Racism versus Democracy

How journalists and commenters framed the Zwarte Piet issue in

Dutch online news sources from October 2013 to December 2015

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ABSTRACT

The Zwarte Piet issue has become very salient in the Netherlands. How news media reported on the issue has for a large part determined the course of public debate surrounding Zwarte Piet. To explore the relations between gatewatching, agenda setting, and framing, the issue is approached as a case. In the public sphere, journalists normally inform the public about pertinent issues. Through agenda setting, they control the public agenda at first and second level and trough framing, they control the course of public opinion formation. They determined how the Dutch people understand and think about the Zwarte Piet issue. The emergence of web 2.0 and gatewatching brought a shift in that paradigm: commenters can frame an issue their way and differences can arise between journalist framing and commenter framing, affecting the public agenda. A case study of two Dutch online news sources, *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl*, was conducted to research that process empirically. The objective was to identify how journalists and how commenters framed the Zwarte Piet issue. Theoretical sampling was done to gather articles and related comments (N=104) and framing analysis was used to analyze the material. The analysis involved detecting framing and reasoning devices and was performed using the computer program NVivo. To measure how operative each frame is, the number of framing devices was counted. Based on the frames and their operativeness the framing strategies of journalists and commenters were identified. In total, twelve frames were found: Children, Unfairness, Proponents vs. Opponents, Majority vs. Minority, Ridiculous, Serious, Threat from Outside, Color, Racism, Not Racism, Change, and Tradition/Heritage. The journalists framed the issue as serious and involving racism. In the framing done by commenters the issue does not involve racism and involves much unfairness towards the Dutch people. The framing strategy of each group was exactly the same at both news sources. Their strategies were not only different, but oppositional. Proponents vs. Opponents was the only frame journalists and commenters shared. Children, Unfairness, Majority vs. Minority, Ridiculous, Threat from Outside, Not Racism, and Tradition/Heritage were commenter frames and Serious, Color, Racism, and Change were journalist frames. The cases formed a good example of multiperspectival news, encompassing fact and opinion. Although the journalists were counter-framed and the issue was reframed by commenters, the journalists did not change their own framing strategy over time. It is argued that through gatewatching, journalists lose their agenda setting power at the second level, but they can gain agenda setting power at the first level if they conduct a certain gatekeeping policy or framing strategy.

KEYWORDS: *Agenda setting, Framing, Gatewatching, Zwarte Piet, Journalism, User comments*

Table of Contents

I. Introduction

In November 2014 the Dutch newspapers *De Telegraaf* and *De Volkskrant* both reported on the Sinterklaas arrival parade. Both had an article on the front page with a large picture and a piece of text. The news articles covered the same event [the object], but each one covered a different set of attributes [aspects of the event, details, fragments of information]. An analysis of the front pages is done in order to reveal the difference in framing. *De Telegraaf* had a picture of two sad-looking children surrounded by police standing in the rain. The title, in bold letters, is 'Deeply sad' and the subtitle, in normal sized letters, is 'Children's feast forever marred'. The text states that supporters and opponents of Zwarte Piet were causing riots in the vicinity of innocent children, the police had to arrest ninety people, and the mayor and prime minister were disappointed about the situation. Protesters were insulting the police and many of them were coarsely laid on the ground. A father, almost overrun by police, said it is no fun this way and went home. The article described the situation as pitiful and stated that the peacefulness is disturbed. *De Volkskrant* on its side had a picture of people dressed as Zwarte Piet standing on boats and waving around cheerfully. The title, in normal letters, is 'White, yellow, or with stripes: Piet stays popular' and the subtitle, in small letters, is 'Convivial day with a black lining'. A small piece of text underneath the picture states that despite the Zwarte Piet debate, most parents and children had a great time during the arrival parade; most people did not notice that small outbursts led to ninety arrests. A White Piet was waving to the crowds, Stroopwafel Piet was a resounding success, and a *Volkskrant* reporter was dressed as Soot Piet, which confused her son.

Reading *De Telegraaf* one would think that the Zwarte Piet issue is seriously ruining the Sinterklaas celebration whereas reading *De Volkskrant* makes one think that the issue has no considerable negative effect on the celebration. People who love the celebration would start worrying a lot more when reading *De Telegraaf* than when reading *De Volkskrant*. These impressions and responses [including the response of not worrying] are framing effects. The arrival parade comes across as a disaster [disaster frame] in *De Telegraaf*, whereas it comes across as quite a success [success frame] in *De Volkskrant*. This was realized by putting together

4

certain pieces of information and giving some more attention than others. It is notable that in *De Telegraaf* article emphasis is put on the children and the upsurge, whereas in *De Volkskrant* article emphasis is put on Piet's different colors. On the front page, *De Telegraaf* completely focused on the negative aspects of the event, whereas *De Volkskrant* paid attention to the positive or neutral aspects. A little wordplay is done by summarizing the negative aspects as 'a black lining'. Next to suggesting that Piet's color is the central theme, color is also used as a proverb to describe aspects of the situation. *De Telegraaf* article suggests the upsurge and the children as the central subjects, or at least the aspects of the event that are of central importance. Another article on the parade could have used another picture and set of attributes, providing another view at the same situation, triggering another response. A news article is not a thousand-page book; it is never the full story. The articles in *De Telegraaf* and *De Volkskrant* each tell a piece of the whole story.

Societal and scientific relevance

The Zwarte Piet debate is very salient in the Netherlands and has increased in salience over the past years. Protests have taken place, changes have been made in Zwarte Piet's appearance, and more and more people are involving themselves with it. In December 2015 Sylvana Simons spoke out in the talk show *Pauw* about Zwarte Piet and racism in the Netherlands. In the course of 2016 news media began to give attention to actual instances of racism, a notable example being the apprehension of artist Typhoon in his hometown Zwolle. The police stopped him because they thought it was suspicious that a black person was driving a big car (Fontein, 2016). When it comes to the salience of the Zwarte Piet issue, a large part of it is due to agenda setting: Dutch news sources reporting on the issue and readers taking over the issue on their agenda. Due to framing, readers understand the issue in the way that the news sources described it. Readers of *De Telegraaf* understand the issue as serious trouble to the Sinterklaas celebration whereas readers of *De Volkskrant* do not. The Dutch people who are not directly involved in the debate are subject to news media framing: they respond to how the news presents the issue, not the issue in its entirety.

This research offers insight into how Dutch people understand the issue as a result of reading Dutch online news media. To be more specific, I analyzed articles from the Dutch online news sources *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* to reveal their frames of the Zwarte Piet issue. Much literature and research on framing exists (Scheufele, 1999; Takeshita, 1997) and there have been many theoretical explorations of the link between agenda setting and framing (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Weaver, 2007). Not much research has been done yet that explores the link between framing, agenda setting, and gatewatching. In gatewatching, readers are allowed to comment underneath articles, which means they can add their own information, ideas, and opinions (Bruns, 2008; Bruns, 2011). A new paradigm arises in which commenters can frame an issue their way. I analyzed the comments relating to the articles from *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* as well and juxtaposed the journalist frames and commenter frames of the Zwarte Piet issue. The research offers a certain insight into what is taking place in the Zwarte Piet debate itself, but it also offers an exploration of the relations between gatewatching and agenda setting and framing. An exploration based on the empirical findings of a case study: a study of gatewatching and framing processes that took place in the real world. I discovered that through gatewatching, agenda setting power at the second level is lost entirely, but by framing an issue the 'right' way, agenda setting power at the first level can be gained.

Research questions and objectives

I chose the Zwarte Piet issue for two reasons: it is very salient, meaning there are many commenters, and there is a lot of disagreement among people. Some consider Zwarte Piet to be racist, others think that he is not. Some believe that his color comes from chimney soot, yet others argue it represents black skin. The Zwarte Piet issue involves many different perspectives, notions, thoughts, and feelings. That forms a breeding ground for different frames of the issue. The subject of the thesis is not the Zwarte Piet issue itself, but the framing of that issue: how the issue is framed in Dutch online news sources and comments relating to the articles from those news sources. I conducted a study of two cases, *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl*, which are commercial news services that were chosen because they embrace gatewatching the most. Articles on *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* are accessible for everyone and everyone can comment on

them. The news sources also allow people to comment on *all* their articles. That situation forms an online representation of the public sphere and in the comment space, public opinion can be formulated. My research question is:

How have journalists and commenters framed the Zwarte Piet issue in Dutch online news sources in the period October 2013 to December 2015?

The sub questions are:

How is the Zwarte Piet issue framed in online articles from *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* from the period October 2013 to December 2015?

How is the Zwarte Piet issue framed in the comments relating to the articles from *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* from the period October 2013 to December 2015?

The journalists are the employees of *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* and the commenters are the people who have commented on the articles posted by *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl*. I mapped out how each group framed the issue and explored the differences and similarities between their framing strategies, the oppositions and overlaps. The research objective is to create a vivid idea of how one would understand the issue as a result of commenter framing and as a result of journalist framing, and how and where those understandings deviate from each other and accord with each other. The objective of each sub question is to identify the frames of the Zwarte Piet issue operative in the analyzed source material and map out how operative each frame is in that material. Based on the frames and their operativeness I pointed out how the Zwarte Piet issue was framed in the material. By doing that with separate bundles of source material, I pointed out the framing strategies of the journalists and the commenters. I also checked if there was a development in journalist framing of the issue over time, to see how the journalists went about with commenter frames in their own framing. I took a broad time period, spanning from 1 October 2013 until 31 December 2015, to gather a substantial amount of

articles, but also to be able to make a comparison over time. As it looks back over a certain period of time, the research is retrospective in nature.

Theory, method, and data

Historically, the public sphere led to a situation where the journalists always tell the public what is happening: how they tell the story becomes what people consider *the* story (Habermas, 1974; Lippmann, 1922; McCombs, 2004; Schudson, 2008). In other words, news media set the public agenda (McCombs, 2005; McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Weaver, McCombs, & Shaw, 2004). More recently, the emergence of web 2.0 and the process of gatewatching have led to a shift in this paradigm (Bruns, 2005; Bruns, 2008; Bruns, 2011; Crawford, 2011; Deuze & Fortunati, 2011; Hermida, 2012; Robinson, 2010): people can comment on news stories online and add their own knowledge, perspectives, insights, and ideas, making them able to change and subvert the original story. Where journalists usually influenced or determined the course of public opinion formation (Iyengar & Simon, 1993; McCombs & Shaw, 1993; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007), that power is now awarded to the commenters as well. When it comes to the attributes of the object, the Zwarte Piet issue, agenda setting can also be done by commenters.

A difference can arise between how the journalists frame the issue and how the commenters frame it. I explored their framing strategies and thus how people, who have a need for orientation (McCombs & Shaw, 1993; McCombs, 2005), understand the Zwarte Piet as a result of reading both the articles and comments at *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl*. I collected 52 articles from each news sources with an average of 80 comments per article. I used framing analysis (Hertog & McLeod, 2001; Van Gorp, 2007; Van Gorp, 2010) to analyze the articles and comments separately and identify the frames of the Zwarte Piet issue operative in them. The method is a qualitative content analysis that involves detecting framing and reasoning devices (Van Gorp, 2007; Van Gorp, 2010). It is partially quantitative, as the framing devices are also counted to measure the extent to which each found frame is operative. I used the computer program NVivo to code the source material.

Thesis outline

The thesis consists of four subsequent chapters. In the second chapter I discuss the concepts that form the theoretical framework of the research. The main concepts are agenda setting, framing, and gatewatching, but I also define related concepts such as public opinion, objects and attributes, and gatekeeping. I discuss the relation between all concepts and how they relate to the case. In the third chapter I discuss the methodology of the research. I discuss my case study approach, the method I used, how I sampled and collected the source material, and how I conducted the analysis. I also discuss validity and reliability. In the fourth chapter I present and discuss the results of the analysis. There I make explicit how the journalists and commenters at *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* framed the Zwarte Piet issue. In the final chapter I answer the research questions and discuss new insights into the theoretical concepts I gained by doing the case study. Each chapter is introduced with a short introduction and concluded, except for the Conclusion chapter, with a short summary and a bridge to the following chapter. The thesis ends with a list of the literature to which is referred, a list of the articles that were analyzed, and the appendices.

II. Theory

In this chapter I discuss how news media affect the formation of public opinion and what has changed since readers make use of web 2.0. In this discussion, several theoretical concepts are explored. First I discuss the concept of agenda setting to understand how news media impact on the public agenda: the way in which the news presents a certain issue becomes the way in which the public thinks about it. Then I discuss the concept of framing to make clear how different news sources can have different ways of presenting the issue, leading to different ways of thinking about it. Lastly I discuss the concept of gatewatching, a new journalistic practice whereby framing and agenda setting can also be done by readers via the medium web 2.0. After defining a concept, I discuss how it applies to the case, the Zwarte Piet issue and Dutch online news sources, to lay down how the concepts form the perspective of the research.

2.1 Agenda setting and societal discussions

The news has a variety of functions, its primary function being to inform the public (Schudson, 2008; Takeshita, 1997). Three other functions are discussed in this section and elaborated on in relation to the theory. The news media serve to maintain democracy (Habermas, 1974), they function as mediators between the actual environment and the public (McCombs & Shaw, 1972), and most important for this research: they set the public agenda (McCombs, 2004). The public agenda is a theoretical metaphor (McCombs & Shaw, 1993) that refers to the selection of *objects* [issues, topics, themes] that are salient among the public (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001; Takeshita, 1997). Setting the agenda means that there is a 'transfer of salience' from the media to the public (Ghanem, 1997; McCombs & Shaw, 1993; Takeshita, 1997). What gets presented as important by the news gets perceived as important by the public (Weaver, 2007; Weaver, McCombs, & Shaw, 2004). The public starts thinking and talking about it and might even take action. In this case the public means the Dutch society and the object is the Zwarte Piet issue. Salience means that a lot of people talk about, refer to, or are occupied with the issue, in any way. The salience of an object indicates how important the public regards it and thus how high it is placed on its agenda. In short, agenda setting means that the objects prominent in the news

media [or high on the media agenda] become the objects prominent among the public [or high on the public agenda] (McCombs, 2005; McCombs & Ghanem, 2001; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). The term was coined by McCombs and Shaw (1972), who proved during the elections in Chapel Hill, North Carolina [USA] that the agenda of the people they interviewed was congruent to the news media agenda. Since then, much research has proven that agenda setting happens with various topics and in various parts of the world (McCombs, 2005; McCombs & Ghanem, 2001; Weaver et al., 2004).

Agenda setting is always unidirectional: the media agenda strongly influences, if not determines, the public agenda (Ghanem, 1997; McCombs, 2005; Takeshita, 1997). In gathering information, journalists look at the agendas of groups such as the government, political parties, and interest groups [environmental, religious, etc.] and select from this what they consider worthy of media attention (Zhu, 1992). The media agenda can end up having the same topic as an interest group agenda (Huckins, 1999). Journalists take over things from the agenda of other news sources too, which is called intermedia agenda setting (McCombs, 2005). Many different news sources end up covering the same topic that way. Before the Zwarte Piet issue entered the media agenda, it was on the agenda of protest groups and the UN. Interest groups are in a constant competition for media attention, because they each want their specific issue on the public agenda (Zhu, 1992). Through public protest the group against Zwarte Piet garnered media attention. In 2014, schools and businesses started involving themselves with the debate as well: the topic had never been that salient. Due to the extensive news coverage, the issue developed from a reserved discussion to a serious societal issue. That shows how an issue can travel through the media agenda onto the public agenda. Only after journalists decided to take over the topic from the agenda of protest groups and the UN, other groups such as schools and businesses started putting it on their agenda as well. In the Netherlands, discussions about Zwarte Piet were present long before the news reported about it. If journalists did not consider the issue, it would not have become as salient [at least not that fast].

In the nineteenth century newspapers stopped being an elite product and became available to everyone. They served to realize the 'public sphere': a space that mediates between society and state where citizens have equal access to all information and where public opinion is

formed through rational deliberation (Habermas, 1974). The concept of public opinion is defined later on in this section. Radio and television helped realizing the public sphere (Habermas, 1974), but newspapers remained in existence. In a functional democracy, citizens are properly informed about pertinent issues so they can make informed decisions when voting (Habermas, 2006) and newspapers provide such information. A public sphere was possible because the state did not control newspapers: people could freely gather and publish information and form their own opinions, which is still the case today in the Netherlands. In the public sphere, newspapers became the bearers and leaders of public opinion (Habermas, 1974) and journalists made it their task to be the watchdogs of democracy, keeping the public informed on everything it should know (Deuze & Fortunati, 2011). This history explains why people take news items seriously and why agenda setting happens in general. In most cases the news media are the prime source for information on public issues (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) and citizens use the information to make their assessment of those issues.

Agenda setting only happens when people have a 'need for orientation' (McCombs & Shaw, 1993; McCombs, 2005). The information only has a setting effect on the people who resort to the news in order to get certainty (McCombs, 2004), to know and understand what is happening. It has no setting effect on those who already know everything that is happening. The lesser people know, the more agenda setting takes place (McCombs, 2005). In the case of Zwarte Piet, many citizens resort to the news in order to be updated on the events and developments surrounding the issue. They draw conclusions about the issue based on this information. In contemporary society it is impossible to be engaged with everything that is going on, so news media make it possible for people to stay in touch with the world outside their direct experience (Takeshita, 1997). This observation also indicates the power that journalists have: they always inform people about things they would otherwise not be informed about (Schudson, 2008). The public sphere led to a situation where the people who were not present at the event and have no information or experience of their own start listening to journalists. Journalists are the ones telling the story and people rely heavily on the information they provide. All they know about the issue is what the journalists decided to tell about it (McCombs, 2004). Through agenda setting, journalists control the public agenda: as they select

the objects that get covered in the news, they determine which topics become salient in their society.

Agenda setting reinforces itself: as everyone gets informed about a particular issue, that issue becomes part of the common world (Takeshita, 1997) and people are invited to share thoughts and feelings about it. They understand what the other is talking about and the news media create a sense of community among those sharing the information (McCombs & Shaw, 1993). People who decide not to follow the news become disengaged with the discussion going on in their society. They keep following the news in order to remain part of the discussion, to stay connected, and as they follow it, agenda setting keeps happening. While individuals can have different opinions on the issue, there is consensus on the issue being the important one to discuss and this consensus was promoted by the media (McCombs & Shaw, 1993). McCombs and Shaw (1972) explain this by quoting Cohen, who stated that media might not directly influence what people think, but they successfully determine what people think *about*. Even if people completely disagree with the news reports on an issue, they are still occupied with precisely that issue, and the more discussion, the more salient it becomes.

In building the media agenda, journalists get to decide which objects form the things the public needs to know (McCombs, 2004). They decide which events, topics, or issues are the most important or relevant. They direct the focus of public attention and thought towards specific topics and with that, away from other topics. Therewith they always make the first move for the formation of public opinion (McCombs, 2004). It is difficult to pinpoint what public opinion is, as the people of a certain population do not always have similar opinions about certain issues or topics. Public opinion can be divided (McCombs, 2004): in the case of Zwarte Piet, there are people who want him to change or disappear and there are people who want him to stay as he is, and each group has its own arguments. Through agenda setting, news media at least organize public opinion around certain topics and provide structure for thinking about and discussing those topics. Journalists provide the facts and public opinion constitutes the moral judgement of those facts (Lippmann, 1922), whether that judgement is divided, scattered, or uniform. The point is that the public always responds to the facts as presented by journalists (Lippmann, 1922); people respond to a second-hand source (McCombs, 2004).

13

Readers with a need for orientation do not only let journalists decide for them what the important issues are [first level agenda setting], but also what is important to know about them [second level agenda setting].

