians, in an alternative tone, tabloids create an alternative public sphere where the emphasis might be on private life rather than on politics

(Örnebring, 2006). Tabloid media consists of naming and shaming, with respect to controversial topics (Örnebring, 2006). One example is the campaign by the British tabloid *News of the World* against alleged paedophiles (Örnebring, 2006). This campaign took place in the year 2000 in response to the rape and murder of eight-year old Sarah Payne and consisted of *News of the World* posting names and addresses of persons who were previously convicted of sex offences in order to track and identify the offender. This caused outrage among the public and *News of the World* was accused of initiating vigilante justice (Örnebring, 2006). *News of the World* was pressured to stop their campaign, which they eventually did (Örnebring, 2006). This tabloid campaign is a clear example of the resemblance between acts of digital vigilantism and tabloid media coverage of certain events.

The fact that tabloids took a different path from quality news platforms might have influenced the way the news is framed in these tabloids. Framing is portraying the news from a pre-set point of view (Scheufele, 1999). Through framing, words and images are used to put news stories and the persons involved into a particular context (Van Gorp, 2010). How people are portrayed in news stories depends on a variety of factors, such as the ideology or political stance of a newspaper or news network (Scheufele, 1999; Van Gorp, 2010). These frames influence the way people receive the news (Scheufele, 1999). *De Telegraaf* for example, is a sensationalist newspaper with an outspoken writing style. *GeenStijl* uses an aggressive style of reporting, trying to make the people they interview feel uneasy, or paying attention to aspects of a news story that were not highlighted by newspapers or the television news. The process of writing, which includes keeping to deadlines and maximum word count, also influences the framing process (Scheufele, 1999). The writer is also part of the framing process since his or her personal values might influence the end product (Scheufele, 1999). The news article influences how people receive the news and the readers in turn either take over the values of the news article or create their own values (Scheufele, 1999). Finally, the news network adapts its writing style to readers' values if necessary in order to please them, therefore it is possible for newspapers to change their framing process over time (Van Gorp, 2010; Scheufele, 1999).

The process of framing can lead to an 'us versus them' division of society (Van Sterkenburg, Knoppers & De Leeuw, 2010; Silverstone, 2007). When it comes to digital vigilantism and the Eindhoven case, there is the possibility of the presence of a division based on morals, ethics, and ethnicity. Morals and ethics can be described in a political way when a community shares beliefs and values regarding how citizens should treat each other (Silverstone, 2007). Society is under constant moral enquiry, where citizens' actions are judged according to the morals of society (Silverstone, 2007). However, when it comes to media, the members of the media, including journalists, are responsible for what they believe to be moral and ethical behaviour (Silverstone, 2007). When someone behaves in an unethical way according to the media, he or she is framed as a non-member of society, thus creating an 'us versus them' division (Silverstone, 2007). By emphasising someone's negative actions, the media makes it clear what they consider to be unethical behaviour (Silverstone, 2007). For instance the assault on the helpless victim in the kopschop-incident in Eindhoven was

portrayed by some media as cowardly, since there were eight offenders and one victim, and reactions of outrage were directed at the ruthless nature of the assault. The word cowardly might thus refer to the fact that Dutch ethics consider an assault on one individual by a group of eight persons as not a fair fight, and that morals state that one does not continue to assault a victim when he is down. Since the incident in Eindhoven caused moral outrage among Dutch citizens, a sign that society's ethics and morals were violated, There was an expectation to find this 'us versus them division' in the media. Therefore this division was adopted in the coding schema.

An 'us versus them' division in society can also be the result of framing one's ethnicity or nationality in relation to morals and ethics (Van Sterkenburg, Knoppers & De Leeuw, 2010). An example of this division is the framing of Dutch athletes, such as soccer players, with Moroccan backgrounds. When these athletes perform well and contribute to Dutch society, they are framed as Dutch athletes. However, when they show negative behaviour they are labelled Moroccan or their Moroccan background is emphasized (Van Sterkenburg, Knoppers & De Leeuw, 2010). Sports media often contains racial stereotypes according to Jacco van Sterkenburg and Ramón Spaaij (2015). Sports often is used as an example where ethnicities can be considered equals based on mutual respect, however, media portrayal of ethnic minorities in sports often tell a different story (Sterkenburg & Spaaij, 2015). In football media for example there are a lot of stereotypes based on ethnicity. Where white players are often considered intellectually strong and hard-working, black athletes are often described as 'super athletes' with emphasis on their naturally strong physical qualities. Middle Eastern players on the other hand are often described as irrational and threatening (Sterkenburg & Spaaij, 2015). Unfortunately ethnic minorities are not only victims of unequal treatment in sports media. In the Netherlands ethnic minorities are also treated differently by the legal system (Weenink, 2009). According to a study done by Don Weenink (2009) on the treatment of minorities by the criminal justice system "native Dutch suspects were more often regarded as defiant, while ethnic minorities were more often perceived as equivocating" (p. 220). The 9/11 attacks and the War on Terror that followed also increased division in society based on ethnicity (Wash, 2014). The terrorist threat stimulated civilians to watch out for suspicious behaviour, often targeting people with Arabic background (Walsh, 2014). Some of the eight attackers in the Eindhoven case could be visually identified as ethnic minorities, therefore the presence of an 'us versus them' division based on ethnicity in the media representation of the event is also expected. This division based on ethnicity and/or nationality were taken into account when analysing the framing of the dataset.

The medium that is used to present the news also partly determines the framing (Altheide, 2013). Situations are framed differently on blogs, social media, and newspapers (Altheide, 2013). This is in line with McLuhan's vision that the medium is the message (Mulder, 2010). In other words: the message one wants to get across depends on the medium that is used to send this message. Since both the blog *GeenStijl* and the online newspaper *De Telegraaf* have similar tools to get the message

across, like text, links to other websites and pictures and videos that can be included in articles, it will be interesting to study how framing was used to portray the kopschop-incident.

2.3 Web 2.0 and Agenda Setting

Web 2.0 and agenda setting are two concepts that will not be used for analysing data, however, it is important to explain these terms in order to understand how the Internet can facilitate digital vigilantism and how people select the news they are read.

The main difference between the ‘traditional’ Internet, known as Web 1.0, and Web 2.0 is the way the Internet is used by its consumers (Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010). In Web 1.0, content was provider created and users could merely retrieve information. Private users with personal computers were unable to generate online content (Abbate, 2011). The technological possibilities have changed a lot since Web 1.0 was developed in the late 1980’s and early 1990’s. Faster internet connections and better software allowed internet users and programmers to create technologically advanced software and content (Abbate, 2011). Despite these technological changes, Web 2.0 was merely a change in internet use. Web 2.0 became user generated. Internet users can produce content by creating animated clips and games, and posting and sharing information in communities (Vergeer, 2012; Blank & Reisdorf, 2012). One clear example of Web 2.0 behaviour is Wikipedia. This free encyclopaedia allows users to add or alter content on a myriad of topics. Individual knowledge is shared and helps to create an encyclopaedia that everyone can enjoy and use. The main focus of Web 2.0 is thus creating (and sharing) content. Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter are social platforms that are thriving on user generated content. In these cases, status updates and other uploaded content account for user generated content. In other words, “Web 2.0 is all about harnessing collective intelligence” (O’ Reilly & Battelle, 2009, p. 1).

The website GeenStijl.nl can be considered a Web 2.0 website. Although it does not allow users to post or alter content, like Wikipedia, or have a personal space online, like Facebook, it does allow users to send in created content, like videos or text, which the administrators can use when writing articles. Videos can also be uploaded to GeenStijl’s video website, dumpert.nl. This website also provides pictures and sound clips produced by audience members. Moreover, the users and members of GeenStijl are actively involved in spreading GeenStijl’s content by linking items on social media, rigging online voting contests, and tipping of GeenStijl’s redaction about events that the audience deems newsworthy. GeenStijl itself is also active on social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook which allows more interaction between the members of GeenStijl and the administrators. Being active on social media also allows GeenStijl to share content with people who otherwise might not have visited the actual website (Livingstone, 2013). These people for instance might have come in contact with GeenStijl’s content because a friend on social media linked/shared an article.

Web 2.0 can also be defined as “a wide collection of characteristics of new web applications [that] facilitates the creation of user-generated content (UGC) and an easier online user experience” (Vergeer, 2012, p.2). However, it can also be described in a more specific manner. As defined by Blank & Reisdorf (2012) Web 2.0 is about “using the Internet to provide platforms through which network effects can emerge” (p. 539). In this case, the term Web 2.0 is explained from the user’s perspective. GeenStijl can be considered a platform through which network effects can emerge. For instance, by participating in identifying the alleged offenders in the kopschop-incident, GeenStijl facilitated a network of digital vigilantes working together to achieve the common goal of successfully identifying the eight suspects.

Networking effects consist of two major components, namely “the idea that some things become more valuable when more people participate” (Blank & Reisdorf, 2012, p. 539) and that platforms form communities of meet-up places where users can actively participate and be creative in a common activity (Blank & Reisdorf, 2012). The belief that value can be measured by the amount of participation assumes that the more people who participate in a project, the more attention it will get. In light of the other component of networking effects, the platforms for shared activities, one could argue that Web 2.0 allows users to come together and share information about alleged offenders. Using Facebook profiles to link the alleged offenders to the place of the crime, to identify offenders, and to retrieve personal information and share this information for vigilante justice. Community forming, is an important aspect of GeenStijl. The members of GeenStijl have been called upon to rig online voting contests. One example is a contest to vote for the most popular name for a new flavour of chips initiated by Smith’s Food Group in 2004. GeenStijl urged their members to vote for the name GeenStijl, which eventually won (GeenStijl chips een feit, 2004). GeenStijl also posts videos of assaults and asks its members to identify the offenders. Recently GeenStijl launched the website GeenPeil.nl. On this website members can sign a petition for more transparency in the decision making for the European Union. The active involvement of the members of GeenStijl in the website’s actions thus makes it possible to see GeenStijl as a web 2.0 website.

Tabloid media and social media can also complement one another. Contemporary news media, like newspapers, still play an important role in how people decide which news is important (McCombs, 2005). Agenda setting, deciding which news items are important enough to be in the newspaper influences what people will look up online (McCombs, 2005). This means that if a newspaper article on the kopschop-incident appears on the front page of *De Telegraaf* - the biggest newspaper in the Netherlands - more people might look up information about the incident online. This might get them in contact with websites that promote vigilante justice, like GeenStijl. However, tabloid media by itself has a limited capability for the audience to share information. If tabloids want to increase their reach, they can use social media to help spread their articles.

Participation in online projects is “increasingly shaped by modern digital networked media” (Livingstone, 2013, p. 25). Since people actively and constantly create internet content, the line

between consumer and producer is blurred. This results in the need for a term that combines both the producer and consumer sides of Web 2.0 behaviour (Livingstone, 2013). This (new) internet user has become known as the prosumer (Livingstone, 2013). The user is no longer a passive audience member but has become an active audience member that contributes to internet content (Livingstone, 2013). A digital vigilante can be regarded as a prosumer because they both consume information, for example a clip of surveillance footage on CCTV, and produce a list of possible offenders or suspects that they believe can be linked to the incident shown on the CCTV footage. This can also be related to the kopschop-incident in Eindhoven; People who read articles about the event on *GeenStijl* and react to these articles by conducting in vigilante justice can be considered prosumers. They consumed the blog post and the link to the video that shows the assault, including images of the offenders, and were asked to gather information that would lead to the identification and capture of the eight offenders. By conducting this identification process they produced data about alleged offenders and thus can be considered prosumers.

The Internet and Web 2.0 has led to high expectations from some for the future of communication. Expectations have included the idea of a public sphere becoming a reality (Chadwick, 2009). This public sphere consists of a variety of (political) arenas where policy makers and civilians interact and discuss policies (Chadwick, 2009), which makes society more democratic and transparent. However, not every author is so optimistic about the opportunities that Web 2.0 provides society. Web 2.0 might just be the next big thing, a hype that cannot live up to the expectations (Coleman & Blumler, 2009). Others oppose the idea that Web 2.0 contributes to the realization of the public sphere by arguing that the Internet and social media have led to the individualization of society (Bennet, 2012); The Internet, and social media platforms in particular, focus more on the individual. Critics argue that by posting pictures of oneself, sharing one's occupations several times a day, and showing others activities in which one is involved, one may see oneself as the most important social media user (Bennet, 2012).

Additionally, the division between someone's online and offline life is becoming blurred due to personalized profiles on social media (Albrechtslund, 2008). Social media becomes a big part of a person's social life and by 'liking' or following specific websites or bloggers an individual's newsfeed might become limited to their interests, thus excluding certain newsfeeds that they do not follow on social media (Albrechtslund, 2008; Bennet, 2012). Digital vigilantism can be considered proof that the Internet and Web 2.0 do not lead to an individualized society. Digital vigilantism is a process that highlights community outrage over someone's wrongdoing. The community becomes bonded over communal morals and ideals that have been breached by the individual that is believed to be a threat to these morals and ideals. Digital vigilantism is therefore a means for protecting society from unwanted behaviour, highlighting the importance of community rather than the individual. This means that platforms for user generated content, which are one of the key factors of Web 2.0, and participating in

a digital vigilantism community online, which relies on user generated content, are two concepts that are heavily intertwined.

3. Research Design

Based on the existing literature one could say that similarities can be expected in how digital vigilantism is present on GeenStijl and the articles by *De Telegraaf*. Since this involved analysing text documents content analysis was used to analyse the dataset. This section will explain in-depth how the research plan was designed and what choices were made in order to gather data that could answer the sub-questions as well as the research question. Furthermore, the faced challenges will be explained. Overall the following sections explain the process that was gone through thoroughly and hereby enhance the validity of this research.

3.1 Methods

3.1.1 Qualitative Thematic Analysis

As mentioned in the introduction, the research performed for this thesis was of a qualitative manner rather than a quantitative one. Qualitative research can be defined as “any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p.10-11). Both qualitative and quantitative content analyses include the operationalisation of concepts and data gathering (Boeije, 2009; ‘t Hart, Boeije & Hox, 2009). Quantitative analyses focusses on a numerical description of the text (MacDonald, 2008; Gilbert, 2008; Verhoeven, 2007). The importance of a topic is measured by counting the times a topic is mentioned, the more it is mentioned, the more important it is (MacDonald, 2008). By merely focussing on how many times a topic is present in a text, one measures only the surface meaning of a text (MacDonald, 2008). Qualitative research focusses on the meaning that people give to the data, other than relying on the numerical importance of this data (Verhoeven, 2007; Gilbert, 2008). Qualitative content analysis is very useful for studying human behaviour and for discovering patterns or regularities in texts (Gilbert, 2008; Boeije, 2010). Since SQ1 concerns how the concept of digital vigilantism, as described by multiple authors, is manifested in the reporting of the kopschop-incident in *De Telegraaf* and on GeenStijl, qualitative content analysis was more applicable to the research. Qualitative content analysis is more suitable to study how meanings are constructed than quantitative content analysis (Tonkiss, 1998). The aim of this thesis was to study how meanings are constructed, in this case SQ1 concerns how certain data extracts would contain aspects of digital vigilantism as provided in various literature. SQ2 focused on how frames are used to construct the story of the kopschop-incident. By making use of a type of qualitative analysis I was therefore able to uncover how the themes that make up digital vigilantism, which derived from literature, were present in the data-units by studying which and how certain words and sentences were used to express moral outrage, the call for justice, the call for identification and distrust in the police. Qualitative content analyses is more suitable for addressing exploratory questions and understanding phenomena (Strauss

& Corbin, 1998). Since the RQ and both SQ1 and SQ2 all concern further understanding the phenomena of digital vigilantism in different media platforms, qualitative content analysis was more suitable for this research.

Qualitative content analysis consists of a variety of analyses. Qualitative research is mostly inductive, however, qualitative research has developed into a more deductive form of analysis as well (Verhoeven, 2009). According to Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke (2006) thematic analysis “is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (p. 79). Thematic analysis is considered to be a flexible type of analysis since it gives the researcher more freedom of interpretation when it comes to using a theoretical framework (Boeije, 2009). This research used thematic analysis since SQ1 aimed at understanding how the concept of digital vigilantism was present in different forms of media. To answer this sub-question a theoretical framework, which was constructed by using various literature, was needed to explain the concept of digital vigilantism. Furthermore, thematic analysis was the best option for this specific research project since freedom of interpretation was needed to relate data-extracts to this theoretical framework.

According to Braun and Clarke (2006) the inductive and deductive approach are both possible in thematic analyses. They consider this a bottom-up and top-down approach of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the bottom-up approach “the themes identified are strongly linked to the data itself” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 83), meaning that codes retrieved from the dataset are used to identify themes that, in turn, are used to identify the main concepts present in the dataset (Braun & Clarke, 2008). In the top-down approach the themes are derived from a theoretical framework instead of from the data itself (Braun & Clarke, 2008). It resembles using sensitizing concepts, in which the researcher uses the description of certain concepts to narrow down his or her research (‘t Hart, Boeije & Hox, 2009). In this thesis the themes that make up digital vigilantism, which derived from the literature studied in the literature review, formed the bases for the research and will be used to answer SQ1 and the RQ. The top-down approach of thematic analysis, as described by Braun and Clarke (2006) was thus applicable for this research. The main concept of this thesis, digital vigilantism, consists of multiple themes which derived from various articles as mentioned in the second chapter. These themes in turn consist of multiple dimensions which also derived from studying literature. The themes, and the dimensions that make up these themes were used to construct a coding schema which is available in appendix B. These themes and dimensions are as followed.

The first theme is moral outrage. There are several dimensions present in the first theme. The first dimension consist of showing ones outrage about the incident through bad language and an ‘us versus them’ division based on morality and ethics (Silverstone, 2007), which in turn formed a social movements (Johnston, 1996). The second dimension consists of the community that is collectively offended (Trottier, 2014). The next dimension is concerned with the idea of an established order that is under threat of transgression (Johnston, 1996). Social control based on someone’s appearance (Wall & Williams, 2008), emphasising the nationality or ethnic background of the offenders (Van Sterkenburg,

Knoppers & De Leeuw, 2010), is the fourth dimension. The description of the digital vigilantes themselves forms the last dimension.

The second theme, the call for justice, also consists of several dimensions. The shaming part of digital vigilantism, which includes asking for the arrest/imprisonment of the offender (Trottier, 2014) forms the first dimension. The second dimension of this theme consists of labelling alleged offenders as criminals before they stand trial (Altheide, 2013). Coordinated retaliation, like raising support for the harassment of the alleged offenders (Trottier, 2014), and planning this coordinated retaliation (Johnston, 1996) will be the third dimension. The use of force or threatening to use force (Johnston, 1996) will be the last dimension.

The third theme, the call for identification, consists of three dimensions. In this case, the first dimension is naming the offender (Trottier, 2014) through citizen-led surveillance (Kingsley, 2008). Ignoring the offenders' privacy (Altheide, 2013) makes up the second dimension. Planning by digital vigilantes in the sense that the audience is asked to identify the suspects (Johnston, 1996) forms the last dimension. Any language related to the identification of the offenders and statements relating to the breach of privacy will be considered part of the third theme.

The last theme, distrust in the police, consists of three dimensions. The first dimension consisted of signs that the police or legal system is failing to respond and the conflicting needs of law enforcement (Marx, 2013). These signs consist of outrage about a low sentence for the offenders, inconsistent policies within law enforcement when it comes to showing CCTV footage, the police not catching the suspects fast enough or sharing information about them with the public, and the police wanting to protect suspects' privacy but also wanting to catch the suspects as soon as possible. Cop watching, where the audience surveys the police (Schaefer and Steinmetz, 2014), is the second dimension. Digital vigilantes attempting to control crime (Johnston, 1996) is the last dimension.

