

'F' is for ~~fake news~~ / ~~filter bubbles~~ / framing

How politicians frame media (content) on Facebook & Twitter during the Dutch *Tweede Kamer* elections of 2017

Geert Wilders  @geertwilderspvv [Volgen](#)

Never trust the press.

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Abstract

With the election of Donald Trump, the Brexit, and the Ukraine referendum in the Netherlands, the relationship between politics and journalism seems altered. This seems to be emphasized by the way in which certain politicians frame their relation to journalists and the media. This thesis concerns itself with the way in which Dutch (aspiring) politicians frame the media and their content.

Tweets and Facebook page posts of politicians and political parties were collected during the period January 1st 2017 up to and including the election day, March 15th 2017. These messages were filtered for references to the media, and subsequently a 1% random selection was made which was qualitatively analyzed using a synthesized model. The applied model is based on relational frame theory, framing theory, and the encoding/decoding model. Randomly selected messages were assessed on what kind of encoding strategy was used, and whether the subject of the frame was either the medium itself or its content.

It was found that the predominant encoding strategy was a dominant-hegemonic (i.e. endorsing) one (68-72%). In one in five messages a negotiated strategy was used (20-21%), and only in 11-7% of the cases an oppositional strategy was found. The great majority of these messages deals with media content (83-90%), as opposed to a medium as a whole (17-10%). Politicians were found to predominantly make media references which fit their views. Online media are particularly vulnerable to this, as individual articles are now presented as complete products, and not as part of the newspaper bundle, for example. This cherry-picking behavior of politicians, can lead to a dissipation of the adversarial principle within their newsfeeds, which is why the media have to reflect on their ability to reach the constituents of the politicians. Several recommendations to reduce decontextualization are made.

Executive summary

With the election of Donald Trump, the Brexit, and the Ukraine referendum in the Netherlands, the relationship between politics and journalism seems altered. The traditional media still play a big role, but now they are used by the politicians to enhance, strengthen, and endorse their own views.

In earlier research, commissioned by *het Nederlands Genootschap van Hoofdredacteuren* (the Dutch Association of Editors-in-chief), we found this prevalent framing behavior. The rise of online articles, for instance, greatly facilitates this. Now, the product is not a newspaper with articles in it: the products are the individual articles, which are separated from their context. This allowed politicians to become editor-in-chiefs of their own feeds, where the adversarial principle no longer holds sway; the gatekeepers of old, are now the 'gatekept'.

In this thesis, I concern myself with an in-depth assessment of what frames were used by politicians in the Dutch elections for the *Tweede Kamer* (House of Representatives) of 2017, when referring to media. Both the type of frame, and what is framed (the medium in its entirety, or the media content), is inventoried.

In total, 240,498 tweets and 24,091 Facebook page posts were collected in the period from January 1st up to and including March 15th 2017 (which was the actual election day). Of these, 44.166 tweets and 5.774 Facebook page posts were found to contain a media reference. 1% of this sample was randomly selected to be qualitatively analyzed (442 tweets and 58 Facebook page posts). These messages, and the material they contained, or linked to, were each analyzed, using a synthesized model. For each message, the encoding strategy – that is the way in which this message was packaged by the sender (endorsement/oppositional/negotiated) was inventoried, as well as whether it only referred to particular content, or the medium in its entirety.

It was found that the predominant encoding strategy was an endorsing one (68-72%). In one in five messages a negotiated strategy was used (20-21%), and only in 7-11% of the cases an oppositional strategy was found. The great majority of these messages deals with media content (83-90%), as opposed to a medium as a whole (10-17%).

About the author

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Preface

Een facebookpagina of twitteraccount [is] een handig middel voor een politicus waarin uiteraard alleen het gewenste geluid wordt gecommuniceerd met het publiek. Politici zijn hierbij redacteur van hun eigen newsfeed, waarbij niet aan hoor en wederhoor hoeft te worden gedaan [...].
– Wieringa, De Winkel & Lewis (2017, p. 58)¹

This thesis was preceded by an investigation into the social media usage of politicians during the Dutch *Tweede Kamer* elections by the Utrecht Data School. This research was commissioned by the Dutch Association of Editors-in-chief, which was most interested whether traditional media still played a significant role during these elections. Together with my colleague Tim de Winkel, and our research assistant Callum Lewis, I set out to answer these broad questions.

The passage quoted above, was the most troubling finding of *Wie is de waakhond op sociale media*². Traditional media are still relevant, they are part of the bigger discussion; yet, they do not enter the discussion on their own terms, but rather serve as a means of legitimation for politicians. Online media are vulnerable for politicians' cherry-picking behavior.

So what is a media and data scholar to do? I set out to explore the matter of framing more thoroughly in this thesis. For if we understand the manner in which media are employed to promote one's political agenda, then it might help us to think of counter measures, eventually.

¹ A Facebook page or a Twitter account is a convenient tool for a politician, in which only the preferred message is communicated with an audience. Politicians here are editors of their own newsfeeds, where they do not need to apply the adversarial principle.

² Our research was titled *Wie is de waakhond op sociale media* (Who is the 'guard dog' on social media).

Acknowledgements

Just as it takes a village – and a huge amount of patience - to raise a child, there's a mass of people who helped give rise to this thesis. While the list is by no means complete, I want to extend my thanks to the following people explicitly: my parents who always stood by me. My family-in-law, who have accepted me into their family as if I was their own. I thank my dear friends who were always happy to listen, and part with some hugs. I also want to extend my thanks to my colleagues at the Utrecht Data School: my work there has convinced me that academia *is* the place for me – that we *can* combine practice and theory. That experience helped me to – as the British (and Gallifreyans) put it – keep calm and carry on. Last, but certainly not least, I wish to thank my partner, Michel, who always supported me unconditionally, and my fluffy stepdaughter Joy who always managed to cheer me up by means of a tennis ball.

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1. Introduction

This thesis concerns itself with the way in which Dutch politicians frame media and their content. I will highlight how this research was induced by an earlier research project, commissioned by *Het Nederlands Genootschap van Hoofdredacteuren* (the Dutch Association of Editors-in-chief), of the Utrecht Data School in the section [societal context](#). I will then highlight the current state of affairs in research surrounding the framing of media (content) by politicians in the [status quaestionis](#). After sketching the current academic situation, I will continue with the [research questions](#) which inform this thesis. The several [hypotheses](#) which have been formulated with regards to these questions, will be expanded on afterwards. Next, I will expand on the [corpus](#), [methods](#), and [methodology](#) drawn upon in this research. I will conclude the introduction of the thesis by clarifying the [relevance and purpose](#) of this research, before continuing to describe the [structure of this thesis](#).

1.1. Societal context and relevance

With the election of Donald Trump, the Brexit, and the Ukraine referendum in the Netherlands, the relationship between politics and journalism seems altered. This seems to be emphasized by the way in which certain politicians frame their relation to journalists and the media. Geert Wilders, for instance, tweeted a cartoon on December 10th 2016 featuring (then) president-elect Donald Trump, who bypasses the traditional media altogether using social media (see cover). The question arises in what way this relationship has altered the way in which politicians engage with their voters/audience. Moreover, the role of journalism as the Fourth Estate seems to be under pressure. Such questions were asked to the Utrecht Data School (UDS) by *het Nederlands Genootschap van Hoofdredacteuren* (the Dutch Association of Editors-in-chief). Together with my colleague Tim de Winkel and our research assistant Callum Lewis, I set out to try and answer this urgent, and very broad question. To this end, we scraped

and analyzed 240.000 tweets and 24.000 Facebook messages from the period January 1st up to and including March 15th (election day in the Netherlands).

Perhaps the most interesting finding in this research was that we couldn't find the filter bubble so dreaded by the editor-in-chiefs, nor did we find much evidence of 'fake news' (Wieringa et al., 2017). We saw that the traditional media were referenced by every politically segmented audience; thus, so far so good. Yet, the way in which they referred to these media and their content is cause for worry. Politicians were found to *frame* the media (content) they refer to. Online media content is more fragile, as for instance articles are not part of a bigger newspaper, but are relatively isolated web pages. Politicians can cherry-pick the articles that suit them, while ignoring nuancing or adversarial articles in the same medium. Moreover, the references serve particular goals, for instance propagating their own political views, or discrediting others.

Politicians such as Donald Trump and Geert Wilders actively discredit the press. In doing so, they seem to frame the media industry – and their Fourth Estate role – in a particular way. Yet, it was found that framing is widespread amongst politicians (Slothuus & de Vreese, 2010; Wieringa et al., 2017). In our previous research, we found that even parties such as the CDA, which are generally regarded as promoting decency, partake in these framing practices.

So, if the relationship between politicians and the media appears to have changed, it is time to investigate the manner in which it currently takes place. We saw in our investigation for the Dutch Association of Editors-in-chief that the media still play a crucial role. Now, it is time to look into what role they play in whose story. Are media still the 'guard dog' of democracy, or are they reduced to 'show poodles', to enhance the politician's stature? Perhaps more importantly, how can media try and retake some of the control over their messages? In this thesis I will delve deeper in the matter of framing, which seems to be

such a crucial part of how politicians use social media. Our research for the Association even showed that framing might be more problematic and urgent than the much lamented phenomena of filter bubbles and fake news. Of course, framing is not a new phenomenon – but with the rise of social media it has become more widespread and urgent than ever.

While work has been done on the (political) framing by media (e.g. Wasike, 2013), and/or on political frames (e.g. Hanggli & Kriesi, 2012; Slothuus & de Vreese, 2010), little attention has been given as of yet to the currently widespread phenomenon of the framing of media by politicians. This thesis investigates the widespread sentiment that the relations between politicians and the media has changed. While we noted in earlier research that the media still play a major role in campaigning, the nature of this role is altered (Wieringa et al., 2017). The framer has become the framed.

1.2. Research questions

In this thesis, I am both interested in how politicians frame the messages spread by the media, and how they frame media themselves. ‘Media’ I use as a broad term, not exclusively tied to the traditional (mass) media, meaning that digital-born media such as *NU.nl* and *De Correspondent* are similarly regarded.³

RQ: *How and in what way did politicians frame the media and media content on social media during their campaigns for the Dutch Tweede Kamer elections?*

Following from this central question, several sub-questions were formulated. A first one deals with the role of social media, for this is

³ As (aspiring) politicians often receive their news from niche media which focus on a particular topic, or even interests groups – we have also regarded these as media in our *Wie is de waakhond op sociale media?* research (Wieringa et al., 2017).

after all one of the politicians’ communication channels. The first sub question, then, is:

SQ1: *What was the role of social media in this regard?*

I am also interested in the way in which things are framed, and if we can discern different types of frames. One example of this could simply be positive/negative, but there may be a wide range of notable differences. The second sub-question, then, is:

SQ2: *Can we discern differences in framing?*

Informed by prior research, I suspect that there may be instances in which only the content (e.g. an article or item) of a medium may be framed, whereas in other situations the medium in its entirety is cast in a particular light (see also [hypotheses](#)). Therefore, the third sub-question is:

SQ3: *Is only the content or the entire medium framed, or both?*

In order to facilitate thoughts on how to counter the media’s vulnerability to framing, we first have to establish why it is that they are vulnerable at all. Thus, the fourth sub-question is:

SQ4: *How is it that media (content) is vulnerable to framing?*

Finally, I hope to kick start the debate on how media can prevent, or counter, framing. My fifth, and last, sub-question is therefore:

SQ5: *What are potential counter measures for the media?*

1.3. Hypotheses

Based on the literature, and the *Wie is de waakhond op sociale media?* research, I have formulated the following hypothesis that:

H1: Politicians may frame just the media content, or the medium as a whole.

Explorative, qualitative interaction with the corpus in our analyses, led me to expect that politicians may either frame the medium or the media as a whole (as for instance is demonstrated on the cover of this thesis), or a particular message spread by a medium. As the scope of the frame is more serious, and extensive in the first scenario, this is something that will be examined further in this thesis.

1.4. Corpora

The corpora on which this thesis will base itself are the analyzed tweets and Facebook posts of candidates for the *Tweede Kamer* elections of the Netherlands, the party accounts, and the parties' youth department account (if present). Data was gathered in the period from January 1st up to and including March 15th 2017 (which is the actual election day). For the Twitter data, we relied on social media monitoring firm [Buzzcapture](#). The Facebook data we scraped ourselves using the Netvizz application (Rieder, 2013).

In total, 240,498 tweets and 24,091 Facebook page posts were collected. Of these, 44,166 tweets and 5,774 Facebook page posts were found to contain a media reference. One percent of this sample was randomly selected to be qualitatively analyzed (442 tweets and 58 Facebook page posts).⁴

1.5. Method

As this thesis is closely intertwined with the *Wie is de waakhond op sociale media?* UDS project (Wieringa et al., 2017), I will briefly sketch both the methods of the UDS project, and of my own thesis below.

⁴ The corpora are discussed more extensively in the fourth chapter.

UDS project: *Wie is de waakhond op sociale media?*

As the UDS project was an explorative investigation, we used a mixed method approach of both qualitative and quantitative (digital) methods (Rogers, 2013). Thus, aside from quantitative data analysis (counting, visualizing, etc.) we will also draw upon qualitative methods such as content analysis. In all of this, we employed a distant reading tactic, meaning that we did not read through all messages ourselves, but rather let the analyses of those messages guide us in reading a selection, for instance to verify the accuracy of our filtering – to investigate outliers and so forth (Moretti, 2013).

'F' is for ~~fake news~~ / ~~filter bubbles~~ / framing

In this thesis, I want to augment the findings of the *Wie is de waakhond op sociale media?* UDS project to a deeper analysis of politicians' framing. This analysis will be done qualitatively, and will look at a randomly sampled selection of 1% of the corpora used in the prior research.

This corpus consists of the filtered Facebook and Twitter messages of politicians in which media references were detected. As these messages were selected through a distant reading technique, combined with algorithmic selection, certain semantical selection errors are to be expected.⁵ For example, one of the selected messages described a visit of a ChristenUnie (CU) politician to a Christian primary school ('CBS'), which mistakenly registered as the central agency for statistics, which carries the same initials. In the event of such a mistake, the faulty message was removed from the sample, and another randomly sampled message was added in its place.

These messages will be analyzed through a close reading of both the text itself, as well as any possible paratextual elements. A paratext is something that appears next to the original text, such as a blurb on a book (Brillenburger & Rigney, 2009, p. 85). Within the

⁵ We checked the validity of our results by manually checking portions of the data, but this was driven by the algorithmic results – as we employed a distant reading strategy in the selection.

context of this research, paratexts can refer to a wide variety of things, such as articles, a Twitter thread, podcasts, videos, images, and so forth. A paratext is thus not only limited to textual elements. Likewise, a close reading also takes into account non-textual elements of a message. A close reading in this context refers to the consideration, and understanding of a message.

Whereas traditionally, such a close reading does not take into account the paratexts, or the author (Brillenburger & Rigney, 2009, p. 204), I do take into account these factors. There are two reasons for this. A first is that the perspective of close reading has changed, and that paratextual, historical, and cultural elements are found to be rich elements when considering texts. Second, one of the corpora – the Twitter corpus – is comprised of very short messages. The shortness of tweets places more importance on paratextual information, as not all relevant information will fit in 140 characters.

1.6. Methodology

In this thesis, I use a synthesized methodology. I will draw upon two different perspectives on framing: the media studies perspective and the conceptualization of behavioral psychology. From media studies I take framing theory; from psychology I will draw on relational frame theory. The difference between the disciplines may seem substantial, yet the theories overlap greatly as I will briefly demonstrate below. A more thorough exposition of these theories can be found in the [framing](#) subsection [On the construction, and reception, of frames](#).

Framing theory attempts “to identify schemes in which individuals perceive the world” (Volkmer, 2009). It is very much connected to the mass media, as the media, as gatekeepers, play an important agenda-setting role (University of Twente, 2017). Traditionally, then, framing theory is linked to the media. A frame here, refers to the way in which the content is brought to the audience: the way in which it is supposed to be perceived.

Relational frame theory (RFT) is tied to behavioral analytical disciplines. It is a theory that poses that language-able actors can, for

instance, “relate objects not based on the physical relation between them, but upon contextual cues that determine which relation is appropriate” (Stewart, 2011, p. 1245). Relational framing is often used in, for example, teaching. Lakoff (2014, p. 21), for instance, points out that in American Conservatives’ offices the ‘proper’ frame is enforced by having a rule that those who use the wrong word have to contribute a quarter in the pizza fund. Thus, these frames are very much ingrained in us.

RFT provides media scholars with a precedent to see framing as something not exclusively tied to the media, but rather as something that is done by everyone in every aspect of their lives. De Bruijn (2011, p. 16) for instance calls the frames in the political debate ‘rhetorical frames’. Thus, the frames of politicians are very much bound to language, but not exclusively so. As demonstrated in this thesis’ cover, images, as well as paratextual elements can be framed. Indeed, as we saw in *Wie is de waakhond op social media?* media references are often paratextual, for instance links (Wieringa et al., 2017, pp. 63–71). The media content that these links refer to is then commented upon by the politician or party.

I augment both perspectives on framing with an adaptation of Stuart Hall’s (1973; S. Ross, 2011) [encoding/decoding](#) model. Whereas Hall’s focused on the reception, or decoding, side of media messages, Ross adds the encoding side as well. Considering the various framing theories, this adapted model provides us with different framing strategies: dominant-hegemonic/negotiated/oppositional, and the myriad ways in which these messages in turn can be interpreted by the active audience members.

1.7. Relevance and purpose

If the relationship between politicians and the media appears to have changed, it is time to investigate the manner in which it currently takes place. We saw in our investigation for the Dutch Association of

Editors-in-chief that the media still play a crucial role. Now, it is time to look into what role they play in whose story. Are media still the 'guard dog' of democracy, or are they reduced to 'show poodles', to enhance the politician's stature? Perhaps more importantly, how can media try and retake some of the control over their messages?

1.8. Structure of this thesis

After the [introduction](#), I will discuss the various theories relevant to this thesis in the [theoretical framework](#). After these sections, I will discuss [the context of the frames](#), by examining the way in which politicians use their Facebook pages and Twitter accounts. After this contextual examination, I will expand on the [data](#) used in this research. Continuing, I will discuss the [analyses of the frames](#), before delving into the case studies. In these case studies, I will regard the [framing of media content](#), and the framing of [the media](#) themselves as well. After these analyses and case studies, I dwell on the [online vulnerability of the media](#), which allows for framing, before I will [conclude](#) with the most important findings, and make recommendations for [further research](#). Finally, I will make [recommendations](#) for media to counter the frames of politicians.

2. On the construction, and reception, of frames

Below I will sketch the theoretical framework, which is roughly divided in three parts. First, I will discuss [\(traditional\) media theory](#). Secondly, I will expand on the (different) notion(s) of [framing](#), which are central to this thesis. Finally, I will sketch the [synthesized model](#) which is used to analyze the corpora.

2.1. (Traditional) media theory

This first section of the theoretical framework deals with media theories. Here I will expand on gatekeeping theory, the two-step flow of communication, Anderson's long tail, audience fragmentation, and the notion of encoding/decoding.

Gatekeeping theory

Gatekeeping theory is informed by the limited time and space a particular medium has for particular items. A news bulletin, for instance, only has so much time, and therefore can feature only a limited amount of news items. Journalists, then, need to make a selection of news which is presented to the audience. This selection process is called gatekeeping.

In order to provide the audience with a proper news selection, the media monitor a great number of potential news events, via various sources. The news selection that is subsequently made, is informed by the perspective of the particular medium. In this procedure journalists and editors act as gatekeepers: allowing some news items to be featured, while others are denied (DeFleur, 2010a).

Contemporary research notes changes in the way gatekeeping take place, coining for instance terms like 'gatewatching' (Bruns, 2005) or 'way-finding' (Pearson & Kosicki, 2016). This is seen by Heinderyck and Vos (2016) as indications of a changing digital media environment, in which gatekeeping retains a strong position.

Two-step flow of communication

The two-step flow of communication theory posits that information is disseminated by the mass media, after which it reaches opinion leaders (Katz, 1957; Lazarsfeld, Berselson, & Gaudet, 1948). These opinion leaders are persons that due to their interests, vocation, or expertise are more receptive for the information and distribute the message further. In other words, information- or news dissemination takes place in two steps: first from the mass media to the opinion leaders, second from opinion leaders to the general audience. Opinion leaders thus have a prominent position within the public sphere, as they help shape the public debate (DeFleur, 2010b). In recent research the existence of a two-step flow of communication on Twitter was confirmed (Wu, Hofman, Mason, & Watts, 2011).

Lately, there has also been mentions of multistep or n-step flows of communication (e.g. Hong, 2016; Jensen, 2016). Such multistep communication flows are applicable when tracing, for instance, retweets back to the original poster (the opinion leader), who subsequently sparks other opinion leader behavior. As this thesis limits itself to the social media behavior of politicians I will not dwell on subsequent steps, but I will highlight some instances in which politicians retweet others in the case studies. Such sharing behavior can potentially be seen as a multistep flow of communication.

The long tail

Originally a market theory, the long tail has made its way to various disciplines. Anderson (2006) used this term to describe the difference in the workings of the market. Whereas traditionally a few products were frequently sold, and this also was the manufacturers' aim, the rise of the internet allowed for a different strategy. Web shops could offer niche products which did not have to sell a great number of products in order to be economically feasible, as they had less overhead (no physical store, little personnel and so forth). The theory is named after the stereotypical graph that it results into (figure 1). It shows that a few products are popular (the 'hits' or 'head'), whereas

the majority is not per se popular, but due to their sheer quantity may provide an alternative market approach (the 'tail').

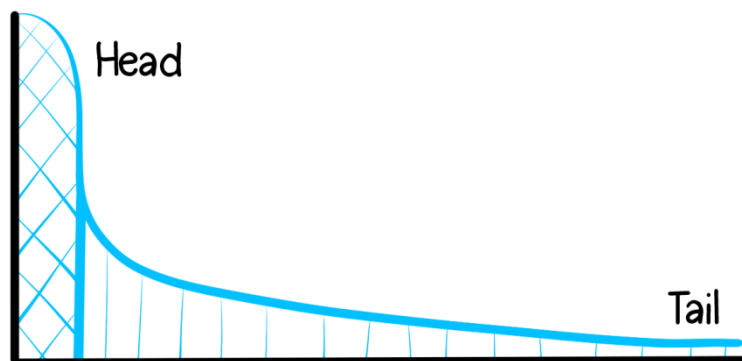


Figure 1. *The long tail*

Segmented audiences/audience fragmentation

Fragmented, or segmented, audiences arose with the increasing amount of media channels from which the audience could choose (Picard, 2000, p. 183). Because of the increased amount of options the audience divides itself over the different channels (Picard, 2000, p. 182). Yet, even within a channel different audience segmentation can be discerned. Bruns and Highfield (2015, p. 59) note that the Australian Twitter sphere can be characterized by different fragmented audiences, which congregate around various topics or interests. In the Dutch context Boeschoten (2015) and Van Geenen, et al. (2016) also show that the public on Twitter is not uniform, but again segregates on the basis of interest, occupation, expertise, lifestyle and so forth.

Encoding/decoding

The audiences which are discerned on media platforms are not passive. Instead, they help shape the messages that are distributed by interpreting them in various ways. In other words, audience members do not uncritically accept all that is presented to them, they interpret

the message in light of their own cultural frame of reference. This notion is termed the active audience paradigm, and was formalized in television studies (Barker, 2012, pp. 339–340).

This paradigm was heavily influenced by post-structuralist author theories, which placed the emphasis on the interpretation, rather than on the author's intent. Roland Barthes' (1967, p. 4) writes for instance in his *Le mort de l'auteur* (*The death of the author*) that:

We know that a text does not consist of a line of words, releasing a single "theological" meaning (the "message" of the Author-God), but is a space of many dimensions, in which are wedded and contested various kinds of writing, no one of which is original: the text is a tissue of citations, resulting from the thousand sources of culture.

The implications of this line of thinking are twofold. First, there is no one, absolute or correct, interpretation of a text. Second, there is no such thing as an original text, as the text inherently is a hodgepodge of text elements. To put it differently, each text stands on the shoulders of giants.

One of the prominent theories within the active audience paradigm is Stuart Hall's (1973) encoding/decoding model. Hall proposed a model of three possible decoding positions; that is, a model which describes three possible interpretation strategies for an audience member (Barker, 2012, pp. 340–341). The first is the dominant-hegemonic decoding strategy, which "accepts the 'preferred meanings'" (Barker, 2012, p. 341). In other words, the audience member would accept the frame or message that is distributed unquestionably. The second decoding position is that of negotiation. A negotiation strategy means that one is aware of the 'preferred meaning', but makes several adaptations, whereas also partially respecting the original.⁶ The third,

⁶ A great, albeit extreme, example is the proliferation of 'alternate universe' (AU) fanfics. In such stories the original, 'canon', storyline is acknowledged,

and final, decoding position is the oppositional one. The oppositional strategy is adopted when people grasp the preferred decoding position, but reject it entirely. Thus, the message is decoded in a different way than how it was intended to be understood.

Even today, the encoding/decoding model is still applied, and adapted to contemporary phenomena, such as new media (e.g. Bødker, 2016; Sender & Decherney, 2016). Shaw (2017), for instance, proposes to combine Hall’s encoding/decoding strategies, with affordance theory, to come to different using positions. Shaw notes how users may use a particular thing as intended, in an adapted way (e.g. modding), or oppositional (e.g. in an unintended way). Shaw thus focuses on how a thing can be used, which I believe holds a valuable perspective. From this paper, I would like to take how affordances of the social media platform are inherently informing the encoding/decoding strategies busied on those platforms. This helps us to understand how the affordances of the social media platforms allow for particular uses, and what their meanings are. Retweets, for instance, are often viewed as endorsements (Halavais, 2014, p. 35), thus, a retweet of particular media content, could be seen as a dominant-hegemonic encoding.

Conway (2017) proposed to look at encoding/decoding as a translation. He notes that “communication takes the structure of translation: It functions through the successive substitution of material/subjective signs”, and that “[t]ranslation occurs whether we seek it or not” (Conway, 2017, p. 719). His perspective on encoding/decoding as an inherently translational practice, can help us to come to terms with the way politicians re-encode a particular message, whether they intend to do so or not.

Sven Ross (2011) proposed to add another dimension to Hall’s model. Whereas Hall focused on the reception side, Ross proposed to take the sender’s encoding strategy in account as well. Ross’ adaptation

but the author instead creates a negotiated reading in which certain elements are altered, whereas others are respected.

resulted in a scheme in which encoding/decoding strategies can, but do not need to overlap (table 1.). This ‘negotiated reading’ of Hall’s model is valuable, as it offers an extra dimension which is crucial – as I will show shortly – to framing. After all, reception is fundamentally important, but is ultimately influenced by the presentation of a given message, and its interpretation in light of the audience member’s cultural frame of reference.

		Audience	
Sender	D encoding	D encoding	D encoding
	D decoding	N decoding	O decoding
	N encoding	N encoding	N encoding
	D decoding	N decoding	O decoding
	O encoding	O encoding	O encoding
	D decoding	N decoding	O decoding

Table 1. Ross’ adaptation of Hall’s encoding/decoding model⁷

In this thesis I implicitly adapt Hall’s (1973) model further than Ross (Ross, 2011). For there are not just two parties involved, when we discuss the information distribution of politicians on social media. Instead, there are, in fact, three: the media, the politicians, and the constituents. In this scheme (figure 2.), the medium and the politician are both encoders (senders), whereas the constituent (receiver/audience) is the decoder. This scheme implies that there are even more encoding/decoding strategies, for now we need to consider three parties.

⁷ D = Dominant-hegemonic, N = Negotiated, O = Oppositional.