The first level is object agenda setting [*what* to think about] and the second level is *attribute* agenda setting [*how* to think about it] (Ghanem, 1997; McCombs & Shaw, 1993; McCombs & Ghanem, 2001; Weaver, 2007). Any object has attributes with which it is described, explained, or covered (McCombs, 2005; McCombs & Ghanem, 2001). Journalists make decisions in which attributes should be put on the agenda [which are the most important or relevant], determining how an object gets covered in the news and so the way in which the public understands and thinks about it (Ghanem, 1997; McCombs & Shaw, 1993; McCombs, 2005; McCombs & Ghanem, 2001; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Weaver et al., 2004). The media agenda has had a major impact on how Dutch people understand, think about, and subsequently talk about the Zwarte Piet issue. Second level agenda setting means that certain attributes become salient, apart from the salience of the object (McCombs & Shaw, 1993; McCombs & Ghanem, 2001). Particular attributes can be noticed more and remembered better as they resonate strongly with readers (McCombs, 2005). How people get to think about an issue also affects *whether* they think about that issue (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Certain attributes can function as 'compelling arguments', making the object salient (Ghanem, 1997; McCombs, 2005). The Zwarte Piet issue became very salient when journalists reported about the escalating protests during the arrival parade in Gouda in November 2014.

Besides maintaining democracy and setting the public agenda, the news media function as mediators between reality and the public. It is important to understand the relation between journalistic articles and reality and how this connects to agenda setting. When consuming news, people are not in direct contact with their environment. They are consuming a medium which can only provide a certain *image* of the actual environment (Hall, 2006). The world as presented in the news forms a pseudo-environment (Lippmann, 1922; Takeshita, 1997). Consumers tend to forget that news items are also products, made and edited by journalists. They only form a representation, an imperfect copy, of the *real* environment (Hall, 2006; Takeshita, 1997). A pseudo-environment does not mean that the information is fake. A news article is, like a cave

painting or a photo of a distant planet, an attempt to capture a reality while it remains, like a photo and a painting, something man-made (Lippmann, 1922).

To comprehend the world they live in, people create mental images of environments beyond their reach, images they accept as reality (Lippmann, 1922). Such mental images are often provided and shaped by others through their photos, cave paintings, or news stories. People get an impression of what happened based on what they read in the news; an impression only created by the news item. This impression is however accepted as the reality of the event, and people respond to this reality: they respond to the pseudo-environment and not the real one (Lippmann, 1922). Here lies the essence of the power journalists and editors have: readers respond to pictures in their heads *of* their environment brought about by the writings of journalists. The response does take place *in* the actual environment, having consequences in this environment (Lippmann, 1922). The formation of public opinion is one such response. Agenda setting entails that people accept these images of reality *as* the reality of the issue and start forming their opinions based on this reality.

In this thesis, the ability of journalists to determine the objects that become salient in society and to influence the course of public opinion through their control over the readers' conception of what happened is referred to as their *agenda setting power*. They can only exert this power over people who have a need for orientation. This study looks at *how* Dutch online news sources reported on the Zwarte Piet issue. The goal is to uncover the images of the Zwarte Piet issue brought about by articles from these sources; the pictures in the heads of their readers. These are fundamental to the discussions that follow and have played a major role in the debate around Zwarte Piet. For a considerable part the reports on the issue, and not the issue itself, have determined the course of public discussion about Zwarte Piet. Such mental images are from here on referred to as *frames*. The following section goes deeper into the process of how articles produce certain frames of the issue.

2.2 Framing societal issues in news media

The term *framing* originates from photography and cinematography (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001). In research, it has been used many times in many different contexts (Scheufele, 1999). It

is a scattered concept and has many different, diverging meanings (Scheufele, 1999; Weaver, 2007). The meaning it has depends on the particular definition used (Weaver, 2007). This section covers the definition used in this research. A solid feature in this definition is that the public forms an *audience*, simply responding to what is presented. To start, a picture frame metaphor is used to explain the process of framing. A picture is always taken from a certain angle and contains a certain *slice* of reality. Certain bits are placed on the foreground, other bits on the background, and some are excluded: bits that were indeed present, but fall outside the edge of the picture (Ghanem, 1997). By taking it from a certain angle, and maybe doing some editing afterwards, the picture sets a certain tone to the subject (Ghanem, 1997). There is also the decision of where to hang the photo, which frame to hang it in, and which size to print it in (Ghanem, 1997). A big picture hung in the entrance hall with a golden frame generates a different kind of attention than a small picture with a colorless frame hung in the restroom (Ghanem, 1997). When all this is done people get to see the picture, and they receive the subject in the form and with the tone that is given to it. In this entire metaphor, the picture taken of the subject [an event, issue, or topic] is the article written about it. Any article is a product at the end of this process: the subject is always framed in a certain way. Framing takes place whenever a story about something that really happened is told through a medium; visually, orally, and verbally.

The event is always presented to the reader with the language of the medium [a newspaper] and not with the language of actual reality (Hall, 2006). An article can be placed on the front page or on the corner of the fifth page. It can have a small or large amount of words. The title can be in capital letters or normal letters. A picture can be added; the picture can show certain things. Pull quotes can we added, which can state certain things. All this creates a certain impression about the event covered; it is all part of framing (Ghanem, 1997). Lang and Lang (1953) discovered that there was a difference in experience of the same event: for the people at the event it was quite dull, whereas for the people who watched it on television it was rather exciting. The difference was attributed to the camera and sound techniques used in the television report, which turned the event into a dramatic ceremony (Takeshita, 1997). As Hall (2006) would argue, people watching television do not respond to the event itself, but to a *story*

about the event. Ghanem (1996) found that the public was highly concerned about crime in Texas. Crime rates were actually declining there, but the news media reported on crime in a way that resonated strongly with readers and made it very salient (McCombs, 2005). People reacted to the media story on crime rather than the reality of it. The reports conveyed certain frames in their readers' minds: the event as exciting and crime as a serious issue. A frame is also explained as a 'cognitive window' through which the subject is 'seen' (Ghanem, 1997). As with attribute agenda setting, the conveyed frames determine how people understand the event or issue (Scheufele, 1999). The way in which an object is framed determines how the public thinks about it; how it sees it.

Framing was first studied in psychology by Kahneman and Tversky in the second half of the twentieth century (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). They posed a problem for their respondents to solve and found that certain frames trigger certain responses. When formulating the problem differently, the respondent would come up with a different solution (Ghanem, 1997). The problem itself stayed the same; it was not a change in content, but a change in mode of presentation that led to a different response (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). The scientists proved that the choice of words in describing the problem had a definite impact on the respondents' thinking, seeing of possibilities, and subsequent decision making (Ghanem, 1997). Predictable patterns were found: people would always respond in a certain way if the problem was framed in a certain way (Ghanem, 1997). Lang and Lang (1955) proved that even while all networks used the same visuals and facts in covering the Democratic convention, a person watching a different network would still draw a different inference, on the exact same situation. Each channel had a different commentator who interpreted and explained the visuals and facts differently (Takeshita, 1997).

In framing, attention is called to some aspects of a reality while other aspects are obscured. A particular definition of the reality is promoted that way, which promotes a particular way of interpreting, evaluating, and treating the situation (Ghanem, 1997; McCombs, 2005; McCombs & Ghanem, 2001; Scheufele, 1999; Weaver, 2007). In the case presented in the introduction, *De Volkskrant* decided to obscure the negative side of the event, calling it a 'black lining' and placing it on another page, whereas *De Telegraaf* clearly focused on the negative

side, placing it on the front page and devoting slightly more text to it. The disaster frame of *De Telegraaf* leads to a different conclusion, opinion, and choice of action concerning the Zwarte Piet issue than the success frame of *De Volkskrant*. The news reports did not contradict or deny each other concerning the facts; each simply provided a different perspective on the situation. Framing is not *making up* a reality; it means setting up reality in a particular way, using real information. It is done by putting certain pieces of information together in a certain way.

While *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf* covered the same event, they each covered a different set of attributes [at least on the front page]. Connecting this to second level agenda setting, frames are created by selecting and combining certain attributes. A different selection of attributes leads to a different frame. Deciding on which attributes to cover [the job of the journalist] is deciding from which angle to take the picture. Using more text means that more attributes can be covered, but it can also mean that specific attributes get more attention: they get emphasized or elaborated. In the metaphor, this is about deciding whether to take a wide-shot or a close-up. Framing is done by selecting, emphasizing, excluding, and elaborating information (Ghanem, 1997; McCombs & Ghanem, 2001; Weaver, 2007). Each article set a different tone because each framed the event differently; each is a picture taken at the same place, but from a different angle. All attributes of the object were there, but a picture only captures some of them and has some closer to the lens than others. News media inform people about the same things, but not everyone is informed the same way. Readers of *De Telegraaf* get a very different view on the Zwarte Piet issue than readers of *De Volkskrant*, which only intensifies the debate.

Readers considering the arrival of Sinterklaas a success or a disaster, Texans being worried about crime, and television viewers finding the event exciting are all framing *effects*. Figure 1 shows a model developed by Scheufele (1999) which covers the process of framing. In the definition used in this research, framing is the process of frame *building* and *setting*. The audience frames are the pictures people already have in their minds to make sense of reality, without any media influence.
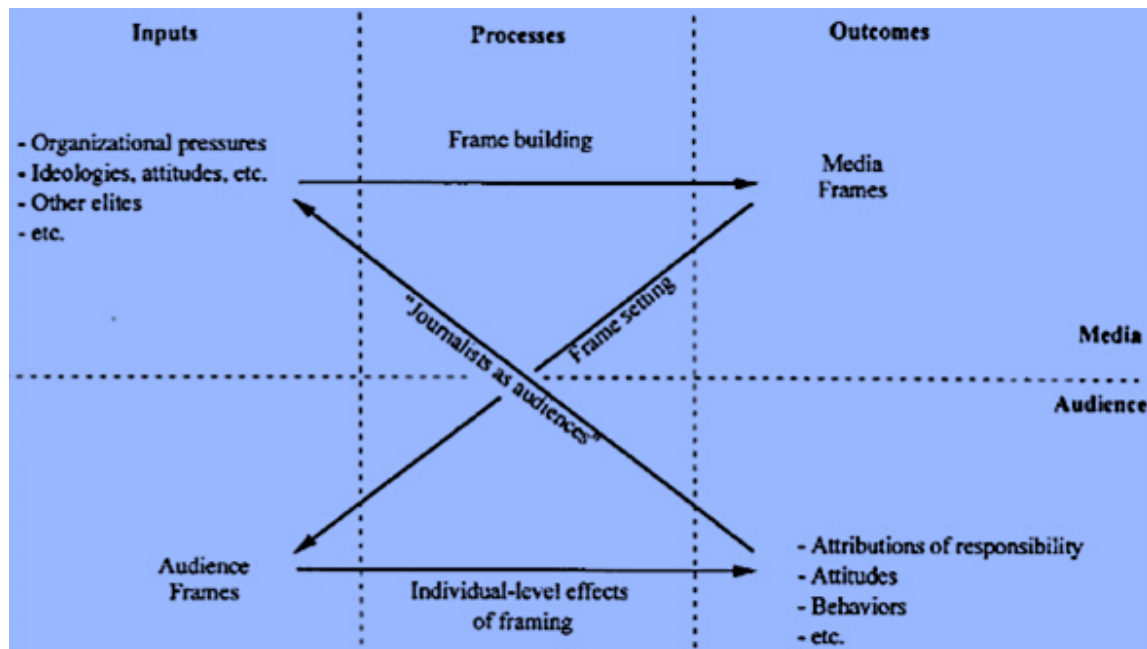
Figure 1. The process of framing. Model developed by Scheufele (1999).

What happens is that people adopt the media frames and make them their individual frames (Scheufele, 1999), which is a natural process (Lippmann, 1922). Framing effects on audience behavior are considerable (McCombs & Shaw, 1993; McCombs, 2005). How people understood the September 11 attacks as a result of media frames determined whether they supported the war in Afghanistan (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). During the First Gulf War, network news framing led people to support military intervention above a diplomatic solution (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). These are both examples of public opinion: people supporting the war as a result of the news reports. Using other frames, which would still match reality, the news reports could just as well have led people to support a diplomatic solution above military intervention. The journalists determine what the public knows about the issue, and the way they report about it affects the public's response. Framing and agenda setting converge at the point where it is about the pictures in the minds of readers, conveyed by news items and leading to certain behaviors (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001).

Like attributes, some frames have a stronger agenda setting effect than others (Ghanem, 1997). Frames do not only have cognitive effects, making readers understand, think about, and

see the issue in a certain way. They can evoke certain feelings as well (Ghanem, 1997; McCombs & Ghanem, 2001). For example, accepting the disaster frame as reality can lead to concern and anger, whereas accepting the success frame can lead to serenity. A population's fear of Islam can even be a framing effect. British print media framed Muslims as a threat [in terms of terrorism and extremism] or a problem [in terms of it clashing with British culture] (Moore, Mason, & Lewis, 2008). American network news framed the external Islam as inherently violent and opposed to Americanism, whereas it framed the internal Islam as peaceful and compatible with American values and religions (Ibrahim, 2010). In America, people end up only dreading Muslims from outside their country while inside they can feel safe. The British end up dreading Muslims inside their country as well; a different debate arises. Like agenda setting, framing has a definite impact on the formation of public opinion (Weaver et al., 2004). Journalists and editors exercise their agenda setting power through framing.

There is an important difference between the framing process and the process of evoking frames of reference. A frame of reference "may indicate an object, a scene, a situation, a person, a state of affairs, a mental state, a history, a theory; it may be real, hypothetical, or fictional" (Hrushovski, 1984, p. 12). It does not matter how and whether it exists, but it must be something that can be talked about. It is something people know about, from direct experience or through texts, models, and pictures (Hrushovski, 1984). It could be "a pillow, a house, a city, a philosophy, a love story, the state of the economy, the haze in autumn trees" (Hrushovski, 1984, p. 12). The frame of reference is what the reader refers to in his or her mind when reading an article. It is already present in the mind, but that particular frame of reference is evoked by the words in the article [or the choice of words, the framing]. This frame of reference is very dependent on the reader's interpretation, knowledge, and 'world-experience' (Hrushovski, 1984). If a reader is further in life and reads the same article again, it could evoke a different or another frame of reference. Also, one article can evoke different frames of reference in the minds of different readers. Frames of reference are not fixed, but depend on the way readers have organized 'the world' in their own comprehension (Hrushovski, 1984). They are the pictures readers have in their minds before reading the article which are incited *when* reading the article. In framing, a media frame is adopted as the individual frame; that process would be

the same for all readers with a need for orientation. Which frame of reference is evoked by the article depends very much on the readers themselves.

In the Zwarte Piet debate, I not only expected differences in framing, but also different frames of reference being evoked in readers. Zwarte Piet is a cultural phenomenon and people who respond differently to him are likely to have different pictures in their minds, brought about by a different world-experience. In the words of Gans (2003), "differences in opinion are often the result of seeing the same phenomenon from several perspectives" (p. 103). A different frame of reference leads to a different interpretation of what the facts *mean* (Duchon, Dunegan, & Barton, 1989). If someone's conviction is that Zwarte Piet forms an insult to black people, a report on the phenomenon disappearing gets received positively. If someone's conviction is that Zwarte Piet forms a lovable character, and the person has warm memories of him, a report on the phenomenon disappearing gets received negatively. Understanding someone's response requires understanding that person's frame of reference (Duchon et al., 1989). That is how it stands apart from framing: when two people respond very differently to the exact same text, it is due to a difference in their frames of reference.

Journalists are not always conscious about how they frame objects (Scheufele, 1999). Even while being as complete and objective as possible, journalists can never escape the subjectivity of the report being what *they* made of the event (Takeshita, 1997). Frame building is an inevitable process: journalists always have to 'summarize' the event somehow and make decisions on what is important to tell (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). Frame building can be a very conscious process too, as it can work ideologically (Ghanem, 1997). *De Telegraaf* could support the stance that the Zwarte Piet issue is bad luck to the Sinterklaas celebration whereas *De Volkskrant* could support the stance it is a harmless development. Journalists could deliberately cover certain attributes and not others in order to convey certain frames which evoke certain thoughts and feelings that support their convictions. Then framing is done with the intention of causing certain responses, steering the readers in a certain direction, mentally and emotionally. This is how journalists guide public opinion formation. Framing [and second level agenda setting] comes down to news media convincing the readers of *their* perspective on the situation, consciously or not, and one medium provides a different

point of view than the other. As different news media pretty much cover the same objects, it is the second level of agenda setting at which they differentiate themselves.

In this research there is no good or bad kind of framing. People also do not always simply take over whatever the news tells them. People can criticize news messages and draw their own conclusions (Hall, 2006), but in relation to journalists the public remains an audience: people consume what they produce. The irony of the public sphere is that if journalists have so much influence, more than the readers, there is still a certain hierarchy. It is questionable how democratic the public sphere really is. The next section discusses how web 2.0 has made journalism more democratic: how readers have exited their role as audience and gained some agenda setting power of their own.

2.3 Gatewatching and the power shift

Journalists and editors receive a myriad of information and have to select from this what they want to publish in their news medium. This process of picking the 'right' information, this journalistic practice, is referred to as gatekeeping (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). The published news article contains the information which passed through the 'gate'. Journalists and editors are the gatekeepers (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009) and the media agenda [at first and second level] is built through gatekeeping, which means that framing is also done: it is the phase where journalists select the 'right' attributes to cover. News organizations have their reasons for publishing certain and not other information; they have gatekeeping criteria. A commercial source mostly covers sensational news, as it sells, and a state source only publishes information that puts the government in a positive light, as it works propagandistically (Takeshita, 1997). That is their gatekeeping policy: a commercial source does not publish dull news and a state source does not publish about the flaws of the government [generally stated, there certainly are exceptions]. Any news organization does *structural* gatekeeping: there is always a limited amount of writing space or broadcasting time and there are always deadlines (Bruns, 2005; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Decisions have to be made on what the most important or essential information is at that moment (Bruns, 2011). Complex diplomatic situations or scientific discoveries are also simplified for public understanding (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007), which

means framing is done to assist the audience, not to convince it of something. Gatekeeping is "a regime of control over what content is allowed to emerge from the production processes" (Bruns, 2005, p. 11). By controlling what they publish, news organizations maintain their public profile. They make sure they only publish what their readers consider relevant (Bruns, 2005; Bruns, 2008).

When web 2.0, characterized by user interactivity, collaboration, and user-created content, emerged in the first years of the twenty-first century, people started producing news online themselves, outside the established news organizations (Bruns, 2005; Bruns, 2011). This online grassroots journalism at first became a sort of counter-voice to the mainstream (Bruns, 2008), refuting media frames and framing events and issues the way the people wish to (Bruns, 2011). Indymedia became a much used platform for such alternative coverage of events. Users could contribute their own stories and provide commentary everywhere (Bruns, 2011). An important aspect of web 2.0 is that people can comment on news stories. Information can be added, claims can be evaluated, and a broader context can be provided (Bruns, 2011). Articles no longer end at what the first person wrote, but people collaboratively work on an ever-expanding news story (Bruns, 2011). Not the article, but the discussion that follows is of central importance. The article serves "to open rather than close the discussion" (Bruns, 2011, p. 123). In newspapers the story ends at what the journalist wrote whereas internet platforms function according to models different from print and broadcast media: online, gates can be bypassed (Bruns, 2005). The established media continued their gatekeeping process, but the new internet generation was getting used to finding information online for free and getting involved (Bruns, 2011). It became less likely this generation would start a subscription to receive news stories that are framed and provide no opportunity for commenting (Bruns, 2011). To reach out to this new generation, established news media started using social media to share their news stories and explored the advantages and opportunities in web 2.0 (Bruns, 2011). Until that point, citizen or grassroots journalism and established news media were strongly separated into two ideological online spaces, each with a different model of production (Bruns, 2011). From that point onward, these spaces and models converged.