3.1.2 Qualitative Framing Analysis

While thematic analysis allows for a conclusion to be drawn on how elements of digital vigilantism are manifested in both media, to really compare how the two types of media differed on their representation of the kopschop-incident focusing on how the articles are framed is key as well. Therefore a second type of analysis was applied to the data, namely qualitative framing analysis. Framing analyses does not explain what is being said, but how it is being said. Therefore, one can compare how acts of digital vigilantism and the alleged offenders are portrayed in different forms of media. Thematic analyses and qualitative framing analyses have in common that they are both used to uncover underlying themes in texts. Both are a form of qualitative content analysis, and both have language as the topic of research. The thematic analysis focusses on how a certain topic is manifested in the data (Tonkiss, 1998), by focussing on patterns, codes and the recurrence of these codes and patterns. Qualitative framing analysis focusses on how reporters portray topics, events, incidents,

people et cetera, by studying biases and how certain elements in a text are emphasised in order to get a certain message across to the audience (Van Gorp, 2010). In this thesis the qualitative framing analysis therefore complements the thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is used to determine how the concept of digital vigilantism is manifested in the data-units, and compare the content of articles regarding digital vigilantism on *GeenStijl* with the content of articles in *De Telegraaf* in order to answer SQ1. Qualitative framing analysis provided the opportunity to analyse how the kopschop-incident, the offenders, the digital vigilantes and the victim were framed, and if there are biases in the reporting of the kopschop-incident in order to answer SQ2. The answers to both SQ1 and SQ2 in turn are vital to answer the RQ, a research question that could not be answered thoroughly by making use of just one of the types of analysis.

As with thematic analyses, there are multiple ways to approach framing analyses. Framing is used in contemporary news media, such as newspapers and tabloids, to put a news event into perspective (Van Gorp, 2010). It is useful to analyse these frames to discover underlying themes and reasons, actors and actions, and contrast and appeals within a text (Van Gorp, 2010). According to Paul D'Angelo and Jim Kuypers (2010), framing not only shapes the way news is presented but also how news is received. The authors give the example of sports fans that follow their favourite team with live commentary. If the commentators are critical towards the team there is a big chance the fans will pick up on that and be more critical themselves (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010). In other words, in news framing the storytellers use their interpretations on an issue to give shape to a news story, which in turn helps form the opinion of the audience (Nisbet, 2010). The aim of framing analyses is to uncover these interpretations and label them (Nisbet, 2010). Framing analysis does not only take place in radio or television news, but is also present in text documents. Reports on homeless people in a local newspaper for example can differ in the use of language in different periods of the year. For instance, when it is winter and temperatures are around freezing, people who are condemned to life on the streets with little food or clothes to keep them warm, might be framed as helpless victims of society (Van Gorp, 2010). In the summer, however, the same newspaper might portray these same homeless people as a nuisance, depicting them as annoying beggars. They could also be blamed for a negative image that tourists might have of a city (Van Gorp, 2010). In this case the same group of people is framed both as victims of society and as unwanted members of society depending on the season. The difference in the representation of these people is determined by the message that the local newspaper wants to get across to their audience (Van Gorp, 2010).

The types of framing analyses that one uses depends on what one wants to study (Scheufele, 2010; Van Gorp, 2010). Baldwin van Gorp's (2010) framing analysis procedure was used for this research. Van Gorp (2010) prefers to analyse so-called culturally embedded frames. Because news frames change over times, journalists often rely on frames that apply both news values and are also sensitive to cultural themes (Van Gorp, 2010). Van Gorp (2010) identifies five types of frames that he considers present in almost any form of communication; values, narratives, archetypes, myths and

stereotypes. These types of frames are strongly interwoven (Van Gorp, 2010). A narrative can be considered the script structure of a news story (Van Gorp, 2010). This script is written with the values of the newspaper and audience in mind (Van Gorp, 2010). These values in turn are based upon myths, which can be considered “the deep truth of human experience” (Van Gorp, 2010, p. 86). The values are expressed using archetypes, the characters used to structure the story (Van Gorp, 2010). Simplified references to a group of characters in turn can be considered stereotypes (Van Gorp, 2010).

The advantage of culturally embedded frames is that they are familiar and ready for use in the sense that the types of frames mentioned earlier are present in almost any form of communication and are thus known by both journalists and the audience (Van Gorp, 2010; Scheufele, 2010). Because the audience is familiar with the types of frames; narratives, values, myths, archetypes and stereotypes, Van Gorp (2010) argues that, “Such cultural resonance makes the association between a frame and the issue seem transparent and obvious” (p. 87). Culturally embedded framing analysis depends on the dominant culture of one’s society (Van Gorp, 2010). Since I, as the researcher in this research, live in the Netherlands and am Dutch myself, I can relate to Dutch culture and to what the Dutch recognize as moral and ethical. However, these morals and ethics might seem strange to someone who is not familiar with Dutch culture. Cultural embedded framing analysis does not imply that values, morals and ethics are the same in different cultures, but it does imply that the values of a culture are recognizable for (other) readers.

Van Gorp’s (2010) approach was chosen since it was very useful for analysing how the kopschop-incident was framed in different media formats. It used familiar types of frames, and allowed the researcher to uncover the similarities and differences in reporting the same incident in different media formats. According to Van Gorp (2010), the five types of frames as mentioned earlier are present in almost any form of communication. This lead to the believe that these types of frames would also be applicable when analysing the dataset for this specific research. Another reason why Van Gorp’s approach was appealing is that Van Gorp provides a clear set of instructions for conducting cultural embedded framing analyses. The process of analysis in cultural embedded framing analysis resembles thematic analysis, which the researcher is familiar with and thus limits the chance of making structural errors in the coding and analysis process. Van Gorp’s (2010) schema for framing analyses starts with open coding. After the open coding is completed, the next step is to uncover the themes that the codes have in common; there can be more than one theme per text (Van Gorp, 2010). The last step is to relate the themes to the five types of frames; values, narratives, archetypes, myths, and stereotypes. It is possible that not every type of frame is present (Van Gorp, 2010), which would show in the themes that were related to the frames earlier. In order to stay consistent in the chosen approach the top-down approach as explained by Braun and Clark (2006) was also used for conducting the framing analysis. As with the thematic analysis, the five types of frames that were worked with were based upon a theoretical framework, and were used to construct a coding schema which is available in appendix B. The literature that was introduced in chapter two was used to further

conceptualize these five types of frames into themes. The data extracts were then attributed to the corresponding themes to uncover which frames were used in the depiction of the kopschop-incident in Eindhoven in *De Telegraaf* and on *GeenStijl*.

According to Van Gorp (2010), values, narratives, and archetypes are the most frequently occurring frames in news reporting. Myths and stereotypes are two other forms of frames that are often used in reporting (Van Gorp, 2010). Values consists of the theme that was described earlier as morals and ethics. Morals and ethics are heavily intertwined with the values of society, since they form the corner stone of society and culture (Silverstone, 2007). This theme overlaps with the morals and values in the thematic analysis. As in the thematic analysis, the emphasis, when it comes to the values as frames, is on a possible division of society based on morality as explained by Silverstone (2007).

Van Gorp (2010) sees narratives as the script structure of a text that develops from problem to solution. Ray Pawson's schema (2002) on whether asking citizens to help identify alleged offenders works or if the involvement of citizens leads to interference and a negative outcome of the legal process were used in analysing the type of frame narrative. Another narrative that was used is the narrative of a crime case from incident to conviction (Banks, 2005; Chadee & Ditton, 2005).

According to Van Gorp (2010), "myths represent the deep truth of human experience" (p.86). Myths in the data are considered to be general assumptions, claims or arguments that are made without any clear proof or evidence of causality or other similar relationships.

Archetypes are characters and motifs that are used in the text to help give structure to the narratives. The archetypes of the villain or victim, where the person involved is framed as a victim of circumstances or as the villain responsible for his own deeds and actions that are the results of these deeds (Van Gorp, 2010) were used. Earlier the example was presented where homeless people are considered victims of society in the winter, while in the summer they were seen as a nuisance and considered responsible for the negative image tourists might have of a city, thus being framed in the villain role. This victim/villain archetype is also applicable when it comes to crime in general (Banks, 2005; Chadee & Ditton, 2005). Since the villain/victim role is used extensively in reporting crimes in news media it was used as part of the type of frame archetypes. The audience can relate to crime stories because of the clear role of the offender(s), which will be considered the villain(s), and that of the victim(s). In the specific context of this research, the hero or villain archetypes were used to decide whether digital vigilantes can be considered citizens that help with online police work (heroes), or citizens that do more damage than good by interfering in the legal process or wrongfully accusing individuals (villains) (Prins, 2010; Altheide, 2013).

The last frame, stereotypes, consists of simplified references to a social group (Van Gorp, 2010). For this research, stereotypes as discussed in the article by Van Sterkenburg, Knoppers, and De Leeuw (2010) were used as the kopschop-incident also occurred within a Dutch context and thus fit this specific context. In this article, stereotypes concern framing a person as Dutch or as a member of an ethnic group based on perceptions of their actions. If their actions are deemed positive they are

regarded as Dutch citizens and if their actions are deemed negative they are regarded as a member of an ethnic group. Another stereotype that was used in this research revolved around whether Dutch citizens with a Middle Eastern background were considered irrational or threatening (Sterkenburg & Spaaij, 2015; Weenink, 2009). Since *De Telegraaf* and *GeenStijl* are written from a Dutch perspective, the expectation is that there will be no distinction made between a native Belgian and a Moroccan Belgian. It was expected that if a Belgian citizen has a Middle Eastern ethnic background, the emphasis will be on the nationality of the offender rather than on his ethnic background.

3.2 Data and Data Collection

3.2.1 Data Collection

The corpus of this thesis are all the articles from the websites of *De Telegraaf* and *GeenStijl.nl* that incorporate the kopschop-incident in Eindhoven. Based on previous literature, the initial plan was to study tabloid media. However, the Dutch press does have an outspoken national tabloid that also focusses on serious news stories, thus complicating the selection of data units. There are tabloids in the Netherlands, like *Privé* and *Story*, but they focus more on rumours and scandals concerning the private life of celebrities rather than on actual news stories and are thus not very useful for this research. *De Telegraaf* comes closest to a news tabloid. It can be considered a populist newspaper that uses many visual aids, like big pictures and outspoken headlines (Wolf, 2009). It can also be compared to yellow journalism, which formed the basis for tabloids, as discussed in the literature review. *De Telegraaf* also focused on sensationalism and emotive headlines instead of news to inform the public in an objective manner in the early twentieth century (Wolf, 2009). The articles in *De Telegraaf* furthermore appear to have been more outspoken when it came to (inter)national news than quality newspapers, in the sense that they were quick to point fingers when reporting on (inter)national issues (Preston, 2004). The reporting by *De Telegraaf* was considered a lower form of journalism by the quality newspapers throughout the twentieth century (Wolf, 2009). These quality newspapers accused *De Telegraaf* of sensationalist and biased news reporting (Wolf, 2009). Biased and sensationalist forms of reporting the news are also important aspects of tabloids (Preston, 2004; Skovsgaard, 2014; Greer & McLaughlin, 2011). The newspaper's motto is "Objectivism in journalism is an illusion, so it is better to voice your opinion" (journalistieke objectiviteit is een illusie, dus je kunt maar beter voor je mening uitkomen) (Wolf, 2009 p. 476). This is a clear statement that *De Telegraaf* does not consider itself objective in their news reporting. It was thus decided to use *De Telegraaf* as the Dutch newspaper of analysis because it was founded on the same ideas that formed the basis for tabloid newspapers and like tabloids, the style of reporting in *De Telegraaf* is very outspoken, which lead to the believe that aspects of digital vigilantism would be more likely to be present in the articles of *De Telegraaf* compared to other Dutch newspapers.

Since this research revolved around a comparative element, a second news media was also chosen in the early phase of the research. For studying acts of digital vigilantism related to the kopschop-incident, articles that were posted on the website of GeenStijl were therefore also used. The website GeenStijl.nl was launched in April of 2003 and is still active to date. GeenStijl is a populist blog site that gets media attention for their critical and aggressive tone in their published news items. They cover a wide variety of topics and therefore also pay attention to news stories that do not make the mainstream newspapers or the evening news. The news items moreover include pictures, clips, and critical items about Dutch society. The organization behind this website has also set up a public broadcasting network called PowNed, which also covers the news in a very critical and sometimes aggressive style of journalism. According to the website, they maintain an objective political standpoint using their motto “Tendentious, unfounded and needlessly offensive” (Tendentieus, ongefundeerd en nodeloos kwetsend). Members and visitors of the website can furthermore tip the redaction about news stories through e-mail suggestions, or by responding to posts on the website with pictures, videos, or reactions. The possibility for readers to send in videos and pictures, and to post reactions to blog posts thereby distinguishes this website from newspaper websites. The members and visitors of GeenStijl not only play an important role by reacting to the blog posts, in the history of GeenStijl they have also been called on to rig online voting contests, specifically contests that could be won by popular vote. When Smith’s Food Group, a company that produces potato chips, decided in 2004 that the public could come up with a name for a new chip flavour, GeenStijl called upon their members to vote for the name GeenStijl, which won the votes. This example of a rigged online contest was relatively harmless but it received media attention. In 2005, GeenStijl claimed to send six touring cars to the member elections of a political party in order to rig elections. While this turned out to be an April’s Fool’s day joke it still caused a government crisis in Dutch parliament. Over the years, numerous court cases against GeenStijl have taken place, often because people or organizations felt offended or threatened by either GeenStijl or the reactions of their members. This aggressive style of reporting led me to believe that the themes that make up digital vigilantism, such as moral outrage, the call for identification, the call for justice and stereotypes all would be present in the articles about the kopschop-incident. Furthermore, it was also expected that the framing of the kopschop-incident would also differ from that of *De Telegraaf*.

The methodological guidelines for the master thesis state that for a qualitative content analysis of newspaper articles, between forty and sixty news articles should be analysed. By using the keywords like kopschop, hoofdschop and terms like violence, battery or assault in combination with Eindhoven articles were found on GeenStijl and on *De Telegraaf*’s website. The snowball method (‘t Hart, Boeije & Hox, 2009) was also used by following links that were added to *De Telegraaf* articles as similar news stories. These links lead to related articles on the kopschop-incident. For this research articles on the website of *De Telegraaf* were analysed. The digitalized paper edition of *De Telegraaf* is only available online when one has a subscription, which would affect the transparency of this thesis

since these articles are not accessible for everyone. Furthermore, articles in the digitalized version of this newspaper cannot be linked to- or viewed by people without a subscription limiting the accessible articles further. Based on this the choice was made to only use internet articles that are openly available on *De Telegraaf*'s website. The content on the website is similar to the content of the restricted subscription. The main difference between subscription and openly available articles is that the subscription articles are digitalized print versions of the paper edition articles of *De Telegraaf*. The website articles also show links to related articles and were updated several times a day. Since the free articles and the subscription have similar content and are openly available, problems with validity or reliability of the data set used were restricted. There were also three possible ways to read *De Telegraaf* online via the library website of the Erasmus University, however one only had digital prints of the paper version of *De Telegraaf* up to ninety days ago. This meant that articles from the kopschop-incident were not available since the incident occurred in January, 2013. The second option was a database that consisted of internet articles of Dutch newspapers. However, when using the same keywords as on *De Telegraaf*'s website no web articles of *De Telegraaf* were found. A similar limitation was found when using the third option, namely Lexis Nexis. To stay consistent in the data collection, the same keywords on Lexis Nexis were used as on the website of *De Telegraaf* and on GeenStijl. However, in all search options no articles from *De Telegraaf* regarding the kopschop-incident were found. Furthermore, the option of using Lexis Nexis was seen as less favourable than the website of *De Telegraaf*, since once again the web news articles were only available up to ninety days ago. Since sufficient articles on the website of *De Telegraaf* were openly available, on topic and searchable by using the same keywords as on GeenStijl.nl, the deliberate choice was made to work with the website articles of *De Telegraaf*.

The entire corpus consisted of twenty-one articles found on GeenStijl.nl and seventy-two web articles found on *De Telegraaf*'s website that concern the kopschop-incident in Eindhoven. The initial idea was to divide the data evenly between web articles from *De Telegraaf* and articles from GeenStijl. However, since only twenty-one GeenStijl articles were found and seventy-two articles on the website of *De Telegraaf*, were found, the decision was made to analyse thirty articles from *De Telegraaf* and twenty articles from GeenStijl. These articles formed the dataset. Since twenty-one GeenStijl articles were found only needed twenty articles were needed, theoretical sampling was used to decide which article would add the least for this research. Theoretical sampling is a form of sampling where data items are selected because of their potential contribution to one's research ('t Hart, Boeijs & Hox, 2009). Before deciding which GeenStijl articles would be used, all articles were briefly read. The purpose of this pre-reading was to look for articles that would contribute most to this research, focusing on possible elements of digital vigilantism. Using this theoretical sampling ('t Hart, Boeijs & Hox, 2009), the decision was made to drop the most recent published article because it only mentioned the kopschop-incident as a previous example of an assault where CCTV footage was used to identify the suspects. For *De Telegraaf*, every second article post found was used, ordering the articles by date

of publication. Every second post was used since this would provide the opportunity to cover articles that were published recently after the kopschop-incident took place, as well as articles that were published after the final verdict by the judge, convicting the offenders. This would make it possible to study how at different stages of the kopschop-incident *De Telegraaf* reported on the incident, the offenders and the victim; something that could also be done with the articles on GeenStijl, since they also covered a similar time span and included the trail of the offenders as well. For this purpose theoretical sampling, as described above, was also conducted. If an article contained a preview of the day's news or a press release, and thus had little potential for contribution to the research it was skipped and the next article was analysed if it contained aspects of digital vigilantism. The information these skipped articles did contain was also usually repeated in another article later that day thus the data set still contained most of the information.

All the links to the articles that were analysed appear in appendix A, thereby adding to the transparency of this thesis. The timeframe for the articles from *De Telegraaf* ranges from January 21, 2013, when the first article on the kopschop-incident was published, to November 27, 2013, when the last article was published. The timeframe for the GeenStijl articles ranges from January 21, 2013, when the first article was published, to January 21, 2014, when the incident was mentioned in relation to a new incident where CCTV footage was used to identify the alleged offender.

There are some restrictions to this research that have to be mentioned. Firstly, tabloid media is used strictly to better understand digital vigilantism. Any causal relations between tabloid media and reasons to participate in vigilante actions will not be part of the research. Secondly, the Netherlands does not have an outspoken tabloid culture, therefore the decision was made to analyse a sensationalist newspaper that came closest to the form of a tabloid. As argued above *De Telegraaf* was considered the closest thing to a form of tabloid media. Since their style of reporting is similar and since they share a common basis in the history of news reporting, this is not considered a major restriction. Thirdly, a difference between online and offline behaviour and online anonymity might play a part when conducting in acts of digital vigilantism, however, it is not feasible to include the themes online and offline behaviour and internet anonymity in this research due to time limitations and the amount of work it would take to study these concepts. The initial plan was to include the comment section of GeenStijl, however the rules and regulations for reacting to articles stated that GeenStijl members could be banned for comments that contained threats, bad language and posting contact/personal information of alleged offenders. Since these are important aspects of digital vigilantism, this meant that the comment section would not be a substantial addition to this research. These rules and regulations were established after many complaints and threats of lawsuits against GeenStijl for allowing threats and personal information to be published ("Advocaat klaagt AD en GeenStijl aan", 2007). These strict rules and regulations do not apply for the bloggers who post the articles on GeenStijl, thus aspects of digital vigilantism were still expected to be present in the articles, something that indeed was the case as will be shown in the analysis and results chapter.

3.2.2 Reliability

Reliability in social research can be defined as “the degree to which the findings of a study are independent of accidental circumstances of their production” (Silverman, 2011, p. 360). In other words, reliability concerns the question of whether other scholars could repeat a study using the same methods and come up with the same results (Silverman, 2011). The key to achieving reliability in a social study is transparency, in both the research and theoretical processes. Describing the decisions that are made and explaining why these decisions are made makes it possible for others to replicate one’s work step-by-step (Silverman, 2011). By sharing the theoretical framework this thesis showed how the themes and frames that were used for analysing the data derived from the theory provided by several authors whom were discussed in the literature review. The reliability of the used coding schemas were enhanced since they were constructed using the literature and adjusted, if necessary, after some pre-tests. For instance adjustments were made to prevent overlap between themes. The operationalisation of this coding schema is discussed and made available in appendix B. One dimension was present in two themes, namely planning by digital vigilantes as mentioned in Johnston (1996). Since cultural embedded framing analysis is a form of qualitative content analysis, the same principles for reliability apply as for thematic analysis. The main focus of the researcher should be on the transparency of his or her work (Van Gorp, 2010). This principle was applied through the construction of a framing matrix. This thesis gives insight in which themes make up specific types of frames. These themes were based on the literature that was elaborated upon in the second chapter of this thesis as shown in section 3.1.2.