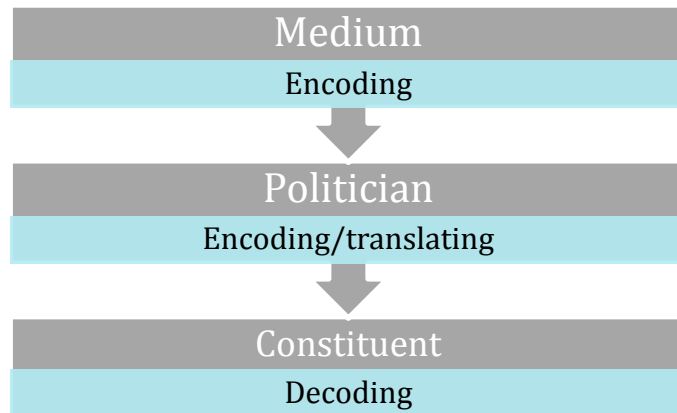


Figure 2. Encoding/decoding order

The encoded message by the medium comes first, after which it is subsequently encoded by the politician in a similar, or deviating way. Only then is this dual encoding decoded by the constituent audience. If we visualize this, we would be left with something like table 2., which displays all 3³ possible combinations. The order of the combinations inside this table is as follows: medium, politicians, constituent. Thus, a ‘DNO’ combination is a message which is dominant-hegemonically encoded by the medium, negotiated by a politician, and opposed by the constituent-audience.

I noted that my adaptation of the model is implicit. This thesis investigates the manner in which politicians now mediate between the media and the constituents. In this sense, a third party is thus added to the traditional communication flow. I, however, limit myself to the investigation of the politicians’ encoding strategies. Thus, while this adaptation inherently informs the thesis, it is not applied in its entirety. Nevertheless, it is valuable to situate the this particular phenomenon in the larger whole.

		2. Politician				
		D	N	O		
1. Medium	D	DDD	DND	DOD	D	
	N	NDD	NND	NOD		
	O	ODD	OND	OOD		
	D	DDN	DNN	DON	N	
	N	NDN	NNN	NON		
	O	ODN	ONN	OON		
	D	DDO	DNO	DOO	O	
	N	NDO	NNO	NOO		
	O	ODO	ONO	OOO		
					3. Constituent	

Table 2. Triadic adaptation of Hall & Ross’ encoding/decoding schemata

2.2. Framing

Below I will discuss the theories central to this thesis: framing theory, and relational frame theory. The two overlap greatly, which is also demonstrated in several articles in which it is unclear which theory is referenced (e.g. Hanggli & Kriesi, 2012). First, both theories will be described, then I will connect, and synthesize both theories.

Framing theory

Framing theory arose in the 1970s, when media studies increasingly started investigating the role of the mass media in shaping the public debate, and political issues (Volkmer, 2009). Framing theory is an extension to agenda-setting theory. This latter theory posits that “there is a relation between the amount of coverage a certain political issue gets and the perceived relevance of this issue among the audience’s political agenda” (Volkmer, 2009, p. 408). In other words, agenda-setting theory claims that the media can bring certain issues to the public’s and the politicians’ attention. Framing theory goes further than its sibling. Roughly, there are two levels of agenda-setting *effects*: a first level describes the “agendas of objects”, and a second level are

“agendas of attributes” (McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver, 1997, p. x). It is this second level which is the focus of framing theory. As, in extension to just bringing certain matters in the limelight, it is also concerned with the way in which these messages are conveyed (Volkmer, 2009, p. 409). Kahneman and Tversky (1984), for instance, showed that formulating something as a (potential) gain or loss, without altering the underlying probabilities, has a significant effect on people’s preferences. Or, to quote the French saying: “c’est le ton qui fait la musique”.⁸

Scheufele (1999, p. 106) notes that in this classical approach to framing theory, we can distinguish two concepts of framing: the media frame – used to present content -, and the individual frame – used to interpret this message. After all, the message spread by the media is intended to be received by members of the audience – thus, the two are linked. Media frames place messages within an organized story, often within bigger discourses. These frames provide certain schemata in which the message is to be interpreted (Scheufele, 1999, pp. 106–107).

Entman (1993, p. 52) formulates this phenomenon in other words:

[t]o frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.

The selection and salience Entman (1993) refers to is not the standard gatekeeping practice of selecting what item to feature, rather, it is the selection of characteristics of that item that are to be ‘made salient’ (Scheufele, 1999, p. 107). Put differently, to frame a message is to

emphasize certain aspects of it, which enhances a particular interpretation of the message.

The individual frame is understood by Entman (1993, p. 53) as a cluster of ideas which guides the processing of information. Within this individual frame, Scheufele (1999, p. 107) discerns again two ways in which information can be interpreted. There are those frames which are long-term, and are informed by a person’s character and political views, yet there are also “issue-related frames of reference” which can impact the perception, and interpretation of the message.

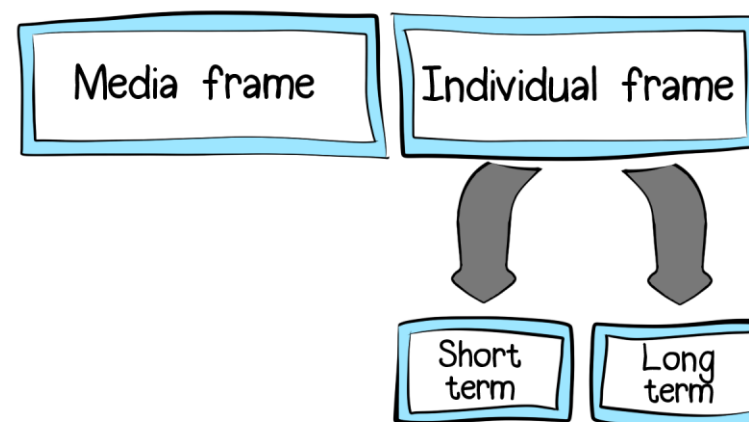


Figure 3. Framing theory

This individual frame overlaps with the frames which Goffman (1976) describes in his *Frame analysis*. As he puts it, people interpret the world through particular (primary, or otherwise) ‘frameworks’. Goffman (1976, p. 24) notes that “we tend to perceive events in terms of primary frameworks, and the type of framework we employ provides a way of describing the event to which it is applied”. For Goffman (1976), as for Entman (1993), this all revolves around schemata of interpretation.

⁸ It is the tone that makes the music.

In recent work, framing theory is still drawn upon. Andrews, Clawson, Gramig, and Raymond (2017) studied – for instance – framing effects among domain experts. While they used farmers to examine their attitude toward no-till agriculture via framed messages, such research could prove to be insightful in further research on the effect of NGO’s in the electoral communication. Similarly, De Bruycker (2017) notes that such interest groups are framers themselves.

Borah (2016) notes the unwavering importance of framing in a political context. During elections, framing, news consumption of constituents, and media coverage of the candidate. In her chapter, Borah discusses the 2012 presidential elections of the US. She notes that there has been limited research done on framing via social media, however, her focus is mostly on journalists and the public. In light of our earlier findings, politicians are a notable research subject as well (Wieringa et al., 2017).

Cacciatore, Scheufele, and Iyengar (2016, p. 20) noted that ‘framing’ has become an unworkably broad term, which needs to be replaced with a “more precise terminological distinction between equivalence and emphasis framing”. Equivalence framing is “a form of framing that involves manipulating the presentation of logically equivalent information”, whereas “a form of framing that involves manipulating the content of a communication” (Cacciatore et al., 2016, p. 8). I agree with the authors, that more precise terminology is required, and I propose to adapt Hall’s encoding/decoding scheme, to provide us with a typology of frames. The notions of equivalence and emphasis frames can be placed under – for instance – the negotiated or oppositional strategies, depending on the circumstances.

Relational frame theory (RFT)

As mentioned in the [introduction](#)’s [methodology](#) section, relational frames refer to the situation in which “an organism, who, given the proper historical and situational context, is relating stimuli independently of their physical properties and under the control of contextual cues that have previously been abstracted and are now being arbitrarily applied” (Hughes & Barnes-Holmes, 2016b, p. 156).

In a nutshell, one could say that understanding within a relational frame comes not from the object itself, but the context (or discourse) in which it is placed. Phrased differently, the *relational* nature of these frame refers to a “generalized pattern of behavior that involves responding to at least one stimulus in terms of at least one other stimulus” (Hughes & Barnes-Holmes, 2016a, p. 182). This means that there is thus a non-direct response on a stimulus. One responds to thing A, because of, or via, thing B (see figure 4).

Alternatively, for the semioticians amongst us, one could see a similar effect in RFT as in Barthes’ (1991) myth. Here too, the sign (or ‘thing A’), is imbued with another, contextual meaning (‘thing B’. That RFT connects well with semiotics comes as no surprise, as it is a theory that posits that relational frames provide the “behavioral foundation for human language and cognition” (Hughes & Barnes-Holmes, 2016b, p. 167).

Our verbal qualities allow us to make sophisticated deductions. Relational frame theory operates on the basis of derived stimulus relations, meaning “relations between stimuli that appear without having been learned or trained specifically” (Törneke, 2010, p. 60). Basically, one learns (based on operant/respondent learning) that relation X holds true, and extrapolates that relations Y and Z must hold as well – even though not having been trained to make that extrapolation (Törneke, 2010, p. 68).

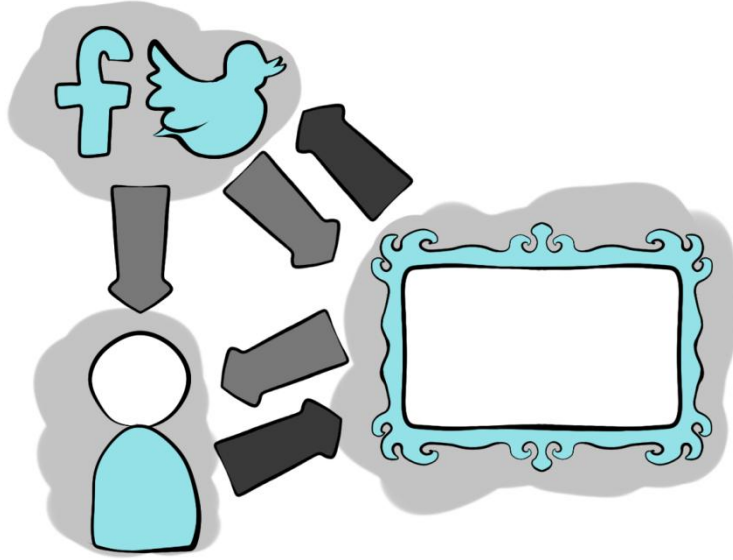


Figure 4. *Relational frame theory*

RFT is still used in contemporary psychological research. Hendriks, et al. (2016) discuss, for instance, the complex perspective-taking among patients with anxiety disorders, psychotic disorders, and a healthy control group. They confirmed RFT, in that their subjects were able to extrapolate from certain repertoires. Similarly, Bordieri, Kellum, Wilson, and Whiteman (2016), showed that the core assumptions of RFT were valid. De Houwer, Hughes and Barnes-Holmes (2016) recently drew on RFT (amongst others) to show that higher order cognition and associative learning are not necessarily mutually exclusive, as they regard associative learning as an *effect*, not as a mental learning mechanism.

2.3. Synthesizing a model

In order to be able to apply framing theory to the social media behavior of politicians, we need RFT. RFT argues that everyone uses relational frames, and that it indeed even is a way in which we are

taught certain things as a child (Stewart, 2011). These relational frames operate on the basis of a context: one interacts with A on the basis of B, and can extrapolate on the basis of this first taught relation.

I take the universal nature of RFT, and use it to inform my application of framing theory. Whereas framing theory traditionally departs from the standpoint of the media, RFT argues that framing is something that is not exclusively reserved for the media, but rather is practiced by the entire population.

While the fields from which these theories originate differ greatly, the ideas themselves overlap. In framing theory we find a media frame and an individual frame. The media frame can be said to sketch a particular scheme according to which a message has to be interpreted, by someone (which brings us to the individual frame). In a way, RFT bridges this dichotomy, by focusing on the way in which someone relates two disparate things (e.g. the message and the preferred interpretation) to one another.

In order to come to a workable model, I argue to synthesize the two models as follows (figure 5). The message of the politician is connected to a particular frame. Two frames can be discerned, the politician's ('media') frame, and the individual frame.⁹ Within the politician's frame particular aspects of the message are emphasized to ensure a certain interpretation. In order to differentiate between different kinds of frames, I draw upon Hall's encoding/decoding model, which offers us three possible encoding and decoding strategies: dominant-hegemonic, negotiated, and/or oppositional. Two types of politician frames can be observed (as mentioned in the [hypotheses](#) as well): frames that concern themselves with media content, and frames that deal with the medium as a whole.

⁹ I mentioned earlier that there is in fact a third party: that of the medium which originally encodes a particular message. Due to the limitations of this explorative research, it was impossible to account for medium frames in this research. They do, however, play an important role.

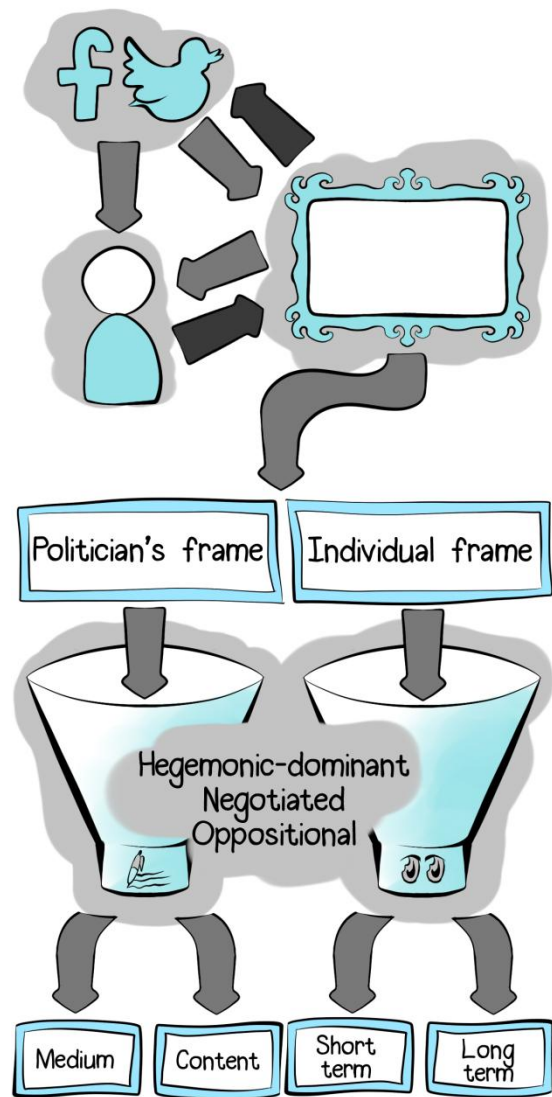


Figure 5. Synthesized model of framing

As this thesis concerns itself with the (re)sender side, I will not dwell on the individual's frame, or strategies of decoding. It is, however, vital to understand that messages that are sent out are not unquestionably accepted by the audience. The interpretation of a frame is not a forced top-down enterprise. This is where the individual's frame, and their decoding strategy comes in: in which the cultural frame of reference will determine the decoding strategy of a message.

Within the individual frame, one can differentiate between a long-term based interpretation which is informed by one's character and political views, and a short-term, or issue-based way of interpretation. As the corpus does not allow for a reception analysis, I will not be able to examine the individual frame. It is, however, essential that we keep in mind that frames also need to be interpreted by an audience. Reception is vital to their success or failure, and is thus not limited to the sender side that I will investigate in this thesis. However, the original message is not sent into the world by a neutral party: the media play a framing role as well – the politicians respond to their activity, in a sense. Thus, there is an intricate knot of interconnected framing behaviors and strategies at play, of which I can only discuss a simplified fragment.

3. The context of the frames

Before we discuss the sampled social media messages of the (aspiring) politicians, it is vital that we discuss the context in which they appear. In this section I will therefore first provide generic [platform analyses](#) of both [Facebook](#) and [Twitter](#). I will then briefly dwell on the matter of [news on these platforms](#), after which I will discuss the way in which [politicians use their Facebook pages and Twitter accounts](#), and what the [data looks like in its 'natural habitat'](#).

3.1. Platform analyses

Here I will sketch brief platform analyses of Facebook and Twitter, by highlighting the affordances connected to them. The term 'affordance' was coined by Gibson (1979), and later popularized by Norman (1988, 1998). There are subtly differing views on the concept (Gibson, 1979, p. 127; Hutchby, 2001, p. 444; Norman, 1988, p. 9), however all of them share the idea that an object provides the user with suggestions as to its usage (Akrich & Latour, 1992, p. 259). In other words, the object is not neutral, but rather expresses certain ideas about how it should best be used.

Facebook

Facebook was launched in 2004. Since then it has evolved into one of the biggest social media platforms in the world. In the Netherlands the platform is estimated to have 9,6 million users (Van der Veer, Sival, & Van der Meer, 2016). Strangely enough, we found relatively few Facebookpages of politicians, especially compared to their presence on micro-blogging platform Twitter (Wieringa et al., 2017).

Only 23% (219 of 935) of the candidates had a personal Facebook page, to communicate with their supporters. Parties as a whole were better represented on the platform, among the 29 parties competing in the elections, we found 38 Facebook pages, including affiliated youth parties.

Characteristics of Facebook

Below, I will very briefly discuss some of Facebook's defining characteristics or 'affordances'. In the platform analysis below I will give special attention to pages, comments, reactions, and shares, as these affordances play an important role in our analyses of the politicians' use of Facebook.

Profiles

In order to be able to use Facebook, you will need to create a personal profile. This profile is structured around a timeline: a chronologically structured overview of your Facebook activity. It is possible to display your entire Facebook history on this timeline, for your friends, family, and all others to see (Olsthoorn, 2012, p. 32). To display particular activities, one can post new messages, create life events or by adding personal information such as age, employer, place of residence and so forth.

Friendships

Facebook is built around the connections between accounts: the 'friendships' on the platform. These friendships are reciprocal, which means that when person A instigates a connection with person B, who accepts this, then person B automatically has a relation to person A as well (Olsthoorn, 2012, p. 18). Nowadays, a different kind of connection between accounts is possible as well. It is possible for users to subscribe to someone's profile. Subscribing means that they are able to see all public messages of this account. While you do not need permission from someone to subscribe to them, one has to give permission for possibly being subscribed to by other accounts (Olsthoorn, 2012, p. 20).

News feed

Whenever you log into Facebook, you are redirected to the news feed. This feed presents you with messages which are posted by friends or people you are subscribed to, or posts with which these accounts have interacted (Olsthoorn, 2012, p. 12). This feed is a continuously

updated information stream, which aside from messages by friends/accounts one is subscribed to, also shows posts from groups and pages one has connected with.

This feed thus harbors – according to some journalists, activists, and scholars – the danger of self-reinforcing a particular frame of mind: when someone likes certain messages or pages, this type of messages will be offered to the user more frequently at the expense of other kinds of content. This phenomenon was called the filter bubble by Eli Pariser (2011). A filter bubble generally has three characteristics (Pariser, 2011, pp. 9–10). First, it is an individual phenomenon. No one shares your exact filter bubble. Secondly, the filter bubble is invisible. Thirdly, you did not choose – explicitly – to enter the filter bubble. One can see how the second and third characteristics are connected, and their potential dangers. If the bubble is invisible, and you did not consent to enter it, you may not even know you are engulfed by it.

Groups

It is also possible to create groups on Facebook. Groups can be considered as spaces within one can exchange messages, photos and videos with other members. There are three kinds of groups: secret, secluded, and public. A secret group cannot be found via Facebook's search function, moreover, the group's content is also hidden from view. Secluded means that the group itself can be found, but the content is obscured until one has become a member of the group. A public group is both displayed in the search results and its content is open to view (Olsthoorn, 2012, p. 24).

Events

Facebook allows users to create events. Events are pages aimed at a particular event, for instance a concert, demonstration or another event that takes place in a particular place at a certain time. The events offer the organizers, participants and interested persons to exchange information and to invite other persons. Users can communicate to the

organizers if they will or will not attend, whether they are still unsure, or if they are just interested.

Pages

Companies, organizations and celebrities can use pages to share information. Users can follow particular pages in their news feed, by liking them. They can also comment on messages, share them or react to them.

Comments, reactions and shares

Facebook gives her users the possibility to interact with messages in different ways. Research showed that there are different reasons and frequencies for the different interaction possibilities (Huang, 2013). The most popular interaction is liking a message (51% of interactions), followed by sharing messages (23,8%), and finally commenting on them (3,7%). Reasons for sharing or liking a page are to share information or ideas with friends, and/or to promote or endorse a message. Comments are used to interact with others, to share opinions, interests and preferences. In other words, Huang (2013) finds that likes and shares are rooted in maintaining relations, whereas comments are more suited for self-expression.

Huang's (2013) study, however, is outdated, as reacting to a message is no longer limited to liking something, but one can indicate emotions as well. These emotions can be communicated by using the 'Love', 'Hahaha', 'Wow', 'Sad', or 'Angry' reactions. In more recent research it was found that of all these reactions, the like is still by far the most popular option (Larsson, 2017).

Twitter

Twitter is a micro-blogging platform, and was first launched in 2006. Currently, it is one of the most well-known social media platforms (Weller, Bruns, Burgess, Mahrt, & Puschmann, 2014, pp. xxix–xxx). Like Facebook, Twitter offers her users an infrastructure that is accessible both on mobile devices and on computers (Schäfer, Overheul, & Boeschoten, 2012). The platform allows users to send

messages (tweets) of 140 characters maximum. The limited amount of space led to the adjective 'micro' (Laniado & Mika, 2010). There are approximately 2,6 million Twitter users in the Netherlands (Van der Veer et al., 2016).

Characteristics of Twitter

Aside from the limited space to type a message, there are a number of other affordances which are of importance when dealing with Twitter. For instance, users can reply to someone else's messages, or 'tag' people using mentions. It is also possible to retweet a message, with or without additional commentary. Furthermore, the platform's follower relations – which are not per se reciprocal - are of importance. Below we will discuss each of these affordances in a little more detail.

Replies and mentions

To refer to a user in a tweet, one can use replies and mentions. The referred to user is notified of the reference. Replies can be regarded as a specific category of mentions (Halavais, 2014, p. 34), as the use of the two greatly overlaps. In both cases, the username handle of the receiver is placed in the tweet, preceded by an @.

In the case of a reply, this handle is placed at the beginning of the tweet. Mentions, on the other hand, require that the handle is placed elsewhere in the tweet. Generally, mentions are employed to draw someone's attention to a particular tweet, or to refer to them, while replies are used to address a message to a particular account.

Retweets

Retweets are republications of an existing tweet. The retweet is identified by the surrounding metadata/paratext. By retweeting a particular message, one makes this tweet visible to their own followers. Retweets are generally regarded as being a signal of endorsement (Halavais, 2014, p. 35).

This is different for citation retweets. Citation retweets are quite similar to ordinary retweets, but the difference is that the retweeter has added additional comments to the message. One can use

this, for instance, to comment on the content of the message, or to debate it. Therefore, a citation retweet cannot generally be seen as an endorsement.

Hashtags

By placing a # in front of a word a hashtag is made. Hashtags are used to make a tweet easier to find, and to place it in the context of a wider theme or discussion (Laniado & Mika, 2010). Hashtags can focus on a particular event, such as the Royal Wedding in 2011 (#royalwedding), but can also be continuous topics such as the Dutch #treinleven which groups all sorts of experiences, anecdotes, and complaints of commuters about their train journey. Hashtags are also referred to as 'topical handles' as a hashtag is used to categorize tweets per subject.

Follower relations

On Twitter it is possible to follow other users. Following someone means that their messages automatically become visible on the follower's timeline. Follower relations are unilateral. Thus, if person A follows person B, B does not automatically follow A. Following can be likened to subscribing to a particular feed (Schmidt, 2014, p. 5). Kwak, et al. (2010) showed that a reciprocal follower relationship is rare: such a relation was found only 22.1% of the time. This makes Twitter radically different from Facebook, where reciprocity is crucial and inherent to friendships. It can, however, be compared to the way in which Facebook pages function, as one also subscribes to content on a particular page.

3.2. News on the platforms

As this thesis busies itself with information sources, I also want to pay attention to the position that news has on the social media platforms. Below, I will briefly discuss research on the relation between Facebook, Twitter, and news.

Facebook

Increasingly, social media are fulfilling a role as news source. Research by Pew Research Centre showed that 66% of American Facebook users use the platform to consume news (Gottfried & Shearer, 2016). In an European context, news consumption on social media was investigated by Nielsen and Schrøder (2014). Their research showed that social media in Denmark is used by a third of the users to gather news. For Italy and England they found that this was true for a quarter of all social media users, whereas in France and Germany this number was still lower: only one in six. Among the social media platforms Nielsen and Schrøder (2014) investigated, Facebook was the most prevalent.¹⁰

Facebook explicitly does not profile itself as a journalistic platform (Van Dijck, Poell, & De Waal, 2016, pp. 84–85). This means that they (believe that they) cannot be held accountable in the same manner we can hold journalists and news platforms accountable. In other words, the process in which Facebook selects and prioritizes messages is opaque, even though transparency is one of journalism's core values (Van Dijck et al., 2016, p. 99).

Twitter

A great portion of Twitter content is news-related. According to Kwak et al. (2010), as much as 85% of Twitter content was related to news in 2010. American tweets often deal with crime, public affairs, and lifestyle (Armstrong & Gao, 2010). No similar research has been done in a Dutch context, but we do know that politicians, journalists, media, and interest groups frequent Twitter (Schäfer et al., 2012).

3.3. How politicians use Facebook and Twitter

So far I have discussed the affordances of Facebook and Twitter, but I have not yet shed light on politicians' use of these platforms. This I will

¹⁰ Though, while social media are used to gather news, this is still rather limited. Television and newspapers turned out to be more popular in Nielsen and Schrøder's (2014) research.

do in the following section. This section makes a distinction between the theory which informs this thesis, and has informed *Wie is de waakhond op sociale media?*, and situations we encountered in our hands-on engagement with the data during this later research project.

Theory: standing on the shoulders of giants

Ours was by no means the first investigation into politicians' social media behavior. In fact, there has been a significant number of such research projects. These endeavors served as a foundation on which we built the *Wie is de waakhond op sociale media?* project, and ultimately this thesis. I will first sketch the prior investigations into Facebook, then I will do the same for Twitter. As politicians are expected to behave differently during or outside of an election context, this information will be provided when discussing each research effort.

Politicians using Facebook

Politicians increasingly use Facebook – one famous example is Barack Obama's successful social media campaigns. Facebook even created a separate category for politicians' pages, as after Obama's success, many politicians flocked to the platform (Ross, Fountaine, & Comrie, 2014; Steinfeld, 2016). In Sweden and Norway the platform was used mostly by younger politicians who were part of the opposition (Larsson & Kalsnes, 2014).

During the 2014 elections in New Zealand, Ross, Fountaine and Comrie (2014) found that personal Facebook pages of MPs (members of parliament) were generally used as a broadcasting platform. In other words, instead of entering into a dialogue with their constituents, the MPs used Facebook for one-way communication.

In a German non-election context, it was found that campaigning was not one of the primary goals of politicians (Caton, Hall, & Weinhardt, 2015). Instead, the platform was mostly used to display how the politician served the community.

The echo chamber or filter bubble phenomenon can generally be distinguished in political communication on Facebook. In a Hungarian context, party pages on Facebook have strictly segregated audiences (Bíró, Gulyás, & Kampis, 2016). In a Thai context, interaction was mostly segregated by ideology. Interaction between persons with different ideologies rarely occurred (Grömping, 2014).

Politicians using Twitter

In an American investigation Twitter was shown to be used by politicians, outside of an election context, to spread information. This information was mostly comprised of links to news articles about themselves, or related to their daily activities (Golbeck, Grimes, & Rogers, 2010). American members of Congress thus mainly use Twitter as a tool for self-promotion, even outside of an election context. In Sweden it was shown that during the elections, a lot of political Twitter traffic concentrates around media events, such as debates between candidates which are broadcasted on television (Larsson & Moe, 2012).