News media struggle to adjust to the new paradigm (Deuze & Fortunati, 2011; Friend, 2007). Journalists and editors have to redefine their role (Bruns, 2005; Bruns, 2008) and their relationship with the readers (Hermida, 2012; Robinson, 2010). When *CNN* started using Twitter in 2007, it used the platform as another outlet for news produced in the traditional way and expected readers to behave as an audience like always (Crawford, 2011). However, on Twitter the 'audience' is not really an audience anymore: readers are co-users of the platform (Deuze & Fortunati, 2011). The most important change is that users can talk back (Crawford, 2011). When a crisis occurred in Iran in June 2009, *CNN* was reporting on the bankruptcy of a theme park and many commenters pointed out that it should start covering the crisis. *CNN* was not inclined to listen to comments and critiques and subsequently failed to report on the crisis (Crawford, 2011). Others were already posting pictures and messages about it: *CNN*'s job was taken over by citizens using Twitter. The point of this anecdote is that in order to maintain its profile, "the best source of around-the-clock news during a political crisis" (Crawford, 2011, p. 122), *CNN* actually has to listen in and cooperate with other users, which was quite unusual at that time for established news services: it deviates from the hierarchy between journalist and reader. The shift is that on social media, everyone is a producer and information posted by other users is not any less 'news' than information provided by working journalists (Crawford, 2011). On such platforms, journalists do not have the agenda setting power they usually have. They do not control the content and other users are just as able to direct the attention towards some things and away from other things (Bruns, 2008). The influence that journalists have on the public agenda is narrowing and gets distributed over the other users of the platform, who are just as able to fulfil readers' need for orientation.

In this new paradigm, the journalist forms just one of the many voices heard (Hermida, 2012) and the public sphere is actually more democratic than it was at first (Deuze & Fortunati, 2011). As the *CNN* example showed, citizens can now keep an eye on the journalists and accost them on doing their job, in public. Through comments they can also flesh out, examine, critique, debunk, and contextualize the initial reports of journalists. Commenters can provide extra news and background information (Bruns, 2008). How an event gets framed is no longer just in the hands of journalists and editors. News has turned from "a relatively static product to be

consumed by audiences into a dynamic, evolving, expanding resource which is actively co-developed by the users" (Bruns, 2008, p. 7). Bruns (2005) termed this new journalistic practice *gatewatching*, as opposed to gatekeeping. Gatewatching means that the 'gate' is open and journalists and editors do not control what gets added to the mix (Bruns, 2008; Bruns, 2011). Users are enabled to add a myriad of other sources and information from their own interests, tastes, and ideologies (Bruns, 2008). Journalists and editors have lost their textual authority (Robinson, 2010): commenters themselves decide which words, links, and visual material they use. Discussions that follow a news story become part of that story and generate further stories (Crawford, 2011). Instead of being a finished product in which the facts are stated and dictated, a news story is now an *un*finished product, ever expanding and changing. In this model, journalist and reader are equals, and the terms producer and consumer are no longer validated (Bruns, 2011). News production now follows the same logic as "the active co-development of software under open source models or the collaborative co-creation of … *Wikipedia*" (Bruns, 2008, p. 7). News changed from a unidirectional, one-to-many, hierarchal, and centralized flow of information to a more poly-directional, many-to-many, distributed, and decentralized flow of information (Robinson, 2010).

Instead of considering user comments as a threat to journalism, they can be seen as a sign of popularity and success (Robinson, 2010): an article is good when it evokes discussion. Gatewatching adds another function to news media: facilitating public discussion. Readers want to use the comment space to exercise their freedom of speech and contradict the news story, steering it into new directions (Robinson, 2010). This act is not out of disrespect, but out of respect towards the journalist. Commenters want the journalist to listen in and respond to them (Robinson, 2010), making the story 'better' together. Friend (2007) argued that being responsive to user comments is the ethical thing to do in this new online environment. Commenters can challenge the journalist by gainsaying the news story and allowing him or her to defend it, coming up with more and stronger arguments or facts. They can also provide information that builds on the news story, helping the journalist in making the report more complete. Commenting users can be of great assistance to established news services (Crawford, 2011): they function as extra sources and fact-checkers (Robinson, 2010) and do a journalist's

job without it costing anything (Deuze & Fortunati, 2011). It is imperative for established news sources to take this more cooperative approach if they want to stay in the game (Bruns, 2011). This means that journalism is no longer focused on individual intelligence, but on collective intelligence, and where expertise and authority were first located in individuals and institutions, they are now more distributed and networked (Hermida, 2012). Pieces of information circle around and are contested, denied, or verified: work that is normally done behind the scenes now happens on the platform for everyone to see (Hermida, 2012). The paradigm shift is that many things which first took place in the editorial room are now done in the open, in real-time (Hermida, 2012) and that users can be [unpaid] journalists too. Future news staff are more convinced that this is the way journalism is done in the digital age (Robinson, 2010).

Collaborative news production connects well to the idea of the public sphere. People are no longer 'spoon-fed' by journalists and the public consensus is no longer imposed by the news media (Deuze & Fortunati, 2011). Public consensus now arises bottom-up, through deliberation, facilitated and guided by established news services (Deuze & Fortunati, 2011). News can become multiperspectival, "encompassing fact and opinion reflecting all possible perspectives" (Gans, 2003, p. 103). Space is created in the news for the unreported facts, unrepresented viewpoints, and un- or underrepresented parts of the population (Gans, 2003). The public comprises many groups of people, "each with its own conception of the proper ways of looking at the world" (Gans, 2003, p. 103). People have differing ideas about Zwarte Piet and what they feel is not represented in the article, they can present in the comment space. Journalists and editors recast their authority by placing the original article and the comment section in separate spaces, separating their journalism from the readers' journalism, and by operating a commenting policy (Robinson, 2010). Comments are allowed, but there are certain guidelines and restrictions. When comments do not comply, they are deleted [e.g. when it is completely off-topic or plain rude]. Rating systems are used to honour certain comments (Robinson, 2010), separating 'good' contributions from 'bad' ones and rewarding users who contributed. Journalists and editors remind users that *they* facilitate their commenting space and act like parents exercising the rules for the users' own good (Robinson, 2010). In a sense, journalists and editors can still effectuate their original gatekeeping criteria. Instead of removing all comments

that do not fit them, they can simply *highlight* those that do (Bruns, 2008; Bruns, 2011). Because these actions are transparent, their gatekeeping criteria also become transparent.

In this study, commenters are not just co-producers; they are *co-framers*. The goal is to spot the differences and similarities between how the journalists framed the Zwarte Piet issue and how the commenters framed it. Comment space is not just a place for different frames to be constructed, but also from where other frames of reference can be evoked. I discuss the different frames I found in the articles and the comments, but in the conclusion I also discuss which frames of reference could be evoked by the framing done in the articles and the comments. Those play a major role in the Zwarte Piet debate as well. Being the ones to provide the information to the public, journalists have enjoyed agenda setting power, but since the emergence of web 2.0 and the practice of gatewatching, users are also informing the public and enjoying that same power. Users have the ability to frame the issue in other, new ways. Knowing the journalist frames and the commenter frames of the Zwarte Piet issue would provide a vivid picture of the impact of web 2.0 on Dutch journalism as well as on the debate itself. The next chapter discusses how I am going to recover these frames by analyzing the online articles and comments.

III. Methodology

This chapter covers the methodological part of the research. First I discuss my case study approach, in which I argue why the particular news sources were chosen. Then I discuss the method of analysis, first arguing why I chose the particular method. After that I go into operationalization, defining framing and reasoning devices, and sampling, discussing how I collected the source material. Then I describe how I coded the material using the computer program NVivo. The last section is about the validity and reliability of the method.

3.1 Case study

As the research forms a study of two cases, I should point out the limitations and advantages of doing a case study (Hammersley & Gomm, 2000). The findings that come from analyzing the material of *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl*, and the conclusions I draw based on those findings, are not generalizable (Hammersley & Gomm, 2000). That means I cannot legitimately speak for the entire population of Dutch online news sources in the following chapters. The advantage of doing a case study is that the processes I investigate are actual processes that take place in the real world and not in an artificially created setting (Hammersley & Gomm, 2000). I study the material from *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* in depth and do a comparison of material from different time periods. The results are not statistically generalizable, but they are authentic (Hammersley & Gomm, 2000). My conclusion might not be applicable to all Dutch online news sources, but it is grounded in reality and definitely applicable to *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl*. *RTL Nieuws* is one of the news services of RTL Nederland, the Dutch subsidiary of the RTL Group. *Nu.nl* is a Dutch news website owned by Sanoma. Both sources are commercial in nature, but have a different history of origin. They both profile themselves as sources that constantly update readers on the latest news from home and abroad (Meer dan tv alleen [webpage], n.d.; NU.nl [webpage], n.d.).

It was easy to find large numbers of articles on the Zwarte Piet issue. It was surprising that no comments on them could be found on the websites of many Dutch news sources, including *De Volkskrant*, *NRC*, *Het Parool*, and *Algemeen Dagblad*. Such websites had the opportunity to comment enabled in the past. In a telephone interview (B. de Vries, personal

communication, May 26, 2016) with an employee of *De Volkskrant* I discovered that it is only possible to place comments at opinion articles, not at news items, reviews, or any other form of article. They made this decision years ago [though I asked, the interviewee did not specify how many years] because they experienced the comments placed at other types of articles as not adding any value. Comments that were placed in the past cannot be traced back. It explains that, at least in the past years, no comments could be placed at articles on the Zwarte Piet issue. At least not on their own website. If readers wish to respond, they have the ability to do this on the social media platform Facebook, on which the news source places links to its articles. When searching on the Facebook page of *De Volkskrant* and other Dutch news sources, no articles on the Zwarte Piet issue could be found. Dutch news sources choose which articles they place on Facebook, hence choosing what they allow their readers to respond to. They also utilize an outside, commercial platform to give readers an opportunity to comment.

The website of *RTL Nieuws* was eventually used because the comments on the article, which are still Facebook responses, are also placed underneath the article on the website itself. That means that readers do not have to go to another platform to read comments. *RTL Nieuws* shows them directly and they can be read together with the article. *Nu.nl* does send readers to another platform if they want to comment, but this platform called Nujij.nl [http://www.nujij.nl/] was developed by *Nu.nl* itself. At each article on *Nu.nl* an icon is placed that leads directly to this website, where readers can directly place a comment. That way *Nu.nl* has a website purely for reading the articles and another one for reading and placing comment on them. It does not use a foreign platform developed by an outside enterprise for this, and comments can be placed at each article, not just a selection of them. Solutions like this demonstrate that *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* embrace the opportunity for response relatively more than other Dutch news sources. Therefore these sources were used for data collection.

3.2 Method of analysis

When analyzing the source material, I should not initially be *looking* for differences and similarities in framing. If there is any difference or similarity, it should just be found, discovered. The only goal of the analysis is to identify, or in other words, to reconstruct the frames of the

Zwarte Piet issue that are operative in the articles and comments. Therefore framing analysis is the most suitable method: it is used to identify the spectrum of conceivable frames relevant to the topic (Van Gorp, 2010). Differences and similarities in framing can be pointed out once the frames are identified. The method is an inductive content analysis (Van Gorp, 2007), meaning that observations are done first and that the frames *result* from the analysis. No potential frames are offered beforehand.

When reading the source material, it helps when the researcher has no real expertise on the topic or issue, so that the information in the material is really all he works with. For this reason, no literature on the Zwarte Piet issue itself is consulted beforehand. That is also done because the issue itself does not form the subject of the research, it forms a case. The subject of this thesis is the framing of the Zwarte Piet issue: how it is framed in Dutch online news sources and comments relating to the articles from those sources. It must be possible for the method to be used in other cases: other issues and other news sources. However, the topic under scrutiny or central issue must be defined beforehand because analyzing texts without a clear focus means wasting time in framing research (Hertog & McLeod, 2001). The topic functions as a sensitizing concept in the analysis.

The method is inspired by grounded theory, adopting several features of it (Van Gorp, 2007). I did the analysis in two phases: open coding and focused coding (Hodkinson, 2008). Coding means organizing the data into categories or instances of occurrence, which must be done to enable the researcher to make the comparisons he aims to make (Fielding, 2008). Coding is an interplay between the researcher and the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). I used the computer program NVivo, which is qualitative data analysis software developed by QSR International, to code the source material. Framing analysis is part qualitative, to identify the frames, and part quantitative (Hertog & McLeod, 2001; Van Gorp, 2010). Text fragments that support a certain frame are collected and the number of fragments is then used to measure how operative that frame is in the source material. It is possible that the same frame is applied by two different news sources, while in one source it is strongly operative and in the other very weakly. Next to a comparison of different frames, a comparison of the frames' operativeness is possible (Van Gorp, 2010).

In open coding, the researcher detects framing and reasoning devices [concepts that are defined later]. It is best to cover all possibilities, but the framing and reasoning devices should always be related to the Zwarte Piet issue somehow. That is the heart of the analysis (Van Gorp, 2010). The researcher must remain careful as certain terms can belong to multiple frames (Hertog & McLeod, 2001). In open coding the focus is not on what the text is about, but on how the story is told (Van Gorp, 2010). Identifying the frames is done in focused coding. In this phase, the framing and reasoning devices are abstracted from the original text (Van Gorp, 2010). The coded text is put away and the researcher looks at the devices themselves to see how they differ from each other or accord with each other. The purpose is to end up with "a limited number of frame packages that are mutually exclusive and in which each link is meaningful" (Van Gorp, 2010, p. 96). It is about data reduction: the data was broken down into a plethora of small pieces and now the pieces are put back together in another way (Boeije, 2010; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The data was turned into codes and now the codes are turned into new data (Boeije, 2010). Each frame package forms an internally consistent whole: the framing devices support a similar definition of the issue and the reasoning devices logically follow up each other (Van Gorp, 2010). These packages identify the frames operative in the source material; frames are reconstructed through focused coding.

Although a level of abstraction takes place in the second phase, it is always possible to look back at the original text and reconsider things. The phases of the analysis are more iterative than sequential (Hodkinson, 2008; Van Gorp, 2010). It is advised to re-examine the text from which the framing and reasoning devices were derived (Van Gorp, 2010). Not only to check if everything adds up, but also to gain more insight into the frame and maybe discover new things in the text that were missed during open coding. Things that lead to new considerations during focused coding. That is the constant comparative method (Creswell, 2013) and is very important in framing analysis (Van Gorp, 2010). The initial codes are very close to the actual content of the data and from there the abstraction begins (Hodkinson, 2008). In the process it is important not to lose touch with the ground: the abstract concepts that emerge from the analysis should be traceable back to the data (Hodkinson, 2008). The constant comparative

method ensures that new insights stay linked to the material (Van Gorp, 2007) and the analysis remains valid.

Focused coding ends with the construction of a frame matrix in which each frame is presented with the devices through which it operates (Van Gorp, 2010). Each frame should have a considerable number of framing and reasoning devices, a 'thick description', which should come across as complete and logically consistent (Van Gorp, 2010). The frames should also be sufficiently abstract, meaning that they must be applicable in other cases (Van Gorp, 2007; Van Gorp, 2010). Fragments of text that do not fall under any of the frames should be looked at again, going back to the original material. It must be scrutinized whether these pieces are 'frameless' or whether they are unique and point to another frame (Van Gorp, 2010). Frames that have a thick description are the dominant frames in the source material. Those frames are very likely to have been adopted by readers in their minds (Van Gorp, 2010). Naming a frame involves the researcher "making an association with a cultural motive that can function as the core idea, thus fusing the framing devices into a coherent whole" (Van Gorp, 2010, p. 96). In some instances, the name of the frame can be something explicitly mentioned in the text (Van Gorp, 2010). The frames can be used in a deductive analysis of other [even non-Dutch] news sources with commenters discussing the Zwarte Piet issue (Van Gorp, 2010). That is not done in this research, but it points to the utility the results can have for further research in the framing of the Zwarte Piet issue.

3.3 Operationalization

Frames have their own vocabulary: there are certain adjectives, adverbs, and nouns that are peripheral to a frame (Hertog & McLeod, 2001). The manifest elements in the text that support a frame are the framing devices: metaphors, arguments, [historical] examples, expressions, adjectives, sources, visual material and more (Van Gorp, 2007; Van Gorp, 2010). As explained in the theory, the framing devices evoke a certain interpretation of and inference on the issue. Reasoning devices are not manifest in the text, but are the lines of reasoning brought about by the framing devices. The reasoning device is the route by which the media frame gets adopted as the individual frame: the mental connection made by the reader between the text, the

frame, and his own understanding of the world (Van Gorp, 2010). For example, when the group of people who are opposed to Zwarte Piet was referred to, terms such as 'a few' or 'a handful' were used many times. Also, to indicate the size of the group, very small percentages were given, most times together with large percentages to indicate the size of the group that is in favor of Zwarte Piet. The reasoning device is that those opposing Zwarte Piet are small in number, especially compared to those who advocate him. Once a reasoning device was established, I could spot more framing devices in the text that support it. For example, when a commenter argued that giving the opponents of Zwarte Piet their way and not taking account of the proponents would be very undemocratic, that supports the notion of the opponents forming a minority compared to the proponents. The line of reasoning, that it would be undemocratic, adds to the reasoning device I already found. Matching framing and reasoning devices together form a frame package (Van Gorp, 2010).

The analysis is successful when a selection of framing and reasoning devices clearly construct one frame, and the *number* of text fragments that make up this selection reflect the emphasis on that frame in the source material (Hertog & McLeod, 2001). The frequency of occurrence of certain phrases or words is indicative of certain frames being operative (Fielding, 2008). The number helps in ascertaining that the particular frame, and its rhetoric, is applied (Hertog & McLeod, 2001). Identifying the frame means recognizing the central theme that overarches the framing and reasoning devices. For example, I developed a frame package in which 'the children' formed an overarching theme. The reasoning device was that, as the Sinterklaas celebration is meant for children, what the children think and feel is of central importance to whether or not Zwarte Piet should be changed. The framing devices were mostly arguments, from both sides of the debate: children love Zwarte Piet and do not see a link between him and black people, so there is no point in changing him, or children do not mind if Zwarte Piet changes, so there is no problem in changing him. Some also argued that the debate is a discussion among adults and the children become victims of it, which I also recognized as a framing device. When a theme cannot be identified, a frame can hint to its particular construct of reality. For example, the devices I mentioned earlier which suggest that the people who have

anything against Zwarte Piet form a minority compared to the people who have no issue with him, together formed a frame package that I called Majority versus Minority.

If a frame cannot be defined with one or two words hinting to the central theme or overarching concept, the name should hint to the particular reality it constructs. One way or the other, the name should 'summarize' and cover the framing and reasoning devices in one or a couple of words. Table 1 provides an overview of the frames I found with a description of the belonging framing and reasoning devices. The Children frame, Ridiculous frame, and Tradition/Heritage frame were named after something explicitly mentioned in the text. The rest I conceived of myself, though the precise words racism, change, proponents, and opponents were also mentioned here and there in the source material.

