

# How a public interfaces its *raison d'être*: an interface analysis through the concept of cultural performance

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## Abstract

For decades Groningen has been victim to earthquakes induced by gas drillings. In 2009 the *Groningen Soil Movement* (GBB) was established in order to defend the interests of Groningen citizens who are victim to these earthquakes. The goal of this research is to find out how the GBB interfaces their perception of this public issue, and how these interfaces can be understood. This study is aimed at connecting the theoretical concepts of interface and cultural performance in order to analyze interfaces in a structured and detailed manner. To reach this goal a discourse analysis of written and audio-visual material has been conducted. The analysis shows that while in GBBs written interfaces a careful and strict narrative is repeatedly presented that follows a stable script, the staged interface is where the cultural performance of the GBB really come to life. This is interesting, because exactly in this staged interface the performance derailed from the pre-arranged script. It is argued that this changing role of the script, from *mediating between* to *resembling the* background representations, is the reason the staged interface by the GBB can be considered a successful cultural performance. For future research it is recommended to take more concepts of the model of cultural performance into consideration to come to a more detailed understanding of interfaces.

## Key words

Cultural performance – Groningen -- Induced Earthquakes -- Interface — Public Issue – Script – Text

## Setting the stage

Since 1986, earthquakes have occurred in the north of the Netherlands as a direct result of gas drillings. Earthquakes that are caused by human activity, such as gas drillings, are called *induced earthquakes* (KNMI, 2017a). Gas drillings are responsible for almost all the earthquakes in the north

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<sup>1</sup> Word count of the thesis is 10084 words; word count of attachment is 508 words.

of the Netherlands. Since the first earthquake the KNMI<sup>2</sup> has registered about a thousand induced earthquakes. Most of these earthquakes took place in the northern province Groningen (KNMI, 2017a), where one of the biggest gas fields in the world was found in 1959 (NAM, 2017). Fourteen of these earthquakes had a magnitude greater than 3.0 on the Richter magnitude scale, and around a hundred had a magnitude between 2.0 and 3.0. Earthquakes with a magnitude less than 2.0 are usually not felt by humans (KNMI, 2017b). However, even small earthquakes seem to cause damage to houses in Groningen due to the composition of the ground (De Ingenieur, 2017).

Directly after the first earthquake it has been argued by different actors, among them politicians and scientists, that the earthquakes are caused by gas drillings. These ideas, however, were dismissed by both the government and the *Dutch Oil Company* (NAM), which is the gas drilling company that drills in Groningen. After these statements, throughout the years several investigations were conducted, among others by the Ministry of Economics in 1993 (Zembla, 2014), concluding that the drillings *could indeed* cause earthquakes. However, these findings never seemed to call the attention of the greater Dutch public.

This changed in August 2012 (Zembla, 2014). An earthquake with a magnitude of 3.6 on the Richter magnitude scale was registered in municipality Loppersum in Groningen. This earthquake took longer and was stronger than previous earthquakes (Rijksoverheid, 2017), and is still the strongest induced earthquake in the Netherlands to this date. Due to the abruptness of this earthquake, attention for these kinds of earthquakes grew (Groninger Bodem Beweging, 2017a; Zembla, 2014). The conclusion of a research conducted by the *State Supervision on the Mines*<sup>3</sup> (2013) that there could be more and heavier earthquakes following the one in August 2012, led to a sense of urgency and fear among people living in Groningen (Zembla, 2014). Safety could not be assured and earthquakes greater than 5.0 on the Richter magnitude scale were deemed possible (trouw.nl, 2013). Moreover, the value of houses in Groningen were dropping due to damage caused by the earthquakes (Zembla, 2014).

In 2009, the *Groningen Soil Movement*<sup>4</sup> (GBB), was established. GBBs main goal is to defend the interests of residents of the area in Groningen where gas drillings take place. One of their goals is to gain attention for the issue surrounding the gas drillings. As is written on their website: “*We campaign: to let others hear and show our voice! We organize - together with local and national movements - manifestations, demonstrations, (...) and we march to The Hague to express our anger and to have our opinions heard*” (GBB, 2017b). Specifically, this goal of articulating anger and GBBs perception of the public issue of induced earthquakes will be the focus of this thesis.

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<sup>2</sup> Royal Dutch Meteorological Institute

<sup>3</sup> Staatstoezicht op de Mijnen

<sup>4</sup> Groningen Bodem Beweging

The focus of this research will be how the GBB makes their concerns about induced earthquakes known to other publics, and how they try to connect other publics to GBBs perception of the issue through *cultural performances* (Alexander, 2004). This process is called *interfacing* (Schinkel, 2016; Long, 1999).

### Research Question

This thesis has the goal to answer the following research question:

How is Groninger Bodem Beweging's perception of the issue of induced earthquakes in Groningen interfaced, and how can these interfaces be understood through the concept of cultural performance?

### Relevance

My personal relation with this issue has changed throughout the years, from uncaring to concerned, mostly due to my own experience with interfaces. For instance, this case was brought to my attention through a report by Arjen Lubach in January 2017 in his weekly television program *Sunday with Lubach* (Zondag met Lubach). The television performance by the movement GBB in March 2017 at the talkshow Pauw & Jinek – which is a part of the researched material of this thesis - had the greatest impact on me. What could be seen were angry people, trying to convey their moral and emotional concerns. Indeed, they felt that their problems were not taken serious by the government and other publics.

Issues like these are complex due to opposing interests of different publics. Therefore, especially in this case, it is interesting to find out how one public tries to connect others – who are not directly harmed by earthquakes themselves - to the issue. The social relevance is not difficult to acknowledge: in this particular case it has taken more than 25 years before this issue was 'connected' to politics and people who are not directly victim of the induced earthquakes. It is argued in several sources that failure in connecting an issue to other people can be frustrating, and eventually lead to problems that are larger than was initially the case. For instance, as a former mayor of a village in Groningen said: *'People are losing their patience. I would not be surprised if people took other measures to make their problems clear'* (Zembla, 2014). Freek de Jonge, comedian, well-known Dutchman, and supporter of the GBB, also argued, while being interviewed at the daily talkshow *As The World Turns* (De Wereld Draait Door) in March 2017, that he would not be surprised if people took *'un-democratic measures if the democratic way is not enough to fix this issue'*. Moreover, when Minister Kamp of the Ministry of Economic Affairs came to visit Groningen in January 2014, riots took place. This shows that this situation is slowly developing into a violent confrontation. Therefore, in this specific case it is important to analyse how the GBB can successfully connect other people to

GBBs perception of this issue. Studying the use of interfaces could lead to a better understanding of how interfaces function in public issues, which could eventually lead to a de-escalation of the current tensions described before.

In terms of scientific relevance, it will be interesting to see how the concept *interface* can be connected to the concept of *cultural performance* by Alexander (2004). While the study about interfaces by Long (1999) focuses on interfacing situations, it does not analyse these interfaces strictly through the eye of cultural performances. This, while these two concepts can be expected to have a good conceptual fit, since in both concepts convincing the other is a central concept. With this thesis, therefore, I would like to add to the scientific literature by strictly combining these two already existing concepts.

Concluding, a better understanding of interfaces in public issues might enable us to avoid further escalations in this public issue and in public issues to come. Moreover, connecting the concept of interface and cultural performance will add to the scientific literature.