The data gathering method was also made visible to the audience in the data collection section of this chapter. Links to each data item are included, which can be found in appendix A, increasing the transparency. A systematic approach has been taken in the data selection and the selection procedure was described in the data collection paragraph. By adding links for the entire corpus, and not only for the dataset, the transparency of this thesis has increased even more. Since the dataset is highlighted within the corpus it is possible for reviewers to check whether the researcher was systematic in the data selection as mentioned earlier this chapter. Overall the reliability of this research was thus increased by being transparent in the data collection, the methods of analysis, and in the theory used in this thesis.

3.2.3 Validity

Where reliability focusses on whether the methods are used properly and are made transparent, validity focusses on whether the results are sound (Silverman, 2011). The interpretation of the data plays a big role when it comes to the validity. The scholar should make reasonable and convincing

connections (Silverman, 2011). The validity itself can be divided into external validity and internal validity. Internal validity concerns the soundness of the results and external validity concerns the question of whether the results could be applied to a greater population (Silverman, 2011). Internal validity can be increased by taking several points into consideration (Silverman, 2011).

One of these points is triangulation. Triangulation means that one looks at a phenomenon using multiple methods, theories, empirical materials, and observers (Silverman, 2011). These methods, theories, empirical materials, and observers should complement each other in order to increase the accuracy of one's findings (Silverman, 2011). When it comes to methods, both thematic analysis and qualitative framing analysis were used to analyse the dataset. Both methods complement each other as argued earlier this chapter, and helped answer the SQ's and RQ. Multiple theories were also used for researching the main concept, digital vigilantism, as shown previously. Moreover, multiple empirical materials were used, analysing multiple articles on *GeenStijl* and the website of *De Telegraaf*. This research was done by only one researcher. However this thesis is meant to be an individual project, therefore being the only researcher for this thesis is not considered to be a problem for the validity. Despite scholars advocating taking a neutral standpoint and trying to be as objective as possible, it is almost impossible to not have any expectations or biases before one starts his or her research. This point will be returned to in the critical reflection at the end of this thesis.

Analytic induction and constant comparison are intertwined. Analytic induction means that the researcher has certain hypotheses or expectations in mind before starting his or her research. These expectations are compared to the data and, if necessary, adjusted (Silverman, 2011). Some expectations were present for finding aspects of digital vigilantism in the dataset as shown earlier this chapter. Expectations were adjusted when the data became more familiar, which resulted in changes to the research design. Silverman (2011) states that higher validity can be achieved by constantly comparing one's data in one's case. This can only be done if the researcher uses a sufficient amount of data. According to the methodological guidelines the amount of data used for this master thesis is sufficient. Furthermore I compared the coding units for the recurrence of patterns which therefore increased the validity of this research.

Comprehensive data treatment concerns how the researcher handles and analyses the data (Silverman, 2011). By being systematic and relating the themes back to theory one eliminates systematic mistakes and increases the validity of one's work. As shown in the literature review chapter and in the methods and data collection sections of this chapter, the themes that make up digital vigilantism and the types of frames used derived from the literature. The analysis was also conducted in a systematic manner thus increasing the validity.

Using appropriate tabulations means using some form of statistics to back up one's arguments and findings (Silverman, 2011). By simply stating that an X amount of articles contained a certain amounts of sentences related to theme Y of digital vigilantism, claims, arguments, and answers to sub-questions were backed up by using data extracts as examples in this thesis. Some appropriate

tabulations will be used in the analysis to back up the findings and answer the sub-questions, this should not be considered an attempt of conducting in quantitative content analysis.

External validity concerns the generalizability of the research (Silverman, 2011). The emphasis should not be on whether the results are valid, but whether the theoretical notions are valid; thus, the aim is to generalize processes, not facts. The external validity can be increased by purposive sampling and theoretical sampling (Silverman, 2011). As mentioned in the data collection paragraph in this chapter, theoretical sampling was conducted when forming the dataset, thus increasing the external validity. Also, an important factor for the generalizability for this study is the role of the observer. The role of the researcher can provide difficulties when it comes to interpreting a text. The generalizability can be improved by acknowledging that the researcher cannot be completely objective and should be open to other interpretations (Van Gorp, 2010, Tonkiss, 1998). However, the researcher should mention his interpretations of the text and make clear what dimensions are used (Van Gorp, 2010). The interpretation of the text will be mentioned as will show in the analysis and results chapter. Cultural framing analysis studies a text under the overarching frame rather than breaking the text down in a linguistic manner (Van Gorp, 2010). The researcher should use multiple frames so the text can be analysed using different perspectives (Van Gorp, 2010). This thesis acknowledges that the researcher is aware that the findings will not be free from interpretation and that other researchers might interpret a text differently. However, by providing insight into the frames that were used and the dimensions within these frames, insight was given in the how the research was conducted in order to increase the external validity as mentioned by Van Gorp (2010) and to make the audience aware of the interpretation of the data.

Purposive sampling concerns a solid and detailed argumentation of why the specific case(s), persons, texts et cetera were chosen for one's research. It shows strong similarities with theoretical sampling (Silverman, 2011; 't Hart, Boeijs & Hox, 2009). This thesis argues why the case and the dataset would fit the research based on the theoretical framework that the literature review provided. What made the kopschop-incident, and especially the reactions to the incident, unique in a legal sense in the Netherlands was highlighted in the introduction. In the data collection and the paragraphs on thematic analysis and framing analysis in this chapter arguments were also provided as to why the dataset would fit this research and how the dataset was sampled, thus increasing the external validity.

4. Analysis and Results

In this chapter, the data that the coding schemas provided will be used to answer the sub-questions formulated in the introduction. The analysis will be discussed per media format. The focus will be on how the four themes: moral outrage, the call for identification, the call for justice and distrust in the police that together made up the main concept, digital vigilantism, were manifested in the dataset. The dimensions that in turn make up the themes as provided in chapter three also played a role. Following the results from the thematic analysis, the data that derived from the qualitative framing analysis will be analysed in a similar matter, namely by discussing how the five frames (and their accompanying dimensions): values, narratives, myths, archetypes, and stereotypes were manifested in the dataset. First the GeenStijl dataset will be discussed, followed by the articles from *De Telegraaf*. After analysing the dataset a short summary will be provided where SQ1 and SQ2 will be answered.

4.1 GeenStijl

When discussing the data of GeenStijl it is important to be informed of some practical details. GeenStijl.nl used nicknames when publishing articles. Four authors; Stift, VanLeeuwen, Van Rossem and Quid published the articles about the kopschop-incident in Eindhoven. To prevent confusion about which article is referred to in the analyses, a letter will be added after the name of the publisher. This letter corresponds with the number in the literature and references list. For example, the first article of VanLeeuwen that appeared after the incident occurred will be marked VanLeeuwen, 2013a.

4.1.1 Digital Vigilantism

The focus for the analysis of the concept of digital vigilantism was on how the components of digital vigilantism were present in articles on the kopschop-incident on GeenStijl.nl.

4.1.1.1 Moral Outrage

A remarkable example of moral outrage lies in the description of the term kopschopper. It seems to have been introduced in reaction to the incident in Eindhoven. “Eight heroes who as a group activity assaulted one other guy and thus introduced the word of the year of 2013: head kicking”(die acht helden die als groepsactiviteit met z'n allen één andere jongen in elkaar trapt en ondertussen het woord van het jaar 2013 introduceerden: hoofdschoppen) (VanLeeuwen, 2013b). Later on, head kicking was referred to as “Brent Leysen, who kicks someone in the head when he, the victim, is on the ground [that is where the name head kicker originated –red.]” (Brent Leysen die iemand die op de grond ligt, voor z'n kop schopt [daar komt de naam kopschopper vandaan - red.]) (Stift, 2013b). These

descriptions as to how the term kopschopper has been introduced show signs of moral outrage by emphasising the ruthlessness of the offence and the numerical advantage the offenders had. The reactions of Dutch society to the assault in Eindhoven were also mentioned throughout the GeenStijl dataset. One article mentions that “Facebook and Twitter were angry and the rest of the Netherlands also saw red” (Twitter & Facebook werden boos en ook de rest van Nederland liep rood aan), referring to moral outrage that occurred on social media in reaction to the incident (Van Rossem, 2013a). Showing one’s discontent or disapproval towards the actions of the offenders, including using strong language, which regularly occurred in the GeenStijl dataset, automatically shows that one does not deem those actions morally just (Silverstone, 2007).

As mentioned in both chapters two and three, moral outrage consisted of a variety of dimensions. In the first article that appeared on GeenStijl after the incident occurred moral outrage was expressed in the description of the incident (VanLeeuwen, 2013a). Emphasis was on the helpless victim, the fact that there were eight offenders and that these offenders continued to assault the victim after he was on the ground (VanLeeuwen, 2013a). The incident itself was described as an unwarranted act of violence (zinloos geweld) (VanLeeuwen, 2013a), a term that is used in the Netherlands when describing random acts of violence towards a seemingly innocent victim. The actions of the offenders were referred to as actions “lower than the lowest form of life” (Dan ben je het laagste van het allerlaagste) (VanLeeuwen, 2013a). The offense was also described as cowardly and ruthless (VanLeeuwen, 2013a; Van Rossem, 2013a). Other ways of describing the offenders ranged from ‘scum’ (tuig) (VanLeeuwen, 2013a) to ‘assholes’ (klootzakken) (Quid, 2013d). Sometimes these references were combined with diseases like ‘typhus scum’ (thieves tuig) (Quid, 2013a; VanLeeuwen, 2013b). The addition of strong words like typhus or fucking to the word scum (Quid, 2013a; VanLeeuwen, 2013b; Van Rossem, 2013b) can be considered a way to express an increase of one’s outrage.

It can be said that the earlier published articles seemed to focus on the actions of the offenders as mentioned above and the reactions of the Dutch audience (Quid, 2013a; VanLeeuwen, 2013a; VanLeeuwen, 2013b; Van Rossem, 2013a; Stift, 2013a). In later articles, when the offenders stood trial, the audience was reminded of the offenders’ cowardly actions, thus calling upon the idea of moral outrage once more. For instance when the offenders, who lived in Belgium, were extradited to the Netherlands one GeenStijl article reminded the audience of their offence by stating that “Don’t we agree that we can call each other assholes when we almost kick innocent bystanders to death?” (We zijn het toch eens dat we elkaar bij het halfdood schoppen van onschuldige voorbijgangers gewoon een klootzak mogen noemen?) (Quid, 2013d). However, the focus shifted towards the extradition of the offenders and the legal trial against these offenders in this later articles.

In one article in particular the nationality of the offenders was clearly emphasised. When it became clear in the aftermath of the incident that the alleged offenders were Belgian citizens it was highlighted. One article even wrote about the Netherlands having a “Belgian problem” (een Belgen

problem) (Quid, 2013a), comparing the assault to right wing politician Geert Wilders' political standpoint towards Dutch citizens with a Moroccan background (Quid, 2013a). As mentioned in chapter two, Dutch citizens with a Middle Eastern background were considered irrational and threatening (Sterkenburg & Spaaij, 2015; Weenink, 2009). This image was used by GeenStijl to compare the actions of the Belgium offenders to the aggressive behaviour of Dutch citizens with a Middle Eastern background. The phrase "since when do Moroccans give their children names like Bob, Tom, Jordy, Brent or Brett?" (Sinds wanneer geven Marokkanen hun kinderen namen als Bob, Tom, Jordy, Brent of Brett?) (Quid, 2013a), refers to five of the eight offenders and implies that it is unusual for other than citizens with a Moroccan background to behave aggressively. However, this same article mentions that it is not important to emphasize where the offenders are from, but that it is more important to focus on their actions (Quid, 2013a). The fact that the offenders lived in Belgium was later on only mentioned in articles that focussed on the extradition of the offenders, however, this was not meant to create a division in society based on ethnicity.

The article that discussed the 'Belgian problem' (Quid, 2013a), was also an example of Dutch society being under threat of transgression. In the article the emphasis is on the fact that ordinary Dutch teenagers thought it was a good idea to kick an innocent victim in the head (Quid, 2013a). This means that similar assaults could happen everywhere, every time. Another good example that highlights a threat is an article that argues that random assaulting of innocent victims has been trending in the Netherlands (Quid, 2013f). In this article the kopschop-incident is compared to the American phenomenon known as "The Knockout Game", where youngsters challenge each other to knockout a randomly selected victim with one punch (Quid, 2013f). This article also emphasizes the random nature of such assaults. These assaults are to be seen as a threat to society. Another article is written as a guide to 'fight like a man' (Quid, 2013c). This article recognizes the threat of unwarranted random assaults on civilians and is written as a response to these random assaults, including the kopschop-incident (Quid, 2013c). The article states that a fight should be avoided at all times and instead presents a guide for fighting fairly when one does conduct in a fight (Quid, 2013c).

A description of the digital vigilantes that helped track down the offenders was also given in one article. This article was posted to announce that all eight alleged offenders were imprisoned. (VanRossem, 2013c). An update of the same article also mentioned the quick release of five of the suspects, which is when the digital vigilantes, including GeenStijl itself, were thanked and described as 'reaguurders'. This term refers to the members of GeenStijl who actively participated in the online manhunt (VanRossem, 2013c).

4.1.1.2 Call for Justice

It was expected that GeenStijl would actively participate in shaming the alleged offenders and calling for a harsh punishment. One clear example of the latter occurred after the decision was made to

extradite the offenders to the Netherlands (Quid, 2013d). The audience was called to “sharpen their pitchforks” and “put pillories on trucks to publically show off the offenders [...] The village with the biggest pyre would win the chance to host the national lynching party” (En beter bouwen we in de DAF fabriek een customized vrachtwagen met extra zichtbare laadbak om een paar schandpalen op te schroeven [...] Het dorp met de hoogste brandstapel wint sowieso de Nationale Lynchpartij.) (Quid, 2013d). This quote embodies the motto of GeenStijl of being “Tendentious, unfounded and needlessly offensive”. The quote was probably meant in a humorous way, but it was interpreted as a plan for coordinated retaliation nonetheless. This decision will be explained in the critical reflection. Besides the threats of a public lynching one of the articles also hoped that Santa Claus would gift the offenders with a broken neck (Quid, 2013d). Even though this is not a clear threat or a call for the audience to take action, it is a form of wishing ill upon someone else.

A call for justice also appeared in the dataset of GeenStijl articles by way of shaming the suspects. There was a call for some sort of justice in the sense of prison time or the arrest of the offenders. An example can be found in the first article that was published after the incident occurred; “If you attack one person with a group of eight, you should go to jail, for ever. Let them live on water and bread and throw away the keys” (Als je met z'n achten op één los gaat, moet je de bak in, voorgoed. Op water en brood, sleutels weggooien) (VanLeeuwen1). Examples like this occurred on a regular basis in the earlier articles, other articles mainly mention that the offenders should at least have to serve a jail sentence or that the final sentence should be extended (Quid, 2013e; Stift, 2013b; Van Rossem, 2013e; VanLeeuwen, 2013e). One article that was published when the legal trials against the offenders started included the shaming of the mother of one of the offenders. She refused to answer questions of a reporter and was later identified and ridiculed for participating in a Belgian television show (Van Rossem, 2013d).

The alleged offenders were not labelled criminals before they stood trial. In the articles they are referred to as ‘offenders’ (daders) and ‘suspects’ (verdachten), but never as criminals. Coordinated retaliation, planning justice, and threats of using force also occurred in the GeenStijl dataset. A clear example of planning by digital vigilantes appears in the article that was published when it became clear that the offenders would receive relatively low sentences (VanLeeuwen, 2013d). The author comes up with a way that he thinks will guarantee the capture of the alleged offenders who are caught on camera. First pictures of the alleged offenders will be made public (VanLeeuwen, 2013d). If the alleged offenders do not turn themselves in HD-photos of the offenders will be made public (VanLeeuwen, 2013d). The next step is to show the CCTV footage including the offence (VanLeeuwen, 2013d).

4.1.1.3 Call for Identification

An important aspect of the kopschop-incident and the trial that followed was the infringement of the offenders' privacy, a result of the use of uncensored CCTV footage, and the online manhunt that followed after the police decided to ask citizens for help and share footage with several media outlets, such as GeenStijl. Therefore, the lack of a sense of privacy is a recurring theme in the articles on GeenStijl. The articles posted most recently after the incident occurred concern the police sharing the CCTV footage and the police taking down the images and the very same CCTV footage because the faces of the alleged offenders were not blurred (Stift, 2013a; VanLeeuwen, 2013a; Van Rossem, 2013a). When the alleged offenders were identified and awaiting their trial, the excessive media attention in reaction to the kopschop-incident was mentioned (Stift, 2013b; VanLeeuwen, 2013e, Quid, 2013e). In one of the articles, the lawyer of Stefano Bruggink mentioned that the CCTV footage made the incident look worse than it was (Van Rossem, 2013e). He also stated that the media attention had spiralled out of control considering that the victim did not even go to the hospital (Van Rossem, 2013e). These statements were heavily criticised in the rest of the article. The attention in the articles also shifted to the statements of the offenders and their lawyers and their claims that the offenders were already being punished by way of the media attention. They pleaded for reduced sentences because of this privacy infringement (VanLeeuwen, 2013c; Quid, 2013e; Van Rossem, 2013e). The judge took this into consideration and that combined with inadequate actions on the side of the prosecutors resulted in reduced sentences for the offenders (Stift, 2013b; VanLeeuwen, 2013e). This unexpected outcome resulted in criticism from GeenStijl, however, surprisingly the blog decided to refer to the offenders with only their first name after the judge's verdict (Quid, 2013g).

The actual call for identifying the suspects occurred in the earlier stages of reporting on the kopschop-incident (VanLeeuwen, 2013a; Van Rossem, 2013a; VanLeeuwen, 2013b). The audience was actively called to get involved in the manhunt with a link to the local news network of the province of Brabant where they could report their findings (Van Rossem, 2013a; VanLeeuwen, 2013a). GeenStijl also encouraged people to share the information with GeenStijl itself and provided links to social media groups or communities that were actively involved in the digital manhunt. An example found in one article states "This guy already has five names: Tom Kantelberg, Stefano Bruggink, Jordy Moeskops, Ismail Bouziane and Bob Sloots. Still three more to go. KEEP SEARCHING!" (Deze gozer heeft zelfs nog vijf namen: Tom Kantelberg, Stefano Bruggink, Jordy Moeskops, Ismail Bouziane en Bob Sloots. Nog 3 te gaan. BLIJF ZOEKEN!) (VanLeeuwen, 2013b). During the manhunt, not only the original CCTV footage was used, but also an uncensored photograph of the alleged offender that was made the night of the incident (VanLeeuwen, 2013b). One link in particular provided a picture that provides a perfect example of the naming process during the online manhunt. This picture is shown in figure two. It should be stated that when it became clear that the alleged offenders had been found, GeenStijl told its audience to stop browsing Facebook accounts,

because all eight offenders were accounted for (Van Rossem, 2013d). However, the names of the (alleged) offenders were by then already made public during the manhunt (Van Rossem, 2013b) and all eight suspects were identified (VanLeeuwen, 2013b; Stift, 2013a). In almost all cases the offenders were mentioned with their first name and surname and articles often included a GIF of the assault, an uncensored picture or the CCTV footage.



Figure two: the uncensored photo and photos including the names of identified alleged offenders. (Author unknown)

4.1.1.4 Distrust in the Police

A unique and outspoken comment on the legal process occurred in an article that described one of the prosecutor's mistakes. The prosecutor wanted to demand a twelve month jail sentence of which four months would be on probation. However, the prosecutor misspoke and demanded a sentence of twelve months, of which eight would be on probation (VanLeeuwen, 2013e). In this outspoken article, the legal process was therefore described as a fail of epic proportions (VanLeeuwen, 2013e).

Furthermore, distrust in the police was visible in their coverage of the inadequate and slow reactions by the police when releasing the CCTV footage (Van Rossem, 2013a; VanLeeuwen, 2013d). This transformed into outrage over the low sentences the offenders received when the judge pronounced the final verdict (Stift, 2013b; VanLeeuwen, 2013e). An example of the inadequate and slow reactions when releasing the CCTV footage can be found in the article by Van Rossem. "The police was looking for the scumbags for some weeks, but, as usual, had to turn to the Internet to trace the offenders down" (De politie bleek al een paar weken op zoek te zijn naar het straattuig, maar moest zich - zoals zo vaak - tot Het Internet wenden om reuring aan de gebeurtenissen te geven en een spoor van de daders op te kunnen pikken) (Van Rossem, 2013a). The same article also set the tone for criticizing the police's policy on sharing CCTV footage. It described the police's process of sharing the footage, taking it down, and sharing it again with blurred faces as 'clumsy' (Van Rossem, 2013a).