During the elections for the European parliament in 2009 Twitter was mostly used by progressive and oppositional parties (Vergeer, Hermans, & Sams, 2011). It is important to highlight that back then Twitter was not as widespread as it is now, which may distort the findings from a contemporary point of view. Vergeer et al. (2011) furthermore found that Twitter usage is mostly related to the election context, and quickly diminishes afterwards. The researchers additionally found that smaller parties make less use of social media.

With regards to politicians' presence on Twitter in the Netherlands, there is research done by Schäfer, Overheul and Boeschoten (2012). In April 2011 97/170 cabinet- and *Tweede Kamer* members had a Twitter account (2012, pp. 194–195). In our recent investigation, we found that 662 of 935 political candidates had an account on the micro-blogging platform (Wieringa et al., 2017).

Schäfer, et al. (2012, p. 199) noted that among politicians reciprocal follower relations were extremely low. They even note

instances of politicians who do not follow anyone, and thereby seem to use Twitter only as a broadcast platform. At the same time, politicians seem to use their micro-blogs as a way to be closer to civilians. The crucial word here is 'seem', as Schäfer, et al. (2012, pp. 199–200) note that Twitter is not as egalitarian as it appears to be. A hierarchy of Twitter users can be discerned, for instance in amount of followers or number of tweets. Schäfer, et al. (2012, pp. 203–204) discern four types of Twitter users among politicians:

- The broadcaster, who only uses Twitter to send messages;
- The communicator, who uses the platform to engage in dialogues with constituents;
- The networker, who sits in between different segmented audiences, and reaches a vast amount of users;
- The lonely node, who cannot or barely can be found in the debate, or is not connected with it.

This typology is supported by research in an Australian context, which shows that politicians are more prominently represented on Twitter, and generally favor a broadcast tactic on the platform (Grant, Moon, & Busby Grant, 2010).

The platforms in general

Interestingly enough, politicians favor Twitter over Facebook (Larsson & Kalsnes, 2014). We found 662 Twitter accounts related to political actors, and 219 Facebook pages, during our investigation (Wieringa et al., 2017). This is remarkable, as Facebook is the platform used by most constituents on a daily basis. Moreover, Facebook hosts people from all ages, while the age distribution of Twitter users is much more limited (Van der Veer et al., 2016). Thus, if one would expect politicians to use social media to engage with their constituents, Facebook would be the logical platform. Reality, however, points to more intensive Twitter use. Larsson and Kalsnes (2014) therefore speak of a medium 'mismatch'. Things may, however, be much more nuanced. For instance, tweets may be reposted on Facebook, and on Facebook it is possible to bring posts to the audience's attention using advertisements, the effect of which is hard to measure (Wieringa et al.,

2017). Moreover, politicians may use the two platforms to target different audiences. On Twitter they engage with journalists, media, and interest groups, on Facebook they communicate with the general public.

Practice: getting your hands dirty

In our research project, we saw that Twitter and Facebook were mostly employed by politicians to underscore their own or parties' standpoints. Thus, politicians' social media pages or accounts were found to function on the basis of the gate keeping principle: only a selection will make it to their feed, yet this is a selection that is decidedly colored, as it will paint the politician or their views in a positive light.

With regards to media usage, then, politicians were found to extract media content, and use it to frame, and emphasize, their own perspective (Wieringa et al., 2017). They use Facebook pages and Twitter accounts as a collage of favorable content, a semi-permeable membrane which filters only the agreeable. This implicates three things. First, due to the long tail principle, traditional media such as quality newspapers are displayed next to non-journalistic sources, which may have tendentious or dubious content, or side-by-side with small niche media which are only known to select audiences. Second, this implies that politicians become gatekeepers themselves: they decide what content is passed on through their channels – meaning they are no longer exclusively at the mercy of the traditional media. Third, as politicians become gatekeepers of their feeds, they are not bound by the journalistic adversarial principle, meaning that there is no moral principle which binds them to show that this is indeed a filtered take on reality.

3.4. The data's natural habitat

On these platforms we examined Twitter accounts and Facebook pages of the (aspiring) politicians. During this thesis, I will work with the same corpora as were collected for the *Wie is de waakhond op*

sociale media? project. I will briefly highlight in detail the biases of our data, and the context in which they naturally appear.

Twitter accounts

A Twitter affords different kinds of usage (see also [Characteristics of Twitter](#)), but it is also important to discuss where this activity is embedded in. Aside from the personal timeline, which is different for everyone, there are personal profiles. These profiles showcases personal feeds of the user's own tweets. Additionally, an user is able to customize this profile.



Figure 6. Profile of Sandra Beckerman (SP)

An example of such personalization can be found on the personal profile of [Sandra Beckerman](#) (SP). Aside from a personal photo, Twitter grants its users the opportunity to enter a biography, and to feature a cover photo. It is in such paratextual elements, that a content of an entire feed is framed. For instance, the bio of Sandra Beckerman notes: "Tweede Kamerlid @SPnl, activist, gepromoveerd archeoloog

#LaatGroningenNietZakken”.¹¹ Thereby, she already situates her profile in a particular way: she states her occupation, party affiliation, and interests. This is further emphasized by her cover photo of herself waving a flag with – again – the text “Laat Groningen niet zakken”.¹²

profiles/pages can be used to in a way situate the content of that feed in a particular light.

Facebook pages

Facebook pages are largely similar. Again, users are able to add a personal photo, a cover image, and some information about themselves.

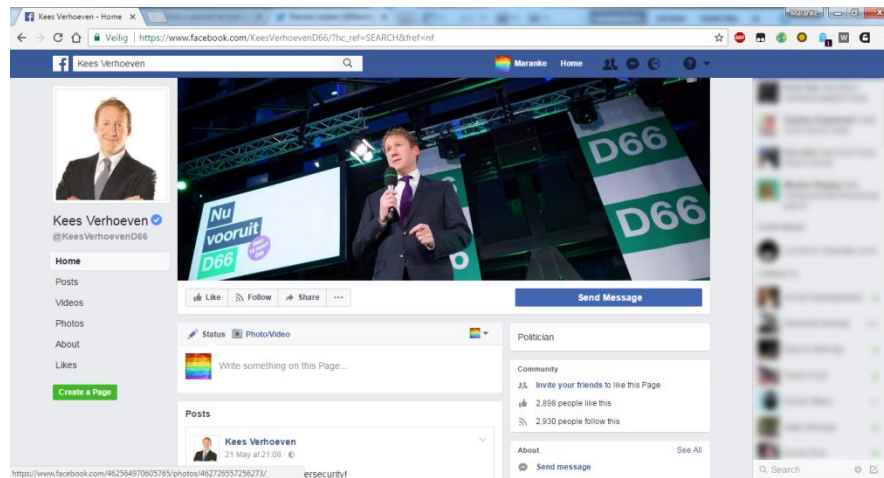


Figure 7. Facebook page of Kees Verhoeven (D66)

In the case of [Kees Verhoeven](#) (D66), the cover image is most notable: a photo where the candidate is speaking at a D66 meeting. Again, these paratextual elements frame the messages shared on that page as within the party’s/politician’s interest. Thus, social media

¹¹ MP @SPnl, activist, PhD in archeology, #Don’tLetGroningenDown

¹² Don’t let Groningen (go) down, is related to the effects of withdrawing gas from below Groningen, which causes local earthquakes and lowering of land.

4. Data

We have seen where the data is gathered from, the politicians' Facebook pages and Twitter accounts, and several theories were highlighted in relation to this investigation. In this section, I will specify in detail how the samples were [collected](#), and [how much data](#) there is. The [raw data](#) will also be discussed as well as the [preparation of the data](#), and [data selection](#). I will also discuss the [selection bias](#) within the data, and the [ethical considerations](#).

Before we could collect the datasets, for the original – *Wie is de waakhond op sociale media?* (Wieringa et al., 2017) - research project, we needed to take inventory of the Facebook pages and Twitter accounts connected to the politicians participating in the election. We based our inventory on the candidate list as it was officially distributed by the *Kiesraad* (Electoral council). For each candidate we made note of their party affiliation, position on the list, Facebook page, and Twitter account. A second list was made to take note of the (youth) parties' Facebook pages, and Twitter accounts (see appendici 1. and 2.).

4.1. Data collection

The Twitter dataset was collected by Buzzcapture, whereas the Facebook data was scraped by our research assistant Callum Lewis, using Netvizz. Netvizz is an application within Facebook which enables the scraping of – amongst other – Facebook pages. The digital methods application was designed by Bernhard Rieder from the University of Amsterdam (Rieder, 2013). We exported the data as a TSV file.¹³ Within these spreadsheet like files, all messages of the page owner are included. Optionally, one can also include comments by visitors. As this and the *Wie is de waakhond* research focuses on the encoding/sender side of the communicative practice, the comments were not included in our scraped data.

¹³ A TSV file is a Tab Separated Values file.

4.2. The data in numbers

In total 29 parties participated in the 2017 *Tweede Kamer* elections (table 3.).¹⁴ 36 Twitter accounts of these national parties were found, including the youth parties (e.g. JOVD was counted as being a VVD party account). In the Twitter inventory, it was remarkable that three parties did not have a party account: the PVV, Jezus Leeft, and the Vrije Democratische Partij. On Facebook nearly all parties were present. We found 38 Facebook pages, again including those of the youth parties.

Total number of parties	Twitter accounts affiliated with parties	Facebook pages affiliated with parties
29	36	38

Table 3. Number of parties and their Twitter accounts/Facebook pages

When we turn our attention to the individuals, we see that about 70% of the candidates has a Twitter account (table 4.). For Facebook pages the adoption rate is far lower: only 23%. These rates heavily correspond with the findings of Larsson and Kalsnes (2014), who found that 24% of the Norwegian, and 19% Swedish politicians had a Facebook page in 2013. Facebook page use in the Dutch context is mostly reserved for the bigger parties, such as the VVD, CDA, D66, and so forth. Smaller parties such as De Burger Beweging, VNL, or Forum voor de Democratie rarely have Facebook pages for individual candidates. If these parties do have such pages, they are mostly reserved for either the most prominent candidates, or the odd *lijstduwer* (lowest-placed, non-electable candidate, who is often a well known citizen).

¹⁴ Officially 28 parties took part in the elections, one of the official entries is a combination of MenS and BIP. As both parties maintained their respective communication strategies, they are considered as separate parties within this research.

Total number of candidates	Candidates with a Twitter account	Candidates with a Facebook page
935	662	219

Table 4. Number of candidates and their Twitter accounts/Facebook pages

Our Twitter corpus contained ten times as much messages as the Facebook corpus (table 5.). In part, this discrepancy can be explained by the different affordances of both social media platforms (see also the [platform analyses](#)). Twitter lends itself well for multiple short messages, while Facebook is more suited for longer messages. A second cause of the great difference is the distribution of candidates over the two platforms. There are 443 more candidates present on Twitter than on Facebook. A third reason is the retention of attention on both platforms. On Twitter, one often requires multiple tweets to retain attention for a particular subject, whereas Facebook also has the option of renewing interest in a post through advertisements. Thus, in this light, Facebook may require fewer posts to achieve a similar effect.

Total number of tweets by candidates and parties	Total number of Facebook posts by candidates and parties
240,498	24,091

Table 5. Total number of tweets and Facebook posts

4.3. Raw data

The data as it is scraped is not yet ready to be analyzed. Before we can analyze it, we need to clean, and prepare the data. Here I will briefly describe what the original data looks like, before elaborating on the selection and preparation of the data.

As said, the Twitter data was gathered by the Utrecht Data School's partner Buzzcapture. We collected the data in groups of 5,000 tweets in a CSV format through their online environment.¹⁵ These different files were merged in order to create a single file which

¹⁵ A CSV file is a Comma Separated Values file.

contained all of the data we were interested in. The data set contained the following data points:

- Posting ID
- Impact
- Likes or Favorites
- Shares or Retweets
- Reach
- Media value
- Source type
- Title
- Author
- Website
- Type
- Date posted
- URL
- Labels
- Body

I will briefly discuss each data point, and its relation to this research. Posting ID is the unique number assigned to a tweet. It is thus an identifier. Impact, likes, shares, shares, and media value are not of importance in this research. These data points are not reliable enough in this context, because their values were only valid at the moment of scraping, or their calculation is not made explicit. Source type specifies what the origin of the data is. Within our research this is set to micro-blog, as we were only interested in Twitter, but Buzzcapture can also monitor other media platforms. Title and author are of particular interest for this thesis, as the title contains the content of the tweet. Images and videos are not included in the title, but text and hyperlinks are. Author specifies the username of the tweet's sender. Website and type are not used, but are again metrics which are useful for Buzzcapture. Website in this case always refers to twitter.com. Type is a rudimentary typology of tweets, which wasn't used, as it is not as

refined as we needed it within the *Wie is de waakhond* project. Date posted refers to the time and date at which the tweet was sent. URL contains a link to the tweet itself, which is particularly useful to, for instance, assess the tweet in its context, as was done in this thesis. Labels and body are categories whose function are unknown to us, therefore we don't make use of them.

The Facebook sample was gathered by our research assistant Callum Lewis, using Netvizz. As mentioned above, each individual page is exported as a TSV file. We convert these TSV files to CSVs, and then merged them together. As with Twitter, the Facebook data set consists of a great number of data points:

- Type
- By
- Post_id
- Post_link
- Post_message
- Picture
- Full_picture
- Link
- Link domain
- Post_published
- Post_published_unix
- Likes_count_fb
- Comments_count_fb
- Reactions_count_fb
- Shares_count_fb
- Engagement_fb
- Comments_retrieved
- Comments_base
- Comments_replies
- Comments_likes_count
- Rea_NONE

- Rea_LIKE
- Rea_LOVE
- Rea_WOW
- Rea_HAHA
- Rea_SAD
- Rea_ANGRY
- Rea_THANKFUL

Type relates to the type of context shared, for instance a photo, video, or link, this parameter was not used. By contains the unique number of the page it was posted on, similar to the `posting_id` on Twitter. Post_link contains the link to the post. Post_message contains the content of the message. Picture and full_picture hold links to the links used in the post, if any. Link contains the URL to which is referred in the post, if any. Link domain contains the domain name of that optional URL. Post_published refers to the date and time at which the post was made. The remaining metrics were not properly specified in Netvizz, making their content ambiguous. These metrics are therefore not used.

4.4. Preparation of the data

To prepare the data for analysis, we make both manual and automatic adjustments to the data. For the automatic transformations, we made use of Python scripts. It is important to be transparent about the data preparation, as it greatly influences the results. Below I will thus discuss the steps taking during this phase.

Manually: add names, merge, convert file type

The original Facebook data did not contain names, merely identification numbers. For each page, we replaced this number with the name of the politician or (youth) party to which the page belonged. Both the Twitter and the Facebook data were originally spread out over a great number of files. We were limited to scraping the Twitter data 5,000 tweets at a time, and the Facebook pages could only be

scraped one page at a time. The Twitter files were already in a CSV format, whereas Facebook was exported as TSVs. To maintain a uniform file format across the datasets, we converted the TSVs to CSVs. Afterwards we merged the data of each social media platform into a single file.

4.5. Data selection

In order to be able to analyze the media references by the politicians, we had to be able to detect these. To do so, I wrote a Python script which looked for particular identifying words. We created a script that looped through 831 information sources. This list did not only contain the traditional mass media such as *De Volkskrant*, or *NOS Journaal*, but also niche information websites such as *boerenbusiness.nl*, institutions such as *De Belastingdienst* or *De Rijksoverheid*, and new media like *GeenStijl* and *De Correspondent*. The list was based on all URLs used by politicians in their tweets and Facebook posts in the period January 1st 2017 up to and including February 28th 2017. This list (appendix 3.) was comprised of the following characteristics:

- Name (as known)
- Name (multiple words, 2x)
- Name (single word, 2x)
- URL
- Twitter account
- Type of content (e.g. news, satire)
- Type of medium (e.g. daily newspaper, television show)
- Reach (e.g. domestic, region)
- Traditional/new medium (we count digital born media as news media, thus the website of the NOS is counted as a traditional medium)

Script: detecting media references

We used a Python script to search the messages for these words, and to see if we could find fragments of others, such as the domain name in

the case of the URL. In the messages we search for the name identifiers, and the URL, in the Twitter data we also look for the Twitter handle.

The script I wrote works as follows.¹⁶ First it tries to find the name identifiers which consist of multiple words (e.g. '*Algemeen Dagblad*'), or if the Twitter handle is present in the entire text.¹⁷ Then, it tries to find the individual name identifiers in the separate words of the message, and the URL within one of these words.¹⁸ In the Facebook data, the script searches for the URL in the link data point. If the name, domain name, or a Twitter handle was found, we add the name of the medium as an extra data point, and export it to a new file, in which all of the media references are stored.

The selected data in numbers

The original corpora, as said consisted of 24,091 Facebook messages, and 240,498 tweets. We filtered these to check for media references, based on a media list, comprising 831 media and/or information sources. The list was created by listing all traditional media, then adding to these by extracting all URLs from the data over the period January 1 up to and including February 28. We checked various identifiers, such as name (multiple words/single word/shorthand), Twitter handle, and URL. This left us 5,774 Facebook messages and 44,166 tweets in which politicians referred to media.

Media references Facebook	Media references Twitter
5,774	44,166

Table 6. Media references on Facebook and Twitter

¹⁶ For a more thorough accountability statement with regards to this script, see appendix 4.

¹⁷ To adequately compare the text fragments, we transform both snippets to lower case, as Python differentiates between text in lower and text in upper case.

¹⁸ It was not possible to match the entire URL of media content (as it would change per page), therefore we look only for the domain name within that URL string.

Within this preselected corpus I have selected 1% of all messages. Selection occurred through random selection. Randomly generated numbers between 0 and 1 were added as extra data points, then the data was ordered according to these numbers, from highest to lowest. The top 1% of each corpus was then selected as the sample for this thesis. This percentage was chosen due to the scope of the investigation and the quantity of the data. This selection left me with 58 Facebook messages and 442 tweets, which are qualitatively assessed in this research.

Sample Facebook	Sample Twitter
58	442

Table 7. Randomly selected sample used in this investigation

We settled on this limited sample due to constraints (see also the [reflection](#)). For Twitter this meant that there was a substantial sample to work with, for Facebook this was a bit more problematic. In order to keep the selection criteria of the two samples similar – and to respect the constraints of the research – it was decided to leave the sample size as is. The small Facebook sample, however, might distort the results, as one or two outcomes already play a big role. Thus, [further research](#) is recommended to duplicate the research with a bigger sample.

4.6. Selection bias

In the choices which were made during the data preparation and data selection, there is a matter of selection bias. It is possible that certain media are over- or underrepresented, because of practical considerations in the media list. In several instances, we needed to decide between the elimination of interference in the data, or potentially missing some references. The stronger the correction for certain ‘false positives’, the bigger the risk of eliminating a correct reference. An example will serve to illustrate this. Politicians sometimes refer to the police’s website, but a mention of the ‘police’ is

not per se a medium reference to that website. Therefore we decided in this case, to just look for the URL and the Twitter handle, thereby eliminating interference, but it also means that some references which do indirectly refer to the police’s website may be missed. Moreover, bycatch may still occur, despite our multiple cleaning efforts.¹⁹

The media list itself was based on the URLs used by the politicians in the period January 1st 2017 up to and including February 28th 2017. Thus, media which are only referred to in the period after this timeframe couldn’t be detected. Moreover, the data was filtered for individual media, but not for words relating to the media as a whole (e.g. “media”, “traditional media”, “newspapers”). Thus, messages which refer to media in such a broad manner are missed by the filter used to collect the sample.

Another point of consideration is the atypical time period in which the data was gathered. This data tells us something about politicians during the elections, but not about their behavior outside such a context.

4.7. Ethical considerations

As data of individuals is gathered and analyzed, ethical considerations should be taken into account. A first ethical consideration deals with the tension between informed consent, privacy, and public interest. A structural problem with data-driven research on social media, is that asking for informed consent proves to be a huge challenge (e.g. Van Schie, Westra, & Schäfer, 2017). In this thesis, I make use of Facebook and Twitter messages of public figures (politicians), of whom the behavior is very much within the public interest. These persons deliberately chose to enter the political, and public, spotlight.

¹⁹ One such example was an error that slipped through our checks. Jan Dijkgraaf’s website *Briefje van Jan* listed Dijkgraaf’s (who himself was also running as a candidate) Twitter account, thereby distorting our data. In the *Wie is de waakhond* research we therefore chose to ignore this particular website in the analyses. In this thesis, the data was screened in the close reading, thus guaranteeing correct references.

Moreover, these actors often consciously employ these platforms in their campaigns. There is also the matter of democratic interest, in which the traditional media are the Fourth Estate: who monitor the legislature.

Additionally, these individuals agreed to the terms and conditions of Facebook and/or Twitter, which states that their data may be used by third parties. While there is thus, technically, consent, it is a well known fact that such terms and conditions are rarely read. On top of this, the default setting is a public account on Twitter, and Facebook pages are also public. I chose to maintain the opt-out logic of the platforms within this research. While I have taken note of the potential complications, the public interest in the behavior and framing practiced by their legislature was found to weigh heavier in this regard. In my discussion and illustration, I have therefore chosen to name the candidates, but anonymize all other actors.

5. Analyzing the frames

We have seen where the data is gathered from, the politicians' Facebook pages and Twitter accounts, and several theories were highlighted in relation to this investigation. In this, and the following, section(s), I will delve into the qualitative analyses of the data samples. In this section, I will briefly reflect on the way in which these analyses are carried out, namely by a [close reading and categorization](#) of the data. Then, I will elaborate on the quantitative findings based on these qualitative assessments in the section [What frames were used](#).

5.1. Close reading and categorization

Each of the 442 tweets and 58 Facebook messages were then read through, along with all their potential paratextual elements. To get a feeling of the process, I will demonstrate the working process for a tweet below. The tweet I will discuss is [a tweet by Sjoerd Sjoerdsma](#), a D66 MP, who commented on Mark Rutte's (VVD) standpoints during his first participation in a televised debate (figure 8). Sjoerdsma commented that a real prime minister would have defended the EU in the Netherlands, which Rutte hasn't done, according to the MP.



Figure 8. Tweet by Sjoerd Sjoerdsma

The tweet links to an [article by the NOS](#) (figure 9). The paratextual article notes, amongst others, that Rutte tried to profile himself as the only candidate with experience as a prime minister. Furthermore, he was – as a prime minister - reproached for his euro-criticism, while he tried to maintain a pro-Europe stance when in Brussels.

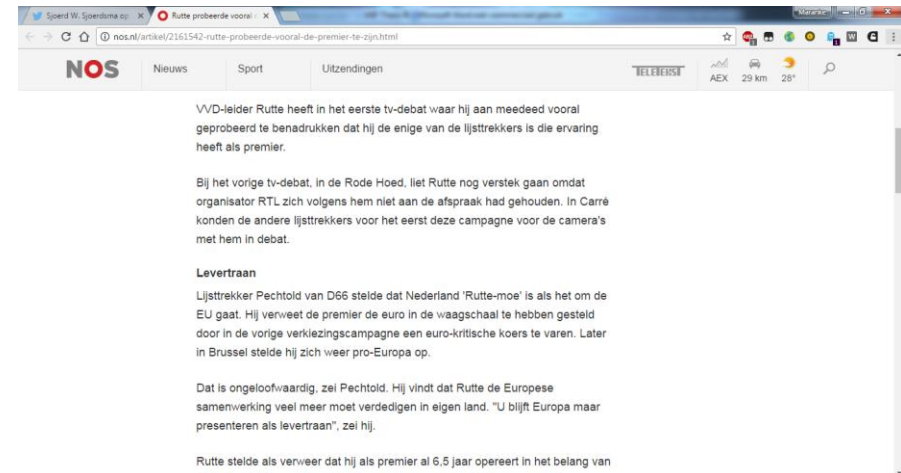


Figure 9. Article by the NOS

Sjoerdsma's tweet referred to the idea of 'a real prime minister', such judgments are absent in the NOS article. Even so, he does acknowledge and continue upon part of the article: the reference to Rutte's stance on Europe. Thus, I argue that such a tweet is encoded in a negotiated way. The article is acknowledged, but a portion of it is highlighted, and commented upon. Furthermore, this is a clear example of a reaction to the media content, not a commenting upon the medium itself.

As the tweet or Facebook post is categorized through such a close reading of the text, and its paratext(s), the labels are added as extra data points to the message. Additionally, in several cases I added extra comments about the nature of the message or its context. Thus, the qualitative analysis adds three extra data points to the corpora: the

encoding strategy used, whether it frames the medium or the medium's content, and optional commentary.

5.2. What frames were used?

In order to make these individual categorizations more meaningful, I will quantitatively compare them for both Facebook and Twitter. Quantification here means that, for instance, the number of times a particular frame was adopted is counted.

When the categorizations are quantified, we can visualize the results to ease interpretation. Each time, I chose to visualize these results in two different ways, using the Tableau visualization software. Visualizations can help to quickly see the relations between the data points. A downside of using visualizations is that certain aspects are emphasized in one type of visualization, whereas others are obscured (Birchall, 2011). This is why I chose to include two types of visualizations, which augment one another. A pie chart can tell us something about the relation of a data point to the greater whole, whereas a bar chart emphasizes quantity. In other words, while such visualizations work with the same numbers, they each tell a different story.

Twitter

If we visualize the encoding strategy results, we see that dominant-hegemonic is adopted far more often than the other two (figure 10). Such a positive encoding strategy is adopted 297 times (68% of the sample). A negotiated encoding strategy was adopted 89 times (20% of the sample). The oppositional strategy was found 50 times (11% of the sample).²⁰

²⁰ As the percentages are rounded to whole numbers, they do not add up to 100%. Moreover, not all 442 tweets which were qualitatively analyzed show up in the visualized results: 6 tweets could not be categorized, for instance because their content was ambiguous.

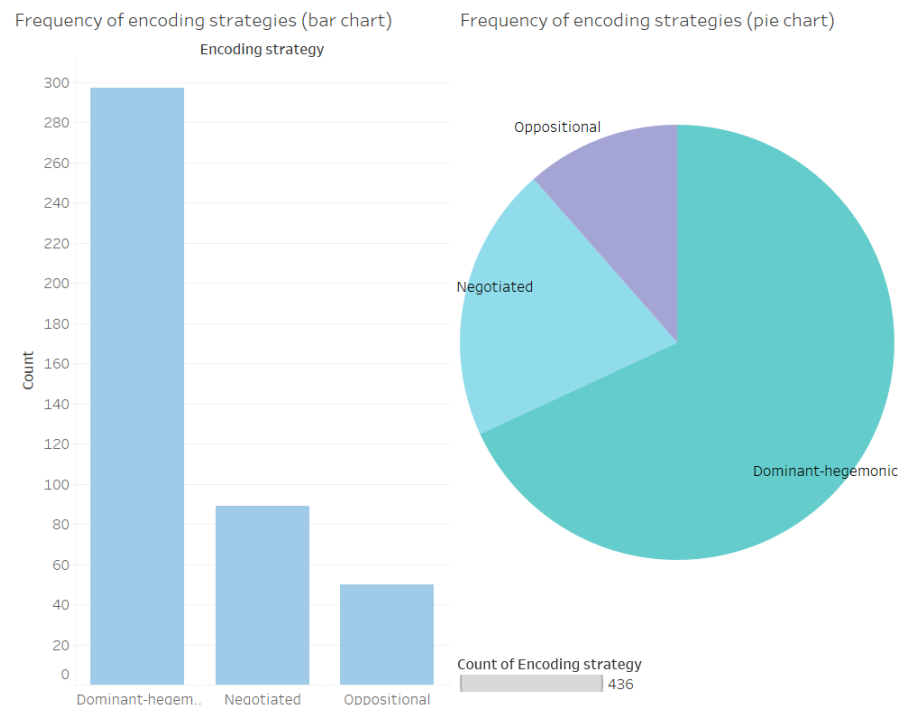


Figure 10. Encoding strategies

If we look at what is framed, we see that in most cases the frame relates to media content (figure 11). Such a content frame was found 363 times, or in 83% of the sample. In 17%, or 76 cases, the frame related to the medium as a whole.