### Theory (or, the text)

This thesis will focus on how the GBB uses interfaces in the attempt to connect other publics to the GBBs perception of the public issue of induced earthquakes, and how these interfaces can be understood through the concept of cultural performance. In this theoretical framework, what is meant with *public issue* will first be laid out, and it will be argued that the induced earthquakes can be considered one. After that the notion of *interfaces* will be explained, and it will be argued that interfaces can be understood through the concept of *cultural performance*.

### Public Issue

Issues are *matters of concern or interest* (Latour, 2005). While troubles have to do with an individual's character and with those limited areas of social life of which he is directly and personally aware, issues have to do with matters that transcend these local environments of the individual and the limited range of his life (Mills, 1967 in Smith, 2009; Sennett, 2017). An issue is therefore always a *public matter*, transcending the troubles of the individual.

Issues bring together different assemblies of relevant parties, from now on called *publics* (Latour, 2005). In this thesis a distinction will be made between *a* public and *the* public. *The* public is a kind of *social totality* (Warner, 2002), such as, for instance, the *Dutch public*, or the broader notion of *the people*. However, *a* public is more specific: it comes into being in relation to a certain issue (Warner, 2002). As Dewey defines: "*a public [is] a grouping of actors who are affected by actions or events but do not have direct influence on them. Because they lack this influence, these indirectly affected actors must organize into a public if they are to address the problems ensuing from these actions and events*" (Marres, 2005, p. 48). Publics are capable of adopting issues which currently

existing (political) institutions are failing to address (Marres 2005). The reason the induced earthquakes can be considered a public issue, is that it creates certain publics around the issue, such as the GBB, but also the Dutch government and the NAM. When publics surrounding this issue deploy political power, use the media to make the issue known to other publics, and when the interests of the GBB has consequences for people outside of this issue, then it really becomes a public issue, in the first sense of Warner's definition of public: it becomes an issue for *the people*<sup>5</sup>.

However, the question is if this process of issue-forming will ever reach the social totality of *the people*, something the GBB intends. With their actions the GBB is not merely trying to connect other publics that only exist in relation to an issue (Marres, 2005). Indeed, with their actions the GBB tries to connect *the people* as a social totality to GBBs perception of this public issue; in other words: they try to form not-yet existing publics.

## Interfaces

The GBBs problem has to be connected to other publics in order to become an *issue* (Schinkel, 2016). This is done by the use of interfaces (Schinkel, 2016; Long, 1999). In computer science, the concept of *interface* is used to connect the user to the functionality of the device in front of them: the buttons on the front of your television set, for example, are the interface between you and the electrical wiring on the other side of its plastic casing (Oracle, 2015). Seen through the scope of public issues, interface is *the thing*<sup>6</sup> *that connects people to a certain issue* (Schinkel, 2016).

Long (1999) argues that '*interfaces typically occur at points where different, and often conflicting, lifeworlds (...) intersect, or more concretely, in social situations (...) in which interactions become oriented around a problem of bridging, accommodating, segregating or contesting social, evaluative and cognitive standpoints*' (p. 1, italics added). Interfaces, therefore, originate due to interactions in social situations, and, therefore, never stand on their own, but are always a consequence of interactions between different publics. More concretely, in GBBs case these interfaces are news articles, or television performances: eminently situations where different standpoints present itself.

Interfaces, therefore, are defined twofold in this thesis: as something *occurring* in social situations where different publics oppose each other, and as something man-made in the sense of a *thing*. As Long (1999, p. 2) argues: '*Interface situations often provide the means by which individuals*

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<sup>5</sup> *The people* here is meant in the Rousseau's sense, where *the people* is put in contrast to those in power; *the people* are best explained as citizens combining themselves in order to create political decision-making

<sup>6</sup> *Thing*, in this definition, is not merely a physical artefact such as a certain way of getting dressed, or putting up certain signs. It is also the 'act, deed, event' (Etymonline, 2017)

*or groups come to define their own cultural or ideological positions vis-à-vis those espousing or typifying opposing views*'. In short: means arise out of *occurring* social interfaces. These *means* exist in order to connect the opposing public to the same perception of the issue. In GBBs case these means are columns in newspapers, protests, (television) performances, lawsuits, and so forth. An interface, therefore, can be a social situation *taking place* (verb), and it can be something *created* to connect other publics to a certain kind of perception of the issue (noun). Because the research focus lies on *created* interfaces such as newspaper articles and television performance and how these interfaces can be understood, in this thesis the *noun* notion of interface will be most prevalent.

Interfaces have certain characteristics. In interfaces, certain 'linkages and networks between parties' are developed (Long, 1999, p. 1). Through the continued interaction between parties, (unwritten) rules and boundaries start to emerge. Following this, these networks will tend to evolve standardized modes of relating to non-members and outsiders of the interface (Long, 1999). This might be occurring as the development of a standard way of addressing opposing publics, for instance, in a certain tone, or by giving a certain name to outsiders or opposing publics. As will be showed in the analysis, the GBB indeed developed in their interfaces standardized ways to address their opposing publics. From the development of interfaces, certain knowledge arises: *'Knowledge emerges as a product of interaction, dialogue, and contests of meaning (...)'* (Long, 1999, p. 3). Knowledge is, therefore, not something simply had, but also something constructed: *'Knowledge is a cognitive and social construction that results from and is constantly shaped by the experiences, encounters and discontinuities that emerge at the points of intersection between different actors. Various types of knowledge, including ideas about oneself, other people, and the context and social institutions, are important in understanding social interfaces'* (Long, 1999, p. 3). Therefore *discourses* are created through the repeated interactions at the interfaces (Long, 1999). These characteristics of interfaces are important in this thesis, because it will help to better understand the interfaces created by the GBB: these interfaces do not exist loose from historical encounters with the other publics. With the interface analysis in this thesis I step in an already existing knowledge construction which is developed in the years before this research started. Interface analysis, therefore, allows to comprehend this construction of knowledge and discourses in these interfaces, and how this leads to power relations (Long, 1999, p. 3).

### Cultural performance

The interactions and actions in the interfaces were analyzed through the concept of cultural performance: *the social process by which actors, individually or in concert, display for others the meaning of their social situation. In order for their display to be effective, actors must offer a plausible performance, one that leads those towards whom their actions and gestures are directed to accept their motives and explanations as a reasonable account* (Alexander, 2004, p. 529). This

*displaying* is the interface; the display is a construction by publics to connect other publics to their perception of the issue.

The model of cultural performances consists of several concepts. The concepts that were used and elaborated in this thesis were *background representations*, *text*, *script*, and *acting out*. Background representations are the existential, emotional, and moral concerns of the performing actors (Alexander, 2004). These background representations are made into texts and scripts. In this thesis texts will be understood as the expression of background representations in written text. Texts, therefore, are a certain version of the background representations. In GBBs case this text is the narrative the GBB produces in their interfaces. Following this, scripts have the instructions for the actors: how to move, what, how, and when to say, which position to take in on stage, and so forth. In GBBs case, this script is a set of instructions for members of the GBB of what and who to put to the fore and what to hold back in the narrative. These texts and scripts are consequently interpreted and acted out by actors. A cultural performance is successful when a performance can convince others that one's performance is *true*: as being connected with the background representations (Alexander, 2004) of the actor. This theory is aimed at acting out in 'flesh and blood', as if watching a theatrical play (Alexander, 2004). During interface interactions certain members of a public are put to the fore. These actors have the position to perform the background representations of the public, while they also must respond to the expectations of those with whom they must negotiate and/or to whom they have to make their position clear (Long, 1999). Indeed, they must *act out* in order to be considered truthful, while also being tactful in the acting out in order to connect other people and publics to the issue. (Long, 1999).