They also mention that even though the local police force took the non-blurred footage down, the national police force still had the same footage available on their website (Van Rossem, 2013a).

Other criticisms focussed on the low sentences that the offenders received. The sentences of the offenders were labelled as “a joke” and as “insufficient” (Stift, 2013b). The same article mentions that the offenders deserve to be punished more harshly. A proposed solution in this article is that if the legal system does not change, the media should punish the offenders even more, for instance by always mentioning the offenders names when discussing a similar case as the kopschop-incident in the future (Stift, 2013b).

4.1.2 Framing

The framing part of the analysis focused on how targets and participants of digital vigilantism, in case of the kopschop-incident, are framed and represented in articles on GeenStijl.nl. This was done by focusing on the values, narratives, myths, archetypes and stereotypes that could be found in the data.

4.1.2.1 Values

In the GeenStijl articles the incident was often described as a ruthless assault, implying that such use of force directed to an innocent individual is not in line with Dutch values. The values were framed in such a way as to add strong language when referring to the offenders and the incident itself. Examples could be the use of the word scum and variations on this word, including diseases in front of the word scum. Another way in which the values of the GeenStijl community, and possibly Dutch society, were framed was by criticizing the arguments that the privacy breach justified lower sentences. One of the arguments was that one does not deserve a private life when one commits a crime (VanLeeuwen, 2013d). This argument sets the tone for the articles overall. The breach of privacy argument is used many times to frame the offenders as people who feel sorry for themselves instead of regretting their actions and feeling sorry for the victim (VanLeeuwen, 2013c; Van Rossem, 2013b; Van Rossem, 2013e). The victim is not mentioned very often. When he is mentioned it is in the description of the assault where he is framed as an innocent victim or an innocent bystander. There is no mention of how he was recovering, his reactions to the incident, or what he thought of the incident or the offenders' sentences.

The framing of values largely overlaps with moral outrage as depicted in the digital vigilantism paragraph of this chapter. Distrust in the police and the legal system can also be considered a sign of the values in a society. By stating that citizens are not satisfied with a sentence, one is indirectly saying that the offence itself breached the morals and ethics of society in such a way that a more severe punishment is justified. As argued before, using strong language or showing one's

disgust towards the offenders and about the nature of the offence is also a statement that the behaviour by the offenders is in conflict with the values of society.

4.1.2.2 Narratives

Each article in itself contained a narrative. These narratives almost all follow the crime narrative (Banks, 2005; Chadee & Ditton, 2005), where the crime, in this case the assault by eight offenders of an innocent individual, is described and the actions of the offenders are condemned. The focus in the individual articles varies from the nature of the offense, the role of the offenders and the punishment for these offenders.

The schema of Ray Pawson (2002) is concerned with whether the involvement of active citizens in the process of identifying and punishing suspects is successful or if it hurts the investigation and the legal trial. When applying the schema of Ray Pawson (2002) on the dataset, one can predominantly place the dataset in the negative outcome of the involvement of active citizens. The first seven articles that were published after the incident occurred can be placed in the successful side of the schema since the offenders were successfully identified after CCTV footage of the incident was made public and the police called upon the public for help with the identification of the alleged offenders (VanLeeuwen, 2013a; VanLeeuwen, 2013b; Van Rossem 2013a; Van Rossem, 2013b; Van Rossem, 2013c; Stift, 2013a; Quid, 2013a).

However, the articles of Van Rossem (2013a), Van Rossem (2013b) and Quid (2013a), show signs of misidentification, such as wrongfully accusing alleged offenders, which is step one on the negative side of the schema. This misidentification showed in the believe that the alleged offenders were probably from the Netherlands. Wrongfully accusing alleged offenders was present in one article where one of the alleged offenders who claimed to be innocent was mentioned as one of the offenders by *GeenStijl* nonetheless (Van Rossem, 2013b). They also show aspects that can be considered signs of poorly managing the online identification process, for instance, the conflicting policies on releasing CCTV footage of the incident. Poorly managing the identification process is also present on the negative side of the schema. Articles eight until fourteen (Van Rossem, 2013d; Van Rossem, 2013e; Quid, 2013b; Quid, 2013c; Quid, 2013d; VanLeeuwen, 2013c) mainly focus on the infringement of the offenders' privacy by the excessive media attention and vigilante actions and debate whether offenders should be entitled to privacy protection. These articles can be considered a form of sanction misplacement, which is step three on the negative side of the schema. Signs of sanction misapplication that were present in the text were acts of vigilantism, and disapproval and humiliation of the offenders. One clear example on how this is visible is when one of the offenders, Brett Smits, tells his side of the story. He states that he is suffering every day because of the media attention and the vigilante actions in reaction to the kopschop-incident (VanLeeuwen, 2013c). Another clear example of humiliation is the article that focuses on the mother of one of the offenders. The mother was on the Belgium

television show *Boer Zoekt Vrouw*, (*Farmer Wants a Wife*). She took part in this dating show for farmers as a lesbian farmer looking for a partner. Her sexual preferences were emphasized and the mother is ridiculed. A link was added to a website that contained a clip of the show (Van Rossem, 2013d). Articles fifteen until nineteen focus on the legal trial and the final verdict of the judge (VanLeeuwen, 2013d; VanLeeuwen, 2013e; Quid, 2013e; Quid, 2013f; Stift, 2013b). The coverage of this by GeenStijl can also be placed on the negative side of Pawson's schema (2002), under the last step, the unintended outcome. The media coverage and the vigilante actions that followed were, according to the judge, a form of punishment in itself. This, in combination with mistakes made by the public prosecutor, led to jail sentences that were lower than expected (Stift, 2013b; VanLeeuwen, 2013e). The actions of the citizens and of GeenStijl.nl thus led to an outcome that they did not intent.

The entire GeenStijl dataset thus shows a clear narrative. It starts with the kopschop-incident taking place in Eindhoven on January fourth, 2013. The nature of the offence was described as a brutal assault by eight offenders against a helpless and innocent individual. The audience was asked to participate in identifying the eight offenders. The process of identifying the offenders is described where the digital vigilantes were applauded for their work and the police was criticized for their policy on sharing the CCTV footage that contained the assault itself. After the eight offenders were successfully identified, the focus shifted towards the narratives on the extradition and the legal trial against the offenders. The offenders were described and the extended media coverage, which lead to vigilante actions and the breach of the offenders' privacy was covered. The defence strategy of the offenders is also highlighted, the offenders felt that they were punished enough by the excessive media overage that the case received. This strategy seemed to work since the offenders received relatively low sentences from the judge. These low sentences in turn were heavily criticized by GeenStijl.

4.1.2.3 Myths

A noticeable myth in the GeenStijl dataset is the myth of the Belgian problem. The claims that the Netherlands had a problem with Dutch citizens migrating to Belgium and returning to the Netherlands to cause trouble is unfounded and can thus be seen as a myth (Quid, 2013a). As mentioned earlier, the comparison with the political message of the right winged politician Geert Wilders regarding Dutch citizens with Moroccan backgrounds was used to insinuate that the Netherlands deals with an emigrant problem instead of an immigrant problem. Two of the suspects were indeed Dutch citizens that moved to Belgium and the other six suspects were native Belgians. The two former Dutch citizens that migrated to Belgium are depicted as trouble makers and compared to Dutch citizens with a Middle Eastern ethnic background. As argued earlier this chapter and in chapter two, the Dutch citizens with a Middle Eastern background were considered irrational or threatening (Sterkenburg & Spaaij, 2015; Weenink, 2009). This image is used by GeenStijl to compare the actions of the Belgium offenders to the aggressive behaviour of Dutch citizens with a Middle Eastern background (Quid, 2013a). These

claims are not backed up by clear arguments and there is a strong possibility that it was meant in a humorous way.

Another myth is the fighting guide for fighting like a gentleman (Quid, 2013c). This ‘guide’ shows the perceived ‘rules’ of a gentlemen’s pub brawl. However, these ‘rules’ are not backed up with relevant arguments. For example, the article states that pain is good and pleasant and that after a gentlemen’s pub brawl, one should not go to the police (Quid, 2013c). Furthermore, fighting with eight partners in crime against one victim is not ‘how one’s mother taught one to fight’ and that not everyone can fight like a man. Again there is a strong possibility that this article was meant to convey humour. The myth seems to imply that there is such a thing as a ‘gentlemen’s’ fight, however, it seems highly doubtful that such a thing actually exists (Quid, 2013c).

The article where a councilman of the city of Eindhoven blames GeenStijl for the roughening of society (Quid, 2013b), can also be considered a myth. According to the councilman the violent videos and bad language that GeenStijl publishes on their website triggers aggressive behaviour among youngsters (Quid, 2013b). Besides GeenStijl the councilman also blames violent video games for the aggressive behaviour of teenagers. Despite the fact that studies have been conducted on the influence of violence on television and in videogames on the behaviour of adolescents, GeenStijl counter argues that offenses like assault existed before GeenStijl or even the internet came along (Quid, 2013b). Because the influence of violence on television on the behaviour of teenagers is not part of this thesis and since there was no clear evidence provided in the article to back up the councilman’s claims, these claims were considered a myth.

4.1.2.4 Archetypes

The archetypes are the characters and motives that help give structure to narratives. The focus was mainly on how the offenders were framed and how the digital vigilantes were framed. In the GeenStijl dataset the offenders were framed as villains, responsible for the crime and deserving punishment. This villain frame was often accompanied by strong language. Earlier examples as scum in combination with amplifying words such as typhus were given to put extra emphasis on the negative role they played in the kopschop-incident. The alleged offenders were also referred to as ‘beasts’ and ‘blood hyenas’ (Quid, 2013d). Not only were the alleged offenders framed as villains by using references to the offenders or by using insults and strong language, the audience was also continuously reminded of the actions by the alleged offenders. One clear example is of the offender Brent Leysen, who is mentioned in one article as “Brent Leysen, who kicks someone in the head when he, the victim, is on the ground [that is where the name head kicker originated –red.]” (Brent Leysen die iemand die op de grond ligt, voor z'n kop schopt [daar komt de naam kopschopper vandaan - red.]) (Stift, 2013b) Here the offender Brent Leysen is connected with the ruthless and coward nature of the kopschop-incident.

The kopschop-incident involved eight suspects, however, not all offenders physically assaulted the victim. The lawyer of one of the alleged offenders who did not physically assault the victim, Bob Sloots, summoned GeenStijl to remove any pictures of his client from their website. GeenStijl however depicted Bob Sloots as a rich man's son who is used to get away with everything because his dad has money (Van Rossem, 2013b). Bob Sloots was also regarded as a coward for not intervening in the attack (Van Rossem, 2013b). GeenStijl argues that he is just as guilty as the offenders who did physically harm the victim because he kept his mouth shut for weeks until CCTV footage of the incident was made public (Van Rossem, 2013b). So despite the fact that Bob Sloots was innocent of the physical assault, he was still depicted as a villain.

When it became clear that media attention and privacy infringement would affect the trial, the offenders and their lawyers tried to frame the offenders as victims. This victim role was usually just mentioned in the articles and was heavily criticized by the writer of the article, but it was mentioned nonetheless (Quid, 2013e; Van Rossem, 2013c; Stift, 2013b). One of the offenders, Brett Smits, explained in the interview that he deserved to be punished but that the media attention was a punishment in itself (VanLeeuwen, 2013c). GeenStijl suggests in the article that contains the video of the interview that Smits was only trying to get a reduced sentence by declaring that he felt bad for the victim and apologized for his actions (VanLeeuwen, 2013c). Another offender, Tom Kantelberg, who received a reduced sentence was, probably sarcastically, framed as a victim by GeenStijl: "Now all the darn media are writing about Tom Kantelberg again and of course this makes it a lot harder and a lot sadder for the victim Tom Kantelberg" (nu schrijven al die verdraaide media ook weer over Tom Kantelberg en dat maakt het natuurlijk allemaal nog een stuk erger en zieliger voor slachtoffer Tom Kantelberg) (VanLeeuwen, 2013e). Here Tom Kantelberg is (sarcastically) framed as the victim of the excessive media attention.

The digital vigilantes were also framed as villains. This villain frame refers to the interference of the legal process by digital vigilantes. Vigilante behaviour went too far and the lack of a sense of privacy was taken into account when the offenders were convicted. These claims seem to be recurring in multiple articles but are in turn heavily criticized by GeenStijl. In one article the lawyer of the alleged offender Stefano Bruggink states that the kopschop-incident was not all that special and that fights like this happen every weekend (Van Rossem, 2013e). He also argued that the media attention and outrage that followed the incident was over excessive and misplaced because the victim did not even had to stay in the hospital overnight (Van Rossem, 2013e), GeenStijl in turn heavily criticized and ridicule these statements. GeenStijl also reacts to a Facebook community that demands the release of the offenders. This Facebook community argued that the privacy of the offenders should be respected and thus shows the digital vigilantes and GeenStijl as villains (Quid, 2013e). GeenStijl reacts by stating that someone who assaults an innocent victim should have no right to privacy (Quid, 2013e). As mentioned, one article mentioned that GeenStijl was to blame for the "demoralisation and roughening of society" (Quid, 2013b), stating that bad language and violent videos cause aggressive

behaviour (Quid, 2013b). In this article, GeenStijl counter argues the accusations, and thus the framing of GeenStijl as a villain, by stating that nobody but the offenders were to blame for their actions (Quid, 2013b). The same article refers to the fact that it was the police who requested the help of the media and civilians for identifying the alleged offenders and that GeenStijl just complied with this request (Quid, 2013b). Despite their negative interference, the digital vigilantes were also congratulated for their part in the successful identification of the alleged offenders (Van Rossem, 2013c; VanLeeuwen, 2013d). The article that announced that all eight offenders were imprisoned opened with: “Ladies and gentlemen, we got ‘em” (Van Rossem, 2013c), a reference to the speech president Barack Obama gave after killing Osama Bin Laden. The members of GeenStijl were then thanked for their successful participation in the online manhunt (Van Rossem, 2013c). Another article mentions the use of citizens for identifying alleged offenders as an ideal solution for the long process of identifying suspects by the police alone (VanLeeuwen, 2013d).

The victim of the incident was only mentioned in describing the incident. He was recurrently depicted as a helpless victim or an innocent bystander (VanLeeuwen, 2013a; Van Rossem, 2013a; Quid, 2013a). How he felt about the incident or the sentences that the offenders received was not mentioned.

4.1.2.5 Stereotypes

Given the outspoken style of GeenStijl’s reporting it was to be expected that stereotypes would be present in the GeenStijl dataset. However, stereotypes were only mentioned in the ‘Belgian problem’ article (Quid, 2013a). Unlike the findings in the article on Dutch athletes with an ethnic background as discussed in chapter two, the fact that the offenders in the kopschop-incident lived in Belgium was not constantly emphasised as the narrative progressed. One exception was the article on the ‘Belgian problem’, where the Dutch identity of the offenders was highlighted despite their immoral behaviour (Quid, 2013a). This concerned the two Dutch suspects who had moved to Belgium. The GeenStijl article makes the connection between Dutch citizens with a Moroccan ethnic background and violent behaviour, much like the article by Sterkenburg and Spaaij (2015) mentions that footballers with a Middle Eastern ethnic background are often labelled as irrational and threatening in sports media. GeenStijl discards this connection since it argues that nationality or ethnic background does not matter when one participates in assaulting an innocent victim (Quid, 2013a).

There were some other simplified references to the offenders and to people who in general take part in assaulting innocent victims. In the first article the offenders were referred to as ‘rats’ and as ‘lower than the lowest form of life’ (VanLeeuwen, 2013a). In other articles they were depicted as ‘scum’ (VanLeeuwen, 2013c), ‘beasts’ (Quid, 2013d), ‘blood hyenas’ and ‘morons’ (Quid, 2013d). However, there were no simplified references to the offenders based on ethnicity or nationality. There was, however, stereotypes of voters on the right winged political party PVV. In one article GeenStijl

refers to PVV voters as people who immediately blame ethnic minorities for causing nothing but trouble every time an act of public aggression takes place (Quid, 2013a). There was also a simplified reference towards children of rich parents (Van Rossem, 2013b). One of the alleged offenders is framed as a rich man's son who gets away with everything because his father is a wealthy man (Van Rossem, 2013b). This stereotype of rich children who let their fathers get them out of trouble recurs in an article where the alleged offenders fight extradition to the Netherlands (Van Rossem, 2013d).

4.2 *De Telegraaf*

The analysis of *De Telegraaf* dataset showed that the newspaper only actively contributed to the online identification process in the first three articles. When it became clear that all eight suspects were identified, *De Telegraaf* continued to report on the incident and the trial of the eight offenders. In the digital vigilantism section, this thesis will highlight which themes of digital vigilantism were mentioned in the coverage of the incident and the legal process following the incident. Following this the framing by *De Telegraaf* will be discussed.

4.2.1 Digital Vigilantism

4.2.1.1 Moral Outrage

An outspoken example of moral outrage was found in the article that was put online shortly after the incident occurred. It described the offenders as 'scum' and showcased the national outrage in reaction to the incident by sharing tweets of ordinary citizens and Dutch celebrities who responded to the kopschop-incident ("Beelden mishandeling massaal verspreid", 2013). These Tweets in turn described the alleged offenders as 'idiots' and as 'pathetic teenagers' ("Beelden mishandeling massaal verspreid", 2013). In articles that were published when the extradition process and the legal trails were pending one of the main suspects was referred to as a head kicker ("Kopschopper: ik ben al gestraft", 2013). Referring to the suspects as scum seemed to stop after the article published on the twelfth of February 2013 ("Uitvaagsel in beroep tegen uitlevering", 2013). From then on the outrage towards the offenders was mainly present by reminding the audience of their role in the kopschop-incident. A recurring reference is "suspect of the notorious battery in Eindhoven" (verdachte van de geruchtmakende mishandeling in Eindhoven) ("Hoofdverdachten mishandeling moeten getuigen", 2013; "Beroep 5 jongeren tegen uitlevering dinsdag", 2013; "Verdachten schoppartij voorlopig vast", 2013; "Geen poging doodslag meerderjarige verdachte", 2013). By describing the incident as a notorious battery the audience is reminded about the nature and the seriousness of the assault.

Outrage about the offence was also shown in the description of the assault. The incident is labelled as 'a cowardly assault' ("Beelden mishandeling massaal verspreid", 2013), 'a horrific assault' ("Kopschopper: ik ben al gestraft", 2013) and later on the incident is recurrently referred to as 'the

notorious battery in Eindhoven' ("Hoofdverdachten mishandeling moeten getuigen", 2013; "Beroep 5 jongeren tegen uitlevering dinsdag", 2013; "Verdachten schoppartij voorlopig vast", 2013). One article also mentioned that the victim was almost "kicked to death" ("Gezichtschoppers Eindhoven vrolijk op foto", 2013). The division in society based on morals and ethics thus did not appear through the use of strong language, rather the audience is constantly reminded about the outrage the incident caused in Dutch society and the nature of the assault ("Beelden mishandeling massaal verspreid", 2013; "Weer beelden van mishandeling Eindhoven op tv", 2013; "Hoofdverdachten mishandeling moeten getuigen", 2013; "Beroep 5 jongeren tegen uitlevering dinsdag", 2013; "Verdachten schoppartij voorlopig vast", 2013; "Rechter beraadt zich over uitlevering", 2013). The division based on morality and ethics also became apparent by giving attention to the online identification process to identify the suspects that followed the incident. This process was recurrently described as a 'witch hunt' ("CDA Eindhoven: geweld schering en inslag", 2013; "Burgemeester betrekken bij inzet beelden", 2013). By placing the emphasis on the nature of the offence and on the outraged reaction that followed, the audience is constantly reminded that the incident was a clear sign of immoral and unethical behaviour. An example of the established order being under threat of transgression was also found. A councilman of the city of Eindhoven states that violence regularly occurs after a Saturday night out in Eindhoven ("CDA Eindhoven: geweld schering en inslag", 2013). According to the councilman the solution to this regular occurrence of violence is for society to work together in order to prevent violent assaults in the city in the future ("CDA Eindhoven: geweld schering en inslag", 2013).