Table 1. *Overview of the frames and the belonging framing and reasoning devices*

Frame	Reasoning devices	Framing devices
Children	The Sinterklaas celebration is meant for the children. Therefore, what the children think and feel concerning Zwarte Piet is of central importance to whether or not he should be changed.	Using 'the children' as a central, legitimizing argument [in any side of the debate]. For example, arguing that the children love Zwarte Piet and would be sad to see him go, and they do not see or make a link between Zwarte Piet and black people, so there is no point in changing him. Arguing that children do not mind if Zwarte Piet changes, so there is no problem in changing him. Arguing that the children become victims of the debate, which is an adult discussion, and pointing out that people should look at how the children see Zwarte Piet.
Unfairness	Changing Zwarte Piet because of the debate would be unfair to the Dutch people in many ways. This frame has two sub-frames which I included because they ultimately point to unfairness towards the Dutch in the debate. The first suggests that the Sinterklaas celebration is just as worthy as any other celebration and Zwarte Piet is just as worthy as any other fictional character. The second	Expressing that the Dutch are being treated unfairly. For example, commenters wrote that while the Dutch are so open and tolerant, they get treated like this in return. Arguing that the Dutch do not complain about other people's traditions, even if there is something obviously wrong about them. The Dutch tolerate exotic traditions and so their own traditions should be tolerated as well. If Zwarte Piet changes or disappears,

34

	suggests that if the Dutch allow the debate to change Zwarte Piet, people would be allowed to contest any Dutch tradition and an endless succession of debates will arise.	the Dutch should be allowed to change or take away something from other people's tradition as well. Arguing that Zwarte Piet is no different from other cartoon or fairytale characters and that if he is contested, the Easter bunny should also be contested. Arguing that traditions such as Christmas, with Santa Claus and the elves, and the Arabic Id-al-Fitr also have insulting elements while nobody complains about them. If Zwarte Piet should change or disappear, Christmas or Id-al-Fitr should also change or disappear. Arguing that if the Dutch allow change to happen, other Dutch traditions are next and in the end nothing Dutch will be left over.
Proponents versus Opponents	The Zwarte Piet debate is divided into two camps. One is either in favor of or against Zwarte Piet. There is no group or option in between.	Any statement or argument that supports this notion of a dichotomy existing in the debate. For example, stating that the opponents of Zwarte Piet will always stand their ground or arguing that people should take more account of the feelings of the proponents of Zwarte Piet. Using terms such as 'pro-' and 'anti-Zwarte Piet'.
Majority versus Minority	The people who object to Zwarte Piet are small in number. They form a minority and the people who are in favor of Zwarte Piet form the vast majority.	Using terms such as 'a few' or 'a handful' to describe the group of people who are opposed to Zwarte Piet. Giving small and large percentages to indicate the size of the group that is against Zwarte Piet and the group that is in favor of Zwarte Piet respectively. Arguing that giving the opponents of Zwarte Piet their way is not democratic.
Ridiculous	The Zwarte Piet issue is ludicrous and should not be taken seriously.	Stating that the discussion around Zwarte Piet is 'ridiculous', 'nonsense', and 'bullshit'. Arguing that people should occupy themselves with more serious and important matters, such as poverty and war. Debating Zwarte Piet is for people who have nothing better to do than complain. It is

		irrelevant and a waste of time and energy.
Serious	The Zwarte Piet issue is a large-scale issue and should be taken seriously.	Describing the debate as 'fierce' or 'intense'. Reporting on serious matters such as riots, protests, violence [physical and verbal], weapons, death threats, and a child being hit. Using battle metaphors such as 'assail' and 'resistance' to describe situations. Mentioning people in high and important positions who start involving themselves in the debate. Mentioning how the debate affects schools, hospitals, shops, volunteer organizations, and television programs. Mentioning high numbers of people involved.
Threat from Outside	The resistance against Zwarte Piet comes from something and somewhere that is not Dutch. Those who object Zwarte Piet come from a different country or culture and have not been raised in Dutch culture. Their resistance comes from a misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the Sinterklaas celebration. If someone were truly Dutch, he or she would not oppose Zwarte Piet and understand there is no issue.	Stating that the people who object Zwarte Piet are foreigners, mostly from African and Middle-Eastern countries or the [former] Dutch colonies in South America. Arguing that if they do not like it, they should go back to their own land and culture. Stating that in other countries, they do not celebrate Sinterklaas and have no good understanding of what the celebration is about. If someone would play Zwarte Piet in a foreign country, he or she would get arrested.
Color	The color of Zwarte Piet is central to the issue. His blackness is what causes the controversy and negative feelings. Changing his color would be the solution to the problem. However, a change in color brings about more controversy. Many people want him to stay black.	Any statement or argument that suggests that the Zwarte Piet issue revolves around his color or defines the issue through it. For example, stating that a children's TV program changed the color of Zwarte Piet to take more account of the ongoing debate or arguing that the opponents of Zwarte Piet finally got their way now his color is changed.
Racism	Zwarte Piet is a racist phenomenon.	Explaining Zwarte Piet as being 'offensive' and 'hurtful' towards black people. Designating him as a racist caricature or relic of the colonial past. Discussing him in the context of discrimination and slavery.

Not Racism	Zwarte Piet is *not* a racist phenomenon.	Any argument, statement, or point that supports this conviction. For example: Zwarte Piet has nothing to do with colonialism or slavery and is not the same as the blackface tradition. Some argued that Zwarte Piet does represent a black person, but is not meant to insult black people and does not live in a state of oppression. He is a free, soulful character and not a stereotype or slave. Others argued that his color does not represent black skin, but chimney soot. It is simply meant to make the person playing him unidentifiable.
Change	A change in Zwarte Piet is imminent. It is a natural development in Dutch society, an improvement. Many changes have taken place in Zwarte Piet over the past decades and this is simply another one, in line with those. Change is positive.	Giving examples of the different versions of Zwarte Piet that have existed in the past to make a point. Stating that he is from a different era and no longer fits in the present. News facts which indicate that over the next years, Zwarte Piet will change or disappear entirely.
Tradition/Heritage	Zwarte Piet cannot and should not be changed as he is part of a tradition. He forms Dutch cultural heritage. Tradition and heritage are untouchable; attempting to change it is hostile and rude.	Any argument that uses the concepts of heritage and tradition as a point against changing Zwarte Piet. For example, commenters argued that a supermarket must not interfere with national heritage and that if one changes Zwarte Piet, it is no longer a tradition.

3.4 Sampling

Having a clear focus at the beginning also means that theoretical sampling can be done.

Theoretical sampling, or focused data collection, means selecting the source material for

theoretical purposes only (Creswell, 2013; Hodkinson, 2008). In framing research, the analyst

must expose himself to differing points of view (Hertog & McLeod, 2001). That makes him more

aware of the potential differences in framing. The goal is to gain a broad understanding of the

different ways in which the topic is understood (Hertog & McLeod, 2001). Therefore it is more

desired to have a diverse sample than to have a statistically representative sample. The

identified frames are representative of the framing done by the journalists of the particular news sources and by the commenters at those sources. I expected the commenters to provide other points of view than the journalists, but in building the sample I also made sure there was diversity in subject matter. That means I did not want the sample to consist only of articles about the protests, the UN, and the changes taking place in schools and businesses. I wanted to include every new and different point of view I came across because I did not want to miss out on any new and different frame used by the commenters or journalists. All potential frames should be included. Most articles were from the national news section, but I also included articles from for example the economics section, politics section, even the science and technology section, as long as there was a clear connection to the Zwarte Piet issue and the article had enough comments.

From each source I collected 52 articles on the Zwarte Piet issue. I collected them by entering the term 'Zwarte Piet' in the search engine on each website and going through the search results. First I scrolled back to articles from October 2013 and began selecting from there. I took October as the starting point because around that time the Sinterklaas celebration is coming close, displays related to the festival start appearing in shops already, and the Zwarte Piet discussion starts becoming more prominent. The celebration actually takes place in November and December, but at both sources I could find articles on the issue from October as well, which I did not want to leave out. I took 1 October 2013 as beginning and 31 December 2015 as end and collected articles from within that time period. The Zwarte Piet issue became most salient in that time and I took a broad period to successfully reach a large number of articles. As many things happen in the course of two and a quarter years, having a large time period also means more diversity in subject matter.

In selecting the articles, I had two important criteria. The first was that each article must have at least 40 comments, because there should be a substantial amount of source material to analyze. The second criterion was that the sample should be diverse. I paid close attention to what the articles were about and aimed to include every article that put the Zwarte Piet issue in a new and different context. For example, on *RTL Nieuws* I found some articles on fireworks being banned and the issue came by in that story in the form of an argument (RTL Nieuws,

2015d; RTL Nieuws, 2015e). On *Nu.nl* I found an article on the so called Zwarte Piet app being rejected by Apple and not receiving a place in the app store (NU.nl/Kraan, 2013). While I selected the articles with the most comments, I made sure I did miss out on any of such articles. If such articles had at least 40 comments I made sure they were included in the sample.

Some articles had above 100 or 200 comments. In such cases I made a more critical selection: I went through the comments and deleted the parts which would not add anything to the framing of the issue. For example, parts where commenters are clearly fighting each other, calling each other names, and no progressive contribution is made to the discussion. I made sure that in the end I would have between 40 and 100 comments per article, with an average of 80 comments, and that this was the case for both news sources. Through the more critical selection I made sure that every comment counted and would add to the framing. As with the articles I checked to see if I did not miss out on any comment that would provide a new and different perspective on the issue. An overview of the sample is provided in Table 2 and all articles are listed in the Literature section.

Table 2. *Overview of the sample (N=104)*

	RTL Nieuws			Nu.nl		
	2013	2014	2015	2013	2014	2015
January					1	
February			1			
March					1	
April					1	2
May			1			
June		1	1			
July		1			2	1
August		3	4		3	4
September		2	2			2
October	7	6	2	10	5	4
November		11	3	3	4	5
December		3	4	1	2	1

3.5 Coding

The source material [articles and comments separated] was loaded into NVivo and analyzed. The text was copied onto documents and the documents were loaded in. I numbered the documents for tracing purposes. In the computer program I created so called nodes, which form the reasoning devices. I developed them by going through the text and writing at each node what the lines of reasoning were. I attached each fragment of text that formed a framing device to the node which formed the reasoning device it belongs to. The articles and comments were separated so the text references [fragments of text coded as framing devices] could be counted separately after coding. That way I could measure the operativeness of each frame in the articles and comments separately. The articles and comments were analyzed using the same method.

I read through the texts and when I spotted a potential framing device, I created a node and attached the fragment of text to it. I named the node with something literally from the text [an in vivo code] or an idea that came into mind when coming across the fragment. In the description of the node I wrote down the reasoning device. I went on coding like this and when I spotted a fragment that supports an existing reasoning device, I added it to that node. When a fragment had a reasoning device that adds to an existing one, I wrote it down in the description of the node as well. Over time, some nodes 'grew': they had a large amount of text references and the reasoning devices formed a clear, particular perspective on or definition of the Zwarte Piet issue. I also placed some nodes together, creating sub-nodes, when I saw that the framing and reasoning devices of those separate nodes would form an internally consistent whole. For example, I had a node for all the arguments that stated Sinterklaas and Zwarte Piet are just as worthy as any other tradition and fictional character, and noticed that those arguments ultimately point to unfairness towards the Dutch. I placed that node under the node I had for statements of unfairness. By doing all this I built up frame packages.

Sometimes I came across a sentence in which two or three frames were operative. In such cases I coded different pieces of the sentence as framing devices belonging to the different frames. Such a piece could be one or two words. At each fragment, NVivo provides a link to the original document, so I could always read back the full sentence. By coding different pieces of it,

I made sure that the one sentence formed one text reference for each of the frames. At the end of open coding, I had 18 nodes and 13 sub-nodes. Some nodes had more than 100 text references, some had less than 10. During open coding I noticed that, after having coded many texts, I could almost predict what journalists and commenters had written in the following texts I would analyze. After a while, nothing 'new' really came up: every framing device I found would fit into an already existing node and that remained unchanged even if I coded many more texts. That means I reached theoretical saturation, which is good: if the sample was bigger, this would not have changed the results [at least not in any notable way].

In focused coding I looked at the framing and reasoning devices and tried to reduce the data to a select number of 'core' nodes. In that process it is important that each node provides a distinct perspective or definition concerning the Zwarte Piet issue. They can contradict each other, even connect to each other, but there must be no overlap between them: they should each have their own particular definition or perspective. I took the abstraction one step further, conceiving umbrella themes or concepts and looking at how I could place nodes together more. When I saw how I could place some together, I looked at the text fragments and the articles they came from to see if it makes sense in relation to the source material. If it did, I integrated those nodes and the eventual core nodes formed the frames I identified. I went on until the frames were sufficiently abstract, meaning I could see them being used in analyses of other articles and in other cases.

When nodes were left over that could not be placed under any core node and had very few text references, I looked at these references and their articles again critically. If they did not form a clear and consistent whole that signifies another distinct perspective or definition, I could not speak of a frame and considered them frameless. I ended up with 12 core nodes, the node with the least amount of text references having 20. To measure how operative each frame is, I calculated percentages by adding up all the text references in the source material to a total and counting how many of those references belong to each frame. I did that with different bundles of source material: articles from each news source and comments from each news source, the articles put together and comments put together, and articles from each news source in bundles from different time periods. The percentages are shown in tables in the next

chapter. Frames can change and evolve over time (Hertog & McLeod, 2001). I did an analysis of bundles from different time periods to check if there was any change in the framing done by journalists.

3.6 Validity and reliability

The online articles and comments are the objects of analysis and the objective of the research is to reconstruct and identify the frames operative in these texts. I also measured how strongly each frame is operative in the texts. Framing analysis is the best method for this because it is specifically designed to generate frames through analyzing the texts themselves. Its combination of a qualitative and quantitative approach is also designed to get both the frames and their relative 'weight' (Van Gorp, 2010). It must be very clear that no legitimate conclusion can be drawn on how present the frames are in the minds of readers. Frames designated as dominant have a high chance of being adopted by readers, but their dominance is only measured and checked according to fragments of text. The number of framing devices which support a frame indicate how much that frame is applied, but it is not a measure for the impact the frame has on readers (Van Gorp, 2010). For that, other [kinds of] measurements are needed (Hertog & McLeod, 2001; Van Gorp, 2010). This research is focused on gatewatching and framing, not on the salience of the issue. It can be said with certainty that the dominant frames are ones that have played a role in the Zwarte Piet debate, but no conclusion can be drawn on how big this role is. I can explain what definition of or perspective on the Zwarte Piet issue is constructed through a frame, but I do not discuss the effect it possibly has on the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of readers. Therefore nothing is stated about *how much* agenda setting power is gained by commenters. They have agenda setting power as stated in the theory and this research shows what that looks like: what the contribution is they made in the framing of the Zwarte Piet issue.

Although a principle of the research is to be as objective as possible [no framing can be good or bad], the method inevitably involves some level of subjectivity (Van Gorp, 2010). Subjectivity is necessary however: identifying frames cannot be done based on quantities, interpretation of the material is needed (Van Gorp, 2010). The analyst relies on his own

42

cognitive abilities to detect the framing devices, to see the linkage between them, and to find the core frame (Van Gorp, 2010). It involves much scientific creativity on the side of the researcher: the results are indeed shaped by the data, but also by the cognitive capabilities of the analyst. The constant comparative method and the act of taking an extra look at the fragments that are 'left out' ensure validity (Silverman, 2011). The problem with this method is reliability. The analyst needs to be culturally rich so that he is able to come up with ideas and know what he is talking about, but at the same time he needs to be able to distance himself from his own personal thinking (Hertog & McLeod, 2001; Van Gorp, 2010). He can be just as unaware of a frame as the journalists, because frames are culturally embedded (Hertog & McLeod, 2001; Van Gorp, 2010). Being the one analyst in this research, I can only increase reliability through transparency. In the results I present fragments of text that I recognized as framing devices and the reasoning devices are written out in this chapter. I explained how I conducted the analysis and during the analysis I made memos in order to make my thought process, including the reasons for my choices, transparent to myself as well. The appendices include three coded articles and four screenshots of NVivo showing the nodes and number of text references per bundle of source material.

Framing analysis was done to reconstruct the frames of the Zwarte Piet issue operative in the articles and related comments from *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl*, chosen to represent the Dutch online news sources as they embrace gatewatching the most. NVivo was used to code the source material and after analyzing the texts and identifying the frames, the numbers of text references were used to calculate the operativeness of each frame. The method is valid, but involves some subjectivity. The results of the analysis are presented in the next chapter.

IV. Results

This chapter presents the results of the framing analysis. I start by naming the frames and showing in how many articles they were operative. Then I show the relative operativeness of the frames in the articles and related comments from *Nu.nl* and *RTL Nieuws* through tables with percentages. I discuss the notable similarities and differences found in the framing of the Zwarte Piet issue. When I discuss each frame, I provide text fragments from the source material. I illustrate the framing strategies of journalists and commenters by showing and discussing two examples. Finally, I show the operativeness of the frames in the articles from each news source in separated chronological periods of time. I discuss if there is a notable change over time and if this change has a connection to commenter framing.

4.1 The frames

In total, 12 frames were found: Children, Unfairness, Proponents versus Opponents, Majority versus Minority, Ridiculous, Serious, Threat from Outside, Color, Racism, Not Racism, Change, and Tradition/Heritage. For each frame, Table 3 shows the number of articles in which it is operative. Operative means that one or more text fragments belonging to that frame were found in the article. A division is made between articles from *RTL Nieuws* and from *Nu.nl*.

Table 3. *Number of articles in which the frame is operative (N=104)*

Frame	RTL Nieuws	Nu.nl
Children	6	12
Unfairness	1	1
Proponents versus Opponents	16	14
Majority versus Minority	3	1
Ridiculous	1	0
Serious	31	44
Threat from Outside	1	1
Color	9	14
Racism	24	26
Not Racism	3	4
Change	15	14
Tradition/Heritage	1	1

Table 3 shows that the Serious frame and Racism frame are operative in most articles. The Change, Color, Children, and Proponents versus Opponents frames are operative in an ample number of articles. That is the same for both *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl*. The numbers lie very close to each other, except at the Serious frame, Color frame, and Children frame, which are all operative in more articles at *Nu.nl* than at *RTL Nieuws*. Tables 4, 5, 6, and 7 show the percentages which were calculated as explained in the previous chapter. Table 4 shows how strongly each frame is operative [whether it has a relatively thick or thin description] in the articles and comments at each news source. The percentages are also shown to indicate differences in how strongly the frames are operative. Frames that show a higher percentage have more text references in the bundle of source material. The more references, the more operative the frame is. The frames with the highest percentage form the dominant frames. The percentages are not generalizable, but are shown to present the case authentically.

Table 4. *Distribution of text fragments under the frames, expressed in percentages*

	RTL Nieuws		Nu.nl	
Frame	Articles	Comments	Articles	Comments
Children	3,3%	15,0%	6,0%	10,2%
Unfairness	0,5%	24,8%	0,5%	19,3%
Proponents versus Opponents	10,9%	4,9%	9,0%	12,2%
Majority versus Minority	1,6%	9,2%	0,5%	7,6%
Ridiculous	0,5%	8,2%	0,0%	10,2%
Serious	33,0%	0,0%	44,5%	0,0%
Threat from Outside	0,5%	7,8%	0,5%	5,0%
Color	9,4%	1,9%	8,0%	5,0%
Racism	26,2%	2,4%	20,0%	5,6%
Not Racism	1,6%	18,5%	2,5%	15,2%
Change	12,0%	1,9%	8,0%	6,1%
Tradition/Heritage	0,5%	5,4%	0,5%	3,6%
Total percentage	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4 shows that the Children, Unfairness, Majority vs. Minority, Ridiculous, Threat from Outside, Not Racism, and Tradition/Heritage frames are more operative in the comments than in the articles. The Serious, Racism, Change, and Color frames are more operative in the articles than in the comments. When looking at the difference in framing done by journalists and by commenters, *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* seem to have them along the same axes. The only essential difference between *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* is that at *RTL Nieuws* the differences in operativeness are larger. At the Majority vs. Minority frame the difference in operativeness, between articles and comments, is quite similar at *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl*. Only at the Ridiculous and Serious frames, the difference in operativeness is larger at *Nu.nl* than at *RTL Nieuws*. At all other frames, the difference in operativeness is larger at *RTL Nieuws*.