The analysis of how the GBB interfaces their perception of the issue can be done in a lot of ways. Therefore the focus of understanding these interfaces through the concept of cultural performance was chosen. This is because individuals inside interfaces and cultural performances in both cases have the goal to convince others that what they are performing is true. Because of this, the concepts of interface and cultural performance are connected in this thesis. The interfacing actions of the GBB will be analyzed through the notion of performance, and the concepts of the model by Alexander (2004) offers the opportunity to analyze GBBs interfaces in a structured manner.

To conclude, the problem experienced by the GBB can be considered a public issue, because the problem transcends the mere individual sphere of the GBB, and other publics are surrounding the issue. The public GBB wants to connect other publics to their perception of the issue. This is done by the use of interfaces. These interfaces can be understood through the concept of cultural performances.

### Case, material, methodology (or, the script)

The data that was used in this thesis are the written and audio-visual interfaces the movement GBB has used. The GBB uses several types of interfaces: protests, information sessions, written texts in the form of a newspaper and columns, and audio-visual material. However, this thesis only focused on the latter two. In the theoretical framework it was argued that an interface aims at connecting other publics to the perception of the problem by the GBB. Most of the publics will be confronted with GBBs interfaces through online written texts – mainly opinion pieces in known newspapers on the internet– and performances in online audio-visual material, rather than ‘real-life’ interfaces. Therefore, only online written and online audio-visual material were analyzed.

#### *Selection of textual and audio-visual material*

As written material the texts posted on the Facebook page of the GBB since the television performance at Pauw & Jinek on 6<sup>th</sup> of March 2017 until the 6<sup>th</sup> of May 2017 were analyzed. There were several reasons for this. First and foremost, the amount of texts that is produced and linked to by the GBB is overwhelming. Because of this a strong delineation in time had to be made. Also, the website of the GBB had some technical difficulties during the research, which made it difficult to navigate the website. Moreover, there is a good reason to believe that more people will be connected to the interface of written texts by the GBB via Facebook, than via their website. The written texts the GBB posts on their Facebook page are more diverse than on their website, because from GBBs Facebook page links to opinion articles and news articles can be found, while on the website only press releases can be found. For selecting written material from Facebook, only news articles and columns linked to from their Facebook page were analyzed<sup>7</sup>. In total 42 Facebook messages and their corresponding articles were analyzed.

For the video material, the television performance at Pauw & Jinek of the 6<sup>th</sup> of March, where several members of the GBB were present, was analyzed. Only one source of video material was analyzed due to the amount of data this video material held. This is because the analysis of audio-visual material differs from the analysis of text; audio-visual material holds a lot of detail, even in a few seconds of video (Heath et al., 2010). Moreover, the data that was extracted from audio-visual material differed in some aspects from text. While the analysis of texts was aimed at analyzing the message itself, the analyses of video was also aimed at the *social action* (Heath et. al, 2010): the acting out of the background representations, scripts, and texts. With the analysis of this video material the analysis was mainly focused on the *social action*: how background representations were acted out. Therefore the analysis of the performance at Pauw & Jinek focused less on *what* was said, but rather on *how* it was said.

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<sup>7</sup> Details about the written texts analyzed can be found in the attachment.



The analysis of written texts was done through open coding<sup>8</sup>. Consequently through the process of back and forth coding the texts were coded, most of the time at sentence, sometimes at word level. After this process it was easier to see the role of discourses in the written texts. For instance, it was found through coding that most of the written texts were aimed at creating a certain discourse, namely a narrative with fixed roles for the different publics ascribed by the GBB. The analysis of the performance of member of the GBB at Pauw & Jinek was done through watching the episode multiple times. Through the analysis of two types of material interesting results have been found about the differences between these two types of interfaces.

### Method of discourse analysis

The method used in this thesis was a discourse analysis. In this thesis, discourse will be defined as *'the way sentences and utterances are put together to make texts and interactions'* (Jones, 2012, p. 2). The choice for this method had several reasons. First, discourses are socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. This *'implies a dialectical relationship between a particular event and the situation(s), institution(s), and social structure(s) which frame it'* (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997 in Wodak, 2009, p. 5). This was suitable in the context of this thesis: the induced earthquakes take place, and consequently each public in this issue frames it in a way that is supportive to their cause.

Second, in a discourse analysis approach, the use of language *'is inseparable from who we are and the different social groups to which we belong'* (Jones, 2012, p. 2). Through a discourse, people are demonstrating who they are and what their relationship is to other people or groups of people (Jones, 2012, p. 3) Also in interfaces groups are defined by their opposing lifeworlds, and these different lifeworlds are expressed by the use of language. This leads to certain discourses.

Thirdly, to some degree texts always promote a particular ideology about how a situation is and should be (Jones, 2012). Ideologies *'may be seen as the fundamental cognitive 'programs' or 'operating systems' that organize and monitor the more specific social attitudes of groups and their members'* (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 258). This is no different in GBBs case: GBBs narrative makes clear who the GBB is, who GBBs opposing publics are, and what their perception of this issues solution is. This means that through GBBs discourse a certain reality is created.

Therefore, in interfaces, when different lifeworlds intersect, what actually happens is that different *discourses* intersect. Here Long's (1999) logic was followed, who argues that *'interface analysis enables us to comprehend how 'dominant' discourses are endorsed, transformed or challenged'* (Long, 1999, p. 4). In the concept of cultural performance, the notion is that texts and

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<sup>8</sup> Details about the coding scheme can be found in the attachment

scripts are closely linked to context, namely the background representations. This is also prevalent in discourse analysis. Moreover, the concept of texts in the cultural performance model are actually 'knowledge structures' (Schank and Abelson, 1977, in Van Dijk, 1993), because texts are used to refer back to the already created discourse. As can be seen, in the interfaces analyzed the GBB indeed forms certain discourses, which are expressed in the form of narratives in which the issue is explained and in which several of GBBs opposing publics are given certain roles.

Because of this, discourse analysis was an appropriate and convenient method to research what discourses were created inside GBBs written interfaces, and how these discourses helped – or not – in connecting other publics to GBBs perception of the issue. Also, the video material was appropriate for analyzing the social action of the GBB when they were put in an interfacing situation. Therefore, the analysis in this thesis was aimed at how certain discourses (narratives) were produced, and how these discourses were consequently performed at Pauw & Jinek.

### Analysing the interfaces

The GBB uses two types of interfaces: *written* interfaces (e.g. press statements, news articles, and opinion articles), and *staged* interfaces which are performed in 'flesh and blood' (e.g. the television performance at Pauw & Jinek). Both types of interface display for the reader and viewer the same carefully constructed discourse, which is the *narrative* of how the GBB perceives its social situation. However, they differ greatly in the way this narrative is *presented*. This has mainly to do with the amount of control the GBB has in each type of interface, and with the characteristics of each type of interface. It will be argued that a staged interface can easily, due to the lack of control, derail from the text and script that is carefully constructed in the written interfaces. However, the staged interface itself can, due to this derailing from a pre-arranged script, be considered more successful in terms of the cultural performance being *true* to background representations than the perfectly scripted written interfaces.

In the following paragraphs the differences between both types of interfaces will be highlighted, which will eventually lead to the main argument: no presentation that perfectly follows its script is more credible than a public that performs its *raison d'être*.