The division based on ethnicity occurred when it became clear that six of the offenders were Belgian citizens ("Hoofdschopper (17) bekent", 2013). The nationality of the offenders was later rectified stating that two of the suspects were Belgian citizens and six of them had the Dutch nationality. ("Geweld Eindhoven na opmerking fiets", 2013). Despite mentioning that the suspects of the kopschop-incident included Belgian teenagers, the later articles do not put much emphasis on the nationality of the offenders ("Beroep 5 jongeren tegen uitlevering dinsdag", 2013).

4.2.1.2 Call for Justice

There was no active call for the arrest or punishment of the offenders by *De Telegraaf* itself. Some articles do refer to others who do think that the offenders deserve a form of punishment. There were some interesting examples of the call for justice. In one article the lawyer of one of the offenders for instance admits that his client understands that he deserves punishment ("Hoofdschopper (17) bekent", 2013). In another article one of the offenders himself explains that he feels ashamed for his behaviour and that he deserves punishment ("Kopschopper: ik ben al gestraft", 2013). These two articles could also be a strategy of the offender and his lawyer to obtain a lower sentence, which will be described later on. Another remarkable example can be found in an article where the two main suspects, Brent L.

and Brett S, are called as witnesses against a third offender, Tom K. The two main suspects plead that Tom K. played a bigger role in the assault against the innocent victim than was assumed (“Hoofdverdachten mishandeling moeten getuigen”, 2013). A call for justice from the victim is not found in the data but while not openly demanding a higher punishment, the victim is also shown as being disappointed in the verdict of the judge (“Slachtoffer: tegenvallende uitspraak”, 2013).

The threats and coordinated retaliation towards the offenders that took place after the kopschop-incident occurred and the CCTV footage was shown was also highlighted. One article mentions that these threats were made after the names of the alleged offenders were made public and that not only the offenders, but also innocent people with similar names, received numerous threats (“Weer beelden van mishandeling Eindhoven op tv”, 2013). In another article the lawyer of one of the then former suspects mentions that the outraged public did not have the right to play judge and that they should not sentence people before they are tried (“Vier verdachten schoppartij niet vervolgd”, 2013). Furthermore, the mayor of the city of Eindhoven mentioned the threats and retaliation by vigilantes (“Burgemeesters: laat omgeving daders met rust”, 2013). The mayor calls upon the public to stay calm and to not take matters into their own hands so justice could prevail (“Burgemeesters: laat omgeving daders met rust”, 2013).

4.2.1.3 Call for Identification

The call for identification mostly consisted of actively naming the offenders. However, this only happened when it became clear that all eight suspects were awaiting trial. The most outspoken example of the call for identification was found in an article that contained links that would redirect the reader to a list with possible names of the alleged offenders and the uncensored photo of the offenders (“Gezichtschoppers Eindhoven vrolijk op foto”, 2013). This article also made the urgent request for readers to share their knowledge about the suspects with *De Telegraaf* without saying for what this information might be used (“Gezichtschoppers Eindhoven vrolijk op foto”, 2013). In another article *De Telegraaf* mentioned that one of the political parties in the town council of Eindhoven asked if the CCTV footage was clear enough to make positive identifications and the mayor of Eindhoven proposed the idea to make it easier to use CCTV footage for identifying alleged offenders (“CDA Eindhoven: geweld schering en inslag”, 2013).

Infringement of the offenders’ privacy, to different degrees, was a recurring theme in the articles. These articles either contained the CCTV footage of the kopschop-incident itself or a censored photograph of the alleged offenders, or addressed the breaching of the offenders’ privacy by showing uncensored footage and the way the media attention and actions of digital vigilantes affected their private lives (“Kopschopper: ik ben al gestraft”, 2013). The lawyers of the offenders used the breach of their clients’ privacy as a defence strategy (“Rechter beraadt zich over uitlevering”, 2013; “Video mishandeling onterecht op internet”, 2013), claiming that the use of CCTV footage caused too much

pressure on their clients (“Rechter beraadt zich over uitlevering”, 2013). One of the lawyers also stated that it was unnecessary to include images of the assault itself and that pictures of the alleged offenders should have been published first before releasing the CCTV footage (“Video mishandeling onterecht op internet”, 2013). The use of CCTV footage for identifying alleged offenders is a recurring topic of discussion. Most articles discuss the rules and regulations for the use of CCTV images (“Publicatie beelden laat door regels”, 2013; “Camerabeelden niet meer weg te denken”, 2013; “Burgemeester betrekken bij inzet beelden”, 2013). In another article the spokesmen of the organization against unnecessary violence stated that punishing offenders is more important than their privacy (“Camerabeelden niet meer weg te denken”, 2013). Furthermore, a prosecutor admits that mistakes were made in reaction to the kopschop-incident in terms of the use of CCTV footage, but that the justice department will not stop using footage to identify suspects of future crimes (“Burgemeester betrekken bij inzet beelden”, 2013). Another article also mentioned the origin of the photo of the eight suspects that was taken on the evening that the assault on the innocent victim took place. This photo was later used by both *GeenStijl* and *De Telegraaf* and can be found in figure two. According to the article, the eight youngsters posed for a picture taken by a stranger near the movie theatre in Eindhoven on the night that the kopschop-incident took place. The pedestrian who took the picture also ended up releasing it after the assault took place, hereby helping in identifying the alleged offenders (“Gezichtschoppers Eindhoven vrolijk op foto”, 2013). *De Telegraaf* mentioned that the photo of the eight youngsters showed strong resemblance to the eight suspects. However the newspaper also made clear that it was not entirely sure that these youngsters were in fact the same eight people involved in the assault (“Gezichtschoppers Eindhoven vrolijk op foto”, 2013).

As time progressed it became clear that the excessive media attention might have a negative effect on the legal trial. This resulted in *De Telegraaf* trying to report from a more neutral point of view. The articles referred to the alleged offenders as ‘suspects’ and the term ‘scum’ was no longer used. However, in one article the name of the village that one of the offenders lived in was mentioned, together with the first name of his mother and the fact that she had been in a well-viewed Belgian television show (“Moeder hoofdschopper in BzV”, 2013). There is no evidence that showed that this information was used to harass the person in question, however, this information could have been used to track down the address of the offender and his mother.

4.2.1.4 Distrust in the Police

The outspoken nature of the *De Telegraaf* led to expectation that the newspaper would highlight the public reactions to the verdict of the judge. Surprisingly, these reactions were not mentioned in *De Telegraaf*’s dataset. However, the lawyer of the victim stated that his client was disappointed in the judge’s verdict, especially considering the prosecutor’s initial demands (“Slachtoffer: tegenvallende uitspraak”, 2013). Furthermore, the spokesmen of the organization against unnecessary violence stated

that punishing offenders is more important than their privacy and that the offenders deserved to be punished (“Camerabeelden niet meer weg te denken”, 2013), and the mayor of Eindhoven openly condemned the actions of the offenders (“Burgemeesters: laat omgeving daders met rust”, 2013).

The offenders’ lawyers also criticized the police and the public prosecutors, not for their lack of action, but for releasing the CCTV footage (“Rechter beraadt zich over uitlevering”, 2013). According to the lawyer of one of the suspects, showing the footage of the assault led to threats to the offenders whereas just showing pictures would have led to a much milder public reaction (“Video mishandeling onterecht op internet”, 2013). The lawyer in question also argued that there is no need for ten witnesses to a crime if two will do, thereby implying that there was no need to include the actual assault in the CCTV footage (“Video mishandeling onterecht op internet”, 2013). Not only did the lawyers dispute the use of CCTV footage, they also claimed that the public prosecutor only charged the suspects with attempt to manslaughter in order to have the suspects could be extradited to the Netherlands (“Belgen traineren uitzetting”, 2013). The lawyers argued that these charges were over excessive (“Belgen traineren uitzetting”, 2013). Moreover, the lawyer of the suspects argued that his client did not have to be extradited to the Netherlands because he was a minor at the time of the offence (“Verdachte schoppartij binnenkort weer vrij”, 2013; “Hoofdverdachte schoppartij komt zich melden”, 2013). All in all, the articles in *De Telegraaf* thus showed how the lawyers criticised the action of the police and the public prosecutors and can thus be seen as displaying distrust in the police and the prosecutors in the Netherlands.

Dutch law enforcement reacted to the critique on the use of CCTV footage when asking the public to identify the alleged offenders of a crime. A clear example of the struggles that law enforcement faced when dealing with the kopschop-incident is described by a public prosecutor when deciding whether the CCTV footage should have been put online: “It involved a very serious offence. The community asks for a quick response in such a case. We felt at the time that this was the right method to use” (Het ging om een heel ernstig feit. De maatschappij vraagt dan om een snelle oplossing. We hebben gemeend dat dit een goede methode was”) (“OM: maatschappij vroeg om snelle oplossing”, 2013). This quote highlights the fact that the need for a quick response increased the pressure on the prosecutor to meet the demands of society. Another public prosecutor admitted that mistakes were made in reaction to the kopschop-incident, but that the justice department would not stop using footage to identify alleged offenders of future crimes (“Burgemeester betrekken bij inzet beelden”, 2013). According to the prosecutor including the public in the identification of suspects by sharing images or CCTV footage on the internet is a powerful tool in the arsenal of law enforcement (“Burgemeester betrekken bij inzet beelden”, 2013), thus implying that the possible benefits of this method are substantial and will not harm their position too much.

4.2.2 Framing

The framing part of the analysis focused on how targets and participants of digital vigilantism, in case of the kopschop-incident, are framed and represented in articles on the website of *De Telegraaf*.

4.2.2.1 Values

Surprisingly, there was not much use of strong language in *De Telegraaf* to emphasize that the suspects' behaviour contradicted Dutch values, despite the overall aggressive tone of reporting by *De Telegraaf*. Instead the values were shown by constantly reminding readers about what happened in Eindhoven, referring to the kopschop-incident as the notorious battery in Eindhoven as mentioned in the moral outrage paragraph. The seemingly random assault by numerous attackers on a single victim, and the outraged reaction of Dutch society, as mentioned in Tweets and by referring to the national outrage in reaction to the assault, are also recurring in multiple articles ("Hoofdverdachten mishandeling moeten getuigen", 2013; "Beroep 5 jongeren tegen uitlevering dinsdag", 2013; "Verdachten schoppartij voorlopig vast", 2013). By constantly reminding the audience *De Telegraaf* seems to repeat the message that the assault has to be condemned.

However, in the aftermath of the incident, the articles also paid attention to the negative results of excessive media attention, despite the fact that the newspaper excessively covered the aftermath of the kopschop-incident itself. For instance, the newspaper mentioned the mayor of Eindhoven, who stated that CCTV footage should be made available to the public to help identify alleged offenders. The mayor later condemned the media attention and harassment directed at the offenders by ordinary citizens as a result of releasing the CCTV footage ("Burgemeesters: laat omgeving daders met rust", 2013). In the same article the mayor stated that the victim did not wish for vigilante action against the offenders ("Burgemeesters: laat omgeving daders met rust", 2013). This privacy infringement is also mentioned in articles where the offenders make clear that their private lives had suffered because of the media attention and harassment ("Kopschopper: ik ben al gestraft", 2013). This implies that breaching someone's privacy is not deemed to be morally just behaviour.

It thus seems that *De Telegraaf* makes clear that it condemns both the actions of the offenders and the vigilante actions in response to the kopschop-incident. Despite this seemingly neutral position the newspaper took an aggressive approach by asking for private information about the offenders without sharing for what the information would be used and by using the word *scum*. This aggressive approach seemed to vanish when the extradition process starts and the legal trial are underway. *De Telegraaf* focus seemed to shift to the offenders' defence strategy and also seemed to negatively frame vigilante reactions, thus implying that vigilante justice is not an acceptable form of justice.

4.2.2.2 Narratives

De Telegraaf dataset overall provided a clear narrative that starts with the kopschop-incident itself which led to public reactions to the incident, the online identification process, the imprisonment of the suspects, their trial, and the verdict. Not only did the dataset give attention to the incident and the offenders, it also portrayed the narrative of the victim. It mentioned the injuries sustained by the victim (“Beelden mishandeling massaal verspreid”, 2013), and his thought on the (digital) vigilante actions that followed the incident. He also reacted to the verdict of the judge (“Slachtoffer: tegenvallende uitspraak”, 2013). Some articles also provided extra insights in the rules and regulations that apply when releasing CCTV footage (“Publicatie beelden laat door regels”, 2013) and the process of extraditing suspects to the Netherlands (“EU-landen kunnen verdachten 'snel' uitleveren”, 2013). Overall, *De Telegraaf* seemed to tell a complete story by concentrating on multiple contexts of the kopschop-incident and the reactions that followed focussing on the way the law enforcement, the victim, and the (lawyers of the) offenders were involved.

The articles fit both the positive and negative schemas that analyse the effects of citizen’s involvement in police work (Pawson, 2002). The articles that were published immediately after the footage of the kopschop-incident was released mentioned the outrage in Dutch society and the online manhunt that followed (“Beelden mishandeling massaal verspreid”, 2013; “Gezichtschoppers Eindhoven vrolijk op foto”, 2013). Next, attention was given to the fact that violence occurs on a regular bases on Saturday nights in Eindhoven (“CDA Eindhoven: geweld schering en inslag”, 2013). The media attention led to the identification of the suspects and their extradition to the Netherlands was discussed for the first time (“Hoofdschopper (17) bekent”, 2013; “Geweld Eindhoven na opmerking fiets”, 2013; “EU-landen kunnen verdachten 'snel' uitleveren”, 2013). These articles were in line with the first two steps on the positive schema of Pawson (2002), identifying the suspects and naming the offence. However, later articles switched to the negative side of the schema. The online identification process is shown as poorly managed and combined with the excessive media attention led to unnecessary harassment of the offenders and unwanted contact of digital vigilantes with the victim (“Burgemeesters: laat omgeving daders met rust”, 2013; “Moeder hoofdschopper in BzV”, 2013). This complies with the second and third step of the negative schema. These steps concern a poorly managed identification process and sanction misapplication where measures by vigilantes include harassment and humiliation of the offenders (Pawson, 2002). From here on the articles often mentioned how media attention and vigilante actions were an infringement to the suspects’ private life and how this influenced the legal process (“Kopschopper: ik ben al gestraft”, 2013; “Vier verdachten schoppartij niet vervolgd”, 2013). The suspects fought extradition, which they lost, and had to stand trial in the Netherlands (“Belgen traineren uitzetting”, 2013). Eventually the judge ruled that the media attention and the breach of the offenders’ private life was a punishment in itself and thus reduced the

sentences of the offenders. This could clearly be seen as step four of the negative schema, the unintended outcome.

Most individual articles also presented a clear narrative on their own. One clear example was an article (“Kopschopper: ik ben al gestraft”, 2013), in which the positive schema as described by Pawson (2002) is completed. In this article one of the suspects, Brett S., explained in an interview what his role in the kopschop-incident was and that he deserved to be punished for his actions. This articles contained all four steps of the positive schema since, the nature of the incident was identified (assault), the offender was known after the online identification process (Brett S.), the sanction was made clear (imprisonment occurs), the sanction had its effect, because the offender regret his actions (Pawson, 2002; “Kopschopper: ik ben al gestraft”, 2013). Not only was the schema of Ray Pawson (2002) applicable to *De Telegraaf* dataset, the crime narrative where a criminal case is being solved, and reported, from crime to conviction also applied (Banks, 2005; Chadee & Ditton, 2005). Every data item focussed on a specific aspect of this crime story. Whether it is the identification, the legal trial or the extradition, all were present within the dataset. However, there were also some articles that did not provide a clear narrative, but were used to inform the audience of a specific process. A clear example was the article that explained the rules and regulations for extraditing suspects within the European Union (“EU-landen kunnen verdachten 'snel' uitleveren”, 2013). The article’s intention seemed to inform the audience of a specific set of rules rather than covering the story of the kopschop-incident.

4.2.2.3 Myths

Two examples of myths were found in the articles in *De Telegraaf*. The first was an article in which a former classmate of the eight offenders was interviewed (“Schoptuig al jaren agressief”, 2013). This person claimed that the eight offenders were aggressive persons that got involved in numerous fights prior to the kopschop-incident. The interviewee stated that one of the suspects was taking a variety of powders and pills that allegedly made him act more aggressive. According to the interviewee, it was only due to their rich parents that the eight offenders never served a jail sentence (“Schoptuig al jaren agressief”, 2013). The influence of the rich parents is mentioned in the interview but does not re-appear in later articles and there is no substantiation of the alleged violent behaviour in this or other articles. This article could be used to negatively frame the offenders as aggressors that never had to face consequences due to the wealth of their parents.

The second myth appeared in an article about the mother of one of the suspects (“Moeder hoofdschopper in BzV”, 2013). According to the article, the mother of Brett S. took part in the Belgian version of *Farmer Wants a Wife*, as one of the candidates and led a hectic life. Brett S. did not get much attention growing up, since he was neglected by his father, and was introduced to drugs and alcohol at a very young age (“Moeder hoofdschopper in BzV”, 2013). The mother did not comment on this information, yet this article could be used both to explain Brett’s aggressive behaviour and to

frame Brett as a victim of his bad youth. The connection between Brett's behaviour and his troubled youth was not confirmed and did not recur in later articles.

It is worth mentioning that both stories come from questionable sources. The interview was conducted with a former schoolmate who stopped seeing the suspects since and condemns their behaviour. This might result in a biased position towards the suspects. Furthermore, his claims of aggressive behaviour and the use of pills and powders are not confirmed by other sources. The story about the mother of the suspect Brett S. was published in *Story*, a tabloid that focusses on gossip and rumours. Furthermore, the source for the story about the mother of Brett S., was told by a relative that wanted to remain anonymous.

4.2.2.4 Archetypes

One of the more controversial articles, that displayed a variation of archetypes, was the article where the suspect Brett S. is interviewed about the incident and the impact it had on him personally ("Kopschopper: ik ben al gestraft", 2013). He claimed to be punished by the media and stated that he is a normal boy who never did anything wrong until that fatal night in Eindhoven. However, he also said he deserved punishment and that there is no place in society for people like him, thus offering two conflicting statements. The article uses the line, "The Belgian suspect of the controversial incident breaks down in tears when he tells his story. Above anything else, S. seems to feel sorry for himself" (De Belgische verdachte in de geruchtmakende zaak barst in tranen uit als hij zijn verhaal doet. S. lijkt vooral medelijden met zichzelf te hebben) ("Kopschopper: ik ben al gestraft", 2013). The use of this line is a clear sign that despite his attempt to play the victim *De Telegraaf* still considers him a villain.

The offenders were mostly framed as the villain of the story in *De Telegraaf*'s dataset. In some articles the alleged offenders were referred to as scum, indicating the reactions of discontent towards their actions. ("Beelden mishandeling massaal verspreid", 2013; "Uitvaagsel in beroep tegen uitlevering", 2013). In the articles, the nature of this offence was recurrently referred to as the notorious battery in Eindhoven as mentioned earlier. The fact that the alleged offenders were suspects in a case where the demand was attempt to manslaughter is also a clear indication that the alleged offenders were the villains in the narrative ("Belgen traineren uitzetting", 2013).

However, *De Telegraaf* also paid attention to the infringement of the offenders' privacy by vigilante actions. Excessive media attention was used by both the offenders' lawyers and the offenders themselves to portray them (partly) as victims of the situation ("Kopschopper: ik ben al gestraft", 2013). The public prosecutor gave permission to show the uncensored CCTV footage of the assault itself, which also worked to the offenders' advantage. The lawyer of one of the offenders argued that by including the assault in the footage that was released to identify the suspects, the police created an unnecessarily negative atmosphere. This resulted in an online witch hunt and the harassment of the alleged offenders ("Video mishandeling onterecht op internet", 2013). Furthermore, the lawyer argued

that by releasing just pictures of the suspects the police would have gotten the same result without the excessive media attention (“Video mishandeling onterecht op internet”, 2013).