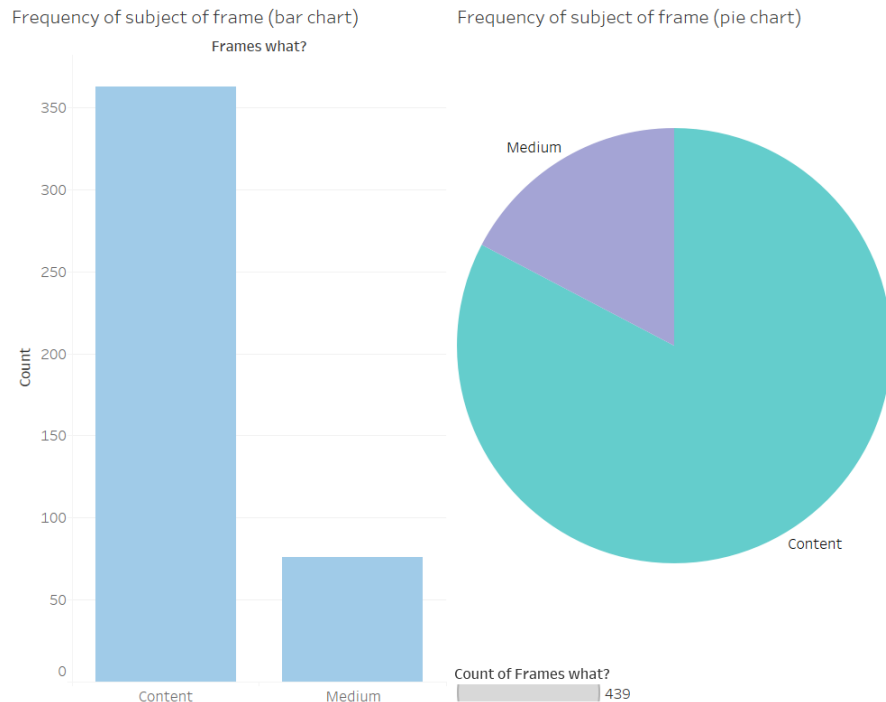


Figure 11. Subject of frame

To map how both the encoding strategy and the subject of the frame relate to each other, I used two different types of visualization: a heat map, and a table. Again, both contain exactly the same numbers, but are represented in different ways. A heat map, like a pie chart, tells us where the greatest activity can be found. It is not, however, a precise visualization in terms of measuring quantity. Thus, the heat map, here, is augmented by a table formatted in the same way as the heat map, which provides us with these precise numbers.

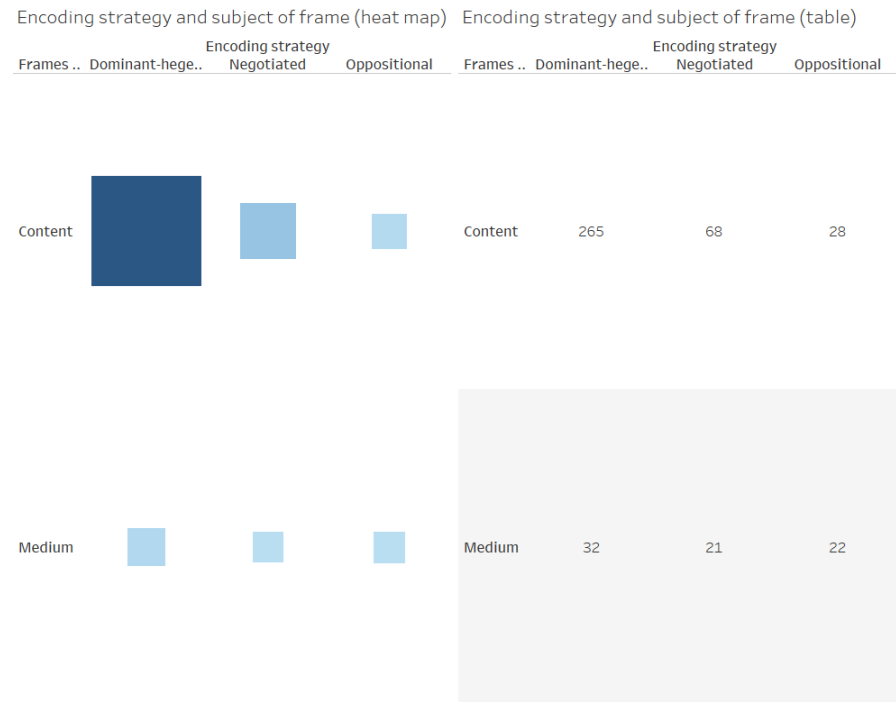


Figure 12. Encoding strategy and subject of frame

Here we see that the majority of the politicians' posts in fact deal with media content, not the medium as a whole (figure 12). The vast majority of those content-related references are dominant-hegemonic, meaning the politician in question agrees with said content.

Facebook

Just as was done for the Twitter sample, the Facebook sample was visualized as well. Here we see again that the dominant-hegemonic encoding strategy is the most prevalent (figure 13). In 42 out of 58 instances such a positive strategy was found (72% of the sample). A negotiated encoding strategy was encountered 12 times (21% of the

sample). The oppositional strategy was found only 4 times (7% of the sample).

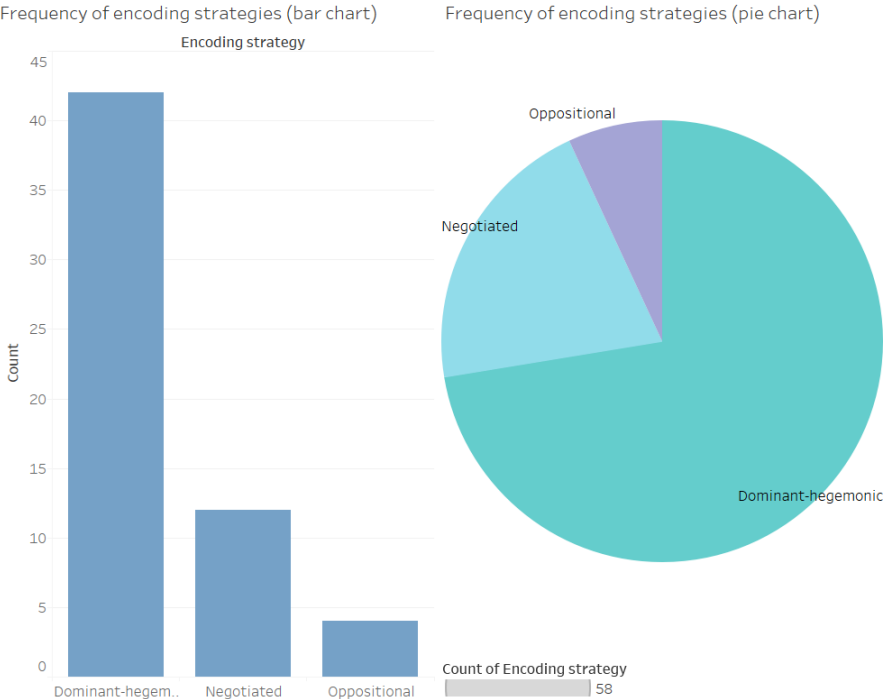


Figure 13. Encoding strategies

Similarly, on Facebook the framing of content is the norm (figure 14). 52 of these instances were found (90% of the sample). In only 6 instances the medium as a whole was framed (10% of the sample).

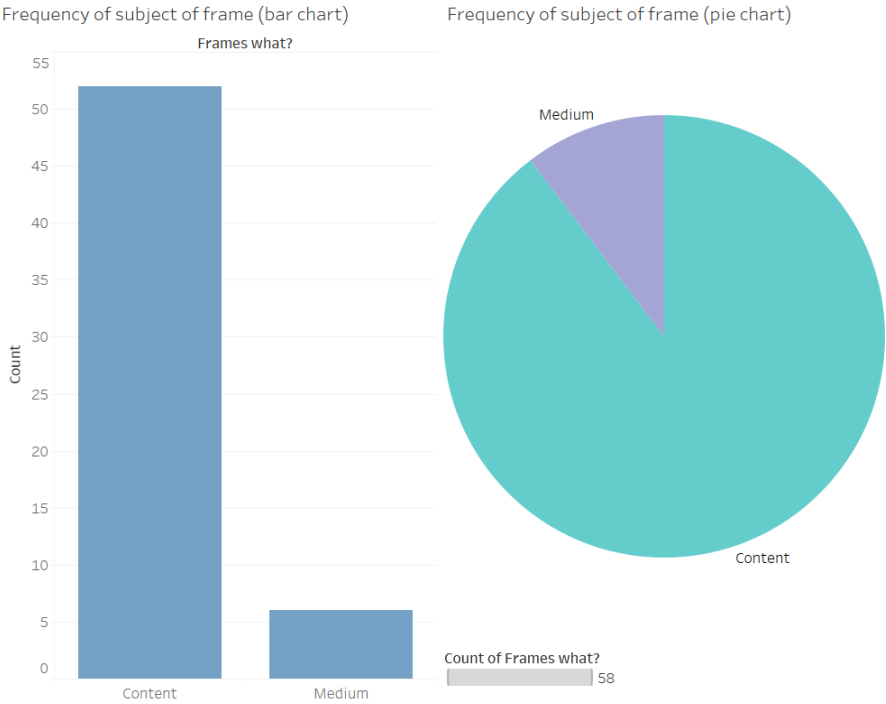


Figure 14. Subject of frame

If we again combine both dimensions (figure 15), we see that posts predominantly relate to content, and then mostly in a positive, or dominant-hegemonic way. In the 6 instances where a medium was framed, no negotiated frame was found. In 5 cases the frame was dominant-hegemonic, whereas in 1 instance it was found to be an oppositional frame.

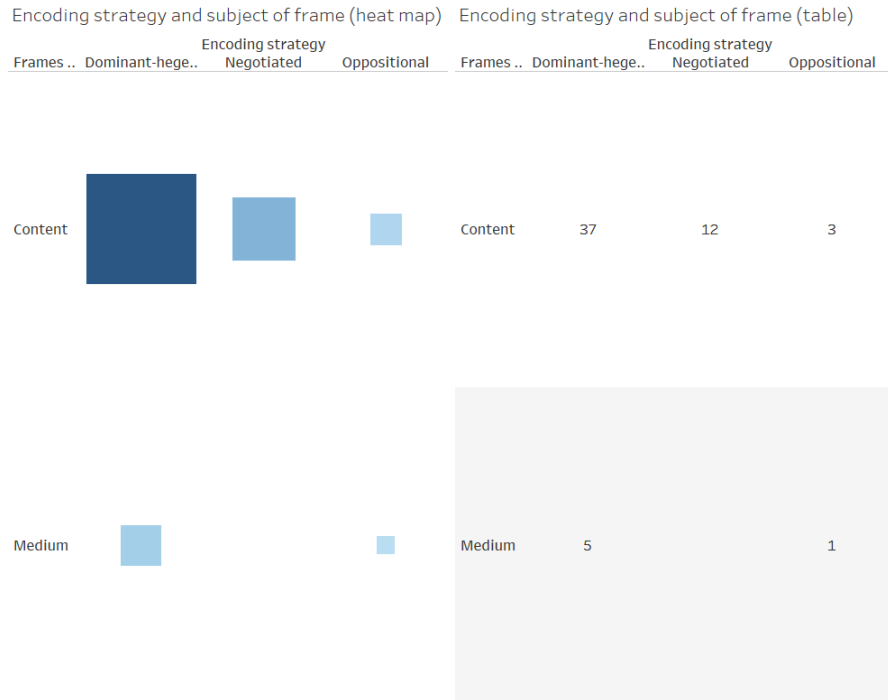


Figure 15. Encoding strategy and subject of frame

The frames on social media

In order to discuss the discrepancies or overlap between the two platforms, we need to compare them. We can do this by comparing the distribution across the platforms, using percentages.

First, let us turn to the distribution of the encoding strategies across the two social media platforms. What is interesting, is that the distribution of the encoding strategies is very similar (table 8.). While Facebook has a slightly higher amount of dominant-hegemonic posts, and a slightly smaller amount of oppositional ones, the differences between the two are minimal.

	Dominant-hegemonic	Negotiated	Oppositional
Twitter (n = 436)	68%	20%	11%
Facebook (n = 58)	72%	21%	7%

Table 8. Encoding strategies used on Twitter and Facebook

This shows us that most of the politicians' posts in which a media reference is made, are in fact positive ones, which endorse the content or the medium. One in five posts were encoded in a negotiated way, meaning that while the content/medium was largely accepted, a small portion of it was emphasized, or it was distorted in another way, for instance to explicitly comment on the article in light of the political party's view points. About one in ten posts with a media reference downright rejected the subject, be it content or medium.

This is congruent with Lakoff's (2014, p. 1) findings that unique frames are more successful politically than negotiated and/or oppositional ones. Within the negotiation or opposition, the thing which is to be negated or nuanced is invoked, making it a less powerful frame.

If we turn to the subject of the frame, we see that the two social media platforms start to differentiate (table 9.). On both platforms content is by far framed the most. Yet, there is a difference of 7% between Twitter and Facebook. While it is difficult to assess the exact cause of this differentiation, a possible explanation might reside in the smaller Facebook sample. Whereas over 400 tweets were randomly sampled, a 1% sample of the Facebook dataset resulted in only 58 messages.

	Content	Medium
Twitter (n = 436)	83%	17%
Facebook (n = 58)	90%	10%

Table 9. The subject of the frame on Twitter and Facebook

If we again combine both dimensions, we see that there are some notable differences and congruencies between the two platforms (table 10.). As we split the sample into a greater amount of groups, it is paramount to keep the differences in sample size in mind (436 tweets versus 58 Facebook messages).

Even so, the distribution is remarkable – and in a way also a positive one for the Fourth Estate: the greatest portion of the references related to the content of the media, not to the media themselves. Thus, the content which the media produce is more often referred to than the media brand on a meta level. The role of journalism, in this sense – to document events which impact the society in some way – seems to remain intact.

	Twitter (n = 436)		Facebook (n = 58)	
	Content	Medium	Content	Medium
Dominant-hegemonic	61%	7%	64%	9%
Negotiated	16%	5%	21%	0%
Oppositional	6%	5%	5%	2%

Table 10. Encoding strategy and subject of frame (used) on Twitter and Facebook

While the negotiated content frame on Facebook deviates the most, the distribution for the content related encoding strategies is largely congruent among the platforms. This is different for the medium related strategies. Again, these discrepancies are likely caused in part by the small amount of media related frames in the Facebook sample. Whereas 75 media related frames were found on Twitter, only 6 were detected in the random selection of Facebook messages. Thus, the small sample size might distort the results.

Nevertheless, here too we see that both on the level of content and the medium, references are predominantly dominant-hegemonic. Thus, in the majority of messages either content/medium is endorsed, resulting in a positive frame. The reason for this high amount of

positive frames is suspected to be twofold. First, among these messages, a great number relates to media appearances (e.g. interviews, television appearances) of the politician in question. Thus, as was already noted by Golbeck et al. (2010) outside of an election context, politicians engage in self-promotion on the social media platforms. Second, as the politicians engage in such self-promotion, they share articles they do not endorse much more infrequent, and if they do, they either negotiate or negate the content.

Frames and affordances

Finally, if we take into account Shaw’s (2017) perspective on encoding strategies and affordances, it is interesting to see how particular affordances of the platform translate to the frames used. I analyzed the Twitter sample, assess the relation between encoding strategy and the type of tweet.²¹ This relation was visualized using Tableau. As before, I chose to include two types of visualization: a stacked bar chart, which accumulates each encoding strategy for a specific type of tweet, and a table, which specifies each individual number of occurrences (figure 16.).

Retweets are found most frequently, with 188 occurrences. They are among the most interesting types of tweets, as they are used to redistribute particular messages. Retweets are the most frequent type of postings for both the dominant-hegemonic, and the oppositional encoding strategy. This is not surprising, given the nature of the media references. Politicians are found to retweet content which favors their views, as retweets are commonly used to signify endorsement (Halavais, 2014, p. 35). If a dominant-hegemonic strategy is used, politicians often use the retweet to distribute a favorable message, for instance a notification of a media appearance (e.g. [Gladys Albitrouw \(DENK\)](#)). In the case of an oppositional retweet, politicians often retweet other users, who comment on a particular medium or its content (e.g. [Wilma Schrover \(50PLUS\)](#)).

²¹ I limited myself to the Twitter sample, as Twitter has a very clear typology of messages, which is not so for Facebook.

Mentions were found 114 times, and often used to call the medium’s attention to something, or to – as the name suggests – mention them in a particular message. In 76 instances, no mention, retweet, reply, or citation retweet was found. These were ‘normal’ tweets. These were again predominantly encoded in a dominant-hegemonic way. About half of the replies (n = 43) were found to be dominant-hegemonic, the other half is divided equally among the other two strategies. Only 15 citation retweets were found. Both the dominant-hegemonic and negotiated strategies had 6 of such tweets, whereas the oppositional strategy only had 3.

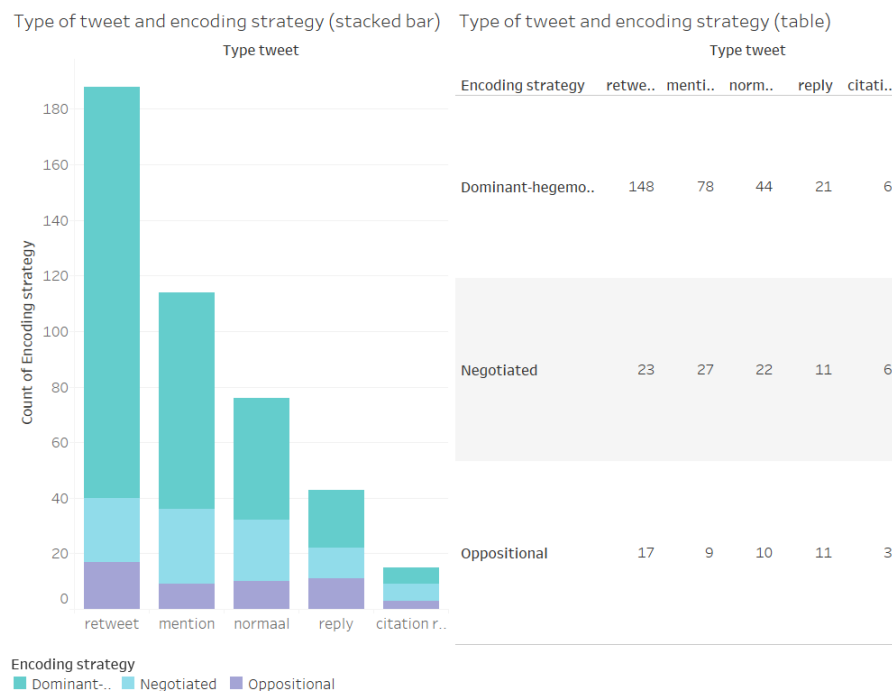


Figure 16. Type of tweet and encoding strategy

Such numbers help to bring perspective to matters. Yet, they do not allow for a comparison of the distribution of the types of tweet. In order to make these numbers better comparable I calculated sort of tweet per encoding strategy in percentages (table 11.). In all cases the citation retweet is among the least used, whereas the retweet and mention are found most often in dominant-hegemonically encoded tweets. In the negotiated messages, the most prominent tweet types were retweet, mention, and normal. For the oppositional strategy retweet was found predominantly, but – barring citation retweets – all other types of tweets were found in similar quantities (i.e. 9/10/11).

	Retweet	Mention	Normal	Reply	Citation retweet
Dominant-hegemonic (n = 297)	50%	26%	15%	7%	2%
Negotiated (n = 89)	26%	30%	25%	12%	7%
Oppositional (n = 50)	34%	18%	20%	22%	6%

Table 11. Distribution of type of tweet per encoding strategy

The great use of retweets, and the predominance of dominant-hegemonically encoded messages, point toward the affirmative nature of the social media platform. Considering earlier research into sentiment analysis of Twitter data (e.g. Kim, Bak, Jo, & Oh, 2012), it is not surprising that we find high amounts of endorsement, or acknowledgement. It does, however, underline the importance of the affordances of the medium: how particular use practices emphasize certain content, whereas they apparently discourage others.

6. Framing media content

We have seen in the analyses that the majority of politicians' posts in which they make a media reference related to the medium's content. In this section I aim to discuss a couple of [case studies](#) to examine, again qualitatively, how such a frame comes into being, and how the media content lends itself to being framed. In addition, I will surmise the [ramifications](#) of these frames, in relation to the case studies.

6.1. Case studies

The case studies were selected during the qualitative categorization of tweets and Facebook messages. The cases were selected to show both the typical, and the atypical messages which were encountered. For each type of encoding strategy, I will discuss 2 to 4 telling case studies.

Dominant-hegemonic encoding

One sort of dominant-hegemonic posts which I encountered often, were posts in which a media appearance was announced, or brought to the constituents' attention. This is congruent with the findings of Golbeck, Grimes, and Rogers (2010), who found that Twitter was often used as a means of self-promotion, where politicians' report their media appearances, their blog posts and daily activities.

An example of such promoting posts is a tweet by Gladys Albitrouw, candidate for DENK. She retweets a [post by FunX](#), a youth radio station, in which a media appearance of Tunahan Kuzu (*lijsttrekker* of DENK) is announced in a debate later that evening (figure 17.).²² As mentioned earlier, a retweet is an affordance within Twitter which allows a user to repost a particular tweet, and is commonly viewed as an endorsement (Halavais, 2014, p. 35). Here, then, Gladys Albitrouw endorses the media appearance of Kuzu, by disseminating FunX' message among her own followers.

²² A *lijsttrekker* is the first candidate listed on a political parties list of candidates. This person is also the person who partakes in the most prominent media events, and so forth.



Figure 17. Retweet (dominant-hegemonic content) by Gladys Albitrouw (DENK)

Another type of dominant-hegemonically encoded content relates to news articles which confirm with the politician's viewpoints. An example of such a post is, for instance, the following [Facebook message by Theun Wiersma](#) (figure 18.). Wiersma shares a letter which was published in *De Telegraaf*. The letter reprimands the Central Agency for Statistics for saying that baby boomers costs our society as much money as when they are young. The author, Jan Oosterhof, notes that this is the first group of workers that paid AOW and pension premiums, thereby they do not depend on others.

Wiersma subscribes to this message by sharing it on his page. Moreover, he calls upon his followers to share this message if they agree with it. The endorsement of this message lies in its compatibility with the party's/politician's viewpoints. 50PLUS is a party which actively strives to improve the (financial) situation of the elderly.



Figure 18. Post (dominant-hegemonic content) by Theun Wiersma (50PLUS)²³

Negotiated encoding

A first good example of a negotiated encoding is the following [tweet](#) by Renske Leijten, a MP for the SP (figure 19.). The SP (Socialist Party), vouches – together with a number of other parties – for the termination of the health insurance system as it currently stands. Instead, they propose to introduce a *Nationaal Zorgfonds* (National Healthcare Fund). This fund is meant to combat bureaucracy, and to abolish the deductibles (Nationaal Zorgfonds, 2017).

The tweet links to an [article in *HP de Tijd*](#) (Bakker, 2017). The article in question is an opinion piece by former psychiatrist Bram Bakker. Bakker explains how the insurance system was unworkable for his professional practice. Some patients would not be compensated by their insurances, as their impairments were not listed as an actual disease. He also laments the disadvantaged position of his smaller organization when negotiating contracts with the insurance companies. Bakker ends his piece with saying that as long as the

²³ Sidebar is blurred for privacy reasons.

insurance companies abuse their power, as is facilitated in the current system, he will avoid working as a psychiatrist. He notes that there are some hopeful developments in this area, amongst which is the *Nationaal Zorgfonds*.

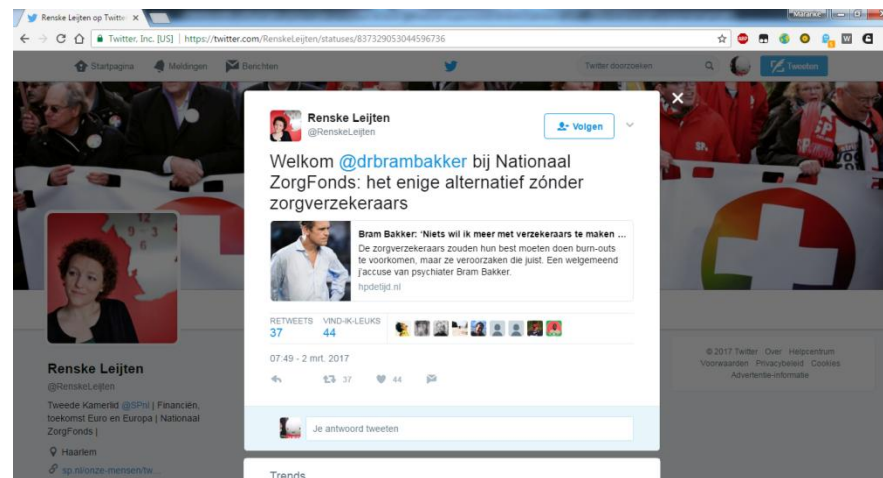


Figure 19. Tweet (negotiated content) by Renske Leijten (SP)

Leijten’s tweet welcomes Bram Bakker to the *Nationaal Zorgfonds*, and posits that it is the ‘only alternative without insurance companies’. While Leijten thus certainly acknowledges the sentiment within the article, she also strongly negotiates the article. While Bakker (2017) writes: “Dit land is dringend toe aan een ingrijpende herziening van het zorgstelsel. Plannen in die richting zijn er gelukkig steeds meer, denk aan het Nationaal Zorgfonds”, Leijten only focuses on the *Nationaal Zorgfonds*, and indeed even posits that it is the only alternative.²⁴

²⁴ This country is in pressing need of a drastic overhaul of the healthcare system. Thankfully, plans toward this end appear more often, the *Nationaal Zorgfonds* is one such example.

Another example of how media content can be negotiated comes from [Janet Duursma](#) (Groenlinks). Duursma shares an [article from De Stentor](#), in which the amounts that the provinces pay for infrastructural projects is discussed (figure 20.). Proportionally, the province Overijssel is said to contribute the most to such projects: almost 76% of the total costs are paid by the province.



Figure 20. Tweet (negotiated content) by Janet Duursma (Groenlinks)

Duursma notes in her tweet that “@CDAOverijssel stelt vragen over vele geld voor asfalt maar stemt zelf altijd vóór!”²⁵ Yet, in the article nothing about the CDA is mentioned. Nor is the approval or rejection of the projects themselves mentioned. She does, however, acknowledge the nature of the article, the great amount of infrastructure to which the province contributes. This tweet is then encoded in a negotiated way: it acknowledges the content of the article, but places it in a very specific context – in this case as a dismissal of another party’s behavior.

²⁵ @CDAOverijssel asks questions about the great amount of tarmac, but always votes in favor of it.

In other cases, the negotiation lies not so much in undermining another party, but emphasizing the viewpoints or plans of the own party. In this [post by Tjeerd de Groot](#) (D66) notes how D66 is a very sustainable party (figure x.). His post contains a [link toward an infographic of the Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency](#). In this infographic, the Environmental Assessment Agency visualized the effect of the different parties’ plans for the environment. Whereas D66 is indeed a prominent party in this visualization, Groenlinks does even better, which is not mentioned by De Groot. This is thus an instance in which only a section of the content is used to endorse the party’s plans and views.