### Written interfaces: creating a text and script

The written interfaces are all the interfaces that contain written language as the prime form of displaying emotional and moral concerns. In the case of the GBB these are press statements, news articles, and opinion articles, which are all referred to from GBBs Facebook page. Through these written interfaces a carefully constructed discourse is constantly and repeatedly presented. The GBB has constructed a text that consists of a carefully constructed narrative with implications about the causes and effects of the issue, the role and characteristics of the central publics in this issue, and how

this issue should be solved. According to the narrative, the state has for decades exploited Groningen, where gas was drilled for the economic benefit of the Netherlands. As one of GBBs members is cited in a news article: *"[The state is responsible for the complete drainage of Groningen]"*. While this gas has provided prosperity, it also led to a catastrophe for the citizens of Groningen, who are victim to induced earthquakes. The GBB feels that their concerns are not taken seriously by people outside of Groningen and that there is a gap between the Randstad and Groningen. As can be read in an opinion article linked to from GBBs Facebook page:

*"Jan Marijnissen [former politician who was present at the television episode of Pauw & Jinek] (...) discovered a nice illustration of several gaps: between government and citizens, Randstad and province [Groningen], economic interests and those of the ordinary citizen. (...). So this is how this gap can be characterized: governors (...) that simply do not want to understand that their way of handling problems does not keep in mind the simple wish of the people to be taken seriously"*.

This feeling is fueled by the fact that gas drillings continue, despite repeated complaints by the GBB about the earthquakes, damage to houses, and victims who experience psychological and emotional problems. A couple stated in a news article:

*"We are back where we started, this is even worse than before. (...). We are again in this mess, and we already have been through so much. We have no clue what to do now. (...). We are in our sixties, how should we continue without a house and money? (...). We demand a compensation for immaterial [emotional] damage for the five years that we had to fight hard for the acknowledgment of the damage [to our house]. You will see, that after [the NAM] starts reinforcing other houses (...) even more damage than is now estimated will present itself"*.

According to the GBB, there is but one solution to this issue: the NAM has to withdraw itself from every involvement in the handling of damage claims. This is made clear by a post on their Facebook page, which reads *"Stop interfering [in the handling of damage claims], NAM!"*. Even though the NAM should not interfere in these damage claims, nonetheless the repair of the damages should be paid for by the NAM. As the couple which was cited before, argues:

*"Whatever the cost, the NAM has to bring the house to its previous condition. So, [the house has to] look the same as it did before this mess. Even if it costs a million [euros]. The NAM has earned billions here, so they must take care of it"*.

Also, the narrative consists of strict roles for three central publics surrounding this issue. These publics are the GBB, the NAM, and the government. The members of the GBB are angry and they claim they have every right to be so. Therefore, one of their prime goals is, as can be read on their website, to let their angry voices be heard:

*“We take action to show and let our voices be heard. (...). We march towards the Hague to express our anger and to make our opinion heard”.*

In this expression, it is made very clear that there is anger which needs to be ventilated. The NAM is presented as the enemy of the GBB and is held responsible for the negative consequences of gas drillings. This is made clear in explicit terms. Dick Kleijer, chairman of the GBB, states in a news article:

*“The NAM refused to come and check what the damages [of the houses] entailed. This is about big and small damages. Sometimes so big and serious, that people had to leave their houses due to the big risks. And what did the NAM do? They ignored it, denied responsibility, and with this [denying] they made life more difficult for those experiencing damage. (...). The NAM has been sly”.*

Moreover, the NAM is characterised as a public that *“responds late [and] does not answer to questions”*. Most striking in the characterization of the NAM is the decision by the GBB and their lawyers, to prosecute directors of the NAM for *‘damaging houses which led to the fear of losing lives (...). This has a severe demand [for punishment]: fifteen years of jail time for individual directors (...). They acted against the law’*. The claim that the directors of the NAM can be blamed for ‘the fear of losing lives’ is serious, and clearly puts the NAM in the position of an offender. The government, lastly, is portrayed as untrustworthy: *“The foundation of trust between the government and citizens of the gas drilling area in Groningen is tearing apart”*. Minister Henk Kamp, in particular, is portrayed as a liar. For instance, because he first stated that a reduction of gas drillings is not possible while later changing his opinion stating that it is indeed possible: *“This means that he [Kamp] has been lying all the time”*. According to the narrative, the government representatives are not to be trusted and do not have the necessary knowledge to address this issue.

This ascription of fixed roles in written texts can be understood through the concept of interfaces: in interfaces standardized modes of relating to non-members of the interface will evolve (Long, 1999). This can explain the repetition in which the narrative unfolds: through time, standardized

modes are developing. Moreover, fixed roles create an understandable narrative, which helps the goal an interface has: to connect other publics to the GBBs perception of the issue.

The written interfaces of the GBB are always displayed on internet platforms, namely on their own website, the websites of several news channels, and on their Facebook page. The texts that are referred and linked to on their Facebook page are not written by GBB members themselves. However, all these written texts help to develop the narrative the GBB wants other publics to connect to. The narrative never changes and is repeated throughout almost every written interface. This is no coincidence; indeed, it is a clearly stated goal of the GBB. On their website, it is stated that *“the GBB (...) takes care of formulating the opinion and concerns about the earthquake issue, [in order for these opinions and concerns to be heard]”*. Besides, in one of the Facebook posts by the GBB, it is stated that *“in the rest of the Netherlands it seems that slowly, very slowly, realization is growing that a lot is wrong in Groningen”*. This shows that the GBB is aware of the growing awareness, and repetition is thought to be a way to help further develop this awareness. This repetition of GBBs narrative shows that the narrative is carefully constructed. Thus, the written interfaces are aimed at creating and displaying a *text* or *discourse* which is consequently presented in a repetitive manner.

Because of this repetition, the written interface seems to follow a carefully constructed *script*. In these written interfaces there is a certain use of language which give the texts an emotional and moral meaning. For instance, the text *“TAKE A STEP BACK!”*, which is aimed at the government who should reduce the gas drillings, communicates a certain urgency through the use of only capital letters and an exclamation mark. Therefore, a script seems to be followed with instructions of what style and language to use, and what narrative to refer back to when necessary. A good example of this script that is followed, is when the NAM referred to a controversial research method used by a controversial research bureau to substantiate the claim that in a certain area earthquakes were not induced by gas drillings. The GBB responded within a few hours:

*“[This is] dubious and hard to believe (...). This institute has an intimate relationship with the NAM. In the past, they did another research for the NAM. This research concluded that it is impossible to pinpoint damage due to earthquakes. It is likely that in the team culture [in this research institute], a prejudice has developed towards the unlikelihood of damage due to earthquakes”*.

Therefore, even though another public displays their perception of the issue, the GBB can respond quickly following their already carefully developed text and script. The way the text and script are created has several implications for this type of interface. The first implication is that due to this text and script the narrative in the written interface can easily be controlled. This is because in written

interfaces responses do not have to be immediate; responses to outside events can be carefully constructed and consequently refer to the predefined text and script. The second implication, which is connected to the first, is that through the repetitive displaying of the narrative, the narrative constructs *itself*. This is because from the moment a narrative is displayed to its readers, such as in the response to the NAM above, the future narrative should not contradict an earlier text, because the narrative needs to be considered truthful. In other words: the narrative needs to make sense to its historical development in order to be true to the readers. This explains that the GBB uses a carefully constructed narrative which follows a predefined text and script which never contradicts itself; with every written interfacing act the narrative in the written interface develops itself and through this it becomes more stable and stronger.