Furthermore, the actual victim is also mentioned several times in *De Telegraaf* dataset. In one of the article he is framed as a helpless victim (“Geweld Eindhoven na opmerking fiets”, 2013), but often he is just referred to as ‘the victim’ (“Beelden mishandeling massaal verspreid”, 2013; “Burgemeesters: laat omgeving daders met rust”, 2013; “Slachtoffer: tegenvallende uitspraak”, 2013). *De Telegraaf* also mentioned why the alleged offenders assaulted the victim. According to the newspaper, the group of youngsters had kicked a parked bicycle. The victim had addressed them about their asocial behaviour which resulted in the assault (“Geweld Eindhoven na opmerking fiets”, 2013; “Geen poging doodslag meerderjarige verdachte”, 2013). There is also mention of the injuries that the victim sustained, a severe concussion and wounds to his jaw and mouth (“Beelden mishandeling massaal verspreid”, 2013). The victim does not come forth with a statement about the incident itself, but it is mentioned that he does not appreciate being contacted about the kopschop-incident (“Burgemeesters: laat omgeving daders met rust”, 2013). After the offenders had been convicted the lawyer of the victim does declare that the victim is disappointed in the verdict and that the offenders paid the victim for the damage they inflicted (“Slachtoffer: tegenvallende uitspraak”, 2013).

The digital vigilantes as individuals are not openly described by *De Telegraaf*. Despite the success in identifying the suspects of de kopschop-incident, *De Telegraaf* seems to emphasize the negative effects of the online identification process, referring to it as a witch hunt (“Uitvaagsel in beroep tegen uitlevering”, 2013; “Burgemeester betrekken bij inzet beelden”, 2013). Furthermore the newspaper seems to focus on the breach of the offenders’ private lives and how this negatively influences the legal procedures (“Video mishandeling onterecht op internet”, 2013). Moreover, *De Telegraaf* mentioned the negative side effects of vigilante actions, in this case the excessive harassment of innocent people (“Burgemeesters: laat omgeving daders met rust”, 2013). The statement by the lawyer of the victim, saying that the privacy of the victim was also breached by unwanted reactions to the incident and that the victim does not want other people to retaliate (“Slachtoffer: tegenvallende uitspraak”, 2013). This also implies a negative attitude towards vigilante actions.

4.2.2.5 Stereotypes

Despite the emphasis on the connection with Belgium in the sense that the offenders were living in Belgium and wanted to serve their sentences in Belgium, the Belgian police were involved, and two of the offenders moved from the Netherlands to Belgium, there were no simplified references to the offenders based on their ethnicity or nationality. The two Dutch persons in question were Dutch born but there is no mention of at what age they migrated to Belgium. There are also no simplified references to social groups made by *De Telegraaf*, other than sometimes referring to the suspects as scum.

4.3.3 Summary

This summary will provide a short overview of the findings of the analysis. Based on the analysis of the complete dataset an answer could be formulated for the first sub-question:

- How are components of digital vigilantism represented in articles on the kopschop-incident on GeenStijl and in articles of *De Telegraaf*?

The four aspects that together formed the concept of digital vigilantism were moral outrage, call for justice, call for identification and distrust in the police. The moral outrage was mainly expressed in the form of showing signs of outrage considering the nature of the offense and the offenders. The outrage was highlighted by GeenStijl by using strong language in describing the nature of the offense, kicking a victim when he was on the ground and assaulting one innocent victim with eight offenders. GeenStijl described the offense itself as ruthless and cowardly with total disregard of morals and values. The outraged reaction of the Dutch public on social media regarding the incident was also visible in the dataset. Outrage towards the offenders in specific was shown through the use of strong language directed towards the offenders within the articles by GeenStijl. Referring to the offenders as ‘scum’ can also be considered a form of moral outrage. The use of strong language and the emphasis on the unmoral behaviour of the offenders can also be regarded as a division of society based on morals and ethics. By emphasising what GeenStijl considered unmoral behaviour one could deduce that the actions by the alleged offenders were not in line with what society considered moral behaviour. A division based on ethnicity was only clearly manifested in one article, however, this same article immediately stated that it is not important where the offenders were from. More important was the nature of the attack. The GeenStijl dataset also gave attention to the increase of assaults on innocent victims, describing this trend as a threat to society. The digital vigilantes, in this case GeenStijl and its members, were applauded for their efforts in the online manhunt. In the data set of *De Telegraaf*, strong language was only used in two articles to describe the discontent towards the suspects. Overall the tone was more neutral, referring to the offenders as suspects and after the conviction as offenders. *De Telegraaf* put more attention on the outraged reaction of the Dutch public, which recurred in multiple articles when the kopschop-incident was mentioned. *De Telegraaf* also included tweets of both ordinary citizens and Dutch celebrities in one article to showcase the nation’s outrage. The nationality of the offenders was mentioned in *De Telegraaf*, however there was no emphasis on the nationalities except for articles that focussed on the extradition of the suspects.

The call for justice was mainly manifested in the GeenStijl dataset by asking for suitable punishments for the alleged offenders and by asking heavier punishment when it became clear that the offenders received a relatively low punishment. Strong language and some threats directed towards the

(alleged) offenders were also used in the articles on GeenStijl. These threats also played an important role when it came to the threat to use force and the planning by digital vigilantes. One GeenStijl article also provided an alternative method when it comes to the use of CCTV footage in order to bring (alleged) offenders to justice. *De Telegraaf* did not openly call for higher punishments of the offender itself, however, it did pay attention to the opinion of public figures, such as the mayor of Eindhoven and the spokesmen of the organization against unnecessary violence on the reduced sentences. The newspaper also mentioned the victim of the kopschop-incident being disappointed in the low sentences that the offenders received. One remarkable article mentioned the two main suspects testifying against a third suspect because, according to his fellow suspects, he had played a bigger role in the assault than was assumed.

The call for identification mainly took place in the earlier articles of the GeenStijl dataset. These articles asked the audience to participate in the online manhunt by searching for the alleged offenders on social media. The digital vigilantes were asked to share their information with GeenStijl and other digital vigilantes. After it became clear that the alleged offenders were identified the focus shifted towards the naming and the shaming of the offenders and thus the infringement of the offenders' privacy. The full names of the offenders were used. Claims that the offenders were already punished by the excessive media attention were discarded and criticized by GeenStijl, which argued that offenders should have no right to privacy. *De Telegraaf* only asked its audience to help identify the alleged offenders in one article. Rather than using full names, the newspaper only used the first names when referring to the suspects. It also mentioned how a photo, which was taken of the eight alleged offenders on the night of the incident, was made public. In multiple articles of *De Telegraaf* the breach of the suspects' privacy was the main topic. The mayor of Eindhoven, the suspects and their lawyers all condemned the excessive media attention and the vigilante actions that followed. The suspects suffered under the breach of their private lives and even the victim stated that he rather saw justice prevail than vigilante actions as a form of retaliation for what happened.

Distrust in the police in the GeenStijl dataset mainly focussed on the slow and inadequate response to the kopschop-incident. Failure to identify the suspects by the police was mentioned and their conflicting policy on sharing CCTV footage with the public was heavily criticized by GeenStijl. GeenStijl furthermore argued that the sentences that the offenders received were too low, and criticised actions by the public prosecutor and, again, the claims that excessive media attention caused a breach of the offenders' privacy. In the articles of *De Telegraaf*, the distrust in the police also included criticism on the low sentences for the offenders. However, the main focus was the inadequate policy on the use of security camera footage when asking the public to identify the alleged offenders. Not only did people with a negative view of the offenders criticize the justice department for failing to release the CCTV footage correctly, so did the lawyers of the offenders. The justice department, in turn, acknowledged that they made mistakes in the process. Despite these mistakes the justice department also stated that it would share CCTV footage to identify suspects in future cases.

In the introduction I also presented the following sub-question:

- How are targets and participants of digital vigilantism, in case of the kopschop-incident, framed and represented in *De Telegraaf* and on GeenStijl?

In order to answer this second sub-question, framing analysis was performed. For the framing analysis five types of frames were used to analyse the dataset, namely values, narratives, myths, archetypes and stereotypes. Analysing the dataset provided the following results.

The values largely overlapped with the aspect of digital vigilantism referred to as moral outrage. The values of society were present in the GeenStijl dataset by the use of strong language in describing the kopschop-incident. The assault was framed by GeenStijl as ruthless and cowardly by emphasising the fact that the offenders outnumbered the innocent victim by eight to one. The victim was also kicked numerous times when he was on the ground and this aspect of the assault was also emphasised in the description of the incident. This was also used to showcase the ruthless nature of the offence. Strong language, threats and insults were furthermore used in the GeenStijl dataset to refer to the (alleged) offenders. This amplifies the unmoral nature of the offence and emphasises that the behaviour by the offenders was not in line with the values of society. *De Telegraaf* does not use strong language in describing the kopschop-incident, it does refer to the alleged offenders as scum, however the use of the word scum fades over time. However, it does openly mention the discontent and outrage of society in reaction to the assault, for instance emphasising the national outrage that followed the incident and using Tweets as signs of outrage. This national outrage is recurrent in multiple articles. The newspaper also seem to condemn vigilante actions in reaction to the incident. For instance, referring to the online identification process as a witch hunt. *De Telegraaf* mentions negative side effects of the harassment of the offenders which influenced the lower than expected punishments that were sentenced in the final verdict. It also mentions that the victim does not want retaliation for the incident by (digital) vigilantes.

The GeenStijl dataset as a whole presents a clear narrative of the assault of an innocent victim, the efforts of active citizens who help identify the alleged offenders using social media, the excessive attention that the case got in the media, the legal trial, and the unexpected outcome of this trial. This narrative was analysed using a schema to study whether asking citizens to help identify offenders by the police had either a positive or a negative effect on the legal trial. In the case of the kopschop-incident the representation of it on GeenStijl had a largely negative effect. Citizens successfully identified the alleged offenders using social media. However, the online identification process was poorly managed by the police and led to excessive media attention. This in turn led to the infringement of the offenders' privacy. It sparked vigilante justice and the alleged offenders were named, shamed and in some cases humiliated. Furthermore, the judge gave the offenders lower sentences because the

media attention was considered a form of punishment in itself. Each individual GeenStijl article also told a narrative, ranging from describing a ruthless assault on an innocent victim to debating whether offenders of a crime should be entitled to privacy protection. The dataset of *De Telegraaf* also provides a clear narrative of the ruthless assault on a victim, the attempts to identify the suspects online, the excessive media attention and the unwanted outcome of this excessive attention. However, the focus seems to be on the extradition and the trial. Furthermore the negative side effects of harassing the offenders and the offenders' privacy infringement are highlighted. The data-items on itself also provided a narrative, ranging from the story of the assault to the story of the offenders' defence strategy. However, there were also articles that were meant to provide more information to the audience, which do not present a clear (crime) narrative. An example is the article that explains the rules and regulations for extraditing suspects of crimes within the European Union. Such articles provided a more complete narrative of the kopschop-incident by focussing on different sides of the story, something that was not found in the GeenStijl dataset.

The dataset of GeenStijl also contained myths. The myth that the Netherlands deals with an emigration problem, where Dutch emigrants behave in an irrational manner in foreign countries was mentioned on GeenStijl, however, the claim that Dutch emigrants showed unmoral behaviour was not backed up. Another myth that is mentioned is that of a gentlemen's fight. The article provides a set of rules for such a fight, but it is highly doubtful that these rules will be taken into account in case of 'zinloos geweld'. The last myth present in the data of GeenStijl is that GeenStijl should be to blame for the roughening of society, stating that bad language and violent videos spark aggressive behaviour among youngsters. The myths present in *De Telegraaf* included the myth of a bad youth of one of the offenders leading to aggressive behaviour later on in life. The other myth present was the relation that was made by a former schoolmate of the offenders between the use of pills and powders and later aggressive behaviour and the statement that the offenders were used to get away with asocial behaviour because of the wealth of their parents.

The archetypes that were present in the GeenStijl dataset mainly focussed on the role of the offenders. They were largely framed as villains through the use of strong language and insults. The offenders were also constantly linked to the kopschop-incident and their aggressive and ruthless behaviour was emphasized. Some articles mentioned the offenders using the victim role as a defence strategy. This strategy implied that the offenders' privacy suffered because of excessive media attention. The victim was only mentioned in the description of the kopschop-incident. He was framed as an innocent and helpless bystander who was assaulted for no apparent reason. The digital vigilantes were applauded for their efforts in identifying the alleged offenders and their participation in the online manhunt was defended by arguing that it was in fact the police who asked the public for help and stating that the offenders did not deserve privacy protection. The archetypes in *De Telegraaf's* dataset also focussed on the role of the offenders. They were both depicted as villains of the crime, as well as victims of privacy infringement. This victim role might well be a defence strategy since the

lawyers of the offenders seem to emphasize the excessive media coverage of the case and the vigilante actions that followed. *De Telegraaf* also mentioned the victim multiple times, framing him simply as the victim of the kopschop-incident. The victim does not come with a statement about what happened and does not appreciate being contacted about the assault. However, he is shown as being disappointed in the verdict of the judge. *De Telegraaf* seems to condemn vigilante actions in reaction to the kopschop-incident despite the initial call for the identification of the suspects. Moreover, the fact that the newspaper does not openly criticize the vigilante actions or refer to the vigilantes in a negative way, does seem to emphasize the negative effects that the vigilante actions had on the legal trial.

Some stereotypes were present, however, *GeenStijl* did not seem to emphasize the ethnic background or the nationality of the offenders. It makes the link between citizens with a Middle Eastern ethnic background and aggression but discards it. There are some simplified references to social groups. These references concern voters for the right winged political party PVV and rich men's children. No clear stereotypes are present in *De Telegraaf* dataset. The nationality of the alleged offenders is mentioned but not emphasized in a negative way. The newspaper does mention the bad youth of one of the victims and they quote an interviewee about the aggressive past of the offenders and how their fathers' wealth protected them in the past. However, these statements are not made by *De Telegraaf* itself and do not recur in later articles.

5. Conclusion and Reflection

5.1 Conclusion

The aim of this research was to better understand digital vigilantism by analysing the online blog *GeenStijl* and the newspaper *De Telegraaf*, in order to study how the concept digital vigilantism was present in the coverage of the kopschop-incident case. The first step was to conduct a thematic analysis to answer SQ1. Answering this sub-question allowed a comparison to be made regarding how digital vigilantism was manifested in the two media formats. Moreover, this thesis analysed how the incident, the suspects, the victim and the reactions to the incident were framed which answered SQ2 and thus showed how aspects of digital vigilantism can be portrayed as positive or rather as negative. Using thematic analysis and cultural embedded framing analysis to uncover underlying themes in the data that related to digital vigilantism the main aim was to answer the following research question:

- How do the social media platform *GeenStijl* and tabloid media in the form of *De Telegraaf* differ in their enactment and representation of digital vigilantism in the case of the kopschop-incident in Eindhoven?

The reputation of being an outspoken media format of both *De Telegraaf* and *GeenStijl* led to the expectations that both media would be outraged about the kopschop-incident, had a biased view of the offenders and that both media would be involved in acts of digital vigilantism. Surprisingly, *De Telegraaf* took a more neutral stance in their articles than expected and did not actively participate in digital vigilantism. The articles on *GeenStijl* on the other hand confirmed the expectations.

The four themes that together formed the concept of digital vigilantism as used in the thematic analysis performed for this thesis were; moral outrage, the call for identification, the call for justice and distrust in the police. All themes derived from existing literature and were found in the dataset. Moral outrage was usually expressed by *De Telegraaf* by referring to the nature of the incident and mentioning that the incident caused national outrage. *GeenStijl* on the other hand used strong language to describe the assault, and the offenders, as cowardly and ruthless. *De Telegraaf* used the word *scum* to refer to the suspects only a few times, but overall referred to the offenders as suspects or offenders.

The call for justice, was expressed by the *GeenStijl* dataset by asking for higher punishments for the offenders, this is in line with the shaming part of digital vigilantism as described by Trottier (2014). Some threats and coarse language directed at the offenders were present in the *GeenStijl* data-units. There were also threats of, or plans for the use of force against the offenders by digital vigilantes, much in line with the description of vigilante justice by Johnston (1996). These threats consisted of public retaliation for the offenders' actions and threats to physically harm the offenders. *De Telegraaf* did not openly call for a higher punishment for the offenders, nor were there threats to use force against the offenders by *De Telegraaf*, yet they did mention the call for justice by public

figures and the actions undertaken by the (digital) vigilantes thus showing these characteristics as a part of digital vigilantism.

Concerning the call for identification, both *De Telegraaf* and *GeenStijl* asked the audience to help identify the suspects. However, *GeenStijl* shared and published the full names of the offenders and openly supported the harassment of the alleged offenders by claiming that the offenders had no right to privacy. This naming and shaming is in line with aspects of digital vigilantism as mentioned by Trottier (2014) and Altheide (2013). *De Telegraaf* took a more neutral stance by not sharing the information provided by the public and only mentioning the first name of the offenders. Furthermore, *De Telegraaf* quoted the mayor of Eindhoven and the victim who disapproved of the privacy infringement and harassment of the offenders. Moreover, the newspaper focussed both on how the breach of the offenders' privacy might negatively influence the punishment of the offenders as well as on the advantages of releasing CCTV footage for the identification of suspects.

Distrust in the police was expressed by both *De Telegraaf* and *GeenStijl*. Both media focussed on the reduced sentences for the offenders due to the excessive media attention that the case received as a result of releasing the CCTV footage by the police and the public prosecutors. Both sources mentioned the disappointment about these low sentences. Where *GeenStijl* merely focused on the failure of the prosecutors in the trial and the call for higher sentences, *De Telegraaf* also mentioned the criticism expressed by the lawyers of the offenders regarding unnecessarily including the assault in the footage that was made public by the justice department. Both media also mentioned the conflicting needs for using security camera footage when asking the public to identify suspects of a crime, much in line with the description of Marx (2013). *De Telegraaf* seemed to understand these conflicting needs, *GeenStijl* on the other hand criticized these conflicting needs by emphasizing the mistakes that were made in the process of releasing the CCTV footage.

This thesis also analysed how the incident, the alleged offenders, the victim and the reactions to the incident were framed in these two media sources. This analysis revolved around five culturally embedded frames, namely values, narratives, myths, archetypes, and stereotypes. The type of frame values largely overlapped with the moral outrage theme of digital vigilantism. By using strong language *GeenStijl* showcased the kopschop-incident as form of unmoral behaviour and that the behaviour that was displayed by the offenders was not in line with the values of society. This is in line with Silverstone's (2007) vision that focussing on unethical behaviour indirectly points out that the opposite behaviour must be considered ethical. *De Telegraaf* also framed the harassment of the offenders as unmoral and unwanted behaviour by reminding the audience of the nature of the offense and the part that the suspect played in it. *GeenStijl*, took it one step further by, openly supporting the vigilante actions and thus essentially portrays (digital) vigilante justice as an acceptable form of justice in such a case.

Both *GeenStijl* and *De Telegraaf* provided a similar narrative. Both complete datasets provided the narrative of an incident that was highlighted in the media where the audience was asked

to identify the suspects. Both mention the identification process, the extradition process and the trial. Furthermore, both media mentioned the issue of privacy infringement and the final verdict. Each individual data-units furthermore provided a narrative ranging from the description of an assault that caused moral outrage to how privacy infringement could influence a judge's verdict. Both media seemed to mostly follow the negative schema of Ray Pawson (2002) as they focussed on the issue of privacy infringement and harassment of the offenders. However, *De Telegraaf* covered several sides of the kopschop-incident by including the offenders' side of the story, an extensive discussion about releasing CCTV footage and the possible effects that might have, mentioning the negative effects of vigilante actions and mentioning the victim several times.

Myths played a small role. *GeenStijl* mentioned that citizens with a Moroccan ethnic background are more often involved in aggressive behaviour, and that there are rules for a 'gentlemen's fight'. *GeenStijl* also insinuated that the fathers of the offenders used their wealth to protect their sons. *De Telegraaf* linked the aggressive behaviour of the offenders to their history and the fact that the offenders used their fathers' wealth to get out of trouble. However, all these myths were mentioned once and were not recurring in other articles.

When focusing on archetypes, *GeenStijl* framed the offenders as the villains of the incident who deserve the harassment that was directed at them and should be punished harshly. Any arguments that the offenders did not deserve to be harassed were heavily criticized. Furthermore, the victim was framed as innocent and helpless and the digital vigilantes were applauded for their work and supported in their actions. *De Telegraaf* framed the offenders as villains as well, but also mentions how the privacy infringement by vigilantes influences their social lives. Furthermore, the newspaper frames the (digital) vigilantes as villains by reporting on the vigilante actions and the effects of these actions in a negative tone. The victim is simply framed as the victim of the assault.