The Proponents vs. Opponents frame is the only one at which there is deviation from the pattern: at *RTL Nieuws* it is more operative in the articles than in the comments and at *Nu.nl* it is more operative in the comments than in the articles. Still the difference at *Nu.nl* is not very big. Considering all other frames, Table 4 shows a pattern that when a frame is more operative or less operative in the articles than in the comments, this is the case at both news sources. In all, the Serious and Racism frames are most operative in the articles, whereas the Unfairness and Not Racism frames are most operative in the comments. Those are the dominant frames in the source material. I discuss each frame in detail while providing several text fragments from the source material that illustrate the frame being operative. In the comments there was a lot of quick and muddled writing. I formed some fragments into a good, flowing sentence so they can be read correctly. At each fragment there is a reference to the article from where it was obtained. The English translations of the text fragments were done by myself.

The Children frame can be detected in the following 5 fragments. This fragment is from a *Nu.nl* article that discusses the new Zwarte Piet policy of Dutch supermarket Albert Heijn. Dekamarkt and Dirk are two other Dutch supermarkets.

> *Dekamarkt en Dirk nemen geen standpunt in, maar willen vooral "dat*
> *Sinterklaas een leuk feest voor kinderen is en blijft"* (NU.nl/Verhaar, 2014)

Dekamarkt and Dirk take no position, but mainly want "that Sinterklaas is
and remains a nice feast for children"

In another *Nu.nl* article about a riot during the Sinterklaas arrival parade there was this
fragment:

Daarbij kwam de groep met borden en banners "erg dicht bij de kinderen", vertelt een
woordvoerder van de politie. (AT5, 2015)
In addition, the group with signs and banners came "very close to the children", said a
police spokesman.

These fragments are from the comments at *RTL Nieuws*. They both emphasize that it is
important to consider how children see Zwarte Piet. That forms the decisive factor, not how
others see him. Pino is a character from the Dutch version of Sesame Street, a television
program for children.

Wat is de doelgroep van Sint en Piet? Kinderen tot een jaar of 7. Die kijken op precies
dezelfde manier naar deze als naar Winnie de Poeh, Roodkapje, en Pino. (Janwouter van
Mossel comment on Wester, 2014)
What is the target audience of Sinterklaas and Zwarte Piet? Children to the age of 7.
They look at them in exactly the same way as at Winnie the Pooh, Little Red Riding Hood,
and Pino.

Geen een kind ziet zwarte piet als slaaf. De meeste kinderen hebben respect/ontzag voor
*hem. (*Leonie Janssen comment on RTL Nieuws, 2013)
Not one child sees Zwarte Piet as a slave. Most children have respect/reverence for him.

In this fragment the children frame is also clearly operative, but in another way. The commenter designates that what the children think as more important than the appearance of Zwarte Piet.

Wat maakt het uit hoe zwarte piet eruitziet? Al is die paars met gele stippen, zolang de kinderen zich vermaken is het toch goed? Gaat het daar niet om? De kinderen hoor je niet klagen hoor. (jamie040 comment on NU.nl, 2014d)

What does it matter how Zwarte Piet looks? He could be purple with yellow dots, as long as the children have fun it is good, right? Isn't that what it is all about? I don't hear any children complaining.

The Children frame is more operative in the comments than in the articles [3.3% at *RTL Nieuws* and 6% at *Nu.nl* against 15% and 10.2% in the comments respectively]. The Unfairness frame can be detected in the following 5 fragments. This frame is strongly operative in the comments and almost not in the articles. In the comments at both *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* the Unfairness frame shows the highest percentage [24.8% and 19.3%]. The following fragments were found among the comments at several articles on the website of *RTL Nieuws*.

Het Suikerfeest en mag Joost weten wat voor feesten die niet onze tradities zijn en die we dan maar moeten tolereren. Denk eens even na wat er zou gebeuren als wij in andere landen de afschaffing van gebruiken zouden eisen. (Ellie Lucas comment on RTL Nieuws, 2015o)

Id-al-Fitr and God knows what kind of parties that are not our traditions and we just have to tolerate. Think for a moment of what would happen if we would demand the abolition of traditions in other countries.

Respecteer de cultuur en tradities van een land. Naar mijn mening houden ze in Nederland al erg veel rekening met alle in Nederland wonende nationaliteiten, meer als in menig ander land. (Trees von Borstel-Baartmans comment on RTL Nieuws, 2014f)

Respect the culture and traditions of a country. In my opinion the Dutch already take very much account of all the nationalities living there. More than in many other countries.

This fragment illustrates the frame that equates Sinterklaas and Zwarte Piet to other traditions and fictional characters, which I considered a sub-frame of the Unfairness frame.

Waarom hoor je helemaal niets over de 3 Koningen optocht in Spanje, gigantisch feest met duizenden ZWARTE knechten? Net zo groot als Sinterklaas hier. (Jose van den Berg comment on EditieNL, 2013)

Why don't you hear anything about the 3 Kings parade in Spain, huge party with thousands of BLACK servants? As big as Sinterklaas here.

This fragment illustrates the other sub-frame frame that suggests that more Dutch traditions will be contested if the Dutch allow people to change Zwarte Piet. Carnaval is an annual tradition mostly celebrated in the southern half of the Netherlands.

Hierna volgt zeker carnaval!! (Henk Kostense comment on RTL Nieuws/ANP, 2014d)

After this, carnaval is certainly next!!

In this fragment both the sub-frames are operative, but in a different way. The commenter makes a point about the group of black people getting insulted not being any different than other groups such as red-haired people and crippled people, who also get insulted based on their features. If black people can protest against it, any such group is allowed to protest.

Straks gaan alle roodharige mensen ook met een bord staan dat ze gediscrimineerd zijn.
Want ook de roodharige zijn vaak gepest in hun leven, en zo kunnen we wel doorgaan
met allerlei groeperingen zoals doven, manken en mongolen enz. Waar houdt het dan
op? (Pieter Spanhak comment on RTL Nieuws/ANP, 2013a)
Soon all the red-haired people are also standing with a sign that they have been
discriminated against. Because the redheads have also been bullied in their lives, and so
we can proceed with various groups such as the deaf, limping and Mongols etc. Where
will it stop?

The Proponents vs. Opponents frame can be detected in the following 2 fragments. This
frame is quite operative throughout the articles and comments: 10.9% in the articles and 4.9%
in the comments at *RTL Nieuws* and 9% and 12.2% at *Nu.nl* respectively. The frame is the least
operative in the comments at *RTL Nieuws*.

Toch trokken voor- en tegenstanders van Zwarte Piet naar De Markt, waar een opstootje
ontstond. (NU.nl/ANP, 2014b)
Yet supporters and opponents of Zwarte Piet went to the market, which resulted in a
riot.

Helaas is met de tegenstanders geen discussie te voeren. Zwarte Piet mag voor hun niet
blijven in welke hoedanigheid dan ook. (souren comment on ANP, 2014g)
Unfortunately, the opponents cannot be discussed with. For them, Zwarte Piet cannot
stay in any capacity.

The Majority vs. Minority frame can be detected in the following 4 fragments. In the *RTL*
Nieuws articles 1.6% of the fragments falls under the frame, whereas in the comments 9.2%
falls under it. In the *Nu.nl* articles 0.5% of the fragments falls under the frame, whereas in the

comments 7.6% falls under it. The Majority vs. Minority frame is much more operative in the comments than in the articles.

Nickelodeon verkiest de 1% die tegen de zwarte pieten is, tegenover de 99% die voor is. (Kelly Seremak comment on RTL Nieuws/ANP, 2014c)
Nickelodeon prefers the 1% that is against Zwarte Piet, opposite the 99% that is for.

En dan te bedenken dat er mensen zijn die zeggen dat een klein groepje mensen geen "macht" kunnen uit oefenen. (Dennis Krohne comment on RTL Nieuws, 2014k)
And to think that there are people who say that a small group of people cannot exercise "power".

These two fragments emphasize the point about changing Zwarte Piet not being democratic.

Dit heeft niets met democratie te maken. De overgrote meerderheid wil zwarte piet behouden. (kokkie25 comment on NU.nl, 2014a)
This has nothing to do with democracy. The vast majority wants to retain Zwarte Piet.

De hedendaagse democratie: de minderheid bepaalt! (Rick Starkiller comment on RTL Z/ANP, 2014)
Contemporary democracy: the minority determines!

The Ridiculous frame can be detected in the following 3 fragments. When it comes to that frame 0.5% [*RTL Nieuws*] and 0% [*Nu.nl*] of the text fragments in the articles fall under it, whereas in the comments 8.2% [*RTL Nieuws*] and 10.2% [*Nu.nl*] of the text fragments fall under it. The small percentage in the articles at *RTL Nieuws* was created by a column in which a Dutch

51

man expresses his personal thoughts on the Zwarte Piet issue (Wester, 2014). His opinion happened to be similar to that of the commenters, but the article remains the only one in the sample in which the Ridiculous frame is operative. Commenters try point out that the discussion is ridiculous and that the objectors form a minority compared to those who approve of Zwarte Piet, whereas the journalists give almost no attention to this.

Het is te belachelijk voor woorden. (Gerda van Klinken comment on RTL Nieuws/ANP, 2013a)
It is too ridiculous for words.

Kinderachtig gedoe allemaal van een paar zielige figuren die schijnbaar te veel tijd over hebben. (Bart Jan Merkus comment on RTL Nieuws/ANP, 2013a)
All childish hassle of a few pathetic figures who seemingly have too much time on their hands.

This fragment illustrates the frame like many other fragments did: a commenter pointing out that those occupied with Zwarte Piet should be concerned about more serious and important matters.

De VN zit zich een beetje druk te maken over iets als zwarte piet terwijl er zoveel andere serieuze problemen zijn als de vluchtelingen en IS, laten ze zich daar druk over maken! (gerrit.m comment on NU.nl/ANP, 2015b)
The UN is concerned about something like Zwarte Piet while so many other serious problems exist, such as the refugees and IS. That is what they should worry about!

The Serious frame can be detected in the following 4 fragments. This frame is strongly operative in the articles [33% at *RTL Nieuws* and 44.5% at *Nu.nl*] and not at all in the comments. In the comments at both *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* the frame is absent. The journalists seemed to

be highly occupied with reporting on the scale of the issue, whereas commenters were more occupied with pointing out other things, such as the unfairness towards the Dutch. These two fragments express the scale of the issue.

De aanklacht richt zich op de NTR, die het Sinterklaasjournaal uitzendt, en winkelketens als De Bijenkorf, V&D, Blokker, Hema en Albert Heijn, omdat zij producten verkochten met een afbeelding van Zwarte Piet. Mensen konden afgelopen week op initiatief van Stichting Nederland Wordt Beter, Zwarte Piet Niet en Stop BlackFace in het hele land aangifte doen tegen het hulpje van Sinterklaas. (ANP, 2015c)

The indictment focuses on NTR, which broadcasts the Sinterklaasjournaal, and stores like De Bijenkorf, V&D, Blokker, Hema and Albert Heijn, because they sold products with a picture of Zwarte Piet. Last week, on the initiative of Stichting Nederland Wordt Beter, Zwarte Piet Niet and Stop BlackFace, people across the country could make a declaration against the helpers of Sinterklaas.

De Facebookpagina 'Pietitie', een petitie voor het voortbestaan van het Sinterklaasfeest, heeft in een dag één miljoen likes verzameld en is daarmee de snelst groeiende Facebookpagina van Nederland tot nu toe. (NU.nl/Poort, 2013)

The Facebook page 'Pietitie', a petition for the survival of the Sinterklaas celebration, has collected a million likes in one day, making it the fastest growing Facebook page of the Netherlands so far.

This fragment suggests that the Zwarte Piet debate has quite serious consequences.

De serie, al vanaf 2009 op de buis, wordt niet uitgezonden vanwege de zwartepietendiscussie. (RTL Nieuws/ANP, 2014c)

The series, on television since 2009, is not broadcasted due to the Zwarte Piet debate.

This fragment illustrates how battle metaphors are used to describe the situation.

De weerstand wordt steeds heftiger. Naarmate de protesten tegen Zwarte Piet feller worden, komen er meer aanmeldingen van kinderen die Zwarte Piet willen spelen. (NU.nl/ANP, 2013)

The resistance is becoming more intense. As the protests against Zwarte Piet are fiercer, there are more applications from children who want to play Zwarte Piet.

The Threat from Outside frame can be detected in the following 5 fragments. The frame is more operative in the comments than in the articles: 0.5% in the articles of both *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* against 7.8% and 5% in the comments respectively. These fragments suggest that the people who object to Zwarte Piet are from outside the Netherlands.

Laat mensen die niet tegen zwarte piet kunnen dan terugkeren naar hun eigen land en traditie. (Marcel Verdijk comment on RTL Nieuws, 2015b)

Let the people who cannot stand Zwarte Piet then return to their own land and tradition.

We willen Holland houwen en niet door importers laten verbouwen. (Hielke Ronald comment on RTL Nieuws, 2014a)

We want to keep Holland and not have it rebuilt by importers.

Al die mensen die klagen over zwarte piet mogen hier moskeeën bouwen. (Glenn van Asperdt comment on RTL Nieuws/ANP, 2014e)

All those people who complain about Zwarte Piet are allowed to build mosques here.

These two fragments illustrate the argument that outsiders do not celebrate Sinterklaas themselves and do not have the correct understanding of the festival.

Volgens mij hebben ze in Irak geen Sinterklaas. (Paco Bla Bla comment on RTL Nieuws/ANP, 2014e)

I do not think they have Sinterklaas in Iraq.

Het overgrote deel van de buitenlanders snapt helemaal geen moer van Zwarte Piet. In de VS zou je voor het gerecht gedaagd worden en schuldig verklaard, als je je zo uitgedost op straat begeeft. (KijkMaar comment on ANP/Novum, 2014)

The majority of the foreigners have absolutely no clue about Zwarte Piet. In the US you would be sued and declared guilty in court, if you go on the street dressed like that.

The Color frame can be detected in the following 4 fragments. The frame is more operative in the articles than in the comments: 9.4% at *RTL Nieuws* and 8% at *Nu.nl* against 1.9% and 5% respectively. The difference in operativeness at *Nu.nl* is smaller.

In Nijmegen wordt zaterdagmiddag een recordpoging gedaan om met zoveel mogelijk Zwarte Pieten op de foto te gaan. De actie is eveneens georganiseerd om Zwarte Piet 'vooral zwart te houden'. (Novum, 2013e)

On Saturday afternoon in Nijmegen a record attempt is made to be photographed with as many Zwarte Pieten as possible. The action is also organized to keep him black.

Voor de eerste aflevering werd al druk gespeculeerd over de kleur die de pieten zouden hebben. In de aankondiging van het eerste Sinterklaasjournaal werd verteld dat er nog veel werk aan de winkel was, omdat het schip afvoer op een regenboog. In de eerste afleveringen waren alle pieten 'gewoon' donkerbruin. (ANP/NU.nl, 2014b)

Before the first episode there was much speculation about the color they would have. In the announcement of the first Sinterklaasjournaal it was told that there was still much

work to be done, because the ship sailed on a rainbow. In the first episodes they were all 'just' dark brown.

These two fragments suggest that changing the color of Zwarte Piet forms a solution.

Deze pieten worden niet zwart geschminkt, maar krijgen, zoals de naam al doet vermoeden, alle kleuren van de regenboog. De Stichting wil hiermee inspelen op het landelijke debat over de vermeende associatie tussen Zwarte Piet en de slavernij. (ANP/Novum/NU.nl, 2013)
Their faces are not painted black, but they get, as the name suggests, all the colors of the rainbow. With this, the foundation wants to respond to the national debate on the alleged association between Zwarte Piet and slavery.

Ze hebben werkelijk alle mogelijke manieren toegepast om de beroepsslachtoffers hun zin te geven: witte pieten, roetveegpieten, gele pieten, clownspieten... en nu een zwarte Sinterklaas. (Openup comment on ANP/NU.nl, 2014b)
They have really utilized all possible ways to please the occupational victims: white Piet, soot Piet, yellow Piet, clown Piet... and now a black Sinterklaas.

A notable difference between the articles and responses can be found at the Racism and Not Racism frames. At *RTL Nieuws* 26.2% of the text fragments in the news articles falls under the Racism frame, whereas 1.6% falls under the Not Racism frame. Nearly the same is at hand with the news articles from *Nu.nl*: 20% of the text fragments falls under Racism, whereas 2.5% falls under Not Racism. In the comments it is the other way around, at both news sources: 2.4% falls under Racism whereas 18.5% falls under Not Racism at *RTL Nieuws* and 5.6% falls under Racism whereas 15.2% falls under Not racism at *Nu.nl*. It seems that, in these cases, the journalists give more attention to stories in which Zwarte Piet is explained as a racist caricature or a relic from the colonial past. It is pointed out that Zwarte Piet is hurtful towards black

people, whereas the commenters give more attention to stories in which Zwarte Piet is explained as not representing a black person and not being racist or discriminatory in any way. Most commenters try to point out that things are the other way around. The Racism frame can be detected in the following 4 fragments.

Hij noemde Zwarte Piet "een racistisch icoon uit een tijd die racistisch was" (NU.nl, 2015a)

He called Zwarte Piet "a racist icon from a time that was racist"

Een commissie van de Verenigde Naties die optreedt tegen rassendiscriminatie bepaalde vorige maand dat de Nederlandse overheid actief de stereotypen moet bestrijden die aan het personage vastzitten. (ANP, 2015i)

A committee of the United Nations that acts against racial discrimination determined last month that the Dutch government should actively combat the stereotypes attached to the character.

Zwarte Pieten zouden voor veel gekleurde bewoners in Zuidoost te pijnlijk zijn. (RTL Nieuws, 2013c)

Zwarte Piet would be too painful for many colored residents in Southeast.

Dankzij de koloniën en de dezelfde slavernij geschiedenis, waar het hele zwarte piet gedonder van afstamt. (Yucata Lienga comment on RTL Nieuws/ANP, 2013a)

Thanks to the colonies and the same history of slavery, where the whole Zwarte Piet boom descents from.

The Not Racism frame can be detected in the following 4 fragments. This fragment is from a *Nu.nl* article on the different possible origin stories of Zwarte Piet.

In het licht van de huidige discussie of Zwarte Piet racistisch is, wil Booy nog wel iets kwijt. "Van alle theorieën die er bestaan, is er niet één discriminerend van aard." (ANP, 2013a)

In light of the current discussion whether Zwarte Piet is racist, Booy wishes to add something. "Of all the theories that exist, there is not one discriminatory in nature."

These fragments are from the comments placed on Nujij.nl.

Koloniaal verleden? Daar komt Zwarte Piet helemaal niet vandaan. Sinterklaas van Spaanse of Turkse afkomst kon alleen gebruik hebben gemaakt van Moorse krachten, omdat die heer en meester waren over héél zuid Europa. (Hevhe53 comment on NU.nl, 2014a)

Colonial past? That is not at all where Zwarte Piet comes from. Sinterklaas of Spanish or Turkish descent could only have used Moorish forces, because they were the masters of whole southern Europe.