Nonetheless, this type of interface faces one big challenge, namely to make the narrative and expressions inside the written interfaces seem *true* to the background representations of the GBB. Even though the narrative inside the written interfaces is controlled and stable, it is another matter to connect the reader to GBBs emotional and moral concerns. For instance, in one news article about a protest march against gas drillings, a mayor is cited in these exact words: "*People are worried about their safety*". Another example: after the VVD – which is the party of minister Kamp and prime minister Mark Rutte - was the most voted party in Groningen during the elections, Kleijer is cited in a news article for which he was interviewed: "*Surprising, this [election] result*". These utterances are connected to GBBs background representations, and follow the predefined text and script. However, it seems to lack connection to any *real* emotional and moral concerns. In other words: the expression of the emotional and moral concerns seem to be toned down in such a fashion, that it is difficult for the reader to connect to these background representations. This could be explained by the fact that these texts are lifeless, they are not acted out in 'flesh and blood'; in other words: that they are not *performed*. While these written interfaces are stylized and while a certain language is used, this is actually where this type of interfaces reach their ceiling: there are no *real people* in front of the reader, there are no people *acting out* their concerns. This is where the most important difference between the performance in written and staged interfaces presents itself: to what extent the audience can honestly and properly deny the veracity of moral and emotional concerns being performed in the presenting interface. This is where the staged interfaces come into play.

#### Staged interface: performing the text and script

On the evening of the 6<sup>th</sup> of March 2017, prime minister Mark Rutte and members of the GBB were invited to the studio of daily talk show Pauw & Jinek. This episode was broadcasted live in the period leading up to the Dutch parliament elections. Rutte was invited this day to defend and explain himself to the GBB. In the following analysis I will argue that this staged interface was more successful than

the written interfaces in expressing background representations. There are two major reasons for this. The first reason has to do with the way background representations can be performed in staged interfaces. The second reason has to do with the fact that this staged interface deviated from the pre-defined script, which made this cultural performance more successful.

To illustrate the first reason, I will demonstrate in the following description that during this staged interface the actors could literally *perform* their concerns in flesh and blood; they could move, use different intonations and certain facial expressions, they could shout, hold up signs, interfere and interrupt others present in the interface situation. During this interface situation, the members of the GBB were sitting on the audience stand, while Rutte was seated at the same table next to both presenters. GBBs role in this episode started when the conversation at the table, twenty minutes into the broadcasting, steered towards the topic of gas drillings in Groningen. Jan Marijnissen, a former politician, argued that the people in Groningen are angry. Following this, presenter Pauw tested this statement by asking whether the GBB members were indeed 'angry citizens'. Immediately angry outcries could be heard from the audience stand: *"We are people, but we are not treated as people"*, is what one of the members shouted before he got the microphone. He continues:

*"Mister Rutte has exploited us for six and a half years, and is still doing this. He is being portrayed as a positive politician (...). But you know what a positive politician does? He laughs everything off."*

What could be seen were very angry, emotional expressions being performed, especially when the microphone is given to Kleijer: *"I am not even angry"*, he states, *"I am mad"*, while facially expressing a very serious and urgent look on his face.

During this interfacing situation the GBB literally 'took the stage'. They gave no space to Rutte and he got no proper opportunity to respond. Every argument Rutte uttered was interrupted by shouts from the audience; the members of the GBB did not wait for the microphone, they shouted from the audience stand when they disagreed. For instance, when Rutte argued that gas drillings could not be reduced due to a cold winter, a loud sarcastic laugh could be heard from the audience stand. Also, when Rutte responds to the GBB for the first time during this interface, several members of the GBB held up a sign which read *'Not my premier'*. Moreover, when Kleijer started a plea about his moral concerns towards Rutte, Pauw wanted to interrupt his argument, probably because of the length of Kleijer's argument. Kleijer overruled Pauw's interruption: *"I am not yet finished"*, after which he continued his plea of concerns. This proves that the existing rules of the television program were ignored by the GBB in order to make their concerns clear. What can be seen here is that this performance is very much aimed at performing background representations. By the way the GBB

members acted, by shouting, having certain face expressions, by taking the stage, the background representations of the GBB, their emotional and moral concerns, were performed in flesh and blood.

The second reason for why this interface was more successful in expressing the emotional and moral concerns has to do with the way the performance derailed from a pre-arranged script. Namely, *how* the GBB wanted to make their concerns clear was consulted between GBBs members before the television program. As Kleijer stated after the television appearance in an interview:

*“Before the show we agreed that we wanted to express our argument in a clear manner and that we wanted to get enough room for this, [but our form of protest was not pre-arranged]. A program like Pauw & Jinek is strictly directed; there is not a lot of time. And yes, then things go like they go. People took the stage. And this I can understand”.*

This shows that Kleijer and his co-actors understood, before the television program began, that in the staged interface a different approach than during written interfaces was necessary, due to the factors of time and immediacy. It was intended to follow the script of *‘expressing the argument in a clear manner’*. However, the performance quickly derailed from this pre-arranged script, which could be seen by the loss of control: the situation *‘got out of hand’* due to very emotional and shouting GBB members.

Nonetheless, paradoxically, *especially* this derailing and failure to strictly follow the stylized and pre-arranged script of *‘presenting the argument in a clear manner’* made this performance more successful. As was argued before, the written interfaces are very much stylized and thought through; every word and sentence is mirrored to an already existing text and script and only after this mirroring these interfaces are presented. However, in this case, exactly the *derailing* from a stylized and thought through pre-arranged script made this performance more true. This derailing led to an interface situation in which the performance seemed *directly connected* to the background representations. By the emotional expressions, the shouts, and by taking the stage, the core of the issue was displayed: the emotional and moral concerns of the GBB members, the way they do not feel treated as people but merely as a colony which has been exploited for years. These emotions, these concerns, these background representations were *directly* acted out. This implies that the script during this interfacing situation *resembled* the background representations, rather than that the script had a *mediating* function. Namely, when a script has pre-arranged instructions for the actors – when the script is mediating between the background representations of the actor and the eventual performance – the actors are not able to perform their *real* emotional and moral concerns. The pre-arranged script, in which was stated that the argument needed to be *‘presented in a clear manner’*, was apparently not what the actors *really felt*. What the actors really felt was what they performed after the derailing.



Therefore, as a viewer of this staged interface, I forgot I was looking at a performance that followed a script, because the script exactly resembled the background representations of the actors. Indeed, I forgot I was looking at a play, and exactly this temporary forgetting led to a successful performance which I understood as true to background representations. In other words: it seemed as if there was no script.

Therefore, staged interfaces are very suitable for performing emotional and moral concerns, due to the possibility to perform in flesh and blood. However, this is not the only reason that this particular staged interface could be considered successful. This success has mainly to do with the derailing from a pre-arranged, mediating script. Rather, the alternative script that presented itself right there at that interface situation seemed to exactly resemble GBBs emotional and moral concerns, which made this a successful cultural performance, and which made me forget that there was a script at all.