Some stereotypes were present, however, *GeenStijl* did not seem to emphasize the ethnic background or the nationality of the offenders as mentioned by Van Sterkenburg, Knoppers and De Leeuw, (2010). The link between citizens with a Middle Eastern ethnic background being irrational or threatening as mentioned by Weenink (2009) was made but discarded. However, there are some simplified references to social groups. These references frame voters for the right winged political party PVV as being negatively biased towards foreigners and immigrants. Surprisingly, no clear stereotypes are present in *De Telegraaf* dataset. The nationality of the alleged offenders is, for instance, mentioned but not emphasized in a negative way.

After comparing *GeenStijl* and *De Telegraaf*, this thesis concludes that *De Telegraaf* did not actively participate in acts of digital vigilantism but did report on the vigilante actions that occurred in reaction to the kopschop-incident. *GeenStijl*, on the other hand, did participate in digital vigilantism by naming and shaming the offenders and by participating in the identification process. *GeenStijl* framed the kopschop-incident, the offenders and the reaction of law enforcement in a negative tone by using coarse language. Furthermore, *GeenStijl* applauded the digital vigilantes. *De Telegraaf* condemned the

incident, the offenders as well as the vigilante actions. Despite being negative towards the offenders it covered multiple sides of the story by giving attention to the harassment of the offenders and regulations regarding the publication of CCTV footage and its accompanying downsides and benefits. *De Telegraaf* was also more nuanced in its language compared to *GeenStijl*, a source that included coarse language in its articles. Since *De Telegraaf* was considered a form of tabloid media, which focused on sensationalism and subjective news coverage (Wolf, 2009) this conclusion was unexpected. This might indicate that the image of *De Telegraaf* as a newspaper that conducts subjective journalism no longer apply. However, when comparing news coverage in *De Telegraaf* with news coverage in what are considered to be quality newspapers this image of *De Telegraaf* might not be confirmed. Therefore it would be interesting for future research to conduct this comparison.

5.2 Reflection

There were some restrictions and drawbacks to the research. Sarcasm and humour were hard to process in the framing analysis and the framing analysis could have been more detailed by adding more frames. However, adding too many frames could result in losing overview of the relevance of some data. It is therefore important to find the right balance in the amount of frames used in the analysis. The initial plan was to include the comment section of *GeenStijl*, and to analyse a second case on social media. However the rules and regulations of social media platforms, like Tumblr, Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, as well as the rules and regulations for reacting to articles excluded aspects of digital vigilantism such as threats, bad language and posting contact/personal information of alleged offenders. This meant that the second case and the comment section would not be a substantial addition to this research. This thesis also had to be flexible in the data gathering, since the amount of data-units that were analysed were divided unequally over the dataset. The theory used for constructing the coding schemas proved useful for this research since most themes that derived from the literature were present in the dataset. The initial plan was to include an aspect of digital vigilantism known as flaming. However, none of the articles contained traces of this aspect and it was therefore dropped from this thesis. The same restrictions appeared regarding cyberbullying. It was part of the original research design, but there were not enough cases of cyberbullying clearly present in the dataset to make a substantial contribution to this research.

Studying the kopschop-incident using multiple methods and different media platforms provided a better insight into how digital vigilantism is visible and which effects it might have. Despite never having done any form of framing analysis I was pleased with the available theories and process descriptions I found. I used the theory of Van Gorp (2010) because it came closest to the method of content analyses with which I was familiar. Framing analysis complimented the thematic analysis since both methods are a form of qualitative content analysis. Thematic analysis allowed this thesis to analyse how aspects and patterns of digital vigilantism were manifested in the dataset and

how they recurred throughout the dataset. Framing analysis focussed on the biases of the media platforms and how they emphasised certain aspects of the kopschop-incident and its aftermath in order to construct the story of the kopschop-incident. Where thematic analysis resulted in a better understanding of the concept of digital vigilantism, cultural embedded framing analysis helped to understand how the actions by (digital) vigilantes were portrayed and if there was a biased stance towards the kopschop-incident and those involved.

Chapter three mentioned that an important factor for the generalizability for this research is the role of the observer. The role of the researcher can provide difficulties when it comes to interpreting a text. Generalizability can be improved by acknowledging that the researcher cannot be completely objective and should be open to other interpretations (Van Gorp, 2010; Tonkiss, 1998). Despite trying to be as objective as possible I could not help but feel slightly outraged after reading the description of the kopschop-incident. However, I tried to be as objective as possible and this feeling of outrage diminished overtime. Ideally a research would be done by at least two observers so they can check each other's work for signs of subjectivity. This was not feasible since this research was an individual project. To restrict the problems with the generalizability of the research, the researcher should mention his interpretations of the text and make clear which dimensions are used, which I thus did (Van Gorp, 2010). Furthermore, when conducting textual content analysis one can come across humour and sarcasm. This was the case with articles on GeenStijl. However, someone who is not familiar with Dutch culture might misinterpret these signs of sarcasm or humour and take the content seriously, which is why this thesis tried to take the content seriously as well, even if a description was recognizable as a form sarcasm or humour for native Dutch citizens. By conveying the interpretations, this thesis tried to limit concerns about the external validity of the research. The generalizability of the research is increased by being transparent about the methods and the analysing procedures.

Not many studies have enquired how digital vigilantism is framed in the media. By analysing how digital vigilantism was framed by *De Telegraaf* and GeenStijl this thesis attempted to attend to this void. More studies conducting a framing analysis of digital vigilantism are needed, especially since excessive media coverage of vigilante justice can lead to reduced sentences for offenders. Moreover, digital vigilantism is a relative new phenomenon that impact the lives of alleged offenders as well as the lives of possible innocent individuals who are wrongfully accused of a crime they did not commit. It would therefore also be interesting to study if the news coverage in certain types of media leads to acts of (digital) vigilantism.

Literature and references

- Abbate, J. (2011). Popularizing the Internet. In Crowley, D. & Heyer, P. (Eds.), *Communication in History* (6th edition) (pp. 292-297). Boston: Pearson Education Inc.
- Advocaat klaagt AD en GeenStijl aan [Lawyer sues AD and GeenStijl]. (2007). Retrieved from: <http://www.recht.nl/proxycache.html?cid=62124>
- Albrechtslund, A. (2008) Online Social Networking as Participatory Surveillance. *First Monday*, 13 (3). Retrieved from: <http://journals.uic.edu/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/2142/1949>
- Altheide, D. L. (2013). Media Logic, Social Control, and Fear. *Communication Theory*, 23 (3), 223–238. DOI: 10.1111/comt.12017
- Andrejevic, M. (2005). The Work of Watching One Another: Lateral Surveillance, Risk, and Governance. *Surveillance & Society* 2 (4), 479-497. Retrieved from <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/>
- Andrejevic, M. and K. Gates. (2014). Big Data Surveillance: Introduction. *Surveillance & Society*, 12 (2), 185-196. Retrieved from <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/>
- Banks, M. (2005). Spaces of (in) security: Media and fear of crime in a local context. *Crime Media Culture*, 1 (2), 169-187. DOI: 10.1177/1741659005054020
- Beelden mishandeling massaal verspreid [video battery spread on mass]. (2013). Retrieved from: http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21237889/___Video_Vestdijk_massaal_verspreid___html
- Belgen traineren uitzetting [Belgians appeal extradition]. (2013). Retrieved from: http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21329500/___Belgen_traineren_uitzetting___html
- Bennett, L. (2012). The personalization of politics: Political identity, social media, and changing patterns of participation. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 644, 20-39.
- Beroep 5 jongeren tegen uitlevering dinsdag [Appeal against extradition 5 youngsters Tuesday]. (2013). Retrieved from: http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21310521/___Beroep_tegen_uitlevering_dinsdag___html
- Bernard, R.H. (2000). *Social Research Methods. Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Blank, G., & Reisdorf, B. C. (2012). The Participatory Web. *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(4), 537–554. DOI:10.1080/1369118X.2012.665935
- Boeije, H. (2010). Introduction to Qualitative Research. In Boeije, H. (Ed.), *Analysis in Qualitative Research* (pp. 1-17). Los Angeles/London/New Delhi/ Washington: Sage.
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, 77-101. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- 'Burgemeester betrekken bij inzet beelden' ['Include mayor when releasing footage']. (2013).

Retrieved from:
http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21847374/___Betrek_burgemeester___.html

Burgemeesters: laat omgeving daders met rust [Mayor: leave the offenders alone]. (2013). Retrieved from:
http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21246649/___Laat_omgeving_daders_met_rust___.html

‘Camerabeelden niet meer weg te denken’ [‘Accustomed CCTV footage’]. (2013). Retrieved from:
http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21845143/___Beelden_niet_weg_te_denken___.html

Castells, M. (2011). A Mobile Network Society. In Crowley, D. & Heyer, P. (Eds.), *Communication in History*. (6th edition) (pp. 304-307.) Boston: Pearson Education Inc.

CDA Eindhoven: geweld schering en inslag [CDA Eindhoven: violence occurs regularly]. (2013). Retrieved from:
http://www.telegraaf.nl/feed/21240938/___Geweld_schering_en_inslag___.html

Chadee, D. and Ditton, J. (2005). Fear of crime and the media: Assessing the lack of relationship. *Crime Media Culture*, 1 (3), 322-332. DOI: 10.1177/1741659005057644

Chadwick, A. (2009). Web 2.0: New challenges for the study of e-democracy in an era of informational exuberance. *I/S: Journal of Law and Policy for the Information Society* 5(1), pp. 9-41.

Coleman, S., & Blumler, J. G. (2009). Introduction: Anxiety and optimism about democracy. In: *The internet and democratic citizenship: Theory, practice and policy* (pp. 1-13).

Constine, J. (2012). How Big is Facebook’s Data? 2.5 Billion Pieces Of Content And 500+ Terabytes Ingested Every Day. *TechCrunch*, August 22. Retrieved from
<http://techcrunch.com/2012/08/22/how-big-is-facebooks-data-2-5-billion-pieces-of-content-and-500-terabytes-ingested-every-day/>

D’Angelo, P. & Kuypers, J. (2010) Doing News Framing Analyses. In D’Angelo, P. and Kuypers, J.A. (Eds.), *Doing News Framing Analysis, Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives* (pp. 1-14). Retrieved from www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk

EU-landen kunnen verdachten 'snel' uitleveren [Eu-countries can quickly extradite suspects]. (2013). Retrieved from:
http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21244187/___Uitlevering_kan_snel_in_EU___.html

Geen poging doodslag meerderjarige verdachte [No attempt to manslaughter adult suspect]. (2013). Retrieved from:
http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21809463/___Geen_poging_doodslag_Brett_S___.html

Geweld Eindhoven na opmerking fiets [Violence Eindhoven after remark bicycle]. (2013). Retrieved from:
http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21241701/___Geweld_Eindhoven_niet_zomaar___.html

- Gezichtschoppers Eindhoven vrolijk op foto [headkickers Eindhoven smiling on photo]. (2013). Retrieved from:
http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21240488/_Nieuw_beeld_gezichtschoppers_.html
- Gilbert, N. (2008) *Researching Social life*. (Third edition) Ashford: SAGE publications Ltd.
- Gorman, L. & McLean, D. (2009). *Media and Society into the 21st Century, A Historical Introduction*. (Second edition) Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Goldsmith, A. J. (2010). Policing's New Visibility, *British Journal of Criminology*, 50, 914–934. DOI:10.1093/bjc/azq033
- Gorp, B. van. (2010). Strategy to Take Subjectivity Out of Framing Analyses. In D'Angelo, P. and Kuypers, J.A. (Eds.), *Doing News Framing Analysis, Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives* (pp. 84-109). Retrieved from www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk
- Greer, C. and McLaughlin, E. (2011) 'Trial by Media': Policing, the 24-7 News Mediasphere and the 'Politics of Outrage'. *Theoretical Criminology*, 15, 23-46. DOI: 10.1177/1362480610387461
- Haas, N.E., De Keijser, J.W. and Bruinsma G.J.N. (2014). Public support for vigilantism, confidence in police and police responsiveness, *Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy*, 24 (2), 224-241. DOI: 10.1080/10439463.2013.784298
- Hoofdschopper (17) bekent [Headkicker (17) confesses]. (2013). Retrieved from:
http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21241160/_Jongen_bekent_mishandeling_.html
- Hoofdverdachte schoppartij komt zich melden [Main suspect battery turns himself in]. (2013). Retrieved from: http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21643562/_Brent_L._meldt_zich_.html
- Johnston, L. (1996) What is Vigilantism? *British Journal of Criminology*, 36 (2), 220-236. Retrieved from <http://bjc.oxfordjournals.org/content/36/2/220.abstract>
- Keller, U. (2011) Early Photojournalism. In Crowley, D. & Heyer, P. (Eds.), *Communication in History*. (6th edition) (pp. 144-152). Boston: Pearson Education Inc.
- Kingsley, D. (2008). Keeping a Close Watch – the Rise of Self-Surveillance and the Threat of Digital Exposure. *The Sociological Review*, 56 (3), 347-357.
- Koehler, R. (2011). Blaming the Muslims. *Huffington Post*, July 28. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/robert-koehler/blaming-the-muslims_b_912000.html
- Kohm, S.A. (2009). Naming, Shaming and Criminal Justice: Mass-Mediated Humiliation as Entertainment and Punishment. *Crime Media Culture*, 5, 188-205. DOI: 10.1177/1741659009335724
- Kopschopper: ik ben al gestraft [Headkicker: I have already been punished]. (2013). Retrieved from:
http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21300490/_Schopper_ik_ben_al_gestraft_.html
- Lee, D. (2013). Boston Bombing: How Internet detectives got it very wrong. BBC News, April 19. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/technology-22214511>
- Livingstone, S. (2013). The Participation Paradigm in Audience Research. *The*

- Communication Review*, 16, (1-2), 21–30. DOI:10.1080/10714421.2013.757174
- Macdonald, K. (2008). Using Documents. In Gilbert, N. *Researching Social life*. (pp. 285-303). Ashford: SAGE publications Ltd.
- Marx, G.T. (2013). The Public as Partner? Technology Can Make Us Auxiliaries as Well as Vigilantes. *Security & Privacy*, 11 (5), 56-61. DOI: 10.1109/MSP.2013.126
- McCombs, M. (2005). A Look at Agenda-Setting: Past, Present and Future. *Journalism Studies*, 6 (4), 545-557. DOI: 10.1080/14616700500250438
- Moeder hoofdschopper in BzV [Mother headkicker in BzV]. (2013). Retrieved from http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21270910/___Moeder_hoofdschopper_in_BzV___html
- Mulder, A. (2010). *Over Mediatheorie. Taal, beeld, geluid, gedrag*. Rotterdam: NAi Uitgevers.
- Nisbet, M. C. (2010). Framing the Debates Over Climate Change and Poverty. In D'Angelo, P. and Kuypers, J.A. (Eds.), *Doing News Framing Analysis, Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives* (pp. 43-83). Retrieved from www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk
- OM: maatschappij vroeg om snelle oplossing [Public prosecutor: society asked for a quick solution]. (2013). Retrieved from: http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21844874/___OM___snelle_oplossing_nodig___html
- O'Reilly, T., & Battelle, J. (2009). *Web Squared: Web 2.0 Five Years On* (pp. 1–13). Retrieved from http://assets.en.oreilly.com/1/event/28/web2009_websquaredwhitepaper.Pdf
- Örnebring, H. (2006). The Maiden Tribute and the Naming of Monsters. *Journalism Studies*, 7 (6), 851-868. DOI: 10.1080/14616700600980546
- Pawson, R. (2002). Evidence and Policy and Naming and Shaming. *Policy Studies*, 23 (3), 211-230. DOI: 10.1080/0144287022000045993
- Preston, P. (2004). Tabloids: Only the Beginning. *British Journalism Review*, 15 (1), 50-55. DOI: 10.1177/0956474804043839
- Prins, C. (2010). The Online Dimension of Recognized Victim's Rights. *Computer Law & Security Review*, 26, 219-221.
- Publicatie beelden laat door regels [Release footage late due to rules]. (2013). Retrieved from: http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21245621/___Beelden_laet_door_regels___html
- Quid, J. (2013a, January 23). Dit land heeft een emigrantenprobleem [Blogpost] Retrieved from http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/01/dit_land_heeft_een_belgenprobl.html
- Quid, J. (2013b, January 29). Raadslid Eindhoven: 'SCHULD VAN GEENSTIJL!' [Blogpost] Retrieved from http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/01/wethouder_eindhoven_schuld_van.html
- Quid, J. (2013c, January 31). GS Survival Guide: vechten als een vent [Blogpost] Retrieved from http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/01/gs_survival_guide_vechten_als.html

- Quid, J. (2013d, February 12). Top! Eindhovense kopschoppers uitgeleverd! [Blogpost] Retrieved from http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/02/uitlevering_eindhoven_5.html
- Quid, J. (2013e, February 19). FREE DE EINDHOVENSE KOPSCHOPPERS! [Blogpost] Retrieved from http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/02/free_de_eindhovense_kopschoppe.html
- Quid, J. (2013f, November 11). Trending: willekeurig mensen in elkaar beuken [Blogpost] Retrieved from http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/11/trending_willekeurig_mensen_in.html
- Quid, J. (2013g, December 11). Hof: kopschoppers hebben recht op strafkorting [Blogpost] Retrieved from <http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/12/kopschoppers.html>
- Rechter beraadt zich over uitlevering [Judge considers extradition]. (2013). Retrieved from: http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21270551/_Beraad_over_uitlevering_.html
- Ritzer, G., & Jurgenson, N. (2010). Production, consumption, prosumption: The nature of capitalism in the age of the digital 'prosumer'. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 10 (1), 13-36.
DOI: 10.1177/1469540509354673
- Rose, M., Fox, R. (2014). Public Engagement with the Criminal Justice System in the Age of Social Media. *Oñati Socio-legal Series*, 4 (4), 771-798.
- Shao, G. (2009). Understanding the Appeal of User-Generated Media: a User's and Gratification Perspective. *Internet Research*, 19(1), 7–25. DOI: 10.1108/10662240910927795
- Schaefer, B.P. and Steinmetz, K.F. (2014). Watching the Watchers and McLuhan's Tetrad: The Limits of Cop-Watching in the Internet Age. *Surveillance & Society*, 12 (4), 502-515.
- Scheufele, B.T. & Scheufele, D.A. (2010). Of Spreading Activation, Applicability, and Schemas Conceptual Distinctions and Their Operational Implications for Measuring Frames and Framing Effects. In D'Angelo, P. and Kuypers, J.A. (Eds.), *Doing NewsFraming Analysis, Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives* (pp. 110-134). Retrieved from www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk
- Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a Theory of Media Effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49. 103-122.
- Schneider, C.J. & Trottier, D. (2012). The 2011 Vancouver riot and the role of Facebook in crowd-sourced policing. *BC Studies*, 175, 57-72. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1170812359?accountid=13598>
- 'Schoptuig al jaren agressief' [Kicking scum have been aggressive for years]. (2013). Retrieved from: http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21243097/_Schoptuig_al_jaren_agressief_.html
- Schrøder, K. C. (2000). Making sense of audience discourses: Towards a multidimensional model of mass media reception. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 3, 233-258.
- Schudson, M. (2011) The New Journalism. Crowley, D. & Heyer, P. (Eds.), *Communication in History* (6th edition) (pp. 111-118). Boston: Pearson Education Inc.
- Silverman, D. (2011). Credible Qualitative Research. In *Interpreting Qualitative Data. A Guide to the Principles of Qualitative Research* (4th edition). London: Sage.