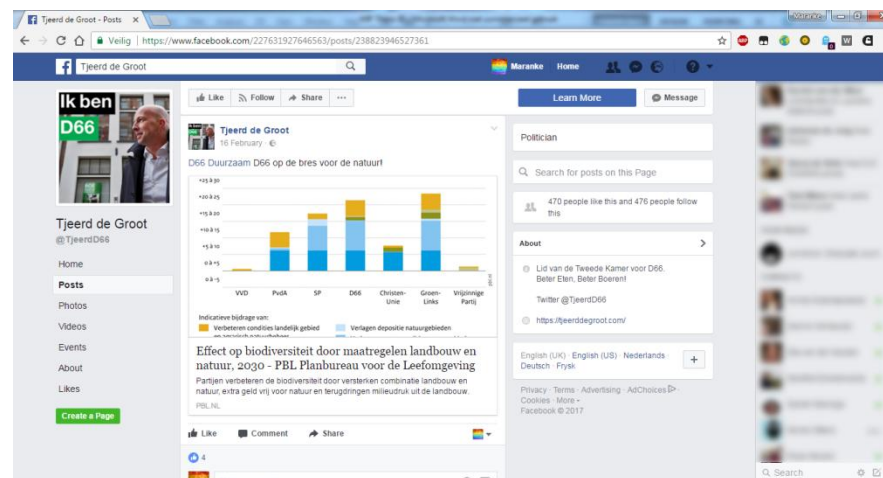


Figure 21. Post (negotiated content) by Tjeerd de Groot (D66)

A notable sort of negotiated media references apply satire. In a [post by CDJA](#), the youth party of CDA, an [article of De Speld](#) is shared (figure 22.). *De Speld* is a well known satirical news website, which spreads humorous, satirical ‘news’. In this article, Sybrand Buma (*lijsttrekker* of the CDA), is said to have singlehandedly destroyed the world’s economy, after tweeting to several multinationals that they should

produce *knakworstjes*, and should do so in the Netherlands, or else they will have to pay higher taxes.²⁶

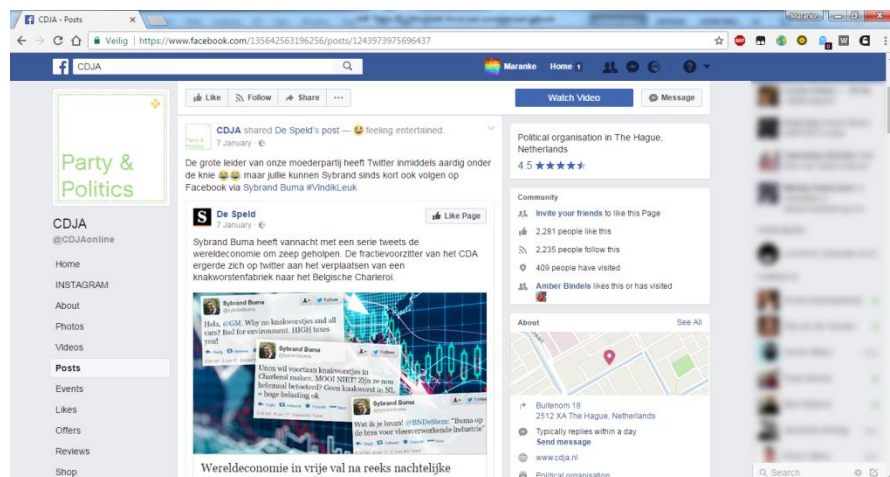


Figure 22. Post (negotiated content) by CDJA (youth party of CDA)

The CDJA page commented on this article that “De grote leider van onze moederpartij heeft Twitter inmiddels aardig onder de knie maar jullie kunnen Sybrand sinds kort ook volgen op Facebook.”²⁷ The use of the emoticons is important in this regard, it designates that the CDJA sees this a funny, non-serious, post. Yet, the negotiation is again one of self-promotion. While the CDJA acknowledges the article for the humoristic, satirical, piece it is, it also uses it as an opportunity to advertise the other social media channel of their *lijsttrekker*: Facebook.

²⁶ *Knakworstjes* are Dutch variety of Frankfurters.

²⁷ The great leader of our mother party is pretty handy with Twitter but you can also follow Sybrand on Facebook.

Oppositional encoding

A good case study of an oppositional encoding can be found in a [tweet](#) by Martin Bosma, who is a MP for the PVV (figure 23.). The tweet posits that Lodewijk Asscher (minister of Social Affairs and Employment) promised pharmacists from Aleppo, but that they turned out to be pickpockets in Zwolle. The tweet features a link to *De Stentor*, which is a news article concerning pickpockets operating in Zwolle (Mollen, 2017).



Figure 23. Tweet (oppositional content) by Martin Bosma (PVV)

While Bosma argues that refugees are responsible, the news article explicitly states that it isn't clear whether the delinquents are Dutch or refugees. There was, however, an earlier series of cases in which refugees were involved. In this instance, however, this isn't proven to be the case according to the article. Therefore, Bosma uses an oppositional encoding strategy in this message.

Another type of an oppositional encoding is when a candidate disagrees with the content itself. An example is [Martin van Vuuren's \(Piratenpartij\) tweet](#) (figure 24.) about an [opinion piece in De](#)

Volkskrant by Hans Wansink. The article argues that we need more women in the political arena, therefore, Wansink calls upon his readers to vote for a woman.



Figure 24. Tweet (oppositional content) by Martin van Vuuren (Piratenpartij)

The article discusses a couple of different female politicians, but, also Van Vuuren points out, fails to make mention of one of the few female *lijsttrekkers*: Ancilla van de Leest from the Piratenpartij. This is an opposition because of a lacuna in the article. The article is framed as being flawed, or perhaps even partial, as it does not acknowledge this smaller party's most prominent member.

6.2. Ramifications

In this chapter I have delved into some case studies of the 83-90% of the messages which frame media content in one way or another. Now, I want to explicate the implications of these content frames. In order to refamiliarize ourselves with the distribution involved, I have duplicated table 10. below.

There are two sides to the framing of content story which need to be explicitly stated. First, the media references here function as a

legitimation of the politician's own viewpoints, this is underscored by the massive amount of dominant-hegemonically encoded messages point. Second, this in turn points towards a cherry-picking behavior. I will discuss these two below (later in this thesis I will *reflect more thoroughly on cherry-picking*).

	Twitter (n = 436)		Facebook (n = 58)	
	Content	Medium	Content	Medium
Dominant-hegemonic	61%	7%	64%	9%
Negotiated	16%	5%	21%	0%
Oppositional	6%	5%	5%	2%

Table 10. Encoding strategy and subject of frame (used) on Twitter and Facebook

Media content as a legitimation for the politician

The great amount of endorsing messages seems to point to a particular usage of social media by politicians.²⁸ Politicians use social media more to endorse particular messages, then to negotiate or negate them. This is intriguing in itself, but it also has some implications.

There may be different reasons for politicians to use a dominant-hegemonic encoding strategy. One such instance is tweeting or posting about a media appearance of themselves or other (prominent) party members, such as the *lijsttrekker* (see for instance the case study of Gladys Albitrouw - DENK). Another reason to use this strategy is to endorse the content of, for instance, an article. Theun Wiersma's (50PLUS) sharing of the letter published in *De Telegraaf*. Here the media content is endorsed not because of the direct involvement of the politician, but rather to strengthen their position, and perspective, on certain matters.

In the instances where a negotiated strategy was used, this too is to bend certain content to one's favor (e.g. the messages of Renske Leijten, CDJA, De Groot). In other cases, it was more explicitly by

²⁸ Though, as of yet comparative research in a non-political group is absent.

opposing another political party, by basing themselves on the content (e.g. tweet by Duursma).

Oppositional strategies were found when one either misrepresented the article (e.g. tweet by Bosma), or when one open and actively disagreed with the content. The latter, was for instance found in the tweet by Van Vuuren, who claimed that the opinion piece was flawed as it forgot to make mention of a female *lijsttrekker*.

In general, politicians can be said to refer to media almost exclusively to legitimate their own viewpoints. In this sense, one can perhaps speak of media content 'echo chambers'.²⁹ The echo chamber effect is usually described as being caused by the "tendency of individuals to create homogeneous groups and to affiliate with individuals that share their political view" (Colleoni, Rozza, & Arvidsson, 2014, p. 319). In this way, a kind of self-affirming cycle is propagated. The results of the media content related frames points to an echo chamber of one's own beliefs and viewpoints. Content that fits the agenda is dominant-hegemonically encoded, otherwise it is negotiated, negated or ignored. These are individual echo chambers, where one keeps reiterating content which suits their beliefs: a gatekeeping of content, not by the media, but by politicians, with no regard for the journalistic adversarial principle.

Cherry-picking and confirmation bias

In line with the previous, another issue emerges: the cherry-picking behavior, invoked by one's mental frame (or, 'confirmation bias'). Lakoff (2002, p. 36) notes that people (in general, this may be more complicated in politicians) are not necessarily conscious of their worldviews. Yet the frames which are formulated on the basis of these

worldviews do influence us a great deal, he poses (Lakoff, 2014, p. xiv):

(...) you can only understand what the frames in your brain allow you to understand. If the facts don't fit the frames in your brain, the frames in your brain stay and the facts are ignored or challenged or belittled.

Similar to Lakoff's 'unconfirming facts-out, frames-in' notion, is the idea of confirmation bias. Nickerson (1998, p. 175) describes confirmation bias as connoting "the seeking or interpreting of evidence in ways that are partial to existing beliefs, expectations, or a hypothesis in hand.". Basically, this boils down to making something true by wanting it to be true: it is a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Politicians (and people in general, let us not pretend otherwise), select media content which interests them, which fits their frame somehow. This cherry-picking behavior is thus informed by a confirmation bias, by this individual echo chamber of media content use.

²⁹ With the explicit remark that this only holds true when looking at the subset of media references within the politicians' bigger communication behavior. Like Conover, et al. (2011) we found polarization on a retweet level – the so called retweet cartels -, but not in mention/reply behavior on Twitter (Wieringa et al., 2017).

7. Framing the media

Between 10 and 17% of the frames related to the medium in its entirety. While these kinds of messages are far outnumbered by their content related siblings, their ramifications may be vaster. A politician, may endorse a particular medium – and by extension its content – or discredit it.

7.1. Case studies

Again, the case studies were selected during the qualitative categorization of tweets and Facebook messages. The cases were selected to show both the typical, and the atypical messages which were encountered. For each type of encoding strategy, I will discuss 2 to 4 case studies. The amount of Facebook posts discussed here will be limited, as there were only 6 medium related posts found in the entirety of the Facebook sample.

Dominant-hegemonic encoding

An endorsing encoding strategy can for example be found in a [post by Michiel Servaes](#) (PvdA) (figure 25.). Servaes announces his presentation of a manifesto for human rights. He drafted this manifesto together with a couple of interests groups such as *COC Nederland*, Amnesty, Human Rights Watch, and Free Press Unlimited. He writes:

Heel bijzonder vind ik het dat het manifest tot stand kwam dankzij de input van 10 maatschappelijke organisaties, ieder op zijn eigen terrein. Uiteraard kiezen zij geen partij bij de verkiezingen, wel ben ik Amnesty, PAX, Human Rights Watch, Save the Children, COC, FNV, Wo=men, NIMD, Justice & Peace en Free Press Unlimited dankbaar voor de goede samenwerking. Sowieso trokken we de afgelopen jaren, zowel

in de Kamer als bij acties buiten het Binnenhof, vaak samen op.³⁰

By expressing his gratitude to these groups, he also acknowledges and endorses their value to our society. Thus, it is a good example of a dominant-hegemonic frame.



Figure 25. Post (dominant-hegemonic medium) by Michael Servaes (PvdA)

Another example of a medium endorsing message can be found in a tweet from Frans Kapteijns (Groenlinks). Kapteijns is a forest ranger, and regularly tweets about nature phenomena (figure 26.). In his tweets he often tags various organizations, most notably *Natuurmonumenten* and *Omroep Brabant*. He regularly writes for *Omroep Brabant*, and works for *Natuurmonumenten*. With his tagging

³⁰ I find it very special that this manifesto came together with input from 10 interests groups, each on their own terrain. They obviously do not chose sides in the election, but I am grateful to Amnesty, PAX, Human Rights Watch, Save the Children, COC, FNV, Wo=men, NIMD, Justice & Peace, and Free Press Unlimited for their cooperation. We have had good contact over the past few years, within the House of Representatives, and outside *het Binnenhof*.

of these organizations (among others), he endorses them. Therefore, this too, is a dominant-hegemonically encoded medium reference.



Figure 26. Tweet (dominant-hegemonic medium) by Frans Kapteijns (Groenlinks)

Negotiated encoding

A good example of a negotiated strategy on the medium level can be found in a [tweet by Norbert Klein](#) (Vrijzinnige Partij) (figure 27.). The Vrijzinnige Partij had the Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis (CPB) and the Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency (PBL) make calculations on the impact of the party programme. There is something particularly ambiguous about this message. Klein notes in his tweet that: “Doorrekenen van het Partijprogramma zoals dat van de Vrijzinnige Partij door CPB + PBL is een basis voor de kiezer”.³¹ Here, it seems then at first glance that Klein, and his party, endorse both the CPB and PBL.

³¹ The Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis and the Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency making calculations based on the party program, as the Vrijzinnige Partij does, is a basis for the voter.



Figure 27. Tweet (negotiated medium) by Norbert Klein (Vrijzinnige Partij)

They indeed do so, but only to a certain degree. While they acknowledge the importance of such calculations, they also make huge reservations about their validity. The link within this tweet leads to a document titled ‘Kanttekeningen bij CPB Keuzes in Kaart en de PBL Analyse Vrijzinnige Partij’, where they elaborate on these reservations.³² I will highlight a few in order to sketch the complicated relation of this party with the two bureaus.

The problems have to do with three conditions of the CPB (Vrijzinnige Partij, 2017):

1. De eisen neergelegd in de CPB-Startnotitie augustus /oktober 2016 [zijn leidend]
2. Effecten die niet (wetenschappelijk) bewezen zijn, worden niet meegenomen

³² Notes on the reports of the CPB and PBL with regards to the Vrijzinnige Partij.

3. Het eigen economische model is leidend om vergelijking tussen partijen mogelijk te maken.

De Vrijzinnige Partij heeft deze randvoorwaarden gerespecteerd vanuit de overtuiging dat het totaal beeld aangevuld kan worden. De beperkingen hebben namelijk een groot financieel negatief effect op het positieve resultaat als gevolg van de invoering van het basisinkomen.³³

The party argues that the CPB misunderstood the party program. For instance in the case of not making budget cuts in social benefits, but by replacing them entirely by a base income for everyone. Moreover, the party seems to insinuate that the CPB would not calculate the base income, because they think there is a lack of scientific proof.³⁴

The biggest reservation is, however, placed on the economic models used by the bureau. The Vrijzinnige Partij argues that these models are harmful to the ideas of the Vrijzinnige Partij, as they could not be properly transposed within them. More explicitly, the party notes that (Vrijzinnige Partij, 2017):

De onvolkomen economische modellen van de CPB leidt [sic.] er toe dat in 1.7 en 1.8, de slotparagrafen, stellig beweerd wordt dat uitvoering van het Vrijzinnige Partij verkiezingsprogramma in Nederland zou leiden tot fors

³³ 1. The demands of the of the CPB-startnotitie august/october 2016 are leading
2. Effects which are not scientifically proven, are not included
3. The own economic model is leading in order to allow for comparison between the different parties.

The Vrijzinnige Partij accepted these conditions, because they believed that it could augment the bigger picture. Nevertheless, the conditions have a pronounced negative effect on the positive results of the base income, financially.

³⁴ This section is a bit ambiguous in the original text.

minder arbeidsvolume en een fors tekort in de houdbaarheid van overheidsfinanciën.

Deze CPB beweringen zijn niet goed onderbouwd en niet aannemelijk. Ze berusten op onbegrip van het onvoorwaardelijk basisinkomen dat de Vrijzinnige Partij voorstaat, en onbegrip van wat de invoering van dit basisinkomen doet met de arbeidsmarkt.³⁵

The Vrijzinnige Partij thus discerned some serious limitations in the calculations. Moreover, they accuse the CPB of not substantiating their statements, and having misinterpreted the base income plans of the party. Thus, while the value of the bureaus is explicitly acknowledged, for instance in Klein's tweet, there are also critical notes which radically negotiate the basis on which these bureaus operate.

In some cases, on Twitter, a message was part of a larger discussion (figure 28.). For instance because it was a reaction on someone else's tweet. To understand such a tweet it is vital to look at the preceding thread of posts. An example is the case of Gijs Peskens (Piratenpartij), who responded to the question why the Piratenpartij was not participating in the NOS and RTL debates.³⁶ Peskens responds that only parties with a seat in the House of Representatives were invited. Upon which the person asked why DENK was invited, then. Peskens again responded by pointing out that this party has two seats because two members split off from the PvdA. The conversation ends with the

³⁵ The incomplete economic models of the CPB culminate in the statement in 1.7., 1.8., and the final paragraphs, that the implementation of the program of the Vrijzinnige Partij, would lead to a great loss of jobs, and a deficit in governmental funds.

These statements are not substantiated, and not plausible. They originate in a misunderstanding of the base income propagated by the Vrijzinnige Partij, and a misunderstanding of what such a base income would mean for the labor market.

³⁶ For privacy reasons, this person's profile picture and username was blurred, and no link to the tweet is given.

person lamenting the choices of NOS and RTL, with which Peskens agrees.

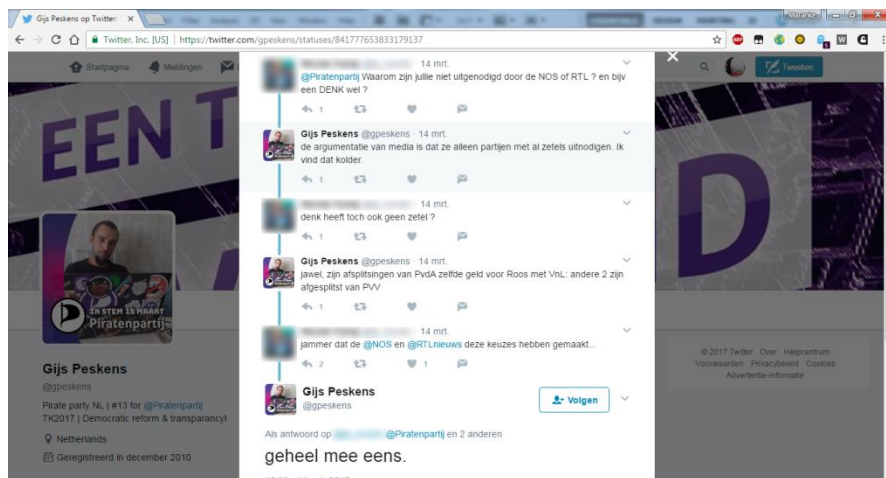


Figure 28. Tweet (negotiated medium) by Gijs Peskens (Piratenpartij)

The negotiation here, lies in Peskens response: “de argumentatie van media is dat ze alleen partijen met al zetels uitnodigen. Ik vind dat kolder”.³⁷ Here, the behavior and choices of the media are negotiated as being nonsense. Even so, the value of these media (and the precious screen time they award to political candidates) is acknowledged. This is thus again a good example of a negotiated encoding strategy.

Oppositional encoding

An oppositional encoded message can be for instance be found in a retweet by Chris Jansen (PVV).³⁸ This tweet is comprised of several screenshots, in which PVV politicians or supporters are threatened

³⁷ The reasoning of the media is that they only invite parties with a seat [in the House of Representatives]. I think that is nonsense.

³⁸ For privacy reasons, this person’s profile picture and username was blurred, and no link to the tweet is given.

(figure 29.). The author of the tweet asks the various media: “Hoe lang blijven jullie zwijgen over hetze tegen PVV?”.³⁹



Figure 29. Retweet (oppositional medium) by Chris Jansen (PVV)

Several media are mentioned in this tweet, such as *RTL*, *NOS*, *Nieuwsuur*, *Jinek*, and *Pauw*. The author thereby implicitly accuses these media for being negligent in their reporting. This tweet was retweeted by Jansen, who thus further subscribes to this idea. Thus, one can speak of an oppositional frame.

Another oppositional example is another thread surrounding an interview by *Nieuwsuur* with Henk Krol, *lijsttrekker* of 50PLUS (figure 30. and figure 31.). In the fragment posted by *Nieuwsuur*, Henk Krol noted he had some different numbers concerning the AOW. Commentator Twan Huys responded with “de Henk Krolcijfers?”, in reference to the upheaval about Krol’s mistake earlier in the campaign

³⁹ How long will you remain silent about the witch hunt directed on PVV supporters?

where he swapped numbers which were integral to his party's ambitions.⁴⁰

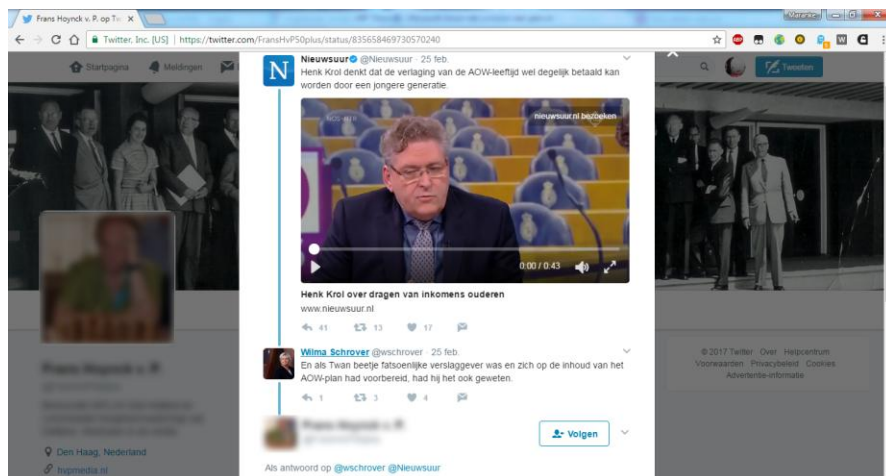


Figure 30. Tweet (oppositional medium) by Wilma Schrover (50PLUS)

Two members of 50PLUS (of which one, Wilma Schrover, was a candidate) responded to the fragment. Schrover, noted that Huys apparently did not prepare himself properly, else he would have known what Krol meant. Second, the other member responded with “Twan [Huys] had geen belangstelling voor de waarheid. De NepNieuwsuur missie luidde: 'mol Krol'”.⁴¹ Especially this latter tweet blatantly accuses *Nieuwsuur* of being ‘fake news’, and that they are explicitly biased against 50PLUS, and their *lijsttrekker*. The tweet even goes so far as to say that the news program actively tries to ‘wreck’ Krol and his party. Thus, this instance can clearly be seen as an

⁴⁰ Krol noted that income of the elderly had dropped dramatically, over the past decades, when instead, it was shown by the CBS to have increased.

⁴¹ Twan [Huys] had no interest in the truth. The fake-*Nieuwsuur* mission was to ‘wreck Krol’.

oppositional encoding strategy. Schrover subsequently retweeted this, to endorse the viewpoint stated therein.⁴²

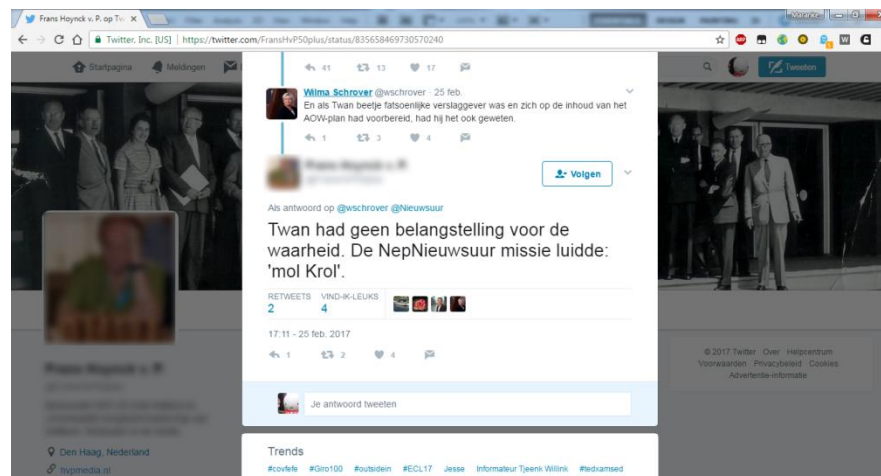


Figure 31. Reweet (oppositional medium) by Wilma Schrover (50PLUS)

The last case-study I wish to discuss is a [post by Forum voor Democratie](#) (Fvd) (figure 32.). On Facebook they posted:

Waarom zitten steeds dezelfde figuren in DWDD, Pauw, Jinek e.d. in plaats van bijvoorbeeld een interessante filosoof die een interessant vergezicht kan schetsen op de ontwikkelingen in onze samenleving?⁴³

⁴² For privacy reasons, this person’s profile picture and username was blurred, and no link to the tweet is given.

⁴³ Why do programs as DWDD, Pauw, Jinek, and so on, keep on inviting the same persons, instead of an interesting philosopher who can share an interesting view on the developments in our society?

They note that programs like DWDD are guilty of playing favorites, that they invite the same guests. In the link which is included in this post, the party goes even further (Forum voor Democratie, 2017):

Forum voor Democratie constateert grote vooringenomenheid in de publieke media. Een stuitende eenzijdigheid domineert, gekoppeld aan groot gebrek aan oprechte nieuwsgierigheid. (...) De onderwerpkeuze, gasten en voorkeuren van steeds dezelfde presentatoren pakken schokkend vaak uit in het voordeel van steeds weer dezelfde politieke partijen en agendapunten. Andere partijen en opvattingen worden negatief bejegend of zelfs totaal genegeerd of verdraaid. (...) Voor al dit geld wordt de Nederlandse bevolking niet goed voorgelicht. Sterker: de publieke en politieke meningsvorming wordt gemanipuleerd. Dit moet nu echt stoppen.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Forum voor Democratie sees that there is a great bias in the public media. A damaging one-sided presentation dominates, coupled with a lack of honest curiosity. (...) The subject choice, guests, and preferences of the same presenters are shockingly often beneficial for a selected group of political parties and issues. Other parties or viewpoints are regarded negatively, ignored, or twisted. (...) Despite this huge amount of money, the Dutch population is not well informed. Moreover, the public and political opinion is manipulated. This must end.

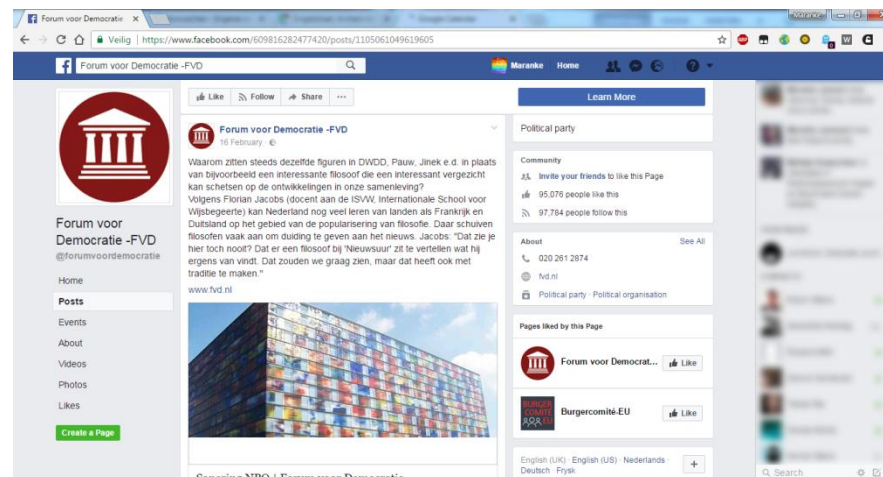


Figure 32. Post (oppositional medium) by Forum voor Democratie

Here then, Forum voor Democratie actively expresses their antipathy towards the current set-up of these programs, as well as the public media to which they are a part. These media are guilty of manipulating the public opinion, so they say. Here they make use of an oppositional encoding strategy.