### Conclusion of analysis

An interface always leads to the presentation of a certain version of reality, of a certain discourse. The reader of a written and the viewer of a staged interface is aware, most of the time, that what is presented is but a fraction of reality. Moreover, in most cases the reader or viewer is aware that the other in the interface has a goal to make the reader or viewer believe their version of reality is true, and that the other will do anything to make the reader or viewer believe this. However, certain performances inside these interfaces seem to be able to let the reader or viewer forget, temporarily, that what is presented in front of them is a performance and merely a fraction of reality. This happened during the staged interface at Pauw & Jinek, due to the mediating role the script had in this performance. While a script was agreed upon between the GBB members before the staged interface at Pauw & Jinek, the performance quickly derailed from this script. Exactly this derailing made this cultural performance more successful, due to the lack of a stylized, mediating script between the background representations and the acting out of these representations. Instead, an alternative script presented itself after the derailing from the pre-arranged script, which *directly resembled* the emotional and moral concerns of the actors. Exactly this resemblance of the script with the background representations is what made this cultural performance seem true. Surely the actors were still performing, but *what* they were performing was closely connected to what these actors *really* felt and concerned them. Indeed, everything that was performed in this staged interface was GBBs *raison d'être*. Namely, the GBB exists exactly *because of* the emotional and moral concerns that were performed during the staged interface; these background representations were the exact reason the GBB was established in the first place. Due to this, the issue the GBB exists towards as a *public* was directly acted out.

Therefore, all the GBB was doing during the staged interface was performing their *raison d'être*, and this is what made this performance true and real. This is the reason that I could not deny the truthfulness of the GBBs performance when I was confronted with this staged interface, and it is because of this that this cultural performance can be considered successful. Concluding, while in written interfaces background representations can be presented in a much more scripted way with a strict and careful narrative, in this case nothing seems to win from a cultural performance in which real background representations are acted out in a pure and real way.

### Conclusion overall

Since the first induced earthquakes in Groningen in 1987, several actors have expressed their concerns about the safety of citizens of Groningen. However, for decades this issue failed to call the attention of the broader Dutch public outside of Groningen for decades. This changed after the heaviest induced earthquake to date took place in municipality Loppersum, Groningen, in 2012. Due to the abruptness of this earthquake, attention for these kinds of earthquakes grew, both inside and outside of Groningen. In society signs started to show of rising tensions. This was mainly because of the failure of Groningen citizens to make their perception of this issue clear to others, more specifically politicians in The Hague. Because of this the movement GBB was established. GBBs goal is to defend the interests of Groningen citizens who are victim to induced earthquakes. Due to my own experience with GBBs and the influence these interfaces had on my perception of this issue, along with the societal relevance of de-escalation of tensions, the following research question was developed: *How is Groninger Bodem Beweging's perception of the issue of induced earthquakes in Groningen interfaced, and how can these interfaces be understood through the concept of cultural performance?* This research adds to the already existing scientific literature about interfaces due to the connection of the concepts of interface (Schinkel, 2016; Long, 1999) and cultural performance (Alexander, 2004).

A discourse analysis has been conducted on two types of interfaces, namely written and staged interfaces. For the written interfaces news and opinion articles were analysed that were linked to from GBBs Facebook page. Inside the written interfaces a stable and repetitive discourse is presented by the GBB, which consists of a narrative of what the issue is and the solution to this issue, and what the roles and characteristics of the three central publics in this issue are. Due to the repetitiveness of this narrative it seems that the GBB follows a strict pre-defined text and script. However, this type of interface has one big challenge: the lifelessness of this type of interface and the lack of *real people* performing their concerns in flesh and blood makes it is hard to connect the reader of the written interfaces to the *real* background representations of the GBB.

The staged interface that was analysed, however, was successful in performing these background representations. This had two reasons. The first reason has to do with the way background

representations can be performed in staged interfaces. In staged interfaces GBBs members got the possibility to really perform their background representations in flesh and blood. The second reason has to do with the fact that this staged interface derailed from a pre-designed script. Through this derailing, the script that was pre-arranged, which had a *mediating* role between background representations and actors, was replaced during the interfacing situation by a script that *directly resembles* the background representations. This gave the GBBs actors the possibility to perform their *raison d'être*. Due to the resemblance of script and background representations, it was as if during this performance there was no script at all. This is the reason that I could not deny the truthfulness of the GBBs performance when I was confronted with this staged interface, and it is because of this that this cultural performance can be considered successful. It is concluded that while the written interface was more controlled and more stable, in this case nothing seems to be more successful than a cultural performance which derailed from a pre-arranged script, in which *real* background representations are acted out in a true and flesh and blood manner.

With the analysis of GBBs interfaces through the concept of cultural performance, an extra layer has been added to the already existing literature about interfaces. Although it was already prevalent in Long's (1999) understanding that in interfaces different lifeworlds intersect, Long's (1999) theory does not seem to go deeper in *how* these opposing lifeworlds are consequently performed by the different relevant parties. Adding the extra layer of cultural performance leads to a more detailed and structured understanding of performance of actors parties in these interfaces. Moreover, the findings of this thesis can help publics in this and future public issues to create successful interfaces, with the hope to de-escalate this and future tensions that arise out of public issues.

## Discussion

Only a part of Alexander's model of cultural performance has been used to understand GBBs interfaces. While this thesis aimed at the background representations, text, script, and acting out, Alexander's model goes further than that. For instance, Alexander's model also takes the audience and its psychological identification with the play and the *mise-en-scène* in consideration. Researching the audiences response to GBBs performances and the *mise-en-scène*, however, was outside the scope of this thesis. For future research it will be interesting to find out how the performance of background representations leads to the forming of new publics.

In the initial methodology it was the aim to analyse more audio-visual material in order to analyse GBBs acting out of cultural backgrounds. However, this idea was let go of since the staged interface at Pauw & Jinek provided enough data. The concept of cultural backgrounds was also initially planned to take into consideration. GBBs interfaces was full of cultural backgrounds, both in written and the staged interfaces. For instance, on Facebook a video can be found in which GBB protestors are walking

around with coffins, uttering that this is how the Dutch government treats their citizens. Also the written texts were full of these cultural backgrounds. For instance, in one written text it is argued that Henk Kamp uses a *Mother Of All Bombs*, which is a reference to a powerful bomb used by the United States Air Force. A future research about the use and function of cultural backgrounds could add to the understanding of how interfaces and cultural performances rest on these cultural background understandings. Using more of Alexander's concepts in analysing interfaces in future research can lead to a more detailed understanding.

In the analysis of the interfaces it was found that the GBB puts to the fore certain actors more often than others. During the period analysed this was Dick Kleijer, GBB's chairman. This falls in line with Long's (1999) theory about interfaces, namely that in interfaces certain individuals are put to the fore to present the lifeworld of their party, while they also need to be able to negotiate with individuals of the other parties. Future research could aim at how these individuals use their position and what implication their role has in the interfaces. For instance, do they take the role of director, deciding the script? Another interesting finding was that it seems that the GBB had the news channel RTV Noord on their side. Out of the 42 written interfaces that were analysed, 15 were news articles by RTV Noord. In most of these news articles, Dick Kleijer was cited. Future research could aim on what the role of news media is in interfacing issues.

During this research I have come to some personal insights. First and foremost, my opinion about the public issue of induced earthquakes has become even sharper. While my initial interest in this topic brought me to this issue, my sympathy with the victims of induced earthquakes grew during the writing of this thesis. Through this sympathizing I would like to see this public issue solved in the following years. Because of this I also see the importance of interfaces. Public issues can linger on for decades without other people really bothering about this issue. Interfaces help with bringing issues to the attention of people not directly influenced by the issue. This, however, also brings a realization: there are possibly other public issues that are not yet interfaced in a well enough manner, while people are suffering. While writing this thesis I became more aware of my own role in this process: being more open to what others have to say could lead to less tension.