Piet is zwart door de roet in de schoorsteen en heeft gewoon krullen net als zoveel andere mensen. Niks mis mee. Hij gedraagt zich ook niet dom of slaafs. (Rare Rakker comment on Weekblad De Bode, 2015)

Piet is black because of the soot in the chimney and has curls just like so many other people. Nothing wrong with it. He does not behave stupidly or slavishly.

In this fragment, a commenter argues that Zwarte Piet was made racist by Dutch people who started calling black people that. The frame is operative as the commenter suggests that Zwarte Piet is not racist in itself.

Het zijn vooral Nederlanders die het woord Zwarte Piet racistisch hebben gemaakt door het te roepen richting donkerkleurige medemensen, en die worden daar jaarlijks weer mee geconfronteerd en die zijn dat beu. Ik denk zelf dat ze geen enkel probleem met zwarte piet hadden als er niet een paar klootzakken waren geweest die ze zwarte piet hadden genoemd. (pizzafried comment on Novum, 2013d)

It is mainly Dutch people who made the word Zwarte Piet racist by calling it in the direction of dark-colored fellow humans, who are confronted with it every year and are fed up. I think that they had no problem with Zwarte Piet if there had not been a couple of assholes who called them Zwarte Piet.

The Change frame can be detected in the following 5 fragments. This frame seems to be much more operative in the articles [12%] than in the comments [1.9%] at *RTL Nieuws*. At *Nu.nl* this difference is again smaller [8% in the articles, 6.1% in the comments]. These two fragments suggest that a change in Zwarte Piet is imminent.

De HEMA-directeur schrijft in de e-mail dat er komend jaar vrijwel geen enkele Zwarte Piet meer op de verpakking te zien zal zijn. (RTL Nieuws/ANP, 2014a)

The HEMA director writes in the email that there will be virtually no more Zwarte Piet on the package next year.

De figuur van Zwarte Piet blijft volgens de burgemeester bestaan, "maar zal over een periode van enkele jaren ontdaan zijn van mogelijk te ervaren negatieve stereotypering". (ANP, 2014g)

The figure of Zwarte Piet continues to exist according to the mayor, "but will, over a period of several years, be stripped of any possible negative stereotyping".

These two fragments illustrate how a change in Zwarte Piet gets described in terms of a development, mostly a positive and natural development.

Zwarte Piet begint als een rustige jongen die Sinterklaas bijstaat en amper op de voorgrond treedt. Pas in de twintigste eeuw krijgt hij een straffende rol, compleet met roe en zak. In mijn eigen jeugd was hij een onnozel figuur die vaak dom praatte en tegenwoordig is hij vooral ludiek. Zo bezien is de verandering van Zwarte Piet een doorlopend proces. (ANP, 2013a)

Zwarte Piet starts as a quiet boy who helps Sinterklaas and barely comes to the foreground. Only in the twentieth century, he gets a punitive role, complete with roe and bag. In my own youth he was an innocent figure who often talked stupid and today he is especially playful. The change of Zwarte Piet is an ongoing process.

Als we Zwarte Piet langzaam maar zeker weg laten 'evolven', kunnen we dat heerlijke Sinterklaasfeest nog honderden jaren blijven vieren. Op een manier waar iedereen blij van wordt. (Nieman, 2013)

If we slowly let Zwarte Piet 'evolve' away, we can continue celebrating the wonderful Sinterklaas feast for centuries. In a way that makes everyone happy.

This fragment shows a commenter arguing something that a lot of commenters would disagree with. The commenter suggests that traditions can change and that a change in Zwarte Piet is good.

Gelukkig gaat zwarte piet ook veranderen zoals tradities en culturele verschijningsvormen altijd aan veranderingen onderhevig zijn. Geef het twee generaties en niemand die hier meer een probleem van maakt. (dragje comment on ANP/Novum, 2014)

Fortunately, Zwarte Piet will change like traditions and cultural manifestations are always subject to change. Give it two generations and no one makes a problem about it anymore.

The Tradition/Heritage frame can be detected in the following 4 fragments. The frame is more operative in the comments than in the articles [0.5% at both *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* in the articles against 5.4% and 3.6% in the comments respectively].

Ik ben ook een gekleurde maar ik vind dat Zwarte Piet gewoon moet blijven. Het is een traditie, ik ben ermee gegroeid. Hoe haal je in godsnaam een traditie weg? Kan toch niet. (Marlene Peña comment on RTL Nieuws, 2015g)
I am also a colored person but I think Zwarte Piet should just stay. It is a tradition, I grew up with it. How the hell do you remove a tradition? That is impossible.

Het sinterklaasfeest is al decennialang een volksfeest. Blijf hier met de handen van af! (Bob van der Heijden comment on RTL Nieuws, 2013a)
Sinterklaas has for decades been a popular festival. Keep your hands off it!

Dit is Nederlands erfgoed en dit moet gewoon in stand gehouden worden. (Peter Hulsebosch comment on RTL Nieuws, 2013b)
This is Dutch heritage and it just needs to be maintained.

This fragment shows a commenter making an interesting point. The commenter suggests that *because* he is part of a tradition, there is nothing wrong with Zwarte Piet.

Het is een oer-Nederlandse traditie, wat is daar nou fout aan? (ZoLeuk comment on ANP, 2013b)

It is a typically Dutch tradition, what is wrong with that?

4.2 Framing in articles and responses

It appears that on *Nu.nl* the framing done by journalist and by commenter lies a bit closer to each other than on *RTL Nieuws*. The essential finding is that, when comparing the framing strategies of journalists from *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* to each other and the strategies of commenters on *RTL Nieuws* and Nujij.nl to each other, those lie very close to each other. The similarity between those strategies is the most significant discovery of this research. The point is that there is an evident difference in journalist framing and commenter framing when it comes to the Zwarte Piet issue [at least in these two cases]. This difference is exactly the same at *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl*. Whether this difference is equally 'big' on both sites is not important. In qualitative research, a smaller size does not make it less significant. Size is not measured, the point was to find significant similarities and differences in framing, and those were found. Figures 2, 3, 4, and 5 show examples of an article from *RTL Nieuws* with related comments and an article from *Nu.nl* with related comments. To provide a vivid idea of the overlap and opposition in framing strategies, I summed up the attributes of the object present in the articles and selection of comments. The translations were again done by myself.

Figure 2. Example of an online article from *RTL Nieuws*. RTL Nieuws (2014r, October 9).

The Albert Heijn largely bans Zwarte Piet. He will no longer be seen in advertisements and campaigns inside and outside the stores. The posters will show a white boy without makeup playing the role of Piet. The Ahold group reflected "long and hard" on the decision. The company will "not be deaf to the public debate about Zwarte Piet" and the spokesman said one needs to do something with such a discussion. Zwarte Piet will only be depicted on sweets and

in the form of chocolate Piet. The spokesman argued that they want to meet the needs of everyone.

Voorpagina
Net binnen
Algemeen
Binnenland
Buitenland
Politiek

Economie
Geld
Ondernemen
Beurs
Brexit

Sport
Voetbal
EK 2016
Wielrennen
Formule 1

Tech
Internet
Gadgets
Games
Mobiel

Entertainment
Achterklap
Films en series
Muziek

NU.nl > Algemeen > Politiek

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'VN-commissie valt over figuur van Zwarte Piet'

Gepubliceerd: 19 augustus 2015 14:28
Laatste update: 19 augustus 2015 23:21

Een speciale commissie van de Verenigde Naties tegen rassendiscriminatie heeft woensdag kritiek geuit op de figuur van Zwarte Piet.

Dat schrijft *NRC Handelsblad*.

Nederland moest woensdag in Genève voor de commissie verschijnen. Alle landen die het VN-verdrag tegen rassendiscriminatie tekenden, worden eens in de vier jaar gehoord door de commissie.

Namens Nederland beantwoordde Afke van Rijn, directeur samenleving en integratie op het ministerie van Sociale Zaken, vragen over het Nederlandse asielbeleid en etnische profilering door de politie.

Figure 3. Example of an online article from *Nu.nl*. NU.nl/ANP (2015b, August 19).

A special committee of the United Nations against racial discrimination criticized the figure of Zwarte Piet. The Netherlands had to appear in Geneva before the committee. All countries that signed the convention against racial discrimination are heard by the committee

once every four years. Afke van Rijn, director at the Ministry of Social Affairs, answered questions about the Dutch asylum policy and ethnic profiling by the police. A Colombian UN ambassador stated that "human rights violations cannot be justified by invoking cultural tradition" and the committee said that Zwarte Piet must be dealt with quickly. Van Rijn said thereon that the Minister of Social Affairs has set up a dialogue table, where the figure is discussed by different organizations. The large municipalities and broadcaster NTR have been part of those discussions. Last year it was decided that the Sinterklaasjournaal shows Pieten with different colors. Van Rijn stressed that a prohibition on Zwarte Piet is not legally possible and that the government should not determine how a popular festival is celebrated. The government only has a facilitating role.

While one article focuses on a supermarket and the other on the United Nations, the Serious frame is strongly operative in both articles. Also the Color frame can be detected: posters showing a white boy without makeup and Pieten in different colors as a response to the debate. The Change frame is operative in the *RTL Nieuws* article and the Racism frame is operative in the *Nu.nl* article. The next two figures show a selection of comments on each of the articles. They illustrate how commenters go completely against the journalists' story, no matter if it is about the Albert Heijn or about the UN.

Theo Hanzon Sr · Directeur bij Zelfstandig ondernemer
Dan maar voortaan ergens anders de boodschappen doen. Als ook albert heijn onze cultuur verkwanseld. Ik gooi mijn bonuskaart weg. Dag AH!
Vind ik leuk · Beantwoorden · 👍 17 · 9 oktober 2014 8:10

Bert Wagenvoort · De Haagse Hogeschool
Dan gaat bij mij vanaf nu AH in de ban.
Vind ik leuk · Beantwoorden · 👍 17 · 9 oktober 2014 8:10

Kelly Stoffels · Koning Willem I College
Meld je aan op ZWARTE PIET IS VAN ONS
https://www.facebook.com/pages/Zwarte-piet-is-van-ons/372968082833970?ref=bookmarks
Vind ik leuk · Beantwoorden · 👍 2 · 9 oktober 2014 18:38

Mar van Oss
We hebben ook nog een Dirk van den broek die doet niet raar
Vind ik leuk · Beantwoorden · 13 oktober 2014 14:04

Américo Guincho
Ik haal dus nooit meer wat uit de AH, knip die bonuskaart wel door midden.
Boycot AH laten we dat op Facebook groot aanpakken.
Zijn genoeg andere winkels.
Vind ik leuk · Beantwoorden · 👍 29 · 9 oktober 2014 8:18

Miriam Doop
Belachelijk deze beslissing!!! Dus geen albert heijn meer!!
Vind ik leuk · Beantwoorden · 👍 11 · 9 oktober 2014 8:21

Cara Moers · Vlodrop
Ik word hier zo boos van! Een stel mensen dat zich inbeeldt dat ze gediscrimineerd worden, verpesten het hele feest voor mijn kinderen. Ik heb het nog nooit eerder gezegd maar nu verzoek ik die mensen toch vriendelijk om teug te keren naar hun eigen land als ze zich hier niet kunnen aanpassen.
Vind ik leuk · Beantwoorden · 👍 42 · 9 oktober 2014 8:21

Peter Denhaag
Belachelijk Albert Hein,jaren lang hebben jullie van dit kinderfeest je zakken lopen vullen. Nu gaan jullie erop deze manier mee stoppen.
Jullie hoeven zeker niet meer op de kleintjes te letten nu??
Mag hopen dat de omzet van Albert Hein flink zal dalen in de komende maanden .wat een flauwe actie
Vind ik leuk · Beantwoorden · 👍 15 · 9 oktober 2014 8:53

Thomas T Le Mans · TOKM
Altijd gedacht dat AH een echt Nederlands bedrijf was maar als je Nederlandse cultuur verkwanseld dan heb je bij mij afgedaan. Nu ga ik boodschappen doen maar niet bij AH.

Figure 4. Example of comments on the article from *RTL Nieuws*. RTL Nieuws (2014r, October 9).

If Albert Heijn also barters away our culture, I throw away my Albert Heijn card. From here on we do the shopping elsewhere. We also have a Dirk van den Broek [another supermarket] that does not act weird. To me, Albert Heijn should be banned. Zwarte Piet is ours! I will cut my Albert Heijn card in half. We should boycott Albert Heijn and make it big on Facebook. There are plenty of other stores. Ridiculous this decision! So no Albert Heijn anymore! I am getting so pissed off! A bunch of people who imagine that they are discriminated against, ruin the whole party for my kids. I have never said it before but now I ask those people kindly to turn back their own country if they cannot adapt here. For years Albert Heijn filled its pockets, and now they apparently do not need to pay attention to the little ones? I hope that sales will drop in the coming months. What a weak decision. Always thought that Albert Heijn was a real Dutch company but if you barter away Dutch culture then you have really done it. Now I go grocery shopping, but not at Albert Heijn.

Figure 5. Example of Nujij.nl comments on the article from *Nu.nl*. NU.nl/ANP (2015b, August 19).

We build mosques, have Asian shops, everything is explained in 50 different languages. We house tens of thousands of asylum seekers AND WE NEED TO ADJUST? I have a link to the Surinamese library to get an idea of the negroid people in the Netherlands in the period when slavery was tolerated. That is not commensurate with the horrific situations on plantations and racial discrimination in America. Show that distinction to the UN instead of letting them throw the black page of the Netherlands in its own face. Now move that UN bullshit away quickly, they are making themselves ridiculous with it. Throughout the world people are thrown in jail for

nothing, in many countries the gays are not allowed anything, and in Spain they torture animals for pleasure, because of culture. And then they whine about this. The UN is concerned about something like Zwarte Piet while so many other serious problems exist, such as the refugees and IS. That is what they should worry about! The UN should keep their mouth shut and keep their criticism on our tradition to themselves. It is OUR country and tradition. Anyone who cannot live with it is free to leave. And what are they babbling about, asylum policy and the attitude of the police? We have one of the most tolerant police forces in the world!

In both the comment selections the Ridiculous frame is clearly operative. In the comments on the *RTL Nieuws* article the Children frame appears and in the comments on the *Nu.nl* article the Unfairness frame comes up. The Tradition/Heritage frame can be detected in both selections, though it is more implicit. The Not Racism frame can slightly be detected in the comments on the *RTL Nieuws* article. The comments also illustrate the emotional responses of the commenters to the facts presented. In the comment space, they express what they personally think and feel and share their personal convictions on the Zwarte Piet issue. That is the case at both news sources.

Table 5. *Distribution of text fragments under the frames, expressed in percentages*

Frame	Articles	Comments
Children	4,7%	12,6%
Unfairness	0,5%	22,0%
Proponents versus Opponents	10,0%	8,4%
Majority versus Minority	1,0%	8,4%
Ridiculous	0,3%	9,2%
Serious	38,9%	0,0%
Threat from Outside	0,5%	6,5%
Color	8,6%	3,5%
Racism	23,0%	4,0%
Not Racism	2,0%	16,9%
Change	10,0%	4,0%
Tradition/Heritage	0,5%	4,5%
Total percentage	100,0%	100,0%

Table 5 juxtaposes the framing strategy of the journalists to that of the commenters and provides a clearer picture of the differences and similarities just explained. The prominent journalist frames are Serious, Racism, and Change, whereas the prominent commenter frames are Unfairness, Not Racism, and Children. The Change frame is clearly more popular among journalists than commenters and the Children frame is clearly more popular among commenters than journalists. The Proponents vs. Opponents frame seems to be the only one that is shared: the sole overlap between the framing strategy of commenters and that of journalists. The frame is slightly more operative in the articles, but the difference is quite small and neglectable, especially compared to the differences found at the other frames. The Color frame seems to be more of a journalist frame, whereas the remaining frames [Majority vs. Minority, Tradition/Heritage, Threat from Outside, Ridiculous] are clearly more operative in the comments, making them commenter frames.

The percentages were calculated according to the same principle as in Table 4. Tables 6 and 7 are meant to show whether the journalists paid attention to the commenter frames and decided to integrate them in their own framing strategy. Bundles of articles from different time periods were analyzed. To compensate for the small amount of articles by *RTL Nieuws* from 2013 [Table 2], a number of articles from 2014 were added to that bundle to give it a size comparable to the other bundle [14 articles, the same amount as the *Nu.nl* articles from 2013]. The bundle that forms the rest of 2014 [20 articles] starts from the first article in October [the first articles from 2013 also start in October]. Within each bundle, the text references formed a total taken as 100% and from there the percentages were again calculated.

Table 6. *RTL Nieuws: Distribution of text fragments under the frames in different time periods, expressed in percentages*

Frame	Oct. 2013 to Sept. 2014	Oct. 2014 to Dec. 2014	2015
Children	0,0%	3,3%	4,5%
Unfairness	0,0%	0,0%	1,5%
Proponents versus Opponents	19,0%	10,0%	9,0%
Majority versus Minority	2,4%	3,3%	0,0%
Ridiculous	0,0%	3,3%	0,0%
Serious	19,0%	40,0%	36,0%
Threat from Outside	2,4%	0,0%	0,0%
Color	4,8%	10,0%	12,0%
Racism	35,7%	20,2%	25,0%
Not Racism	2,4%	3,3%	0,0%
Change	14,3%	3,3%	12,0%
Tradition/Heritage	0,0%	3,3%	0,0%
Total percentage	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 6 shows that in articles from *RTL Nieuws* the commenter frames did not become more operative over time. In 2015, there were zero fragments falling under the Ridiculous, Majority vs. Minority, Threat from Outside, Not Racism and Tradition/Heritage frames, although in the years before that fragments could be found falling under those frames. They actually became less operative over time or became slightly more operative and then disappeared, showing that there is no intent to match the framing strategy of *RTL Nieuws* itself to that of the commenters. In 2015, one fragment could be found falling under the Unfairness frame. The Children frame happened to become more operative over time. Although this could be a move towards the commenter frames, the move is not significant. Commenters did not affect the framing strategy of *RTL Nieuws* in any notable way.

Table 7. *Nu.nl: Distribution of text fragments under the frames in different time periods, expressed in percentages*

Frame	2013	2014	2015
Children	6%	8,4%	7,4%
Unfairness	0%	1,0%	0,0%
Proponents versus Opponents	3%	13,7%	9,2%
Majority versus Minority	1%	0,0%	0,0%
Ridiculous	0%	0,0%	0,0%
Serious	46%	45,3%	37,0%
Threat from Outside	1%	0,0%	0,0%
Color	7%	7,4%	13,0%
Racism	24%	13,7%	22,2%
Not Racism	3%	0,0%	5,6%
Change	8%	10,5%	5,6%
Tradition/Heritage	1%	0,0%	0,0%
Total percentage	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 7 shows that the very same thing happened at *Nu.nl*: the commenter frames became less operative over time. The Children frame did not become slightly more operative as seen at *RTL Nieuws*, but fluctuated in its operativeness over time. There was no intent to go more towards the framing strategy of the commenters. In 2015, only the Not Racism frame was operative through a few text fragments, but that is not significant enough to say there is a shift in the framing strategy of *Nu.nl*. At both news sources, the journalists did not adjust their way of defining the issue. At moments the journalists did utilize the frames operative in the comments, but there is no clear indication this was a move towards commenter framing. If it was in any way a conscious process, it seems that the journalists avoided using the commenter frames more over time. Most were operative in the first years, but in 2015 nearly zero fragments could be detected in the articles supporting them. As if *Nu.nl* and *RTL Nieuws* decided to not use those frames anymore, as they have become popular among the commenters. Table 6 does show a decline in the operativeness of the Proponents vs. Opponents frame in *RTL Nieuws* articles, while this frame is not very popular among the commenters at *RTL Nieuws* [Table 4]. It is very operative in the comments on Nujij.nl, but *Nu.nl* articles actually show more of a rise than a

decline in the operativeness of that frame [Table 7]. The Proponents vs. Opponents frame again forms a deviation from the pattern.