- Silverstone, R. (2007). *Media and Morality. On the rise of the mediapolis*. Cambridge/Malden: Polity Press.
- Skovsgaard, M. (2014). A tabloid mind? Professional values and organizational pressures as explanations of tabloid journalism. *Media, Culture & Society*, 36 (2), 200-218.
DOI: 10.1177/0163443713515740
- Slachtoffer: tegenvallende uitspraak [Victim: dissatisfied in verdict]. (2013). Retrieved from:
http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21845074/_Slachtoffer_teleurgesteld_.html
- Steden, R. van, van Caem, B. and Boutellier, H. (2011). The 'hidden strength' of active citizenship: The involvement of local residents in public safety projects. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 11 (5), 433-450. DOI: 10.1177/1748895811414467
- Stift, P. (2013a, January 24). PowNews - NOS Journaal 8-0 [Blogpost] Retrieved from
http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/01/pownews_nos_journaal_80.html
- Stift, P. (2013b, August 28). BREEK. Fopstraf voor kopschopper Brent Leysen [Blogpost] Retrieved
http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/08/kopschopper_brent_leysen.html
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of Qualitative Research. Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. London: Sage.
- Sterkenburg, J. van, Knoppers, A. and De Leeuw, S. (2010). Race, ethnicity, and content analysis of the sports media: a critical reflection. *Media Culture Society*, 32 (5), 819-839.
DOI: 10.1177/0163443710373955
- 't Hart, H., Boeije, H. & Hox, J. (2009). *Onderzoeksmethoden*. (Eight edition) Den Haag: Boom Lemma.
- Trottier, D. (2014). Big Data Ambivalence: Visions and Risks in Practice, in Hand, M. Hillyard, S. (Eds.), *Big Data? Qualitative Approaches to Digital Research*, Studies in *Qualitative Methodology*, 13, 51 – 72. DOI: 10.1108/S1042-319220140000013004
- Tonkiss, F. (1998). Analysing discourse. In C. Seale (Ed.), *Researching society and culture* (pp. 245-260). London: Sage.
- Uitvaagsel in beroep tegen uitlevering [scum appealing extradition]. (2013). Retrieved from:
http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21289965/_Uitvaagsel_in_beroep_.html
- VanLeeuwen (2013a, January 21). Teringtiefustuigh sloopt jongen, 8 vs 1 [Blogpost]. Retrieved from
http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/01/teringtiefustuigh_sloopt_jonge.html
- VanLeeuwen (2013b, January 23). FOTOO. Daders Eindhoven nu nóg beter in beeld [Blogpost]
Retrieved from
http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/01/teringtiefustuigh_op_de_foto.html
- VanLeeuwen (2013c, February 15). Kopschopper Brett Smits in Pownews [Blogpost] Retrieved from
http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/02/kijktip_kopschopper_brett_smits.html
- VanLeeuwen (2013d, August 31). Idee. Opsporingsbeleid, maar dan modern [Blogpost] Retrieved
from http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/08/idee_opsporingsbeleid_maar_dan.html

- VanLeeuwen (2013e, September 9). Dom. OM blundert met kopschopper Tom [Blogpost] Retrieved from http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/09/om_blundert_met_kopschopper_to.html
- Van Rossem (2013a, January 22). Justitie: 'Oeps. Daders Eindhoven té goed in beeld' [Blogpost]. Retrieved from http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/01/beelden_bashers_moet_offline_v.html
- Van Rossem (2013b, January 23). Advocaat: 'Kopschopper Bob Sloots is onschuldig!' [Blogpost] Retrieved from http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/01/bob_sloots_stond_er_bij_en_keek_er_naar.html
- Van Rossem (2013c, January 24). GeenStijl Levert 8 Doodschoppers aan Politie[Blogpost] Retrieved from http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/01/geenstijl_levert_acht_doodscho.html
- Van Rossem (2013d, February 2). BEELD. PowNews trekt hoofdvdv van kopschopper [Blogpost] Retrieved from http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/02/yvon_jaspers_blijkt_bekende_va.html
- Van Rossem (2013e, August, 25). Advocaat kopschopper: 'Schuld van het slachtoffer!' [Blogpost] Retrieved from http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/08/advocaat_kopschoppers_schuld_v.html
- Verdachte schoppartij binnenkort weer vrij [Suspect battery soon to be released]. (2013). Retrieved from: http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21623587/_Kopschopper_binnenkort_vrij_.html
- Verdachten mishandeling Eindhoven langer vast [Suspects battery Eindhoven stay in detention]. (2013). Retrieved from: http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21271365/_Schoppers_langer_vast_.html
- Verdachten schoppartij voorlopig vast [Suspects battery remain in custody]. (2013). Retrieved from: http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21679442/_Schoppers_voorlopig_vast_.html
- Vergeer, M. (2012). Politics, elections and online campaigning: Past, present...and a peek into the future. *New Media & Society* 15(1): 9-17.
- Verhoeven, N. (2007, second edition). *Wat is onderzoek? Praktijkboek methoden en technieken voor het hoger onderwijs*. Den Haag, Boom
- 'Video mishandeling onterecht op internet' ['Video battery unjustifiable on the internet']. (2013). Retrieved from: http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21836536/_Kopschoppers_niet_blij_.html
- Vier verdachten schoppartij niet vervolgd [Four suspects battery not prosecuted]. (2013). Retrieved from: http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21566097/_Schoptuig_niet_vervolgd_.html
- Vries, A. de. (2014). Zelf foto's of filmpjes online plaatsen: mag dat?. *Sociaal Media; Het Nieuwe DNA*, November 7. Retrieved from <http://socialmediadna.nl/fotos-of-filmpjes-online-plaatsen-mag-dat/>

Wall, D.S. and Williams, M. (2007). Policing diversity in the digital age: Maintaining order in virtual communities. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 7, 391-415.

DOI: 10.1177/1748895807082064

Walsh, J. P. (2014). Watchful Citizens: Immigration Control, Surveillance and Societal Participation. *Social & Legal Studies*, 23(2), 237-259.

Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic content analysis* (2nd ed.). Chapter 1-3 (pp.1-57). London: SAGE.

Weer beelden van mishandeling Eindhoven op tv [Again footage of battery in Eindhoven on tv].

(2013). Retrieved from:

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21248461/___Weer_beelden_van_mishandeling___html

Wolf, M. (2009). *Het geheim van De Telegraaf*. Amsterdam: Boom

Appendix A: Article links to all articles found, analysed data is mentioned

GeenStijl (21)

1

21-01-2013 (analysed):

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/01/teringtiefustuigh_sloopt_jonge.html

2

22-01-2013 (analysed)

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/01/beelden_bashers_moet_offline_v.html

3

23-01-2013 (analysed)

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/01/teringtiefustuigh_op_de_foto.html

4

23-01-2013 (analysed)

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/01/bob_sloots_stond_er_bij_en_keek_er_naar.html

5

23-01-2013 (analysed)

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/01/dit_land_heeft_een_belgenprobl.html

6

24-01-2013 (analysed)

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/01/geenstijl_levert_acht_doodscho.html

7

24-01-2013 (analysed)

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/01/pownews_nos_journaal_80.html

8

29-01-2013 (analysed)

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/01/wethouder_eindhoven_schuld_van.html

9

31-01-2013 (analysed)

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/01/gs_survival_guide_vechten_als.html

10

05-02-2013 (analysed)

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/02/yvon_jaspers_blijkt_bekende_va.html

11

12-02-2013 (analysed)

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/02/uitlevering_eindhoven_5.html

12

15-02-2013 (analysed)

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/02/kijktip_kopschopper_brett_smits.html

13

19-02-2013 (analysed)

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/02/free_de_eindhovense_kopschoppe.html

14

25-08-2013 (analysed)

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/08/advocaat_kopschoppers_schuld_v.html

15

28-08-2013 (analysed)

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/08/kopschopper_brent_leysen.html

16

31-08-2013 (analysed)

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/08/idee_opsporingsbeleid_maar_dan.html

17

30-09-2013 (analysed)

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/09/om_blundert_met_kopschopper_to.html

18

24-11-2013 (analysed)

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/11/trending_willekeurig_mensen_in.html

19

11-12-2013 (analysed)

<http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2013/12/kopschoppers.html>

20

21-01-2014 (analysed)

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2014/01/mishandelfilmpje_stopt_vlak_vo.html

21

30-01-2015:

http://www.geenstijl.nl/mt/archieven/2015/01/geenstijl_eist_onmiddellijke_v.html

De Telegraaf (69)

1

21-01-2013 (20.56)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21236922/_Tuig_slaat_onschuldige_man_bont_en_blauw_.html

2 (analysed)

22-01-2013 (08.41)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21237889/_Video_Vestdijk_massaal_verspreid_.html

3

22-01-2013 (12.09)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21238406/_Schoppers_melden_zich_.html

4 (analysed)

23-01-2013 (10.07)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21240488/_Nieuw_beeld_gezichtschoppers_.html

5

23-01-2013 (12.29)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21240828/_Schoppers_gezicht_zijn_NL_ers_.html

6 (analysed)

23-01-2013 (13.15)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/feed/21240938/_Geweld_schering_en_inslag_.html

7

23-01-2013 (14.08)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21241084/_Oproep_aan_daders_.html

8 (analysed)

23-01-2013 (14.39)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21241160/_Jongen_bekent_mishandeling_.html

9

23-01-2013 (17.13)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21241528/_Derde_verdachte_Eindhoven_vast_.html

10 (analysed)

23-01-2013 (18.37)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21241701/_Geweld_Eindhoven_niet_zomaar_.html

11

23-01-2013 (19.03)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21241972/_Recht_niet_in_eigen_hand_nemen_.html

12 (analysed)

24-01-2013 (07.14)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21243097/_Schoptuig_al_jaren_agressief_.html

13

24-01-2013 (09.08)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21243239/_Nationaliteiten_mishandeling_.html

14 (analysed)

24-01-2013 (15.19)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21244187/_Uitlevering_kan_snel_in_EU_.html

15

24-01 (10.36)

<http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21244406/> Laatste vijf verdachten Eindhoven melden zich .html

16 (skipped, what will happen today)

25-01-2013 (03.02)

<http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21245681/> Eindhoven acht voor rechter .html

17 (analysed)

25-01 (05.30)

<http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21245621/> Beelden laat door regels .html

18

25-01-2013 (13.20)

<http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21246416/> Vijf hoofdschoppers naar huis .html

19 (analysed)

25-01-2013 (14.44)

<http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21246649/> Laat omgeving daders met rust .html

20

25-01-2013 (16.29):

<http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21246916/> Manifestatie tegen geweld .html

21 (analysed)

26-01-2013 (16.50)

<http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21248461/> Weer beelden van mishandeling .html

22

28-01-2013 (18.25)

<http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21252491/> Weer beelden mishandeling .html

23(analysed)

05-02 (11.35)

<http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21270551/> Beraad over uitlevering .html

24

05-02 (14.00)

<http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21270840/> Hoofdschopper ontmaskerd .html

25 (analysed)

05-02 (14.15)

<http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21270910/> Moeder hoofdschopper in BzV .html

26

05-02 16.19

<http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21271224/> Advocaat Dit kan niet .html

27 (analysed)

05-02-2013 (17.18)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21271365/_Schoppers_langer_vast_.html

28

12-02-2013 (03.00)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21287056/_Uitspraak_uitlevering_schoptuig_.html

29 (analysed)

12-02-2013 (10.52)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21289965/_Uitvaagsel_in_beroep_.html

30

15-02 (10.35)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21299275/_Schopper_blijft_in_cel_.html

31 (Skipped, banner/press release)

15-02-2013 (14.53)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21300126/_Schopper_doet_verhaal_op_tv_.html

32 (analysed)

15-02-2013 (23.26)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21300490/_Schopper_ik_ben_al_gestraft_.html

33

19-02-2013 (13.31)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21307774/_Digitale_steun_schoptuig_.html

34 (analysed)

20-02-2013 (15.43)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21310521/_Beroep_tegen_uitlevering_dinsdag_.html

35

25-02 (03.02)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21245681/_Eindhoven_acht_voor_rechter_.html

36 (skipped, what will happen today)

26-02-2013 (03.33)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21328652/_Schoptuig_hoort_oordeel_.html

37 (analysed)

26-02-2013 (10.22)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21329500/_Belgen_traineren_uitzetting_.html

38

07-05 (14.29)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21545043/_Kopschoppers_verdacht_van_poging_tot_doodslag_.html

39 (analysed)

13-05 (16.11)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21560320/_Verdachten_moeten_getuigen_.html

40

14-05-2013 (16.55)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21563529/_Kopschopper_uitgeleverd_.html

41 (analysed)

15-05 (11.29)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21566097/_Schoptuig_niet_vervolgd_.html

42

17-05-2013 (14.15)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21574447/_Brett_S._komt_zichzelf_melden_.html

43 (analysed)

22-05 (14.17)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21639263/_Brent_L._uitgeleverd_.html

44

28-05 (06.33)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21599952/_Besluit_verdachte_schoppartij_.html

45 (analysed)

05-06 (15.00)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21623587/_Kopschopper_binnenkort_vrij_.html

46

11-06 (07.16)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21639263/_Brent_L._uitgeleverd_.html

47 (analysed)

12-06 (13.46)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21643562/_Brent_L._meldt_zich_.html

48

18-06 (10.22)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21658477/_Brent_L._in_Nederlandse_cel_.html

49 (analysed)

25-06-2013 (18.05)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21679442/_Schoppers_voorlopig_vast_.html

50

12-07-2013 (15.14)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21728238/_Schoppartij_voor_de_rechter_.html

51 (analysed)

14-08-2013 (16.11):

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21809463/_Geen_poging_doodslag_Brett_S._.html

52

16-08-2013 (16.08):

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21816336/_Verdachte_schoppartij_vrij_.html

53 (analysed)

25-08 (11.49)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21836536/_Kopschoppers_niet_blij_.html

54

28-08-2013 (07.07):

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21843930/_Uitspraak_over_mishandeling_.html

55 (analysed)

28-08 (14.31)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21844874/_OM_snelle_oplossing_nodig_.html

56

28-08 (14.36)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21844903/_Veel_onvrede_over_uitspraak_.html

57 (analysed)

28-08 (14.49)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21844935/_OM_in_hoger_beroep_tegen_straf_.html

58

28-08-2013 (15.03)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21844966/_Tik_op_de_vingers_voor_OM_.html

59 (analysed)

28-08 (15.52)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21845074/_Slachtoffer_teleurgesteld_.html

60

28-08-2013 (16.04):

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21845096/_Vaker_korting_door_beelden_.html

61 (analysed)

28-08-2013 (16.21):

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21845143/_Beelden_niet_weg_te_denken_.html

62

28-08-2013 (16.48):

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21845266/_Dader_moet_nieuwe_kans_krijgen_.html

63 (analysed)

29-08 (00.30)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21847374/_Betrek_burgemeester_.html

64

29-08-2013 (05.30)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21847154/_Politiek_laakt_strafkorting_.html

65

29-08-2013 (17.37)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21848819/_OM_blijft_beelden_gebruiken_.html

66

30-08 (16.24)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21852788/_Opstelten_steunt_beroep_.html

67

05-09-2013 (15.43):

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21867518/_Vorrang_bij_schoppartij_.html

68

15-09 (10.58)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21891789/_Beeld_geen_reden_voor_lage_straf_.html

69

30-09-2013 (09.43)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/feed/21933305/_OM_in_de_fout_met_eis_schoppartij_.html

70

09-10 (16.06)

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21959230/_Zaak_kopschoppers_besloten_.html

71

27-11-2013 (07.22):

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/22091299/_Kopschoppers_weer_voor_rechter_.html

72

27-11-2013:

http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/22092768/_Weer_cel_voor_kopschoppers_.html

Appendix B: Coding Schemas

Thematic analyses coding schema		
Link to article/reaction:		
Time reaction was posted:		
Selective coding (concept)	Axial coding (themes)	Open coding (data)
Digital vigilantism	<p>Moral outrage; includes showing ones outrage about the incident through bad language and threats, us versus them division based on morality and ethics (Silverstone, 2007), a community that is collectively offended, (Trottier, 2014), established order is under threat of transgression (Johnston, 1996). Social control based on someone's appearance (wall and Williams, 2008). The emphasis on nationality/ethnic background offenders (Van Sterkenburg, Knoppers & De Leeuw, 2010). The forming of a social movement (Johnston, 1996). The description of the digital vigilantes themselves: Ordinary citizens, participating for no reward</p>	

	to help make the world a safer place (Johnston, 1996).	
	Call for justice; shaming part (arrest/imprisonment of offender), labelling alleged offenders criminals before the offenders stood trial and were convicted. (Altheide, 2013), coordinated retaliation (Trottier, 2014), use force or threaten to use force (Johnston, 1996). Planning by digital vigilantes (Johnston, 1996).	
	Call for identification; naming the offender (Trottier, 2014), lack of sense for privacy alleged offender (Altheide, 2013), citizen-led surveillance (Kingsley, 2008), planning by digital vigilantes (Johnston, 1996).	
	Distrust in the police; police/justice is not enough, not responding, conflicting needs (Marx, 2013) cop watching (Schaefer and Steinmetz, 2014). Digital vigilantes attempting to control crime (Johnston, 1996).	

Cultural embedded framing coding schema		
Link to article/reaction:		
Time reaction was posted:		
Type of Frame	Themes	Data
Values: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Which words or expressions showcase the values/ethics of society regarding the incident? - Which elements of the incident are highlighted and how does this contribute to showcasing the morals and ethics of society? 	Morals and Ethics. A division of society based on morals and ethics. Morals and ethics can be described in a political way where a community shares beliefs considering conceptions and values about how citizens should treat each other (Silverstone, 2007).	
Narratives: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Where on the schema of Ray Pawson can the narrative of the article be placed and which elements of the schema are highlighted? - How do the narratives of the entire dataset of <i>De Telegraaf/GeenStijl</i> compare to the schema of Pawson? - Is the incident covered from crime to conviction and which elements showcase this crime to conviction narrative? 	Narratives as the script structure of a text that develops from problem to solution. Here the schema by Ray Pawson (2002), as discussed in the literature review, on whether the help of citizens by online police work is working correctly or results in an unorganized and undirected manhunt, which in its turn leads to digital vigilantism. Another narrative that I will use is the narrative a crime case that is being solved from incident to conviction	

	(Banks, 2005; Chadee & Ditton, 2005).	
Myths: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Which arguments are made to provide proof of a claim regarding the offenders, victim, (digital) vigilantes, or the actual assault itself, and could this be considered clear evidence of causality? 	Van Gorp (2010), ‘myths represent the deep truth of human experience’ (p.86). I consider the myths in the data to be general assumptions that are made without any clear proof or evidence of causality or other relationships	
Archetypes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Which words or sentences are used to portray the victim, suspects or (digital) vigilantes? - If applicable, how are these words or sentences used to portray the victim or suspects as responsible for their own deeds and actions in a negative way? (the villain) - If applicable, how are these words or sentences used to portray the victim or suspects or as a victim of circumstances? (the victim) - If applicable, how are these words or sentences used to portray the (digital) vigilantes as citizens that help with police work? (heroes) - If applicable, how are these words or 	Archetypes are characters and motifs that are used in the text to help by giving structure to the narratives. I will use the archetypes of the villain or victim where the person involved is framed as a victim of circumstances or as the villain responsible for his own deeds and actions that are the results of these deeds (Van Gorp, 2010). This same victim/villain archetype is applicable when it comes to crime in general (Banks, 2005; Chadee & Ditton, 2005). The audience can relate to crime stories because of the clear narrative and the role of the	

<p>sentences used to portray the (digital) vigilantes as citizens that do damage by interfering in the legal process or wrongfully accusing individuals? (villains)</p>	<p>offender(s), which I will consider the villain(s), and the victim(s).</p> <p>This archetype will be used to decide whether digital vigilantes can be considered citizens that help with online police work (heroes), or citizens that do more damage than good, by interfering in the legal process or wrongfully accusing individuals (villains), (Prins, 2010; Altheide, 2013).</p>	
<p>Stereotypes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How are simplified references towards social groups manifested in the data? - How (if present) is the link between the actions/behaviour of an individual and the representation of this individual as a native Dutch person, or as a person with an ethnic background highlighted in the data? - How (if present) is the connection between violent behaviour and a Middle Eastern ethnic background manifested in the data? 	<p>Stereotypes, consists of simplified references towards a social group (Van Gorp, 2010). I will use the stereotypes as discussed in the article by Van Sterkenburg, Knoppers and De Leeuw (2010). As mentioned earlier these stereotypes deal with framing a person as Dutch or as a member of an ethnic group, based on ones actions. If these actions are deemed positive they are regarded as Dutch citizens, if these actions are deemed</p>	

	<p>negative they are regarded as</p> <p>Dutch citizens with a Middle Eastern background were considered irrational or threatening (Sterkenburg & Spaaij, 2015; Weenink, 2009).</p> <p>A member of an ethnic group.</p>	
--	--	--