As a closing remark, I hope that this thesis made clear that *acting* and *performing* is something we all do in order to connect others to our background representations. During the writing of this thesis I have been convinced by Alexander's argument that humans always perform. As famous actor Marlon Brando stated in a television performance during an interview:

*"I think we could not survive a second if we were not able to act. Acting is a survival mechanism. (...). We act to save our lives, actually, every day. People lie, constantly, every day, by not saying*

*something that they think, or saying something that they don't think, or showing that they don't feel, or giving the appearance that they are feeling something''.*

Therefore, what I have learned the most during the writing this thesis, is that having a script that resembles my background representations will make my performance more true. No exuberant performance necessary.

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Attachment 1: coding scheme

Code	Subcode	Definitie	Empirisch voorbeeld
1.0 Uiting van emotie		Het uiten van emotie met bepaalde woorden zoals 'woede', 'verdrietig', 'bang', 'blij', enzovoorts	<i>Ze voelen zich volstrekt niet serieus genomen bij de problemen die ze hebben door de aardbevingen.</i>
2.0 Relationele uitspraak		Als a, dan b	<i>En mocht de NAM niet voldoende bewegen, dan moet de rechter het maar zeggen.</i>
3.0 Personen	3.1 Leden van publiek GBB en ondersteuners van 3.2 Tegenstanders van publiek GBB	Hoe personen worden aangehaald, van zowel de publiek GBB (en ondersteuners van de GBB) als tegenstanders	<i>Wij als Groningers...  Ook woningstichting Wierden en Borgen, die eveneens huizen wil bouwen in Bedum, heeft volgens Van de Kolk problemen met de NAM: „Die reageert laat, geeft geen antwoord op vragen en komt steeds met verzoeken om nieuwe berekeningen.</i>
4.0 Oplossing		Hoe oplossingen voor problemen in dit maatschappelijk probleem worden gepresenteerd	<i>'Ministerie moet ook uit schadeafwikkeling'</i>
5.0 Situatiebeschrijving	5.1 Situatiebeschrijving door 'tegenstanders' GBB	Hoe het probleem wordt beschreven, een creatie van de werkelijkheid	<i>Alders kan dit soort discussie op dit moment slecht gebruiken. Het overleg met de Groninger Bodem Beweging (GBB) en het Groninger Gasberaad komt net weer heel voorzichtigjes op gang.</i>
6.0 Performatieve handeling	6.1 Regels in deze handeling, zoals gespreksregels 6.2 Politieke handeling	Uiten van handeling, zoals 'signaal afgeven', 'we doen x en y', 'er wordt aan een oplossing gewerkt', enzovoorts	<i>'Minister Kamp gebruikt een 'Mother of all Bombs' aanpak om het laatste restje vertrouwen in de overheid en de Nationaal Coördinator Groningen (NCG) Hans Alders te vernietigen.'</i>



**Attachment 2: sources written material**

Type interface	At	Date	Link
Written text, news article	NOS	7th of March, 2017	<a href="http://nos.nl/artikel/2161698-woedende-groningers-tegen-rutte-gas-terug.html">http://nos.nl/artikel/2161698-woedende-groningers-tegen-rutte-gas-terug.html</a>
Written text, news article	NRC	7th of March, 2017	<a href="https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/03/07/rutte-tegen-boze-groningers-0-1-7147781-a1549132">https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/03/07/rutte-tegen-boze-groningers-0-1-7147781-a1549132</a>
Written text, news article	RTV Noord	7th of March, 2017	<a href="http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/175057/Dick-Kleijer-Ik-begrijp-goed-dat-mensen-bij-Pauw-Jinek-hun-eigen-ruimte-kozen">http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/175057/Dick-Kleijer-Ik-begrijp-goed-dat-mensen-bij-Pauw-Jinek-hun-eigen-ruimte-kozen</a>
Written text, news article	RTV Noord	16th of March, 2017	<a href="http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/175571/GBB-Verrassend-dat-VVD-hier-ook-gewonnen-heeft">http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/175571/GBB-Verrassend-dat-VVD-hier-ook-gewonnen-heeft</a>
Written text, picture	Facebook	17th of March, 2017	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/yafolca3">https://tinyurl.com/yafolca3</a>
Written text on website	GBB	21st of March, 2017	<a href="http://www.groninger-bodem-beweging.nl/819-gbb-roept-op-tot-gezamenlijke-groninger-opstelling-richting-formateur">http://www.groninger-bodem-beweging.nl/819-gbb-roept-op-tot-gezamenlijke-groninger-opstelling-richting-formateur</a>
Written text, news article	RTV Noord	28th of March, 2017	<a href="http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/176049/Versterkingsdrama-in-Nieuwolda-Ons-huis-is-eeen-ruine">http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/176049/Versterkingsdrama-in-Nieuwolda-Ons-huis-is-eeen-ruine</a>
Written text	De Ingenieur	29th of March, 2017	<a href="https://www.deingenieur.nl/artikel/op-veengrond-krijgen-huizen-de-zwaarste-klappen">https://www.deingenieur.nl/artikel/op-veengrond-krijgen-huizen-de-zwaarste-klappen</a>
Written text, column	Een Vandaag	29th of March, 2017	<a href="http://binnenland.eenvandaag.nl/tv-items/70517/rapport_aardbeving_emmen_stinkt_">http://binnenland.eenvandaag.nl/tv-items/70517/rapport_aardbeving_emmen_stinkt_</a>
Written text, news article	RTV Noord	29th of March, 2017	<a href="http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/176137/Beste-informateur-stop-de-gaswinning-in-Groningen">http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/176137/Beste-informateur-stop-de-gaswinning-in-Groningen</a>
Written text, press release	GBB	31st of March, 2017	<a href="http://www.groninger-bodem-beweging.nl/822-de-nam-met-pek-en-veren-uit-schade-afhandelingsproces">http://www.groninger-bodem-beweging.nl/822-de-nam-met-pek-en-veren-uit-schade-afhandelingsproces</a>
Written text, news article	RTV Noord	3rd of April, 2017	<a href="http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/176342/Bodembeweging-naar-mensenrechtencommissie-Verenigde-Naties">http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/176342/Bodembeweging-naar-mensenrechtencommissie-Verenigde-Naties</a>
Written text, press release	GBB	4th of April, 2017	<a href="http://www.groninger-bodem-beweging.nl/824-eeen-merkwaardig-gebeuren-met-eeen-schone-lei-beginnen-in-groningen">http://www.groninger-bodem-beweging.nl/824-eeen-merkwaardig-gebeuren-met-eeen-schone-lei-beginnen-in-groningen</a>
Written text, press release	Nationale Ombudsman	6th of April, 2017	<a href="https://www.nationaleombudsman.nl/nieuws/2017/eeen-fundament-met-scheuren-stop-met-bouwen-op-wantrouwen-en-neem-groningers-serieus">https://www.nationaleombudsman.nl/nieuws/2017/eeen-fundament-met-scheuren-stop-met-bouwen-op-wantrouwen-en-neem-groningers-serieus</a>