7.2. Ramifications

Framing a medium in its entirety is significantly more drastic than framing content. For, in the framing of the medium all content is implicitly framed as well. Roughly three strands of different media frames can be distilled. First, are frames which endorse media. A second is media frames in which structural behavior, or influential choices of a medium are questioned. The third is the kind of frame in which the ontological nature of a medium is challenged. I will discuss all of these below.

Endorsing media

Both dominant-hegemonically encoded case studies demonstrate how media references can endorse certain media/institutions/interest

groups. Here the politicians underscore the importance of these organizations, but they, in turn, also legitimate the politician. Interest groups are often experts on their specific focus area, meaning their contribution to a politician's proposal lends more credibility and validity to it. Michael Servaes' (PvdA) manifesto for human rights, for instance, was drafted together with several interest groups, which enhances the value attached to it – and by extension to the politician in question.

The endorsement of a medium thus rests on a two-way relation. The politician acknowledges the expertise of these organizations, while precisely this expertise validates the politician as well. Something similar can be seen in the tweet by *boswachter* Frans Kapteijns (Groenlinks).⁴⁵ In his tweet he strengthens the position of *Natuurmonumenten*, and various touristic organizations located in Brabant, but his involvement provides more credibility to himself as well.

Questioning the choices of media

There are also those who subscribe to the impact of media, but do not agree with their 'behavior' or choices. There are different degrees in which one can debate this. A thread in which Gijs Peskens (Piratenpartij) participated, for instance, acknowledged the importance of the *NOS* and *RTL*, but merely questioned the wisdom of the (isolated) decision of not allowing smaller parties to participate in the debates.

There are also those messages in which the structural behavior of a medium is challenged. An example is the retweet by Chris Jansen (PVV) or the tweet by Norbert Klein (Vrijzinnige Partij). The document linked to by Klein fundamentally questions the structural behavior and choices of the Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis (CPB) and the Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency (PBL). They argue that the economic models are flawed when they are applied to their party program, for instance. Jansen, retweeted a message in which

⁴⁵ A *boswachter* is a forest ranger.

several media are reproached for being negligent in their reporting, by not reporting on threats to PVV supporters. According to the author, the media have consistently ignored the matter (“hoe lang nog?”).⁴⁶

In all these cases – even in the oppositional retweet of Jansen –, the media are still viewed as essential and valid; the media are after all called upon to report on these matters. There are, however, also more extreme cases in which the validity of the medium itself is challenged.

Challenging a medium's ontology

Such extremes are for instance visible in the case of Wilma Schrover (50PLUS), who retweeted a message from a fellow party member, who wrote that that *Nieuwsuur* is in fact 'fake news', and that the program was bent on destroying their *lijsttrekker*. These politicians thereby actively discredit the media outlet, and all of its content.

This is then undoubtedly the most extreme framing behavior. Whereas opposing specific content allows for the possibility that in other instances this medium is still credible, this is not so when the medium in its entirety is so actively discredited. The specific impact of this phenomenon will differ, however. The definition of 'media' is broadened to information sources of all kind which are used by politicians. The implications of the negation of a particular source depend on the situation. In the examples cited above (e.g. *Nieuwsuur*, *DWDD*, *Jinek*) the programs are part of the public broadcasting system. In these cases the negation is quite far reaching.

⁴⁶ How much longer?

8. The online vulnerability of (traditional) media

In the preceding parts of this thesis, I discussed how politicians frame media content, and/or the media in general. In this section, I wish to shed some light on the vulnerability of the media to this framing behavior. In order to do so, I will first sketch a couple of [case studies](#), which help to illustrate the observations made earlier. Then, I will discuss in greater detail the matter of [cherry-picking](#), and the [dissipation of the adversarial principle](#) in a politician's feed. The implications for the (traditional) media – if they wish to retain their Fourth Estate stature – is that they need to find ways to [reach the constituents themselves](#) directly as well.

While this research busied itself with the politicians' communiqué, and did not couple it with a media analysis – this would be fertile ground for a follow up research. For now, I distill some lines of thought based on these limited observations, but it is up to others to follow up on them, and measure to what extent the media already practice this, or develop thoroughly grounded integrations of them. The following is thus more of a thought exercise in the implications of the results of the analyses, than thoroughly grounded observations based on recipient research.

8.1. Case studies

An example of how media are vulnerable for having their content pulled out of its original context, is the [case of Theun Wiersma \(50PLUS\)](#), which I discussed earlier as well (figure 18.). The letter Wiersma shared, was a response on another article, which was featured in *De Telegraaf* a day before (“Babyboomer zwaargewicht,” 2017).⁴⁷ In this article, which discusses a presentation of the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), in which seniors are represented as a

⁴⁷ The article was not found in the online version of *De Telegraaf*, therefore no direct link could be provided. The article is, however, accessible via [LexisNexis](#).

significant part of the population. Commercially and politically, this group is increasingly important, the CBS argues:

‘Op 1 januari 2016 telde Nederland 3,1 miljoen 65-plussers, dat waren er twintig jaar geleden 2,1 miljoen. Gaan we terug naar 1950, dan waren dat er toen maar 770.000 en over twintig jaar zijn er 4,7 miljoen!’ De hoofdemograaf [Jan Latten] van het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek laat zijn analyse graag los op de jongste onderzoeksuitkomsten, die vandaag worden gepresenteerd. De vergrijzing sluipt naderbij. ‘Al gaat het langzaam en bijna ongemerkt, de samenleving verandert. Politiek en commercieel gezien worden de mensen in de derde levensfase steeds belangrijker. Zwaargewichten! Ik zie al dorpen en gemeenten waar de ouderen de overhand hebben in de politiek.’⁴⁸

The article thus argues that the senior segment of the population is and will become increasingly more important – especially politically. So far, one could say, so good, as far as 50PLUS' viewpoints are concerned.

However, the sentence which sparked the upheaval and responding letter, was the following statement by Jan Latten: “‘Als mensen de pensioenfase bereiken, hebben ze gemiddeld nog twintig jaar te gaan. Een periode die net zo lang duurt als hun jeugd, en eigenlijk leven ze net als toen op kosten van anderen die werken”

⁴⁸ 'On January 1st 2016 the Netherlands has 3.1 million senior citizens. Twenty years ago, this group was 2.1 million. If we go back to 1950, then there were only 770.000. In twenty years from now, the senior population will consist of 4.7 million!' The chief demographer of the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), Jan Latten, eagerly analyzes the youngest research outcomes which are presented today. The ageing of the population creeps ever closer. 'Even though it happens slowly and inconspicuously, our society changes. The senior population becomes increasingly important, politically and commercially. Heavy-weights! I can foresee villages and municipalities where the elderly have the upper hand in politics.'

(“Babyboomer zwaargewicht,” 2017).⁴⁹ This statement clashes with the 50PLUS perspective on the *AOW* and pensions, of being delayed salary.

While the original article thus was not shared by this politician in question, the responding letter was. The first did not fit the 50PLUS frame, as Lakoff (2002, 2014) would put it, the latter did. The first was ignored, the latter shared – even though both appeared in the same newspaper, only a day apart.

Another example is the [case of Norbert Klein](#) (Vrijzinnige Partij), who tweeted about the calculations of the Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis (CPB) and the Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency (PBL). He included a link to the party’s reaction to the calculated effects in his tweet (figure 27.).

Interestingly enough, the politician did not share the original report [Keuzes in Kaart 2018-2021](#), to which the response was written, on his feed. Instead, only the filtered, party reaction on said document was distributed. Thus, we see again a similar effect in which only the favorable is presented to the audience. Or, as Mercer (Arlen, Mercer, & Pied Pipers, 1944), Crosby (Crosby & The Andrew Sisters, 1944), and various other performers already noted: [“you got to accentuate the positive, eliminate the negative”](#).

8.2. The urgency

While the same medium, then, can articulate different perspectives on the same subject matter, politicians will generally choose the perspective which fits them best. Online media are particularly vulnerable, as it is easy to decontextualize (fragments) of the content. Whereas, for instance, a newspaper was something which contained articles, now articles are given individual pages. Whereas they used to

⁴⁹ ‘If people reach the pension-eligible age, they generally live for another 20 years. This period is as long as their youth, and as in their childhood, they cost the working population.’

be part of a bigger product, now, they can be sold and read in isolation, for instance via Blendle.

While this is not necessarily a bad thing – as there are many benefits to this newer system – the media do need to reflect on their traditional role of the Fourth Estate in this decontextualized media landscape. Politicians now can create a collage of content without the presence of the nuanced perspective of the medium in its entirety (Wieringa et al., 2017, p. 58). This cherry-picking behavior, can lead to a dissipation of the adversarial principle within a newsfeed, which is why the media have to reflect on their ability to reach the constituents of the politicians. If they wish to retain their role of the Fourth Estate, they will need to find ways to show constituents what was left out in their representative’s one-sided presentation of media content.

We cannot expect (campaigning) politicians to uphold this journalistic principle. If we strive for an objectively informed public, the traditional media will need to reflect on ways to again bring their fragmented content back into the context, and find ways to reach constituents not through their representatives, but directly.

8.3. Cherry-picking

We have seen that the positive dominant-hegemonic frame was the most prevalent. In a way this is in itself an important finding. It proves that politicians are more inclined to refer to media/media content which fit their worldviews and ideals. This is not a shocking finding, for people in general often present themselves in a favorable way, subscribing to the idea of the ‘lowest common denominator’ of what is fitting and acceptable in different situations, and on different social media platforms (Hogan, 2010).

Social media, like Facebook and Twitter, are designed to present ourselves in a certain way. Facebook has become a virtual exhibition of our lives, with notable life events (e.g. becoming a parent, or getting a pet), with ‘memories’ which we can relive, and so forth. By extension, the Facebook pages become a place where one engages in a favorable ‘presentation of the self’ (Goffman, 1956). Likewise, on

Twitter we can make short comments on situations, and phenomena, through which we present ourselves in particular ways.

Among the politicians, we have seen that this leads to the predominant behavior of sharing dominant-hegemonically encoded content (between 68-72% of the messages were encoded in this fashion). This encoding strategy endorses the media (content), but more importantly, it strengthens their own position, or viewpoint. In this sense, one can speak of an individual echo chamber sparked by media use. To reiterate, Lakoff (2014, p. xiv) wrote that we only take note of those things which already fit with our perception and perspective on reality, the rest will be changed, ridiculed, or ignored. The distribution of the encoding strategies, and the subject of the frames, underscores this notion (table 10.). What is shared, is mostly that with which one agrees, in a lesser extent that which is nuanced, or altered, and only rarely that which one opposes.

	Twitter (n = 436)		Facebook (n = 58)	
	Content	Medium	Content	Medium
Dominant-hegemonic	61%	7%	64%	9%
Negotiated	16%	5%	21%	0%
Oppositional	6%	5%	5%	2%

Table 10. Encoding strategy and subject of frame (used) on Twitter and Facebook

This ‘cherry-picking’ phenomenon can also be seen as a new kind of gatekeeping. Now, however, the practitioners of this gatekeeping practice are not the traditional media – the Fourth Estate, if you will –, but the politicians themselves. While the media still decide which articles to publish, the politician decides which of these they pass on to the constituents. There is thus a selective gatekeeping of the gatekeepers; the media select what to publish, the politician decides what published content is communicated further. The politician plays the role of the opinion leader, as it is formulated in the two-step flow

of communication, in which they select certain interesting articles and share it with the bigger audience (DeFleur, 2010b).

We jokingly christened this the ‘Merci’ principle. If you can put together a chocolate box of pre-existing flavors, you will most likely only include the flavors you like. While good for the curator’s taste buds, it is not so favorable for an informed public if the ‘chocolate’ turns out to be news or other types of media content. The Merci-principle can lead to a malnourished diet.

While politicians are not journalists, and they need not uphold journalistic values, and indeed have much to gain from painting a favorable picture -, such a biased presentation of information can cause problems; for instance when the media are not able to adequately reach these fragmented audiences on their own. These fragmented audiences are then deprived of a supplementary diet of the bigger media context, which brings the Merci presentation of the politician in perspective.

As I noted in the beginning of this chapter, comprehensive media analysis was made – and the findings thus are limited. Yet if we look at the case studies I sketched before, we can start to see the potential implications. Politicians may cater to different fragmented audiences than the media from which they cherry-pick the content. For instance, a follower of Wiersma or Klein may read the responses they shared, but not the original report/article, to which these are connected. This practice has multiple consequences, as we already noted in the *Wie is de waakhond op sociale media?* research (Wieringa et al., 2017, p. 58), and was the observation from which I departed in this thesis:

Een facebookpagina of twitteraccount [is] een handig middel voor een politicus waarin uiteraard alleen het gewenste geluid wordt gecommuniceerd met het publiek. Politici zijn hierbij

redacteur van hun eigen newsfeed, waarbij niet aan hoor en wederhoor hoeft te worden gedaan [...].⁵⁰

Below I will further discuss the danger of such a single-sided perspective, and will also consider the differences in audiences between the politician and the media to which they refer.

8.4. The dissipation of the adversarial principle

In an ideal situation, a properly functioning democracy has well-informed citizens. These vote according to their beliefs, and ideals, on political matters. They make themselves heard either via electing candidates for the House of Representatives, their local governments, or via the occasional referendum.

Traditionally, information about the election, parties, and the candidates, was gatekept by the traditional media which is journalistically bound to uphold the adversarial principle; meaning that they should present both sides of a story (Nederlandse Vereniging van Journalisten, n.d.). Now, these media are still important, as we saw in *Wie is de waakhond op sociale media?* (Wieringa et al., 2017), but these gatekeepers have become gatekept by the politicians on their feed. As these politicians predominantly select articles which favor their agenda in one way or another, the information flow to their constituents is biased.

Embedded in this cherry-picking behavior, lies the risk of the dissipation of the adversarial principle. It is not in the interest of the politician to distribute media content among his constituents which is less enthusiastic about them. After all, these persons are campaigning to gather as much votes as possible, and negative, or negotiated publicity might not aid them in this quest.

⁵⁰ A Facebook page or a Twitter account are convenient tools for a politician, in which only the preferred message is communicated with an audience. Politicians here are editors of their own newsfeeds, where they do not need to apply the adversarial principle.

Politicians are aided in their cherry-picking behavior by the online presence of the traditional media. It is important to realize that, online, the traditional medium is fragmented; it is split up in individual articles, or audio/video fragments of a larger program. Online, the product of the traditional media is Blendle-ized; now the article, and not the newspaper as a whole, is the sellable product. This makes compartmentalizing a separate article much easier; no scissors are required, as the medium itself has done the preparatory work for you on their own websites.

There generally are two ways for media to uphold the adversarial principle. First, they can do so within the same article or program. Second, if the genre (e.g. interview, opinion piece) does not allow for this first strategy, they can also make sure to publish content which relates the other side of the story. Both strategies, however, remain vulnerable to framing behavior.

In the first scenario, the paratexts given in – for instance – links are important. A title, and blurb, which covers only one perspective in the content, may allow politicians to frame the content easier. Titles are after all the most prominent features in a link on Facebook and Twitter. In the second scenario, we see that politicians often only pick the pleasing article, such as we saw in the case of Theun Wiersma (50PLUS) (figure 18.). Here, the politician selects the one perspective which fits their frame, and ignores the others.

Adversarial content is in the democratic interest – as it helps foster a well informed population. We cannot, and should not, expect the politicians to distribute this type of content. Instead, the media should – as they are already doing – uphold the adversarial principle, and, additionally, should find ways to bypass the politician's gate and frame, in order to reach their constituent-audience with adversarial content.

8.5. Keeping up with the constituents

In order to provide particular politically segmented audiences with such a broader perspective, social media strategies of the media are of vital importance. It is on these platforms that politicians bypass the gatekeepers of old, and it is on these platforms where the traditional media will have to guard their Fourth Estate role. As the platforms allow for a personalization of content, the media are faced with a daunting task of targeting the right audiences with the right (adversarial) content.

Of particular importance are the affordances of these platforms. On Facebook, for instance, it is possible to target particular fragmented audiences using advertisements. One could for instance target all followers of a particular politician's Facebook page who recently framed a particular article. This way, the media retake a measure of control over their content (but at financial costs).

Other strategies, without paid advertisements, are certainly possible as well. One could for instance think of search engine optimization (SEO) strategies, in order to place content within a particular debate. Or they could situate articles in a debate using hashtags, for instance. Either way, it is paramount that traditional media actively make sure their content is found in particular contexts, in order to provide a broader perspective on matters. In order to facilitate a well informed democracy, then, the traditional media will need to seek out the voters on their own turf, on their social media feeds. For if the guard dog of our democracy does not patrol the adversarial principle, they run the risk of turning into a view-affirming lap dog of the politician.

9. Conclusion

Let us return our attention to the questions with which I started this thesis. I will first reflect on the overarching research question, then discuss the sub questions.

It was found that the candidates for the *Tweede Kamer* predominantly make reference to media (content) to promote their own agenda. This can take the shape of an endorsement of a particular viewpoint, or an emphasis on a particular aspect of a news article, a questioning of a medium's behavior, and so forth. Predominantly, however, the politicians endorsed the media (content). In most cases, the politicians framed the content, not the medium in its entirety. While the relation between the press and the politicians may have been altered in recent times, with Trump's election, and the Brexit/Ukraine referenda, references to the media are still predominantly made on a content level, not on a meta-level. Nevertheless, this content is playing a different role, in the politicians' play, as it is used to legitimate their own views.

This was found by making use of a synthesized conceptual model. Reading framing theory through RFT, has rendered the media theory applicable to phenomena other than the media. In our contemporary media landscape, where individual actors become increasingly important, such a rereading is valuable. Moreover, by applying Hall's (1973) encoding/decoding strategies as typologies of framing behavior, it becomes possible to categorize and analyze the particular frames used by the politicians.

Now, let us turn our attention to the role social media plays in the framing of the politicians. Following from the platform analyses, and the qualitative analyses, Facebook and Twitter can be said to serve as repositories of self-affirmation. On these social media platforms, one engages in a favorable 'presentation of the self' (Goffman, 1956), which is of special importance for campaigning politicians.

Following Lakoff's (2014, p. xiv) train of thought, this is logical, as we predominantly take note of the things which fit our perception and perspective on reality. Politicians predominantly refer, on their social media channels, to those media/that media content, which fits their viewpoints. Thus, what is shared, is mostly that with which one agrees, in a lesser extent that which is nuanced, or altered, and only rarely that which one opposes.

Thus, the information which passes the gates of a politician's feed or profile, is biased towards their own views. The media references play a large part in legitimating their perspective, as the selection of articles (and other types of content) is skewed towards their own opinion. I termed this kind of selection behavior 'cherry-picking' or the 'Merci-principle'; if you can create a chocolate box of various flavors, would you include the ones you dislike? Put differently (Wieringa et al., 2017, p. 58):

Een facebookpagina of twitteraccount [is] een handig middel voor een politicus waarin uiteraard alleen het gewenste geluid wordt gecommuniceerd met het publiek. Politici zijn hierbij redacteur van hun eigen newsfeed, waarbij niet aan hoor en wederhoor hoeft te worden gedaan [...].⁵¹

In a nutshell, we see that the role of gatekeeping has shifted from the media to the politicians, at least on social media. Here, the media may select what is featured, but of this selection, the politician then selects what they refer to or communicate with their constituents. These are individual echo chambers, where one keeps reiterating content which suits their beliefs: a gatekeeping of content, not by the media, but by politicians, with no regard for the journalistic adversarial principle.

⁵¹ A Facebook page or a Twitter account are convenient tools for a politician, in which only the preferred message is communicated with an audience. Politicians here are editors of their own newsfeeds, where they do not need to apply the adversarial principle.

Because of the affordances of the platforms, in which a favorable presentation is central, and because of the role of opinion leader of a politician (in the sense that they usually have a limited number of focus areas), they cherry-pick articles which they endorse, and leave others out. Social media platforms, here, function as repositories, or as figurative ‘Merci boxes’, in which the (favorable) content is presented to an audience, while the rest is ignored or negated.

If we turn our attention to the differences in framing, and the differences in the subject of the frame (content/medium). We see some interesting results. Looking at the media references, it was found that 68-72% of the references endorsed the medium or its content.⁵² In other words, in these instances the politicians acknowledged the message/medium, and agreed with it. In only 20-21% of the sample did they negotiate a message/medium (i.e. they acknowledge it, but change or emphasize certain aspects).⁵³ The encoding strategy found least, is the oppositional encoding strategy (11-7%); that is, politicians were rarely found to actually oppose a medium or its content.⁵⁴

If we look at the subject of the frame, we see that on both platforms, the content is most often the subject of the frame, namely between 83-90%.⁵⁵ A medium was only found to be framed in 17-10% of the sample.⁵⁶ Thereby, the hypothesis with which I started this thesis is confirmed. Framing is not exclusively reserved for content matters, but can also be applied to a medium (or multiple media) as a whole.

If we combine both the encoding strategy and the subject of frame categorizations, we arrive at the following distribution (table 10.). The greatest portion of the references relates to the content of the media, not to the media themselves. Thus, the content which the media

⁵² 68% in the Twitter sample, 72% in the Facebook sample.

⁵³ 20% in the Twitter sample, 21% in the Facebook sample.

⁵⁴ 11% in the Twitter sample, 7% in the Facebook sample.

⁵⁵ 83% in the Twitter sample, 90% in the Facebook sample.

⁵⁶ 17% in the Twitter sample, 10% in the Facebook sample.

produce is more often referred to than the media brand on a meta-level. The role of journalism, in this sense – to document events which impact the society in some way – seems to remain intact.

Of all media references, more than half endorses the content of a particular medium. In part, this might also relate to the circumstances of the election. Many of such dominant-hegemonically encoded messages related to – for instance – media appearances of the politicians. As we saw in the case studies, these (and other) types of endorsing messages seem to legitimate the politician or their viewpoints, in one way or another.

This is also true for negotiated content, in which the message of the content is bent or emphasized in a certain way, as to favor the own views more. Oppositional encoding strategies were found in misrepresentations of content, or active disagreements with said content.

	Twitter (n = 436)		Facebook (n = 58)	
	Content	Medium	Content	Medium
Dominant-hegemonic	61%	7%	64%	9%
Negotiated	16%	5%	21%	0%
Oppositional	6%	5%	5%	2%

Table 10. Encoding strategy and subject of frame (used) on Twitter and Facebook⁵⁷

If we look at those messages which frame a medium, we see that these are either endorsements (dominant-hegemonic), which legitimate the

⁵⁷ A general word of caution, though, the discrepancies in the percentages between the two media platforms may be caused by the small samples inventoried. On both platforms, 1% of all media references was randomly sampled. Moreover, since the Facebook sample was rather small (n= 58), a couple of messages can already skew the results.

medium outlet. This often happens with for instance interest groups, which have a particular expertise (e.g. LGBTQIA rights). This expertise, in turn, validates the politician, who presents her/himself as seeing these organizations as a conversation partners, thus 'borrowing' their expert reputation.

A medium can also be the subject of a negotiating frame, when, for instance, the behavior or certain choices of a medium are questioned, but their validity in general is still acknowledged. A good example was the fuss about which parties were allowed to participate in the *RTL/NOS* debates. Several smaller parties were excluded, and they were often quite vocal about it on social media. In such cases, these persons acknowledge the influence, and position, of the medium (i.e. *RTL/NOS*), but they also comment on them.

More extreme cases were also found, as there were also some instances in which the medium's legitimacy was challenged. In such cases, not only a particular choice, or certain behavior was questioned, but the medium and (by extension) all of its content was downright labeled as invalid. Whereas opposing specific content allows for the possibility that in other instances this medium is still credible, this is not so when the medium in its entirety is so actively discredited.

Now, let us turn towards the question why media (content) is susceptible to framing, and what potential counter measures could be taken. One development which eases framing by politicians is the way in which the traditional media function online. Often, they have 'Blende-ized' their content. Instead of the product being the newspaper, or the entire television program, the product has been fragmented: now individual articles or video fragments are given their own pages. While this is certainly understandable from an economic point of view, it also poses risks for the Fourth Estate role of the traditional media.

A single article in a newspaper, can be one point of view (e.g. an opinion piece, or an interview), which has to be seen in the bigger context (e.g. another opinion piece with an opposing perspective). The danger of this *Merici* principle, then, is that the politician can select the

articles which underscore their views, ignore the rest, and uses this content as a way to legitimate themselves.

Yet, even if the article does relate both sides of the story, the title can still favor one side (e.g. via a salient quote), or it can be negotiated to emphasize a particular aspect. Furthermore, this cherry-picking behavior (either selecting content, or emphasizing sections of this content) also entails that politicians often relate only one side of the story on their social media profiles. Here, the adversarial principle is endangered.

Journalists are to uphold the adversarial principle, meaning that they are expected to feature multiple perspectives on a particular phenomenon. Combined with the classic role of the traditional media as the Fourth Estate, they are to scrutinize the government, and present various perspectives on political debates in order to adequately inform the public. After all, democracy – ideally – functions on the basis of well-informed citizens.

As politicians are now well equipped with social media, the traditional media will need to evaluate if they are reaching the politicians' constituents with adversarial content, and if not, how they can potentially reach these fragmented audiences – that is, if these media outlets still want to uphold their role as the Fourth Estate.

While framing can never be prevented entirely, there are some [recommendations](#) to be made, which I will discuss in more detail in the next chapter. In a nutshell, there are a couple of things on which the media can reflect. First, the way in which their 'product' has changed from a more all-encompassing medium to the fragmented products they currently offer online (e.g. articles, video fragments). A second issue relates to the way in which the content is presented by paratexts, for instance when one links to the article. Here, the article is presented by the title, an image, a blurb, and the domain name. A critical evaluation of for instance the titles, could help to avoid an easy frame. Third, media should evaluate if they can reach the audiences of the politicians through their own channels, on their own turf, so to speak. If they can reach these same fragmented audiences, they could also present them with additional perspectives.

9.1. Reflection

This study qualitatively analyzed only a fraction of the politicians' communication. This close reading is labor and time intensive, and thus quite costly. Nevertheless, such an examination does shed light on particular phenomena which otherwise remain obscured. To clarify, this study was only possible due to the unique institutional circumstances.

This thesis sprung forth out of our earlier UDS research. As that research was funded by the Association of Editors-in-Chief, it offered us the opportunity to purchase the Twitter dataset, which is also used in this thesis. The purchasing of such a set is a costly matter, and it would have been impossible if this thesis was written in isolation. Moreover, the commissioned research provided us with the opportunity to commence the labor intensive task of drafting the media list which was used to filter our data.

My thesis provided me with the opportunity to engage with this filtered data in a very labor and time intensive way: through close reading. Merely categorizing 1% of both samples was more than a week of work. Such research – if done outside an educational context – is costly. As Rieder and Röhle (2012) note, this might render it an unattractive method compared to new, digital methods. Yet, however fast digital methods may be, traditional humanities methods like close reading have not lost their power – even if they may be more precious. The insights we obtained from our distant reading techniques in *Wie is de waakhond op sociale media?* were undoubtedly valuable, but they have become even more so coupled with the analyses of this study. In a way, this study is a classical media study, driven by data. It shows how quantitative research can inform qualitative research – and perhaps even needs it in order to be deeply understood.

9.2 Further research

There are roughly two strands of further research I would recommend, following from this exploratory study. The first deals with the receiver, or decoding side, of the message. The second is a

duplication and extension of the current research, with bigger samples or in different (national) contexts. I will discuss both options below.

As in every study, there are limitations. A big limitation within this thesis is the focus on the encoding side, and not taking the receiver in account as well. In the theoretical framework I already noted that the receiving end also plays a big role in how information is subsequently received – thus, in a sense, this study investigated only half of the entire story. Research looking into how messages, and specifically media references of politicians are taken up by constituents could provide us with information on the impact of these frames. It is one thing to know that something happens, and what happens, it is another to gauge its effect.