It is established that the commenter frames are very different from the journalist frames, but journalists have not adjusted their framing: at both *Nu.nl* and *RTL Nieuws* the Serious and Racism frames have been notably present and quite stable in their operativeness over time. The Color frame became more operative over time at both news sources. The Change frame went up and down, but stayed notably present over time. At both news sources the journalists kept on defining the issue in their own terms. While the Unfairness, Ridiculous, and Not Racism frames were evidently popular among the commenters, none of those became more popular among journalists. The Color frame, almost the least operative frame in the comments [Table 5], actually became more popular among journalists over time. This could be a response, that journalists intentionally find a way to define the issue in another way than the commenters do. Overall there seems to be a move away from commenter frames and towards other frames. A move away from commenter framing is likely, more likely than a move towards, but it is not evident enough. Commenter frames such as Not Racism and Unfairness [the dominant frames no less] did get a little attention by *Nu.nl* and *RTL Nieuws* in 2015.

In this chapter I discussed the results of the framing analysis of articles from *Nu.nl* and *RTL Nieuws* and comments on them from nujij.nl and the *RTL Nieuws* website. A total of 12 frames were found and comparing the data I discovered that there is a significant difference in the framing done by journalists and by commenters. This difference is exactly the same at *Nu.nl* and *RTL Nieuws*. I illustrated the different framing strategies by showing and discussing two examples of articles with related comments. Journalists did not adjust their framing strategy to that of the commenters over time. They seemed to be avoiding that strategy more over time, but that is not evident enough. In the next chapter I discuss the conclusion of the research.

V. Conclusion

In this chapter I answer the research questions. The sub questions are answered first, after which I answer the main question. Then I discuss the insights I had based on this research. I discuss how the concepts mentioned in the theory can relate to each other. Lastly I discuss a limitation of the research and suggest what further research could be done.

5.1 Conclusion

In online articles from *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* the Zwarte Piet issue is framed as a serious, large-scale issue in which racism plays a role. Central to the issue is the color of Zwarte Piet: it is what causes the controversy and in changing it lies the solution. A change in the Zwarte Piet tradition is imminent and is seen as something positive and natural. Commenters, especially on Nujij.nl, also have arguments that support the Color and Change frame, but the frames are most operative in the articles at both news sources. In the articles, the Serious and Racism frames are the dominant frames. Looking at how operative these frames are, Serious earns first place and Racism second. Readers who have a need for orientation concerning the Zwarte Piet issue and read articles from *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* are likely to understand and see it as a serious, large-scale issue in which racism plays a role.

In the comments relating to the articles from *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* the Zwarte Piet issue is framed as an issue that should not be taken seriously and does not involve racism. The controversy is caused by people who come from outside the Netherlands, have a bad understanding of Dutch culture, and therefore see Zwarte Piet as racist. The opponents of Zwarte Piet form a minority compared to those in favor of him and changing the phenomenon would be undemocratic and unfair towards the Dutch people. Also, as it is part of a country's tradition, changing Zwarte Piet is impossible and unethical. Several commenters had arguments that support the Racism frame as well, but by far most commenters supported the Not Racism frame. That and the Unfairness frame are the dominant frames in the comments relating to the articles from *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl*. In operativeness the Unfairness frame has first place and the Not Racism frame second. Readers who have a need for orientation and read the comments

are likely to understand that in the Zwarte Piet issue, racism is not really at hand and the changes taking place are very unfair to the Dutch people.

Readers of the comments would also get the impression that the children, and what they think and feel, play or at least should play a decisive role in the Zwarte Piet debate. The Children frame is quite operative in the articles as well, but receives much more emphasis in the comments, which is the case at both news sources. Only the Proponents vs. Opponents frame did not show a similar pattern at *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* and formed the one frame shared by commenters and journalists in their framing strategy. The significant finding is that the pattern in framing described here and the difference pointed out between journalist and commenter framing are exactly the same at both news sources. That leads to a situation where journalists and commenters each create a different reality of the issue. They define and explain it through different terms, create a different context, and pay attention to different aspects. Reading the comments leads to a different inference on the Zwarte Piet issue than reading the articles. In *how* this is different, it does not matter if one reads them at *RTL Nieuws* or at *Nu.nl* and Nujij.nl. It makes no significant difference which news source is approached; it makes significant difference whether one reads the articles or the comments.

In Dutch online news sources, in the period of October 2013 to December 2015, both the journalists and commenters supported the frame that the Zwarte Piet debate is divided into two camps, proponents and opponents, but apart from that their framing strategies were vastly different. They were not only different, but seemed to be oppositional as well: Racism against Not Racism, Serious against Ridiculous, Change against Tradition/Heritage, and arguably Color against Children. In how the commenters framed the Zwarte Piet issue, the problem is caused by a minority of outsiders who misunderstand the tradition and call it racist, while that is not actually so. It is a misinterpretation of the phenomenon and has nothing to do with his true meaning. Changing Zwarte Piet as a result of it should absolutely not happen for many reasons. Most notably, it would be very unfair towards the Dutch and changing a tradition is something not done. People should forget about the 'ridiculous' discussion and occupy themselves with more important issues. In how the journalists framed the Zwarte Piet issue, the problem is caused by Zwarte Piet's color and other racist features that are hurtful towards black people. It

is a very serious problem and changing him, mostly by changing his color, would form a positive solution; a change is happening either way. Many commenters argued that the minority of outsiders should go back to their own country and culture, suggesting that as the solution.

The journalist frames remained steady in their presence over time and not one of the commenter frames became more operative in the articles over time. Journalists clearly did not take over any part of the framing strategy of commenters. One could argue that over time, the journalists made sure that commenter frames would not become operative in their articles. That is a hypothetical response to commenter framing: a move away from it instead of a move towards it. It is remarkable that still the dominant commenter frames were a little operative in the articles in 2015 [Unfairness in *RTL Nieuws* and Not Racism in *Nu.nl*]. In the articles, the Color frame became more operative over time. I cannot prove whether this was conscious and whether it is a response to commenter framing, but the frame definitely was not very popular among commenters whereas it became increasingly popular among journalists. I cannot empirically prove a move away from commenter framing, but I can argue about a move towards defining the issue in a different way than the commenters do [making the reality of the issue constructed by journalists even more different from the reality constructed by commenters, more different than it already was].

One should be careful with stating that journalists move away from commenter frames. Several commenter frames were operative in the articles and they fluctuated in their presence over time, just like journalist frames were operative in the comments over time. I am not arguing about commenters moving away or towards journalist framing and did not research that. It is likely that in articles from 2016 some commenter frames will be present, but still with low operativeness. I cannot predict which frames and what the percentages will be, but it is likely that one or more commenter frames can be spotted, just like journalist frames can be spotted in the comments. Only if commenter frames are *entirely* absent in articles from 2016, I could argue about a move away from commenter framing. As for now, this move away is hypothetical.

5.2 Discussion

Commenters have counter-framed the journalists and reframed the issue, resulting in two different, even opposing definitions of the issue existing next to each other: one in the articles, one in the comments. Due to gatewatching, the Zwarte Piet issue is no longer just framed as a serious issue that involves racism, but also as a non-serious issue in which racism plays no role and there is a lot of unfairness towards the Dutch. Without gatewatching, it would have remained a serious issue that involves racism. In terms of the framing metaphor, two pictures are provided of the exact same situation, each taken from a different angle, instead of only one picture (Ghanem, 1997). With the comments readers can get another, entirely different perspective on the issue. The comments indeed form a counter-voice to the mainstream story (Bruns, 2008). While the journalists allow the commenters to also influence the pictures in the minds of their readers, adjusting and even removing the pictures conveyed by their own writings, they make no attempt to change their own framing strategy. Journalist framing of the Zwarte Piet issue remained the same throughout the years, even while commenters kept reframing and counter-framing it. There was clearly no intent to make the journalists' story more like the commenters' story. If there was any intent, it was to *keep* the journalists' story unlike the commenters' story [which would explain that the Children frame did not become more operative], and make it even more unlike that story if possible [which would explain that the Color frame became more operative]. Journalists can aim for their framing to stay different from how the commenters frame the issue.

The comments I read at *RTL Nieuws* and Nujij.nl are very much expressions of opinions, thoughts, feelings, and ideas. Not many facts are provided, but a lot of knowledge and experiences are shared. The Zwarte Piet issue is a complex issue that does not just revolve around facts; it revolves around perspectives, knowledge, feelings, and positions. When journalists make a news article on the Zwarte Piet issue, they indeed present facts, but those facts are selected through gatekeeping (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). By putting certain facts together, they still create a certain reality of the issue; framing is still at hand. For example, they present certain statements made by important and less important people. These are presented as quotes, and it remains a fact that the person said that, but the statements themselves still

support certain frames and not others. Commenters do not object to the facts presented, they object to how the issue is defined. They do not have much facts to provide themselves [not much to add to the news], but they have knowledge, experiences, and ideas that do contrast with the presented story. They want more attention for their personal perspective on the issue, which is left out in the article. In this case, commenters are not occupied with making more news, they are enjoying their freedom of speech. Commenters write what they personally feel was left out and should be mentioned, whether that is an opinion, thought, idea, or fact.

Robinson (2010) argued that readers wish to exercise their freedom of speech in the comments and as people can freely access the comment section, it is a space where public opinion can be formulated. Public opinion is not providing facts; journalists provide facts and public opinion is the moral judgement of those facts (Lippmann, 1922). In the cases studied, the articles and responses each provide a completely different side of the story. It is not about which side is right, the truth often hides in the middle. The point is that, if journalists did not allow comments at the articles on Zwarte Piet, the story would have stuck with just one side, and the readers would have been frustrated that their side is not heard. In that situation one is actually further from the truth about the Zwarte Piet issue (Hermida, 2012). With this issue, gatewatching indeed leads to the story becoming multiperspectival (Gans, 2003). The unrepresented viewpoints are presented, and the story encompasses fact and opinion, reflecting all possible perspectives on the Zwarte Piet issue (Gans, 2003). The public consensus arises bottom-up through deliberation and is not imposed by the journalists anymore (Deuze & Fortunati, 2011). It is remarkable that *RTL Nieuws* shows the comments directly under its articles, so everyone can read them, while in the comments the articles clearly get criticized and refuted. Dutch news websites mostly stopped allowing comments, but to keep up with modern times they do place articles on social media (Bruns, 2011). *Nu.nl* also conducts a 'separate the opinions from the facts' policy, but what is remarkable is that *Nu.nl* itself developed a platform for those opinions. *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* are somehow not afraid to lose agenda setting power at the second level.

The two commercial news sources truly embrace the new paradigm described by Hermida (2012), Robinson (2010), and Bruns (2008, 2011). The journalist is just one of the many

voices, the discussion [and not the article] is of central importance, and comments are a sign of popularity and success. Commenters counter-frame the news, which is not done out of disrespect towards the journalist: they respect that they have the opportunity to add their own perspective on the issue to the story (Robinson, 2010). If it brings about many comments, the article has a level of sensationalism, which is the goal of a commercial news source (Takeshita, 1997). I think that, in the eyes in *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl*, an article that does not evoke comments would be considered a failure. By being the few who embrace the opportunities in web 2.0, they reach the new online generation of readers (Bruns, 2011). Commenters enjoy the freedom they have to express themselves, which they do not get at other news sources. Therefore they return to *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl*, which keeps the news sources in business. I believe that for *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl*, accomplishing that has more priority than having agenda setting power at the second level.

If readers agreed with the reality constructed in the news story, they would not have much to comment about. Articles receive many comments when readers have more things to write back than just 'good story'. It is in the interest of a commercial news source to have much activity in the comments. Therefore they provide articles that would evoke response, a good example being the article on a black baby who received the name tag 'Zwarte Piet' at his bed in the hospital (ANP, 2014c; RTL Nieuws, 2014m). Through gatewatching, public opinion is made transparent to the journalists. They can use this to their advantage: knowing how the commenters see the issue, they know which frames to avoid when making more articles on the issue. Avoiding the commenter frames is realized through gatekeeping. It does not mean that the frames should be entirely absent, but in selecting information the gatekeepers can stay careful in the sense that they do not start supporting the commenters' story too much. If they do, if they frame the issue more like the commenters do, there would be less to comment about. Therefore they did not put as much emphasis on the Children frame as the commenters did. Journalists do not have to be conscious about how they do frame the issue (Scheufele, 1999). The gatekeeping policy could just be: any frame is welcome, as long as it is not popular among the commenters [such as the Color frame].

Journalists can never tell the complete story (Takeshita, 1997), but for a commercial news source that is almost the point. They want to ensure they do not tell the complete story. They could take more account of the commenters in their next articles, but they intentionally do not, so readers keep having the desire to comment. To test this, I could do another analysis with different sampling criteria. There were articles on which people did not comment or did not comment much. This research was focused on gatewatching and framing, so I needed enough comments to analyze. I could collect articles which have almost no comments and articles which have many and compare them. The articles that evoke almost no comments should be more in line with commenter framing than articles that evoke a lot of comments. Another research could be done exactly like this one, but at different news sources or concerning a different issue. Once the journalist and commenter frames are identified, one should find that commenter frames remained unpopular among journalists whereas other frames were or became more popular. In the Zwarte Piet case there was only one frame the journalists and commenters truly shared, one part of the story they agreed upon: proponents versus opponents. While avoiding commenter framing through gatekeeping, it is maybe advisable to share a basic understanding of the issue with the commenters, to ensure that the story does not become entirely foreign to the commenters. They agree with it to some extent, but not entirely; that invites people to comment. If they feel completely unheard in the story, people could not respect it enough to offer comments.

Framing a problem in a certain way leads to a certain response (Ghanem, 1997) and commenting is a response. When an article evokes many comments, the journalist knows that the framing in that article 'works'. Without gatewatching, journalists would not discover which frames work that way. They would like to keep those frames in their news stories so people keep commenting. Gatekeeping is done to frame the issue in a way that suits the journalists (Bruns, 2005; Shoemaker & Vos, 2009), but at the same time gatekeeping can be done to frame the issue in a way that does *not* suit the commenters. Journalists know how to do this because through gatewatching, they know how the commenters like to frame the issue; without gatewatching they would not. Those are two utilities gatewatching can have for gatekeepers. Framing the problem like the commenters do would evoke a different emotional response:

contentment, and less desire to comment (Ghanem, 1997; McCombs & Ghanem, 2001). Once the journalists know through gatewatching how the commenters see the issue, or in other words, what the public opinion is concerning the issue, they know which information would evoke anger, frustration, and dread. From the information flow, they can specifically select the facts that will evoke strong responses and put them in their articles. That is one way gatewatching can connect to gatekeeping. As long as it is possible to gatekeep their story like that, journalists can intensify the debate. They are not lying, they simply bend the truth and allow readers to respond. A commercial news source can thrive on any societal issue that way.

Commenting is not a framing effect, it is people criticizing news messages and drawing their own conclusions (Hall, 2006). A framing effect would be when *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* are also successful in agenda setting at the second level: the people see the issue in the way the journalists explained it. The comments basically form the audience frames in Scheufele's (1999) model. The media frames have not been set: commenters do not adopt the media frames as their individual frames, they are sharing their individual frames. I think that that is always the case: if an article evokes many comments, I would be surprised if those comments supported the same frames as the article. Comments make the audience frames known to the journalists, but they also form a measure for the salience of the issue. What is interesting is that by keeping their articles unlike or opposed to the commenters' story, journalists can keep an issue salient, as an issue is also *made* salient by responding to news articles on it. *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* do not mind losing some agenda setting power, as long as people keep commenting. They would mind not getting enough comments.

What happens is that *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* give away their power to the commenters in agenda setting at the second level, but they remain successful in agenda setting at the first level. The Zwarte Piet issue becomes salient because the articles on it make people want to comment a lot. The issue stays salient by keeping the articles unlike and opposed to the commenters' story. That can just be a gatekeeping strategy, not a framing strategy in the sense that journalists specifically *look up* information that would counter the audience frames. They obviously do not look for information that would confirm them. Journalists keep doing the work they usually do, but in *selecting* information, they pay attention to what kind of response the

information would bring about. The information should not support commenter frames, as that would lead to losing comments. By knowing the commenter frames, they know which information will evoke response. As stated before, even if people completely disagree with the news reports on an issue, they are still occupied with precisely that issue, and the more discussion, the more salient it becomes. I think that it is actually by allowing comments that *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* remain successful in agenda setting at the first level, more than online news sources which do not allow them. If people of the new internet generation read articles they disagree with, but they do not get a chance to comment on it, they are likely to give up reading that news source and that news sources loses its agenda setting power, also at the first level.

I think that while gatewatching leads to a power shift in agenda setting at the second level, it can lead to a reinforcement of the power journalists have in agenda setting at the first level. Journalism has become more democratic when it comes to defining the issue, defining what it is about. Commenters can also inform the public about things it would otherwise not be informed about (Schudson, 2008). They have also become watchdogs of democracy (Deuze & Fortunati, 2011). It is no longer the case that journalists form the ones telling the story to the others, deciding how it is told and which parts of it are told (McCombs, 2004). The commenters now do that too. However, the journalists still select the issues they cover, and thus the issues to which commenters can respond. Through their commenting policy they also make sure that comments stay *on*-topic (Robinson, 2010). Comments do not affect the public agenda at the first level, only at the second. Frames are created by selecting and combining certain attributes and a different selection of attributes leads to a different frame. By covering different attributes, the commenters can counter-frame the journalists and reframe the issue, and they can set the public agenda at the second level just as much as the journalists can. At the same time, those commenters help the journalist in making the issue salient among readers. They reinforce the agenda setting power journalists have at the first level. The objects prominent in the news media still become the objects prominent among the public. Gatewatching has not changed anything in that paradigm. Journalists no longer control the public agenda at the second level, but more so at the first. As they select the objects that get covered in the news, they still determine which topics become salient in their society.

What Cohen stated before is still in force: news media do not directly influence what people think, but they successfully determine what people think about (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). That is still the case for *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl*. Journalists do not influence the *course* of public opinion formation that much anymore, but they still organize public opinion around certain topics. Commenters now also provide structure for thinking about and discussing those topics, determining the way in which the public understands them. The journalists do not control *what* the comments are, but they still determine what the comments are about. As seen in the two examples, comments on an article about the Albert Heijn and its new Zwarte Piet policy are about the Albert Heijn and its policy, and comments on an article about the UN and its statements on racism in the Netherlands are about the UN and its statements. Commenters do not decide what the important issues are, that is still in the hands of journalists, but they can decide what is important to know about them. In gatewatching, commenters can also provide 'compelling arguments' and influence how readers think about an issue (Ghanem, 1997; McCombs, 2005).

Framing an issue differently leads to different attitudes and behaviors (Ghanem, 1997; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Gatewatching can lead to a situation where networks news is no longer able to steer the public into a certain attitude towards the First Gulf War, determining its behavior (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). If network news did gatewatching, commenters could provide other facts that put the situation in a new light and readers could become less convinced to support military intervention and more convinced to support a diplomatic solution (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). That illustrates the effect gatewatching can have on journalists' agenda setting power. The pictures readers have in their minds and respond to (Lippmann, 1922), are now also brought about by the writings of commenters. Journalists trying to get readers to support a certain stance through framing, lose that ability once comments are allowed. Even if they tried, *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* could not determine the course of the Zwarte Piet debate through their own framing. Through gatewatching, the journalists lose their ability to guide the formation of public opinion. They have no more control over the thoughts, feelings, attitudes, and behaviors of readers than commenters have, and framing effects on the behavior of readers are considerable (McCombs & Shaw, 1993; McCombs, 2005). It could be that news

sources do not allow comments because they do not wish to lose that agenda setting power. There seems to be a trend in which commercial news sources allow comments, whereas originally Dutch newspapers do not allow comments on their websites [at least not at all articles]. Further research could be done on the motives of news sources that do allow comments and news sources that do not.