Written text, news article	RTV Noord	6th of April, 2017	<a href="http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/176500/Onze-gasverslaafde-overheid-wordt-straks-door-de-hele-wereld-gemonitord">http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/176500/Onze-gasverslaafde-overheid-wordt-straks-door-de-hele-wereld-gemonitord</a>
Written text, column	Blogspot	14th of April, 2017	<a href="http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/176500/Onze-gasverslaafde-overheid-wordt-straks-door-de-hele-wereld-gemonitord">http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/176500/Onze-gasverslaafde-overheid-wordt-straks-door-de-hele-wereld-gemonitord</a>
Written text, press release	GBB	15th of April, 2017	<a href="http://www.groninger-bodem-beweging.nl/828-minister-kamp-vernietigt-laatste-restje-vertrouwen-in-overheid-en-ncg">http://www.groninger-bodem-beweging.nl/828-minister-kamp-vernietigt-laatste-restje-vertrouwen-in-overheid-en-ncg</a>
Written text, news article	RTV Noord	15th of April, 2017	<a href="http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/176898/GBB-trekt-zich-terug-uit-overleg-nieuw-schadeprotocol">http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/176898/GBB-trekt-zich-terug-uit-overleg-nieuw-schadeprotocol</a>
Written text, news article	RTV Noord	15th of April, 2017	<a href="http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/176909/GBB-krijgt-steun-uit-Tweede-Kamer-na-vertrek-uit-overleg">http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/176909/GBB-krijgt-steun-uit-Tweede-Kamer-na-vertrek-uit-overleg</a>
Written text, news article	RTV Noord	18th of April, 2017	<a href="http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/176991/Groninger-Bodem-Beweging-Kamp-zat-te-jokken">http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/176991/Groninger-Bodem-Beweging-Kamp-zat-te-jokken</a>
Written text, news article	RTV Noord	19th of April, 2017	<a href="http://www.groninger-bodem-beweging.nl/830-brief-gbb-groninger-gasberaad">http://www.groninger-bodem-beweging.nl/830-brief-gbb-groninger-gasberaad</a>
Written text, column	Dagblad van het Noorden	19th of April, 2017	<a href="http://www.dvhn.nl/groningen/Opinie-Kamp-speelt-gasspel-over-rug-Groningers-22150466.html">http://www.dvhn.nl/groningen/Opinie-Kamp-speelt-gasspel-over-rug-Groningers-22150466.html</a>
Written text	Facebook	19th of April, 2017	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/ycz2p9wt">https://tinyurl.com/ycz2p9wt</a>
Written text, column	Financieel Dagblad	19th of April, 2017	<a href="https://fd.nl/ondernemen/1198072/nam-niet-leuk-meer">https://fd.nl/ondernemen/1198072/nam-niet-leuk-meer</a>
Written text, news article	RTV Noord	20th of April, 2017	<a href="http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/177073/Kamp-reageert-op-ophef-Schadeprotocol-staat-nog-niet-vast">http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/177073/Kamp-reageert-op-ophef-Schadeprotocol-staat-nog-niet-vast</a>
Written text, press statement	GBB	20th of April, 2017	<a href="http://www.groninger-bodem-beweging.nl/831-persbericht-mr-spong">http://www.groninger-bodem-beweging.nl/831-persbericht-mr-spong</a>
Written text, news article	RTV Noord	20th of April, 2017	<a href="http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/177103/Advocaten-Bodem-Beweging-Dit-is-een-historische-beslissing">http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/177103/Advocaten-Bodem-Beweging-Dit-is-een-historische-beslissing</a>
Written text, news article	NRC	20th of April, 2017	<a href="http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/177103/Advocaten-Bodem-Beweging-Dit-is-een-historische-beslissing">http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/177103/Advocaten-Bodem-Beweging-Dit-is-een-historische-beslissing</a>
Written text, press statement	GBB	20th of April, 2017	<a href="http://www.groninger-bodem-beweging.nl/831-persbericht-mr-spong">http://www.groninger-bodem-beweging.nl/831-persbericht-mr-spong</a>
Written text, press statement	NOS	21st of April, 2017	<a href="http://nos.nl/nieuwsuur/artikel/2169401-warffum-protesteert-tegen-gaswinning.html">http://nos.nl/nieuwsuur/artikel/2169401-warffum-protesteert-tegen-gaswinning.html</a>
Written text, picture	Facebook	25th of	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/GBBGroningen/photos/a.1382379398752074.1073741827.1382379305418750/1848781705445172/?type=3">https://www.facebook.com/GBBGroningen/photos/a.1382379398752074.1073741827.1382379305418750/1848781705445172/?type=3</a>

		April, 2017	
Written text, press statement	GBB	25th of April, 2017	<a href="http://www.groninger-bodem-beweging.nl/835-geen-erkende-mijnbouwschade-in-het-buitengebied">http://www.groninger-bodem-beweging.nl/835-geen-erkende-mijnbouwschade-in-het-buitengebied</a>
Written text, news article	RTV Noord	26th of April, 2017	<a href="http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/177358/Bodembeweging-haalt-uit-naar-onderzoeksbureau">http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/177358/Bodembeweging-haalt-uit-naar-onderzoeksbureau</a>
Written text, news article	RTV Noord	2nd of May, 2017	<a href="http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/177577/Alders-krijgt-overleg-niet-op-gang">http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/177577/Alders-krijgt-overleg-niet-op-gang</a>
Written text, news article	Dagblad van het Noorden	3rd of May, 2017	<a href="http://www.dvhn.nl/groningen/Onderzoek-miljard-per-jaar-nodig-voor-schade-Groningen-22184725.html">http://www.dvhn.nl/groningen/Onderzoek-miljard-per-jaar-nodig-voor-schade-Groningen-22184725.html</a>
Written text, news article	Dagblad van het Noorden	4th of May, 2017	<a href="http://www.dvhn.nl/groningen/Aannemer-stopt-bouwen-in-Bedum-door-verschil-van-inzicht-met-NAM-22185433.html">http://www.dvhn.nl/groningen/Aannemer-stopt-bouwen-in-Bedum-door-verschil-van-inzicht-met-NAM-22185433.html</a>
Written text, news article	RTV Noord	4th of May, 2017	<a href="http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/177737/Schadeteam-CVW-aan-de-kant-gezet-na-berichtgeving-RTV-Noord">http://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/177737/Schadeteam-CVW-aan-de-kant-gezet-na-berichtgeving-RTV-Noord</a>
Written text, news article	Dagblad van het Noorden	5th of May, 2017	<a href="http://www.dvhn.nl/groningen/%E2%80%98Ministerie-moet-ook-uit-schadeafwikkeling%E2%80%99-22187832.html">http://www.dvhn.nl/groningen/%E2%80%98Ministerie-moet-ook-uit-schadeafwikkeling%E2%80%99-22187832.html</a>
Written text, news article	RTV Noord	5th of May, 2017	<a href="http://www.dvhn.nl/groningen/%E2%80%98Ministerie-moet-ook-uit-schadeafwikkeling%E2%80%99-22187832.html">http://www.dvhn.nl/groningen/%E2%80%98Ministerie-moet-ook-uit-schadeafwikkeling%E2%80%99-22187832.html</a>
Written text, news article	Dagblad van het Noorden	6th of May, 2017	<a href="http://www.dvhn.nl/groningen/%E2%80%98Woede-en-frustratie-gasgebied-komen-los%E2%80%99-22191433.html">http://www.dvhn.nl/groningen/%E2%80%98Woede-en-frustratie-gasgebied-komen-los%E2%80%99-22191433.html</a>

The episode of Pauw & Jinek can be found at [https://www.npo.nl/pauw-jinek-de-verkiezingen/06-03-2017/KN\\_1689034/POMS\\_KN\\_7748631](https://www.npo.nl/pauw-jinek-de-verkiezingen/06-03-2017/KN_1689034/POMS_KN_7748631)