Second, the Facebook sample was very limited, and its results may thus not be as representative: a different selection might produce different results. Thus, a duplication of the research would help to assess the validity of the results. Moreover, with bigger samples it would also be interesting to look more into the various political parties, and their behavior with regards to media references. Due to the limited sample size, I decided not to make this kind of an analysis, but insight into their behavior might prove beneficial.

It would also be interesting to see comparative studies in other countries (e.g. France, the UK). Such research could show whether framing behavior differs for different nations, or whether there are marked similarities. Another option within the Dutch context would be to analyze framing behavior of politicians outside of the election context – as this might influence their behavior. Yet, [as noted](#), such research is time intensive and thus costly – thus, these kinds of studies face great institutional challenges. Nevertheless, in times when there is great upheaval about politicians and their relations with the press, such research is crucial to begin to understand these changes.

10. Recommendations

At the end of this thesis, I would like to exploit the opportunity to sketch some recommendations for the traditional media – following from the analyses and observations.

A first, is the need to reflect on the presentation of the content. While Blendle provides a platform to sell individual articles (Van Dijck et al., 2016), this also weakens the context in which this article is placed, and written. The newspaper as a whole becomes less important, whereas the individual article has become the new product.

An alternative strategy could, for instance, be to consequently integrate a dossier structure throughout the online presence, instead of applying this only in particular events. In a Blendle-like environment, such dossiers could even encompass media content from the entire spectrum: not only articles, but television fragments, for instance.

Another issue with the presentation of the content, relates to the paratextual nature of the usage of links on platforms such as Facebook and Twitter. If one includes a link in a message, the title of the article will pop up, usually accompanied by 2 to 3 lines of text, an image, and the domain name. The title is prominently featured in this paratext, and is thus quite important in the framing behavior of politicians. A title, which adequately conveys the content is probably less likely to be misrepresented. A best practice, is for instance the way in which *De Correspondent* writes her titles.

A second recommendation to these media, is to critically evaluate the fragmented audiences reached. Especially in an election context, it is interesting for those media outlets, who strive to uphold the Fourth Estate ideal, to compare their reach with for instance follower relations of various politicians. Can you reach the people the politicians are reaching on your own?

Facebook especially, could prove to hold potential in this regard. For if the traditional media were to monitor the reference made to them by a politician, they could also target that politician's

followers with supplementary articles, for instance via Blendle, – providing them with more context.

In a nutshell, the affordances of online media presentation have made media content vulnerable to decontextualization. I have made several recommendations to potentially counter this phenomenon, but – as the Dutch say – there are many roads which lead to Rome. Moreover, such a city was not built in a single day. Or, in less flowery language, many solutions can be thought of, but working, and deciding on, apt solutions will take time.

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Courtesy of
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Some remarks on the images

A note on the screenshots

While the author of the thesis made the screenshots, she does not claim to be the author of the tweets/Facebook posts depicted therein. These are authored by the respective original poster, and merely reproduced within this work as illustrations.

Illustrations and fonts used therein

The illustrations used to explain the theories are made by the author. The Halogen font was used within the visualizations. This font is placed within the public domain.

A remark on the translations

As this thesis deals with the communication of Dutch politicians, it was necessary to translate quotes from Dutch to English. The translations given in the text are my own.

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Appendix 2: List of (youth) parties

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Appendix 4: Algorithmic Accountability Statement

Appendix 1: List of candidates

Kandidaat	Partij	Kandidaatsnummer	Twitter	Facebook	Opmerking
Mark Rutte	VVD	1		34646635859	@MinPres is alleen voor officiële functie, niet voor verkiezingen @markrutte lijkt niet meer in gebruik en verwijst naar @MinPres en @VVD
Klaas Dijkhof	VVD	5	dijkhoff	124282324250399	
Sander Dekker	VVD	6	SanderDekker	138352413191722	
Han ten Broeke	VVD	9	HanTenBroeke	141417676319382	
Malik Azmani	VVD	10	MalikAzmani	1734459723547461	
Aukje de Vries	VVD	18	aukjedevries	1111030312268308	
Dilan Yesilgöz-Zegerius	VVD	19	DilanVVD	1377924002473208	
Arno Rutte	VVD	20	arnorutte	1801313606823746	
Ockje Tellegen	VVD	21	ockjetellegen	355785154805103	
Daniel Koerhuis	VVD	22	danielkoerhuis	1312513348824129	
Erik Ziegns	VVD	23	erikziengs	177049206036997	
Arne Weverling	VVD	29	arneweverling	1851538845128393	
Foort van Oosten	VVD	32	foortvanoosten	206702709794849	
Roald van der Linde	VVD	35	roaldlinde	100004300231138	
Hayke Veldman	VVD	39	haykeveldman	254384587975776	
Jeroen van Wijngaarden	VVD	45	vanwijngaardenj	717915358309675	
Thierry Aartsen	VVD	46	thierryaartsen	1041897309271361	
Kelly Regterschot	VVD	47	regterschotk	1,80891E+15	
Wendelien Tönjann-Leve	VVD	53	tonjann	94111839353457	
Irene Korting	VVD	57	irenekorting	624742617663989	
Falco Hoekstra	VVD	60	falcohoekstra	768398869991977	
Saskia van Dijk	VVD	66	sspringen	1373129672761149	
Yvonne Welter	VVD	70	yvowel	1591091581207179	
Nick Derks	VVD	71	nickderks	1338016486261009	
Anja Prins	VVD	74	prinsvvd	663986527039612	
Frederik Zevenbergen	VVD	79	zeefnl	185586321492344	FB: niet actief sinds november 2016
Lodewijk Asscher	PvdA	1	LodewijkA	254918764596191	
Sharon Dijksma	PvdA	4	sharon_dijksma	247107612383134	
Gijs van Dijk	PvdA	5	dijkvangijs	100291500469490	
Henk Nijboer	PvdA	7	henknijboer	212420729223639	
Kirsten van den Hul	PvdA	8	kirstenvdhul	357845981244334	
William Moorlag	PvdA	9	wmoorlag	772091022940565	
Lilianne Ploumen	PvdA	10		509195185792644	@lploumen is niet in gebruik @ministerPloumen is afgeschermd
John Kerstens	PvdA	11	johnkerstens	355829394541247	
Joke de Kock	PvdA	12	jokedekock	247262752366942	
Ahmed Marcouch	PvdA	13	ahmedmarcouch	456416644442308	
Marith Volp	PvdA	14	marithvolp	396724707347610	
Richard Moti	PvdA	15	richardmoti	1658258601134269	
Michiel Servaes	PvdA	17	michielservaes	1102510443108646	
Ilco van der Linde	PvdA	19		1820044191584157	Geen twitter
Mohammed Mohandis	PvdA	21	momohandis	1709326582728553	
Loes Ypma	PvdA	22	loesyypma	215956958845284	FB: niet meer actief sinds dec 2016
Jeroen Recourt	PvdA	23	jeroenrecourt	261344514299889	TW:Niet actief sinds 2014
Marit Maj	PvdA	24	maritmaj	162799527465198	
Martijn de Kort	PvdA	25	martijnvdek	1,84733E+15	
Reshma Roopram	PvdA	26	reshmaroopram	495683250442029	
Duco Hoogland	PvdA	27		508303795861905	Geen twitter
Giselle Schellekens	PvdA	28	gisellekens	1857034757913564	
Albert de Vries	PvdA	29	albvri	1801811070057462	
Mirthe Biemans	PvdA	30	mirthebiemans	551427451695289	
Harm Brouwer	PvdA	31		1826676614211551	Geen twitter
Joost Reinaerts	PvdA	33	JReinaerts	102968530204716	
Bouchra Dibi	PvdA	34	BouchraDibi	1378829599018107	
Bas van Drooge	PvdA	35	vandrooge	401356533535657	
Joyce Vermue	PvdA	38	joycevermue	1278086742214729	
Tjeerd van Dekken	PvdA	39	tjeerdvd	1824821971109252	
Anna-Lena Hedin-Pennir	PvdA	40	annalenapx	166301790495188	
Bob Deen	PvdA	41	bob_deen	186770188453945	

Alexander Pechtold	D66	1	APechtold	678757572282873	
Stientje van Veldhoven	D66	2	SvVeldhoven	1763338700556014	
Kees Verhoeven	D66	6	KeesVee	462564970605765	
Vera Bergkamp	D66	7	Vera_Bergkamp	276575350358	
Jan Paternotte	D66	8	jpaternotte	460256660794215	
Steven van Weyenberg	D66	10	svanweyenberg	1756824874546057	
Rob Jetten	D66	12	RobJetten	684205995075734	
Jessica van Eijs	D66	13	JessicaVanEijs	895967750534491	
Salima Belhaj	D66	14	SalimaBelhaj	222198408214618	FB: laatst actief in nov 2016
Antje Diertens	D66	18	AntjeDiertens	321770484865389	
Tjeerd de Groot	D66	19	TjeerdD66	227631927646563	
Matthijs Sienot	D66	21	MatthijsSienot	392877520848059	
Marijke van Beukering-H	D66	24	Marijke_vB	884922768275800	
Arend Meijer	D66	25	arendmeijer	861164360584423	
Franca Eurlings-Tonnaer	D66	26	FrancaEurlings	667508623408114	
Munish Ramlal	D66	27	munishramlal	1285803064824485	
Martine van Bommel	D66	28	MartinevBommel	1411051685791985	
Jaimi van Essen	D66	30	jaimivanessen	1231290786960331	
Mpanzu Bamenga	D66	35	MpanzuBamenga	1770292406518489	
Noëlle Sanders	D66	36	npsanders	450514911799241	
Hülya Kat	D66	38	HulyaKatOnline	1420789151473746	
Eelco Keij	D66	39	EelcoKeij	324152331301654	
Marijn Bosman	D66	40	MarijnBosman	615433825165924	
Bert Terlouw	D66	49	BertTerlouw	1767443486911707	
Gert-Jan Segers	CU	1	gertjansegers	147772805659767	
Joël Voordewind	CU	3	JoelVoordewind	1142077739171588	
Carla Dik-Faber	CU	4	carladikfaber	1169104093164174	
Stieneke van der Graaf	CU	6	StienekevdGraaf	738343242998115	
Don Ceder	CU	7	DonCeder	539290226212827	
Esam Ebid	CU	23		207344206356172	TW: nog nooit een tweet geplaatst
Annacarina Klein	CU	39	AnnaCKlein	1801545170083364	
Farshid Seyed Mehdi	CU	40		772472219576270	Geen Twitter
Ixora Balootje	CU	44	IxoraSB	434523259913129	
Henk Stoorvogel	CU	48	Henkstoorvogel	664137136996154	
Arie van der Veer	CU	49	arievanderveer	352400388114115	
Jesse Klaver	GL	1	jesseklaver	687496011309020	
Kathalijne Buitenweg	GL	2	kathalijne	207423949711700	
Tom van der Lee	GL	3	TomvanderLee	1195412563899012	
Linda Voortman	GL	4	lindavoortman	529778320512112	
Rik Grashoff	GL	5	rikgrashoff	490692437633753	
Liesbeth van Tongeren	GL	6	GroenLiesbeth	223084554460562	
Corinne Ellemeet	GL	7	CorinneEllemeet	1,40839E+15	
Zihni Özdil	GL	8	ZihniOzdil	787843587973738	TW: laatst actief dec 2016
Suzanne Kröger	GL	11	suzanne_GL	204828569964880	
Huib van Essen	GL	17	HuibvanEssen	1804299229839527	
Niels van den Berge	GL	18	NielsvdBerge	356287908062281	FB: laatst actief dec 2016
Armağan Önder	GL	30	armaganonder	335401830164598	Geen eigen FB pagina
Paul Vermast	GL	38	PaulVermast	158950097558645	
Gerdo van Grootheest	GL	42	GerdoVanG	469521896478271	
Kees van der Staaij	SGP	1	keesvdstaij	135227606660572	
Elbert Dijkgraaf	SGP	2	elbertdijkgraaf	368828453248124	
Marianne Thieme	PvdD	1	mariannethieme	126389617450422	
Ewald Engelen	PvdD	10	ewaldeng	1025819350845987	
Jan-Peter Cruiming	PvdD	32		396632203730528	
Adri van der Heijden	PvdD	36		463017463906851	
Annemarie Postma	PvdD	42	annemariepostma	319728418096782	
Jan Rot	PvdD	43	janrot	436704953048964	
Teske de Schepper	PvdD	45	teskedeschepper	130763573763744	
Annemiek Schrijver	PvdD	46	nrcveerster	951281334935448	

Georgina Verbaan	PvdD	49	GVerbaan	1404112493161526	
Henk Krol	50PLUS	1	HenkKrol	1120197621364564	
Corrie van Brenk-van Baaren	50PLUS	4	CvanBrenk	673334449378882	FB niet actief sinds okt 2016; TW niet actief sinds apr 2015
Wilma Schrover	50PLUS	8	w Schrover	212819445848678	
Theun Wiersma	50PLUS	11	theunwiersma	1834320256833906	
Natascha Kroonstuiwer	50PLUS	16		733194616827578	
Fred Kerkhof	50PLUS	22	f_kerkhof	208508202941073	
Hein Meijer	50PLUS	42		703340286500988	Geen Twitter account
Martine Gaasbeek	Ondernemerspartij	2	Martine_1973	1504008839909054	
Jos de Vries	Ondernemerspartij	3	JosDeVries_OP	1026880207378912	
Patrick Kicken	Ondernemerspartij	4	KICKEN	368482956580443	
Jos van den Berg	Ondernemerspartij	5	OPJosvandenBerg	363132670699868	
Stavros Theocharis	Ondernemerspartij	7		1281971945197527	
Sophie Andriol	Ondernemerspartij	8	SophieANDRIOL	1255989157792504	
Tunahan Kuzu	DENK	1	tunahankuzu	596153377149961	
Farid Azarkan	DENK	2	F_azarkan	803888853081736	TW afgeschermd
Selçuk Öztürk	DENK	3	selcukozturknl	1750541441842086	
Gladys Albitrouw	DENK	4	GladysDENK	761549950659865	
Stephan van Baarle	DENK	5	StephanvBaarle	1560397777321407	
Jacques Monasch	Nieuwe Wegen	2	JacquesMonasch	266591903440069	
Ton Spitsbaard	Nieuwe Wegen	5	TonSpitsbaard	1567525516610422	
Paul Cliteur	Forum voor Democratie	30		102333630151493	Geen TW
Dirk Dubling	De Burger Beweging	9	DirkDubling	926014294181589	FB niet actief sinds juni
Ancilla van de Leest	Piratenpartij	1	ncilla	12544310398	
Matthijs Pontier	Piratenpartij	2	Matthijs85	350950038420144	
Alex Straver	Piratenpartij	4	AlexStraver	1405526333029227	
Sylvana Simons	Artikel 1	1	SylvanaSimons	810266429074376	
Brigitte Sins	Artikel 1	3		113566209152792	Geen TW
Adil Akhechaa	Artikel 1	4	AdilAkhechaa	543908955774943	
Ian van der Kooye	Artikel 1	6	lankooye	2,24115E+15	
Phyllis Döll-Osei Ameyav	Artikel 1	7		255357571555754	Geen TW
Simone van Saarloos	Artikel 1	8	SvanSaarloos	586379064905270	
Olave Basabose	Artikel 1	9		413325129010930	Geen TW
Martijn Dekker	Artikel 1	10	martijndekker	173671319788854	TW: misschien dubbel checken
Robert Witte	Artikel 1	12		1417100378353313	Geen TW
Gloria Wekker	Artikel 1	19		393566467481979	Geen TW. niet actief
Arno Inen	LP	2	arnoinenlp	838156856196858	
Klaas Wassenaar	LP	9	kaajeewee	1,70464E+15	TW niet actief sinds dec 2016
Florens van der Spek	JEZUS LEEFT	1	Florens0148	1508609772763421	
Sylvie Jacobs	Partij voor Mens en Spirit/BIP	2	SylvieJacobs	1664011253860845	
Petra Busio	Partij voor Mens en Spirit/BIP	4		517309305138619	Geen TW, FB wel van haar maar geen posts over politiek
Jan Storms	Partij voor Mens en Spirit/BIP	6	janstorms	277637412278944	Ik denk dat deze de goede is maar misschien dubbe checken! UPDATE MARANKE: ik denk het ook!
Micha Kuiper	Partij voor Mens en Spirit/BIP	29		1713793402229902	Geen TW. FB geen recente activiteit

Appendix 2: List of (youth) parties

Partij	Partijnaam	Positie in poli	Positie in poli	Twitter Algemeen	Twitter Jongeren	Facebook Algemeen	Facebook Jongeren	Opmerking					
VVD	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie	Rechts	Conservatief	VVD	JOVD	121264564551002	248146915232092						
PvdA	Partij van de Arbeid	Links	Progressief	PvdA	jspvda	113895885305052	112246298811452						
PVV	Partij voor de Vrijheid	Rechts	Conservatief			1417350304996731		Heeft geen eigen partij Twitter account					
SP	Socialistische partij	Links	Progressief	SPnl	Roodjong	128393027527	219315465900						
CDA	Christen Democratisch Appèl	Midden	Conservatief	cdavandaag	cdja	320374518118	135642563196256						
D66	Democraten 66	Links	Gematigd	D66	jongedemocraten	52985377549	153357044722038						
CU	ChristenUnie	Midden	Gematigd	christenunie	PerspectieF	211661062254003	209648345740233						
GL	Groenlinks	Links	Progressief	groenlinks	dwars	175740570505	610950552253067						
SGP	Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij	Rechts	Conservatief	sgpnieuws	SGPJ	433611050005553	134898129893433						
PvdD	Partij voor de Dieren	Links	Progressief	PartijvdDieren	pinkpolitiek	102287806490622	249603552288						
50PLUS	50Plus	Midden	Progressief	50pluspartij		347623668624706							
Ondernemen	Ondernemerspartij	Rechts	Conservatief	OPNederland		1444351775861143							
VNL	VoorNederland	Rechts	Conservatief	VoorNederland	JongVNL	241488106049152	1541416086151696						
DENK	Politieke beweging DENK	Links	Progressief	DenkNL		1550088745275913							
Nieuwe Wegen		Links	Progressief	NieuweWegenu		1733270800327509							
Forum voor Democratie		Rechts	Conservatief	fvdemocratie		609816282477420							
De Burger	De Burger Beweging			Beweging_x		1795583980676935							
Vrijzinnige	Vrijzinnige Partij	Links	Progressief	vpartijbureau		804976376208408							
GeenPeil	GeenPeil	Niet in spectr	Niet in spectr	geenpeil		130775410591150							
Piratenpa	Piratenpartij	Niet in spectr	Progressief	Piratenpartij		10150111330480434							
Artikel 1	Artikel 1			art1kel		359168034442354							
Niet Stem	Vereniging voor Niet-Stemmers	Niet in spectr	Niet in spectr	NietStemmers		401504466906263							
LP	Libertarische Partij			LPnl		125663380814227							
Lokaal in c	Lokaal in de Kamer			lokaalindekamer		1886042951608763							
JEZUS LEE	JEZUS LEEFT					1408212612775842		Heeft geen partij Twitter account					
StemNL	StemNL			RedactieStemNL		733105730098356							
MensS	Partij voor Mens en Spirit			mens_en_spirit		159952064036182		Gedeelde lijst met BIP					
BIP	Basis Inkomen Partij	Links		BIPartij		1548847425398207		Gedeelde lijst met Mens en Spirit					
VDP	Vrije Democratische Partij							Heeft geen FB account, Twitter account lijkt geblokkeerd					

Appendix 3: List of media

Naam zoals bekend	Naam (niet 1 woord)	Extra naam (niet 1 woord)	Afkorting (1 woord)	Extra afk URL	Twitteraccount	Twitteraccount met @	Soort content	Soort medium	Binnenland/bui	Traditioneel/nie	Opmerkingen
ZWP Nederland	ZWP Nederland	xxx	xxx	xxx	SIZZPNederland	@SIZZPNederland	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Zwolse Omroep Organisatie	Zwolse Omroep Organisatie	RTV ZoO	xxx	xxx	rtvzoo.nl	@Zoo105FM	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
Zorgvisie	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	zorgvisie.nl	@Zorgvisie	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Zoamin	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	zoamin.tv	@zoamin_tv	Algemeen	Social media	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Zondag met Lubach	Zondag met Lubach	xxx	xxx	xxx	ZML	@zondagmetlubach	Satire/actualiteiten	TV programma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Zoetemeers Dagblad	Zoetemeers Dagblad	xxx	xxx	xxx	zoetemeersdagblad.nl	@zoetemeersdb	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Zo zit dat dus	Zo zit dat dus	xxx	xxx	xxx	zozitdatdus.blogspot.nl	@haasnootjaap	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	Populistische blog (Dubieus)
Zipconomy	Zipconomy	xxx	xxx	xxx	zipconomy.nl	@zipconomy	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Zembla	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	zembla.vara.nl	@ZEMBLA	Onderzoeksjournalistiek	TV programma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Zaman Vandaag	Zaman Vandaag	xxx	xxx	xxx	zamanvandaag.nl	@ZamanVandaag	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
WNL op zondag	WNL op zondag	xxx	xxx	xxx	wnl.viprogrammas/wnl-op-zon	@wnlvandaag	Talkshow	TV programma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
WNL	WNL	xxx	xxx	xxx	wnl.tv	@wnlvandaag	Algemeen	Omroep	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Willis Towers Watson	Willis Towers Watson	xxx	xxx	xxx	willistowerswatson.com	@WTTWnl	Onderzoek	Website	Internationaal	Nieuw	
Wild Hitradio	Wild Hitradio	xxx	xxx	xxx	wildhitradio.nl	@WildHitradio	Muziek	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Wikipedia	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	wikipedia.org	Wikipedia	Algemeen	Website	Internationaal	Nieuw	
Wichensnieuws.nl	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	wichensnieuws.nl	@Wichens_nieuws	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Wijchense Omroep	Wijchense Omroep	xxx	xxx	xxx	wijchenseomroep.nl	@wijchenseomroep	Actualiteiten	Omroep & Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Weikom in Zuidhorn	Weikom in Zuidhorn	xxx	xxx	xxx	welkominzuidhorn.nl	@zuidhormtweets	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Weingelichte Kringen	Weingelichte Kringen	xxx	xxx	xxx	weingelichtekringen.nl	@weingelicht	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Weert de Gekste	Weert de Gekste	xxx	xxx	xxx	weerdegekste.nl	@weerdegekste	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Waterstad FM	Waterstad FM	xxx	xxx	xxx	waterstadfm.nl	@juuWFMradio	Muziek	Radio	Regio	Nieuw	
Washington Post	Washington Post	xxx	xxx	xxx	WSPo	@washingtonpost	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Washington Examiner	Washington Examiner	xxx	xxx	xxx	washingtonexaminer.com	@dexaminer	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Waddennieuws	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	waddennieuws	@Waddennieuws	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Vroege Vogels	Vroege Vogels	xxx	xxx	xxx	vroegevogels.vara.nl	@vroegevogels	Lifestyle	Radioprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Vrij Nederland	Vrij Nederland	xxx	xxx	xxx	vn.nl	@vrij_nederland	Opinie	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Vriendin	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	viendin.nl	@VriendinNL	Lifestyle	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Voorschotenonline	Voorschotenonline	xxx	xxx	xxx	voorschotenonline.nu	@VoorschotenNU	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
Voetbal International	Voetbal International	xxx	xxx	xxx	vi.nl	@VI_nl	Lifestyle	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Viva	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	viva.nl	@VIVA_nl	Lifestyle	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Vimeo	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	vimeo.com	@vimeo	Algemeen	Social media	Internationaal	Nieuw	
Villamedia	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	villamedia.nl	@villamedia	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Vice	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	vice.com	@VICE	Lifestyle	Media/bedrijf	Internationaal	Nieuw	Ambigu of het traditioneel of nieuw is, begon internationaal als tijdschrift, maar in Nederland als website
Verus	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	verus.nl	@VerusNL	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Veronica Magazine	Veronica Magazine	xxx	xxx	xxx	veronicamagazine.nl	@veronicamag	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Binnenland	Nieuw	
VERKEERSNET	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	verkeersnet.nl	@verkeersnet	Vakspecifiek	Magazine/Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Vereeniging Gehandicapten	Vereeniging Gehandicapten	xxx	xxx	xxx	vgn.nl	@VGNbranche	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Veenendaalse Krant	Veenendaalse Krant	xxx	xxx	xxx	veenendaalsekrant.nl	@VeenendaalseKr	Actualiteiten	Weekblad	Regio	Traditioneel	
VARA	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	vara.nl	@omroepvara	Algemeen	Omroep	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Vance	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	vance.nl	@vance_nl	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Vahon Hindustani Radio	Vahon Hindustani Radio	xxx	xxx	xxx	vahonfm.nl	@vahonfm	Muziek	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Unity	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	unity.nl	@unitynl	Actualiteiten	Website, Omroep & Radio	Regio	Nieuw	
Ujala Radio	Ujala Radio	xxx	xxx	xxx	ujalaradio	@ujalaradio	Muziek	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Uitgeverij Prometheus	Uitgeverij Prometheus	xxx	xxx	xxx	uitgeverijprometheus.nl	@prometheusb	Boeken	Uitgeverij	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
TV Enschede FM	TV Enschede FM	xxx	xxx	xxx	tveschedefm.nl	@tvefm	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
Truth about Islam	The religion of peace	xxx	xxx	xxx	thereligionofpeace.com	xxx	Lifestyle	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Trouw	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	trouw.nl	@trouw	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Transport Online	Transport Online	xxx	xxx	xxx	transport-online.nl	@transportonline	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Topics	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	topics.nl	@Topics_NL	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
TIME	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	time.com	@TIME	Actualiteiten	Media/bedrijf	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Tijd voor MAX	Tijd voor MAX	xxx	xxx	xxx	omroepmax.nltijd-voor-max	@omroepmax	Lifestyle	TV programma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
ThePostOnline	ThePostOnline	xxx	xxx	xxx	TPO.nl	@TPOnl	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	Populistisch
The Times	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	thetimes.co.uk	@thetimes	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
The Telegraph	The Telegraph	xxx	xxx	xxx	telegraph.co.uk	@Telegraph	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
The Sun	The Sun	xxx	xxx	xxx	thesun.co.uk	@thesun	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
The Guardian	The Guardian	xxx	xxx	xxx	theguardian.com	@guardian	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
TechCrunch	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	techcrunch.com	@TechCrunch	Actualiteiten	Website	Internationaal	Nieuw	
TaxiLive	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	taxilive.nl	@redactietaxilive	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Tarmet	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	tarmet.nl	@tarmet_nl	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
StukRood/Vlees	StukRood/Vlees	xxx	xxx	xxx	stukroodvlees.nl	@StukRoodVlees	Onderzoeksjournalistiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Streekblad Zoetermeer	Streekblad Zoetermeer	xxx	xxx	xxx	streekbladzoetermeer.nl	@Streekblad	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Story	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	story.nl	@story_nl	Roddel	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Storm Radio	Storm Radio	xxx	xxx	xxx	storm-radio.nl	xxx	Lifestyle	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Stichting Pensioenbehoud	Stichting Pensioenbehoud	xxx	xxx	xxx	stichtingpensioenbehoud.nl	xxx	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Stellingchecker.nl	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	stellingchecker.nl	@StellingChecker	Onderzoek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	Factchecking
standpunt	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	standpunt.nl	@standpuntnl	Opinie	Radioprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Stadszaken	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	stadszaken.nl	@stadszaken	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Stadslog	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	stadslog.nl	@stadslog10	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Spiegelbeeld	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	spiegelbeeldmag	@Spiegelbeeldmag	Lifestyle	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Sociaalweb	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	socialweb.nl	@socialweb	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Sociaal-Economische Raad	Sociaal-Economische Raad	xxx	xxx	xxx	ser.nl	@SER_NL	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Sleutelstad FM	Sleutelstad FM	xxx	xxx	xxx	sleutelstad.nl/radio	@sleutelstad	Muziek	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
SLAM! FM	SLAM! FM	xxx	xxx	xxx	slam.nl	@slamofficial	Muziek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Sky Radio	Sky Radio	xxx	xxx	xxx	skyradio.nl	@skyradio101fm	Muziek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Skipr	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	skipr.nl	@skipr	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Simone FM	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	simone.nl	@echterradio	Muziek	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Sciencify	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	sciencify.nl	@sciencifynl	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
ScienceGuide	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	sciencguide.nl	@scienceguidenl	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Schepen aan de horizon	Schepen aan de horizon	xxx	xxx	xxx	sadh.nl	@sadhnl	Actualiteiten	Radioprogramma	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Salland Centraal	Salland Centraal	xxx	xxx	xxx	sallandcentraal.nl	@sallandcentraal	Actualiteiten	Radio	Binnenland	Nieuw	
RTW	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	rtw.nl	xxx	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Nieuw	
RTV Utrecht	RTV Utrecht	xxx	xxx	xxx	rtvutrecht.nl	@rtvutrecht	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
RTV Rijnmond	RTV Rijnmond	xxx	xxx	xxx	strafro.com	@RTV_Rijnmond	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
RTV Oost	RTV Oost	xxx	xxx	xxx	rtvoost.nl	@rtvoost	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
RTV Noord-oost-Friesland	RTV Noord-oost-Friesland	RTV NOF	xxx	xxx	rtvnof.nl	@rtvnof	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
RTV Noord-Holland	RTV Noord-Holland	xxx	xxx	xxx	rtvnh.nl	@rtvnh	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
RTV Noord	RTV Noord	xxx	xxx	xxx	rtvnoord.nl	@rtvnoord	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
RTV Maastricht	RTV Maastricht	xxx	xxx	xxx	rtvmaastricht.nl	@rtvmaastricht	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
RTV Drenthe	RTV Drenthe	xxx	xxx	xxx	rtvdrenthe.nl	@RTVDrenthe	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
RTL Z	RTL Z	xxx	xxx	xxx	rtlz.nl	@RTLZ	Actualiteiten	TV programma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
RTL Nieuws	RTL Nieuws	xxx	xxx	xxx	rtlnieuws.nl	@rtlnieuws	Actualiteiten	TV programma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
RTL Late Night	RTL Late Night	xxx	xxx	xxx	rtllatenight.nl	@RTLLateNight	Talkshow	TV programma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
RTL Boulevard	RTL Boulevard	xxx	xxx	xxx	rtlboulevard.nl	@rtlboulevard	Roddel	TV programma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
RT News	RT News	xxx	xxx	xxx	rt.com	@RT_com	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Roosendaalse Bode	Roosendaalse Bode	xxx	xxx	xxx	roosendaalsebode.nl	@roosendaalsebode	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
RNW Media	RNW Media	xxx	xxx	xxx	rnw.org	@RNW	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Traditioneel	
Rijksoverheid	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	rijksoverheid.nl	@rijksoverheid	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Reuters	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	reuters.com	@reuters	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Regionaal Overleg Noord	Regionaal Overleg Noordelijke	xxx	xxx	xxx	rona-info.nl	@RONAspoor	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Regio15	Regio 15	xxx	xxx	xxx	regio15.nl	@regio15	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	