I argued that journalists could deliberately cover certain attributes and not others in order to convey certain frames which evoke certain thoughts and feelings that support their convictions. Framing is then done with the intention of causing certain responses, steering the readers in a certain direction, mentally and emotionally. That way journalists guide the formation of public opinion, but I believe *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* are not occupied with that. I believe they do not frame the issue in a certain way to convince readers of their perspective on the issue. Once a news source allows comments, there is a high chance its conviction will be refuted and subverted. I believe that *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* frame the issue in a certain way just to evoke as many comments as possible. Which specific ideologies get supported in those comments, and whether their own story gets refuted or subverted, is apparently not that important. I believe that has to do with *RTL Nieuws* and *Nu.nl* being commercial news sources. I do not think a commercial news source aims to convince its readers of a certain stance in the Zwarte Piet debate. Therefore allowing comments has no undesired consequences. In the end, allowing comments becomes part of its public profile: people go to a commercial news source because there they have the freedom to share their own convictions and ideologies concerning the Zwarte Piet issue.

Apart from framing, the comments can evoke other frames of reference in the minds of readers than the articles do (Hrushovski, 1984), but I believe commenting is also a way of making one's frame of reference explicit, known to the rest. That happened a lot in discussions on whether Zwarte Piet is racist or not. When thinking about Zwarte Piet, the articles likely evoke the racist caricatures and stereotypes of black people, which exist in the world, as frame of reference, or a black slave, which existed in history, as frame of reference. In the comments, there were many elaborations on what Zwarte Piet really is. Repeatedly I came across the story that Zwarte Piet was a slave as a child, but Sinterklaas bought him free and took him in as

servant, which means he was paid and could wear proper clothes. After the abolition of slavery, Zwarte Piet was free to leave, but he voluntarily stayed because Sinterklaas and Zwarte Piet had become best friends. The utility of such comments is not to provide other news facts, but to provide other frames of reference. Other frames of reference do lead to other interpretations of, and responses to, the news facts (Duchon et al., 1989). In gatewatching, there is the process of the issue being defined in a different way, but also the process of readers' frames of reference being adjusted, leading to other responses to the articles. That process is also made possible through gatewatching and would not take place without it.

The methodology of this research had certain limitations: as the sole analyst there was no inter coder reliability. Working with other coders might have led to finding other, different frames, or a different number of frames. I am convinced that the findings would still be the same in the sense that the framing of the commenters is different, even oppositional, compared to the framing of the journalists, and that it remained like that over time. That means my discussion of the theoretical concepts would have stayed the same as well. The concepts were chosen well and I believe the thesis provides new insights into the utility gatewatching can have for gatekeeping, how gatewatching affects agenda setting, and what gatewatching brings about concerning frames and frames of reference. More research could be done on other news sources concerning other salient issues, to see if my ideas on gatewatching, framing, and agenda setting are applicable there as well.

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Appendix A

Steun voor bezwaar tegen Sint-intocht

Gepubliceerd: 17 oktober 2013 11:32 Laatste update: 17 oktober 2013 12:45

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De 21 Amsterdammers die bij de gemeente bezwaar hebben gemaakt tegen de jaarlijkse sinterklaasintocht in de hoofdstad, kregen donderdag tijdens een officiële hoorzitting massale steun.
Tientallen sympathisanten van de actie 'Zwarte Piet is racisme' waren naar het stadhuis gekomen om de bezwaarmakers een hart onder de riem te steken.

Het zaaltje waar de bezwaarschriftencommissie donderdagochtend haar hoorzitting hield, bleek te klein voor de toestroom van voornamelijk Surinaamse en Antilliaanse Nederlanders. Voor de Zwarte Piet-tegenstanders die niet meer naar binnen konden, werd een aparte ruimte ingericht met een live videoverbinding.

De bezwaarmakers hopen de vergunning voor de feestelijke intocht op 17 november van tafel te krijgen. Zij vinden dat de gemeente Amsterdam geen toestemming mag geven voor het evenement, onder meer omdat het door de aanwezigheid van tientallen Zwarte Pieten een openlijk discriminerend karakter heeft.

Advies

De commissie hoort donderdag de argumenten van de bezwaarmakers en het verweer van het intocht-comité aan. Na beraad brengt zij een advies uit aan burgemeester Eberhard van der Laan. Dat advies is niet bindend.

Initiatiefnemer van de tegenbeweging Quinsy Gario waarschuwde de gemeente onder meer voor de negatieve effecten die de intocht kan hebben op de internationale betrekkingen en handelsmissies van de stad. "De openlijke discriminatie leidt tot internationale weerzin."

Gekwetst

Documentairemaakster Sunny Bergman diende naar eigen zeggen 'als blanke Amsterdammer' bezwaar in, omdat zij zich gekwetst voelt door het fenomeen Zwarte Piet. In een geëmotioneerd betoog zette zij uiteen hoe haar kinderen op school onbewust racistische stereotyperingen krijgen opgedrongen.

Coding Density

Racism

Serious

Proponents vs. Opponents

Racism

Serious

Racismm

Racism
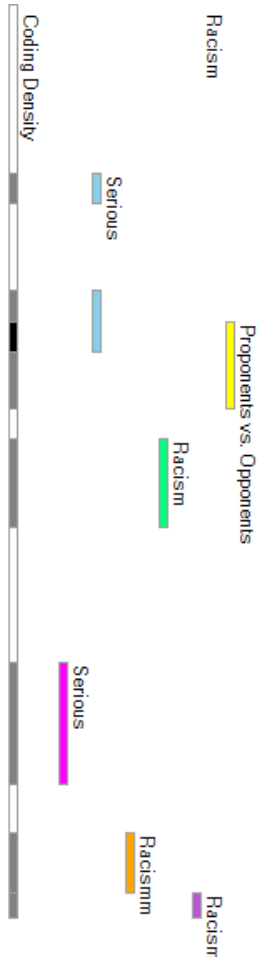
Organisaties bereid tot aanpassing uiterlijk Zwarte Piet'

Gepubliceerd: 18 oktober 2013 12:17Laatste update: 18 oktober 2013 17:10

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Verschillende organisaties die Sinterklaasfeesten organiseren zijn bereid om het uiterlijk van Zwarte Piet geleidelijk aan te passen.

Dat meldt *NRC* vrijdag.

De laatste weken is er discussie over het uiterlijk van de knechten van de Sinterklaas, vanwege de vermeende verwijzing naar de slavernij. Volgens de organisaties bedreigt de felheid van voor- en tegenstanders in dit debat het kinderfeest.

Dominee Henk Leegte, de voorzitter van het comité dat de Sinterklaasintocht in Amsterdam organiseert, wil in januari het gesprek aan gaan met de belangrijkste organisaties.

"Langs de weg der geleidelijkheid kunnen we dingen veranderen aan Zwarte Piet", zegt Leegte tegen het dagblad.

"Ik kan me persoonlijk voorstellen dat we om te beginnen honderd van de vijfhonderd Pieten een ander uiterlijk geven", stelt Leegte, die zegt te zien dat tegenstanders van Zwarte Piet zich ergeren aan diens huidige gedaante.

Leegte vindt het te laat om voor de komende Sinterklaasviering nog veranderingen door te voeren.

Twee kampen

Ineke Strouken, directeur van het Nederlands Centrum voor Volkscultuur en Immaterieel Erfgoed, vraagt zich af er tot januari gewacht kan worden.

"De weerstand wordt steeds heftiger. Naarmate de protesten tegen Zwarte Piet feller worden, komen er meer aanmeldingen van kinderen die Zwarte Piet willen spelen. Straks hebben we twee kampen in dit land." Ook Strouken wil de Sinterklaasorganisaties aanbevelen om het uiterlijk van Zwarte Piet in stapjes te veranderen. Jan van Wijk, voorzitter van het Sint Nicolaasgenootschap is niet bereid om de kleur van Zwarte Piet te veranderen. "Als het Amsterdamse comité ons uitnodigt, schuiven we meteen aan. Het maakt mij niet uit of hij sluik haar of kroeshaar heeft, maar Zwarte Piet is wel zwart."

Bussemaker

Minister Jet Bussemaker (Cultuur) wil zich niet mengen in de discussie over de intocht van Sinterklaas en Zwarte Piet in Amsterdam. "De intocht van Sinterklaas is een lokale aangelegenheid. Het Rijk heeft daar geen bemoeienis mee", schrijft ze in antwoord op Kamervragen van de PVV.

Volgens Bussemaker is "het sinterklaasfeest onderdeel van de Nederlandse cultuur en wordt dit op verschillende manieren gevierd". Ze schrijft zich ervan bewust te zijn dat de opvattingen over het feest verschillen. Maar "tot de Nederlandse cultuur behoort ook dat verschillende opvattingen naast elkaar kunnen bestaan."

In Amsterdam is bezwaar ingediend tegen de intocht met zwarte pieten, omdat dit racistisch zou zijn.

Door: NU.nl/ANP
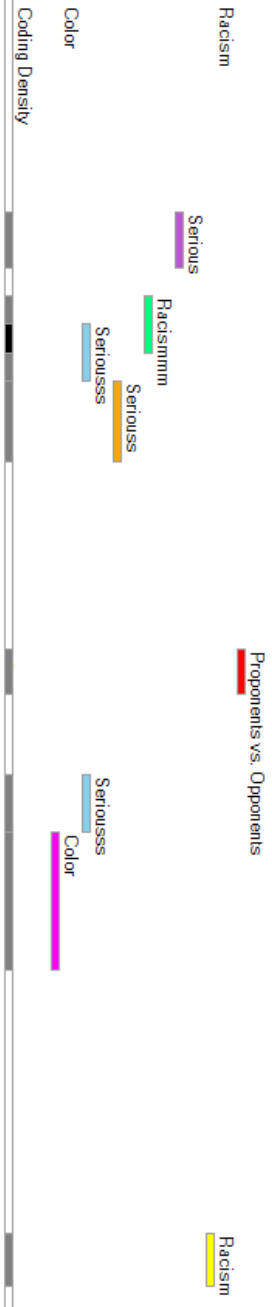
Verenigde Naties onderzoeken Zwarte Piet'

Gepubliceerd: 19 oktober 2013 09:01Laatste update: 19 oktober 2013 10:55

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De Verenigde Naties zijn bezig met een onderzoek naar de vraag of Zwarte Piet racistisch is.
Vier VN-rapporteurs over culturele minderheden en racisme hebben Nederland om opheldering gevraagd over de viering van het sinterklaasfeest nadat ze klachten hadden ontvangen over het stereotiepe karakter van Zwarte Piet.

 Zij hadden "informatie gekregen" dat de traditie van Sinterklaas in de kern racistisch is. En dat Zwarte Piet, "domkop en knecht" die hij is, het stereotype voedt van Afrikanen als "tweederangs burgers".
Dat blijkt uit brieven die *NRC Handelsblad* zaterdag heeft gepubliceerd. De VN-rapporteurs waarschuwden dat Nederland betrokken minderhedenorganisaties moet raadplegen als de regering Sinterklaas op de UNESCO-lijst van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed zou willen plaatsen.
Deze zomer antwoordde de Nederlandse VN-ambassadeur Roderick van Schreven dat van plannen om Sinterklaas op een UNESCO-lijst te plaatsen geen sprake is.

Hij schrijft ook dat de Nederlandse regering Sinterklaas ziet als een kinderfeest waarbij het in de eerste plaats gaan om het uitdelen van cadeaus. De regering is zich ervan bewust dat de meningen over de rol van Zwarte Piet uiteen lopen.

Klachten

De laatste jaren is het aantal klachten over Zwarte Piet bij het anti-discriminatiekantoor in Amsterdam sterk gestegen. Volgens de ambassadeur kan dat samenhangen met het publieke debat over rol van het hulpje van Sinterklaas.

Premier Mark Rutte zei vrijdag dat Zwarte Piet nu eenmaal zwart is. De discussie is een zaak van de samenleving, niet van de regering.

Coding Density

Racism

Racism

Serious

Children

Serious

Appendix B

RTL nieuws comments.nvp - NVivo

Nodes

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On
Children	13	31	29-3-2016 15:23	BL	19-6-2016 22:37
Unfairness	16	23	29-3-2016 15:29	BL	19-6-2016 22:37
Unfairness	10	14	29-3-2016 16:35	BL	19-6-2016 22:37
Unfairnesss	5	11	29-3-2016 15:48	BL	19-6-2016 22:37
Unfairnessss	3	3	29-3-2016 17:14	BL	19-6-2016 22:37
Not Racism	10	23	29-3-2016 16:22	BL	19-6-2016 22:37
Not Racism	8	15	29-3-2016 15:20	BL	19-6-2016 22:37
Majority vs. minority	10	19	30-3-2016 17:45	BL	19-6-2016 22:37
Ridiculous	8	17	29-3-2016 15:21	BL	19-6-2016 22:37
Threat from Outside	10	12	29-3-2016 15:49	BL	19-6-2016 22:37
Threat from Outside	2	4	29-3-2016 15:52	BL	19-6-2016 22:37
Tradition or Heritage	7	11	29-3-2016 15:39	BL	19-6-2016 22:37
Proponents vs. Opponents	6	10	29-3-2016 15:07	BL	19-6-2016 22:37
Racism	5	5	30-3-2016 13:23	BL	19-6-2016 22:37
Color	4	4	30-3-2016 16:48	BL	19-6-2016 22:37
Change	1	1	30-3-2016 17:01	BL	19-6-2016 22:37
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Changee	0	0	30-3-2016 14:11	BL	19-6-2016 22:37
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Tradition or Heritage

Reference 1 - 0.36% Coverage

Zowiezo moet je je niet bemoeien met andermans tradities stelletje sensatiezoekers!

Reference 2 - 0.16% Coverage

RTL nieuws articles.nvp - NVivo

File | Home | Create | External Data | Analyze | Query | Explore | Layout | View

Nodes
- Nodes
- Relationships
- Node Matrices

Sources
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Classifications
Collections
Queries
Reports
Models
Folders

Look for: | Search In ▾ | Nodes | Find Now | Clear | Advanced Find

Nodes

Name	Sources	References	Created On ▽	Created By	Modified On
Proponents vs. Opponents	16	20	29-3-2016 15:07	BL	19-6-2016 22:35
Serious	15	18	29-3-2016 15:10	BL	19-6-2016 22:35
Serious	18	24	30-3-2016 17:32	BL	19-6-2016 22:35
Seriouss	8	12	30-3-2016 20:07	BL	19-6-2016 22:35
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Racism	15	18	30-3-2016 13:23	BL	19-6-2016 22:35
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Racism	9	12	30-3-2016 13:45	BL	19-6-2016 22:35
Color	9	17	30-3-2016 16:48	BL	19-6-2016 22:35
Change	11	12	30-3-2016 17:01	BL	19-6-2016 22:35
Change	3	6	30-3-2016 14:17	BL	19-6-2016 22:35
Change	4	4	30-3-2016 14:11	BL	19-6-2016 22:35
Children	6	6	29-3-2016 15:23	BL	19-6-2016 22:35
Not Racism	3	3	29-3-2016 16:22	BL	19-6-2016 22:35
Majority vs. minority	3	3	30-3-2016 17:45	BL	19-6-2016 22:35
Ridiculous	1	1	29-3-2016 15:21	BL	19-6-2016 22:35
Unfairness	1	1	29-3-2016 15:29	BL	19-6-2016 22:35
Tradition or heritage	1	1	29-3-2016 15:39	BL	19-6-2016 22:35
Threat from Outside	1	1	29-3-2016 15:49	BL	19-6-2016 22:35

Racismm ✕

'Zwarte Piet is kwetsend'

In | Nodes ▾ | ... | Code At

BL 26 Items

NVivo — Nu.nl comments.nvp

Ribbon tabs: File | Home | Create | External Data | Analyze | Query | Explore | Layout | View

Look for: | Search In ▾ | Nodes | Find Now | Clear | Advanced Find

Nodes

Name	Sources	References	Created On ▽	Created By	Modified On
Proponents vs. Opponents	1	24	29-3-2016 15:07	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Not Racism	1	22	29-3-2016 16:22	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Not Racism	1	8	29-3-2016 15:20	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Unfairness	1	21	29-3-2016 15:29	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Unfairness	1	7	29-3-2016 16:35	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Unfairnesss	1	6	29-3-2016 15:48	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Unfairnessss	1	4	29-3-2016 17:14	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Ridiculous	1	20	29-3-2016 15:21	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Children	1	20	29-3-2016 15:23	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Majority vs. minority	1	15	30-3-2016 17:45	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Color	1	10	30-3-2016 16:48	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Change	1	8	30-3-2016 17:01	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Change	1	2	30-3-2016 14:17	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Changee	1	2	30-3-2016 14:11	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Tradition or Heritage	1	7	29-3-2016 15:39	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Threat from Outside	1	7	29-3-2016 15:49	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Threat from Outside	1	3	29-3-2016 15:52	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Racism	1	5	30-3-2016 13:23	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Racism	1	3	29-3-2016 16:16	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Racismm	1	2	29-3-2016 15:14	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Racismmm	0	0	30-3-2016 16:34	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Racism	1	1	30-3-2016 13:45	BL	19-6-2016 22:32
Serious	0	0	29-3-2016 15:10	BL	19-6-2016 22:32

Navigation pane: Sources | Nodes | Classifications | Collections | Queries | Reports | Models | Folders

Nodes: Nodes, Relationships, Node Matrices

BL | 26 Items

File | Home | Create | External Data | Analyze | Query | Explore | Layout | View

Nodes
- Nodes
- Relationships
- Node Matrices

- Sources
- **Nodes**
- Classifications
- Collections
- Queries
- Reports
- Models
- Folders

Look for: | Search In ▾ | Nodes | Find Now | Clear | Advanced Find

Nodes

Name	Sources	References	Created On ▽	Created By	Modified On
Serious	23	28	29-3-2016 15:10	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Serious	24	28	30-3-2016 17:24	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Seriouss	20	21	30-3-2016 17:32	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Seriousss	10	12	30-3-2016 20:07	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Proponents vs. Opponents	14	18	29-3-2016 15:07	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Racism	16	16	30-3-2016 13:23	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Racism	9	9	29-3-2016 16:16	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Racismm	7	7	29-3-2016 15:14	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Racismmm	4	4	30-3-2016 16:34	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Racism	4	4	30-3-2016 13:45	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Color	14	16	30-3-2016 16:48	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Children	12	12	29-3-2016 15:23	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Change	11	12	30-3-2016 17:01	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Change	4	4	30-3-2016 14:17	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Changee	0	0	30-3-2016 14:11	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Not Racism	4	5	29-3-2016 16:22	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Tradition or Heritage	1	1	29-3-2016 15:39	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Majority vs. minority	1	1	30-3-2016 17:45	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Ridiculous	0	0	29-3-2016 15:21	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Unfairness	0	0	29-3-2016 15:29	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Unfairness	1	1	29-3-2016 15:48	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Unfairnesss	0	0	29-3-2016 16:35	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Unfairnessss	0	0	29-3-2016 17:14	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Threat from Outside	0	0	29-3-2016 15:49	BL	19-6-2016 22:29
Threat from Outside	1	1	29-3-2016 15:52	BL	19-6-2016 22:29

BL | 26 Items