Naam zoals bekend	Naam (niet 1 woord)	Extra naam (niet 1 woord)	AFkorting (1 woord)	Extra afk URL	Twitteraccount	Twitteraccount met @	Soort content	Soort medium	Binnenland/bui	Traditioneel/nie	Opmerkingen
Reformatorisch Dagblad	Reformatorisch Dagblad	xxx	RD	xxx	rd.nl	@refdag	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Reddit	xxx	xxx	Reddit	xxx	reddit.com	@reddit	Lifestyle	Social media	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Rational male	Rational male	xxx	xxx	xxx	rationalmale.com	@rationalmale	Lifestyle	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	Zeer wispelturig missygnie
RadioNL	RadioNL	xxx	RadioNL	xxx	radionl.nl	@radionl	Muziek	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Radio West	Radio West	xxx	xxx	xxx	omroepwest.nl	@omroepwest	Actualiteiten	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Radio Waddenzee	Radio Waddenzee	xxx	xxx	xxx	radiowaddenzee.nl	@radiowaddenzee	Muziek	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Radio Veronica	Radio Veronica	xxx	Veronica	xxx	radioveronica.nl	@radioveronica	Muziek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Radio Seagull	Radio Seagull	xxx	xxx	xxx	radioseagull.com	@Radio_Seagull	Muziek	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Radio Rijnmond	Radio Rijnmond	RTV Rijnmond	xxx	xxx	rijnmond.nl	@RTV_rijnmond	Actualiteiten	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Radio Oost	Radio Oost	xxx	xxx	xxx	rtvoost.nl	@RTVoost	Actualiteiten	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Radio Noord	Radio Noord	xxx	xxx	xxx	rtvnoord.nl	@rtvnoord	Actualiteiten	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Radio M Utrecht	Radio M Utrecht	Radio M	xxx	xxx	rtvrecht.nl	@RTV_Utrecht	Actualiteiten	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Radio Gelderland	Radio Gelderland	xxx	xxx	xxx	radio10.nl	@OmroepGLD	Actualiteiten	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Radio Drenthe	Radio Drenthe	xxx	xxx	xxx	rtvdrenthe.nl	@RTVDrenthe	Actualiteiten	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Radio Decibel	Radio Decibel	xxx	xxx	xxx	radio_decibel	@radio_decibel	Muziek	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Radio Continu	Radio Continu	xxx	xxx	xxx	radiocontinu.nl	@radiocontinu	Muziek	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Radio 8FM	Radio 8FM	xxx	xxx	xxx	radio8fm.nl	@Radio_8FM	Muziek	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Radio 538	Radio 538	xxx	538	xxx	538.nl	@538	Muziek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Radio 5	Radio 5	xxx	xxx	xxx	nporario5.nl	@nporario5	Muziek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Radio 4	Radio 4	xxx	xxx	xxx	radio4.nl	@NPOradio4	Muziek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Radio 2	Radio 2	xxx	xxx	xxx	nporario2.nl	@nporario2	Muziek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Radio 10	Radio 10	xxx	xxx	xxx	radio10.nl	@Radio10	Muziek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Radio 1 Journaal	Radio 1 Journaal	xxx	xxx	xxx	nporario1.nl/nos-radio-1-journaal	@NOSRadio1	Actualiteiten	Radioprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Radio 1	Radio 1	xxx	xxx	xxx	nporario1.nl	@NPOradio1	Actualiteiten	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Radio 1	Radio 1	xxx	xxx	xxx	radio1.be	@radio1be	Actualiteiten	Radio	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Baadslid.nu	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	raadslid.nu	@raadslidnu	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Quote	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	quotenet.nl	@quotenet	Lifestyle	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Q-Music	Q Music	xxx	xxx	xxx	qmusic.nl	@QmusicNL	Muziek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Puur NL	Puur NL	xxx	xxx	xxx	puur.nl.fm	@puurNLfm	Muziek	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Puntuit	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	puntuit.nl	@puntuitredactie	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Provinciale Zeeuwse Courant	Provinciale Zeeuwse Courant	xxx	xxx	xxx	PZC	@pzcmedie	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Regio	Traditioneel	
Privé	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	telegraaf.nl/privé	@privé_nl	Roddel	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Priceonomics	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	priceonomics.com	@priceonomics	Onderzoek	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Powned	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	pownded.tv	@Pownded	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Politiebond	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	politiebond.nl	@Politiebond	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Politie	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	politie.nl	@politie	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
PO-Raad	PO Raad	xxx	xxx	xxx	poraad.nl	@PO_Raad	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
PlusOnline	Plus Online	xxx	xxx	xxx	plusonline.nl	@pluismagazine	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving	Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving	xxx	xxx	xxx	leefomgeving	@leefomgeving	Overschik	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Pinacker-nootdorp.tv	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	pinacker-nootdorp.tv	@leefgoed105	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
Pensioenleugen	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	pensioenleugen.nl	@pensioenleugen	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	populistisch
Peiling2017	Peiling 2017	xxx	xxx	xxx	peiling2017.nl	@Peiling2017	Onderzoek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	Fake peilingen: cas Fake peilingen: casus
Pauw	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	pauw.vara.nl	@pauw1	Talkshow	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
ORVA	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	orva.nl	xxx	Vakspecifiek	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
Opzij	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	opzij.nl	@Opzijredactie	Lifestyle	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Opgelicht?!	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	opgelicht?!	@Opzijredactie	Lifestyle	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Open State	Open State	xxx	xxx	xxx	openstate.eu	@openstate	Onderzoeksjournalistiek	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
OOG TV	OOG TV	xxx	xxx	xxx	oogv.nl	@oogv	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Omroep Fryslân	Omroep Fryslân	Omroep Fryslan	xxx	xxx	omroepfryslan.nl	@OmroepFryslan	Actualiteiten	Website	Omroep & Radio	Binnenland	
Omroep Zeeland	Omroep Zeeland	xxx	xxx	xxx	omroepzeeland.nl	@omroepzeeland	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
Omroep West	Omroep West	xxx	xxx	xxx	omroepwest.nl	@omroepwest	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
Omroep Gelderland	Omroep Gelderland	Omroep Gld	xxx	xxx	omroepgelderland.nl	@OmroepGLD	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
Omroep Flevoland	Omroep Flevoland	xxx	xxx	xxx	omroepflevoland.nl	@OmroepFlevoland	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
Omroep Brabant	Omroep Brabant	xxx	xxx	xxx	omroepbrabant.nl	@omroepbrabant	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
NVVK	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	nvvk.eu	@schuldhulp	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Nursing	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	nursing.nl	@nursing_nl	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Nu.nl	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	nu.nl	@Nu.nl	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
nrc.next	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	nrc.next	@NRC_Next	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
NRC Handelsblad	NRC Handelsblad	xxx	xxx	xxx	nrc.nl	@nrc	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Novini	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	novini.nl	@NoviniNL	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
NOS	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	nos.nl	@NOS	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Noordhollands Dagblad	Noordhollands Dagblad	xxx	xxx	xxx	noordhollandsdagblad.nl	@nhdagblad	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Regio	Traditioneel	
No ties	No ties	xxx	xxx	xxx	noties.nl	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	Bestaat niet (meer)
Nipo	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	nipo.nl	@kantarpublish	Onderzoek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Nine to Five	Nine to Five	xxx	xxx	925	925.nl	@925NL	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Nieuwswij	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	nieuwswij.nl	@nieuwswij	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Nieuwsvalei	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	nieuwsvalei.nl	@nieuwsvalei	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Nieuwsuur	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	nos.nl/nieuwsuur	@Nieuwsuur	Actualiteiten	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Nieuws.nl	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	.nieuws.nl	@wwnieuwsnl	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Nieuwegein TV	Nieuwegein TV	xxx	xxx	xxx	nieuwsgeintv.nl	@nieuwsgeintv	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Nieuwe Revu	Nieuwe Revu	xxx	xxx	xxx	revu.nl	@nieuwereru	Opinie	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Nieuwe Oogst	Nieuwe Oogst	xxx	xxx	xxx	nieuweoogst.nu	@nieuweoogstnu	Vakspecifiek	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Nieuw Amsterdams Peil Nibud	Nieuw Amsterdams Peil Nibud	xxx	xxx	xxx	napiu.nl	@napiu	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	Twitteraccount sinds 2012 niet meer actief
New York Times	New York Times	NY Times	xxx	xxx	nibud.nl	@nibud	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Nederlands Emissieautoriteit	Nederlands Emissieautoriteit	xxx	xxx	xxx	nytimes.com	@nytimes	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Nederlands Publiek Omroep	Nederlands Publiek Omroep	xxx	xxx	xxx	emissieautoriteit.nl	@neonline	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Nederlands Dagblad	Nederlands Dagblad	xxx	xxx	xxx	npo.nl	@publiekeomroep	Algemeen	Omroep	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Motherboard	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	nd.nl	@ndnl	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
MKB	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	motherboard.vice.com	@motherboardnl	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Milieudefensie	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	mkb.nl	@mkbnl	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Metro	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	milieudefensie.nl	@milieudefensie	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Met het oog op morgen	Met het oog op morgen	xxx	xxx	xxx	metronieuws.nl	@Metro	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Me Justice	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	nporario1.nl/nos-met-het-oog-op-morgen	@oogopmorgen	Actualiteiten	Radioprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Margriet	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	mejustice.nl	@Mejustice	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Management Team	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	margriet.nl	@margrietnl	Lifestyle	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Maastricht Lokaal	Maastricht Lokaal	xxx	xxx	xxx	mt.nl	@MTnieuws	Vakspecifiek	Website/Magazine	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Lucky TV	Lucky TV	xxx	xxx	xxx	maastrichtlokaal.nl	xxx	xxx	xxx	Regio	Nieuw	
Luchvaartnieuws	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	lucky.tv	@lucky_tv	Satire/actualiteiten	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Loon voor later	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	luchvaartnieuws.nl	@luchvaart	Website & Magazine	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Loon en werk	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	loonvoorlater.nl	@loonvoorlater	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Liwadders	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	loonenwerk.nl	@loonenwerk	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
LINDA	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	liwadders.nl	@liwadders	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Libelle	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	lindanieuws.nl	@lindanieuws	Lifestyle	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
LFBNederland	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	libelle.nl	@Libelle	Lifestyle	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Leidsch Dagblad	Leidsch Dagblad	xxx	xxx	xxx	lfbnederland.nl	@LFBNederland	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Luuwarder Courant	Luuwarder Courant	xxx	xxx	xxx	ld	@leidschdagblad	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Regio	Traditioneel	
Le Monde	Le Monde	xxx	xxx	xxx	lc	@lc_nl	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Regio	Traditioneel	
L1	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	lemonde.fr	@lemondefr	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
L1	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	l1.nl	@L1	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	

Naam zoals bekend	Naam (niet 1 woord)	Extra naam (niet 1 woord)	Afkorting (1 woord)	Extra afk URL	Twitteraccount	Twitteraccount met @	Soort content	Soort medium	Binnenland/bui	Traditioneel/nie	Opmerkingen
Koffietijd	xxx	xxx	Koffietijd	xxx	rtikoffietijd	@rtikoffietijd	Talkshow	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Knack	xxx	xxx	KNVG	xxx	knvg.nl	xxx	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	bestaat enkel als hashtag
Kind Magazine	xxx	xxx	Kind	xxx	knack.be	@knack	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Keuringsdienst van waren	xxx	xxx	Keuringsdienst van waren	xxx	kind.nl	@KindNL	Lifestyle	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Kennisplatform Sociaal Domein	xxx	xxx	KWV	xxx	keuringsdienstvanwaren.kro.nl	@KWV	Consumenten	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Kennisnet Jeugd	xxx	xxx	Kennisplatform Sociaal Domein	xxx	xxx	@kpsndh	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
kbo-pcob	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	kennissetjeugd.nl	xxx	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Kassa	xxx	xxx	kbo-pcob	xxx	kbo-pcob.nl	@kbo_pcob	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Joy Radio	xxx	xxx	Kassa	xxx	kassa.vara.nl	@kassa_vara	Consumenten	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Joop	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	joyradio.nl	@joyradionl	Muziek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Jinek	xxx	xxx	Joop	xxx	joop.nl	@Joop_nl	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Jeugdjournaal	xxx	xxx	Jinek	xxx	evajinek-kro-nrcv.nl	@JinekLive	Talkshow	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Jalta	xxx	xxx	Jeugdjournaal	xxx	jeugdjournaal.nl	@jeugdjournaal	Actualiteiten	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Jacoline op Zondag	xxx	xxx	Jalta	xxx	jalta.nl	@JaltaNL	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Ipsos	xxx	xxx	Jacoline op Zondag	xxx	kro-nrcv.nl/jacolineopzondag	@jacobinetv	Lifestyle	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Interprovinciaal Overleg	xxx	xxx	Ipsos	xxx	ipsos-nederland.nl	@ipsosnl	Onderzoek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
INSPRAAK!	xxx	xxx	IPO	xxx	ipo.nl	@IPO_Provincies	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Inspectie SZW	xxx	xxx	INSPRAAK!	xxx	inspraak.eu	@inspraakapp	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
ilovenoord	xxx	xxx	Inspectie SZW	xxx	inspectieszw.nl	@inspectieszw	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
I & O Research	xxx	xxx	ilovenoord	xxx	ilovenoord.nl	@ilovenoord	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Human Rights Watch	xxx	xxx	I & O Research	xxx	ioresearch.nl	@lenOResearch	Onderzoek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
HP/De Tijd	xxx	xxx	Human Rights Watch	xxx	hrw.nl	@hrw	Belangen	Website	International	Nieuw	
Hou van Arnhem	xxx	xxx	HP/De Tijd	xxx	hpdetijd.nl	@HPDeTijdNL	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Hortipoint	xxx	xxx	Hou van Arnhem	xxx	houvanarnhem.nl	@ikHouVanArnhem	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Het Stadsblad Breda	xxx	xxx	Hortipoint	xxx	hortipoint.nl	@hortipoint_nl	Vakspecifiek	Website & Magazine	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Het Parool	xxx	xxx	Het Stadsblad Breda	xxx	stadsbladbreda.nl	@stadsbladbreda	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Het Laatste Nieuws	xxx	xxx	Het Parool	xxx	parool.nl	@parool	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Het Krantje	xxx	xxx	Het Laatste Nieuws	xxx	hln.be	@HLN_BE	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Het Financieel Dagblad	xxx	xxx	Het Krantje	xxx	hetkrantje-online.nl	@hetkrantje	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Hart van Scheveningen	xxx	xxx	Het Financieel Dagblad	xxx	fd.nl	@FD_Nieuws	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Hart van Nederland	xxx	xxx	Hart van Scheveningen	xxx	hartvanscheveningen.nl	@HartSchev	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Harrie Verbon	xxx	xxx	Hart van Nederland	xxx	hartvannederland.nl	@HartvNL	Actualiteiten	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Haarlems Dagblad	xxx	xxx	Harrie Verbon	xxx	harrieverbon.blogspot.com	@harrieverbon	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	Geen Tweets of ge Tendentieus
Groot-Heerenveen	xxx	xxx	Haarlems Dagblad	xxx	haarlemsdagblad.nl	@hdhaarlem	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Groot Nissewaard	xxx	xxx	Groot-Heerenveen	xxx	grootheerenveen.nl	@GrootHeerenveen	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Groot nieuws radio	xxx	xxx	Groot Nissewaard	xxx	grootnissewaard.nl	@grootnissewaard	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Groninger Krant	xxx	xxx	Groot nieuws radio	xxx	grootnieusradio.nl	@1008AM	Lifestyle	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Goedemorgen Nederland	xxx	xxx	Groninger Krant	xxx	groningerkrant.nl	@GroningerKrant	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Gemeente nu	xxx	xxx	Goedemorgen Nederland	xxx	goedemorgen.nl	@Goedemorgen	Onderzoek/journalistiek	Website	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
GeenStijl	xxx	xxx	Gemeente nu	xxx	wnl.tv/programmas/goedemorgen	@WNLvandaag	Actualiteiten	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Gates of Vienna	xxx	xxx	GeenStijl	GS	gemeentenu	@gemeentenu	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	dubieus
FunX	xxx	xxx	Gates of Vienna	xxx	gatesofvienna.net	@gatesofvienna	Opinie	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	dubieus
Friesch Dagblad	xxx	xxx	FunX	xxx	funx.nl	@FunX	Muziek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Fresh FM	xxx	xxx	Friesch Dagblad	xxx	frieschdagblad.nl	@frieschdagblad	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Freek FM	xxx	xxx	Fresh FM	xxx	fresh.fm	@FreshFMNL	Muziek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Frankfurter Allgemeine	xxx	xxx	Freek FM	xxx	freezfm.nl	@freezfm	Muziek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
FOX Sports	xxx	xxx	Frankfurter Allgemeine	xxx	fax.net	@faxnet	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Follow the Money	xxx	xxx	FOX Sports	xxx	foxsports.nl	@FOXsportsnl	Actualiteiten	Website & Omroep	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Fok	xxx	xxx	Follow the Money	xxx	ftm.nl	@FTM_nl	Onderzoek/journalistiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
FocusGroningen	xxx	xxx	Fok	xxx	fok.nl	@foknl	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
FNV	xxx	xxx	FocusGroningen	xxx	focusgroningen.nl	@focuspaddepoel	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
FlevoPost	xxx	xxx	FNV	xxx	fnv.nl	@FNV	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Financial Times	xxx	xxx	FlevoPost	xxx	flevoport.nl	@FlevoPost_nl	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Farsi Christian News Network	xxx	xxx	Financial Times	xxx	ft.com	@FT	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Evangelische Omroep	xxx	xxx	Farsi Christian News Network	xxx	fcm.com	@realifcm	Actualiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Traditioneel	Volledig in het arab Dubieus/onduidelijk
Elobserver	xxx	xxx	Evangelische Omroep	xxx	evangelische-people.nl	@theevangelic	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Energie	xxx	xxx	Elobserver	xxx	euobserver.com	@euobs	Algemeen	Omroep	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
emmen.nu	xxx	xxx	Energie	xxx	energiea.nl	@Energiea_Nieuws	Actualiteiten	Website	International	Nieuw	
Emirdag	xxx	xxx	emmen.nu	xxx	emmen.nu	@Emmen_nu	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Elsevier	xxx	xxx	Emirdag	xxx	emirdag.com	@emirdag	Actualiteit	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Eindhovens Dagblad	xxx	xxx	Elsevier	xxx	elsevier.nl	@elsevier	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Eerste Kamer der Staten-Generaal	xxx	xxx	Eindhovens Dagblad	xxx	ed.nl	@ED_regio	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Economisch Statistische Berichten	xxx	xxx	Eerste Kamer der Staten-Generaal	xxx	eerstekamer.nl	@EersteKamer	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
E52	xxx	xxx	Economisch Statistische Berichten	xxx	esb.vandaag.nl	@EenVandaag	Actualiteiten	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
duurzaambedrijfsleven.nl	xxx	xxx	E52	xxx	e52.nl	@ESBtweets	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Dutch News	xxx	xxx	duurzaambedrijfsleven.nl	xxx	duurzaamBV	@duurzaamBV	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Dumptert	xxx	xxx	Dutch News	xxx	dutchnews.nl	@dutchnewsnl	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Down to Earth Magazine	xxx	xxx	Dumptert	xxx	dumpert	@dumpert	Media	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Dorp Ruinen	xxx	xxx	Down to Earth Magazine	xxx	downtoearthmagazine.nl	@D2Emag	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Dordt Centraal	xxx	xxx	Dorp Ruinen	xxx	dorpruinen.nl	@dorpruinen	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Dorrecht.net	xxx	xxx	Dordt Centraal	xxx	dordtcentraal.nl	@dordtcentraal	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
doof.nl	xxx	xxx	Dorrecht.net	xxx	dorrechtsteden.nl	@dorrechtsteden	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Dierenbescherming	xxx	xxx	doof.nl	xxx	doof.nl	@doofnl	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Dichtbij	xxx	xxx	Dierenbescherming	xxx	dierenbescherming.nl	@dierbescherming	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Diaspora Nieuws	xxx	xxx	Dichtbij	xxx	dichtbij.nl	@dichtbij	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Deventer Radio & Televisie	xxx	xxx	Diaspora Nieuws	xxx	dnieuws.com	@diasporanieuws	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Demet	xxx	xxx	Deventer Radio & Televisie	xxx	deventer.tv	@DeventerRTV	Actualiteiten	Website, Omroep & Radi	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Defensie-Platform	xxx	xxx	Demet	xxx	demet.nl	@demet_TV	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
De Wereld Draait Door	xxx	xxx	Defensie-Platform	xxx	defensie-platform.nl	@defplatform	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
De Volkskrant	xxx	xxx	De Wereld Draait Door	xxx	dewerelddraaitdoor.vara.nl	@dwd	TVprogramma	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
De Verwondering	xxx	xxx	De Volkskrant	xxx	volkskrant.nl	@volkskrant	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
De Utrechtse Internet Courant	xxx	xxx	De Verwondering	xxx	kro-nrcv.nl/deverwondering	@KRONCRV	Levensbeschouwing	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
De Twentsche Courant Tuban	xxx	xxx	De Utrechtse Internet Courant	xxx	duic.nl	@duicnl	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
De Telegraaf	xxx	xxx	De Twentsche Courant Tuban	xxx	tubantia.nl	@tubantia	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
De Stentor	xxx	xxx	De Telegraaf	xxx	telegraaf.nl	@telegraaf	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
De standaard	xxx	xxx	De Stentor	xxx	destentor.nl	@De_Stentor	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
De Speld	xxx	xxx	De standaard	xxx	standaard.be	@standaard	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
De Roskam	xxx	xxx	De Speld	xxx	speld.nl	@DeSpeld	Satire/actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
De Rode Werf	xxx	xxx	De Roskam	xxx	roskam.nl	@roskamwente	Opinie	Magazine	Binnenland	Nieuw	Voorlopig gestopt
De Reedsdie	xxx	xxx	De Rode Werf	xxx	derodewerf.nl	@derodewerf	Politiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
De Orkaan	xxx	xxx	De Reedsdie	xxx	deredsdie.nl	@vderedactie	Actualiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
De Nationale Ombudsman	xxx	xxx	De Orkaan	xxx	deorkaan.nl	@deorkaan	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
De Morgen	xxx	xxx	De Nationale Ombudsman	xxx	nationaleombudsman.nl	@nat_ombudsman	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
De Monitor	xxx	xxx	De Morgen	xxx	demorgen.be	@demorgen	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
De Limburger	xxx	xxx	De Monitor	xxx	demonitor.nrcv.nl	@De_Monitor	Onderzoek/journalistiek	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
De Ingenieur	xxx	xxx	De Limburger	xxx	limburger.nl	@delimburger	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
			De Ingenieur	xxx	deingenieur.nl	@de_ingenieur	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	

Naam zoals bekend	Naam (niet 1 woord)	Extra naam (niet 1 woord)	Afkorting (1 woord)	Extra afk. URL	Twitteraccount	Twitteraccount met @	Soort content	Soort medium	Binnenland/bui	Traditioneel/nie	Opmerkingen
De Gooi- en Eemlander	De Gooi- en Eemlander	xxx	xxx	xxx	gooieneemlander.nl	@gooieneemlander	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Regio	Traditioneel	
De Gelderlander	De Gelderlander	xxx	DG	xxx	gelderlander.nl	@DeGelderlander	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Regio	Traditioneel	
De financiële Telegraaf	De financiële Telegraaf	xxx	DFT	xxx	dft.nl	@dft	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
De Echo	De Echo	xxx	xxx	xxx	echo.nl	@stadsblad	Actualiteiten	Weekblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
De Drentenaar	De Drentenaar	xxx	xxx	xxx	dcdrentenaar.nl	@DeDrentenaar	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
De Digitale Stad Nieuwegein	De Digitale Stad Nieuwegein	xxx	xxx	xxx	pen.nl	@nieuwegein123	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
De dagelijkse standaard	De dagelijkse standaard	xxx	DDS	xxx	dagelijkestandaard.nl	@DDSstandaard	?	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	dubius/tendentius
De Correspondent	De Correspondent	xxx	xxx	xxx	decorrespondent.nl	@decorrespondent	Onderzoeksjournalistiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
De Boerderij	De Boerderij	xxx	xxx	xxx	boerderij.nl	@Boerderij_nl	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	?	
De Bezige Bij	De Bezige Bij	xxx	xxx	xxx	debezigebij.nl	@debezigebij	Boeken	Uitgeverij	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
De Balie	De Balie	xxx	xxx	xxx	debalie.nl	@DeBalie	Lifestyle ?		Binnenland		
Das Kapital	Das Kapital	xxx	DK	xxx	dasKapital.nl	@dasKapitalNL	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
DalisenNet	DalisenNet	xxx	xxx	xxx	dalisen.net	@DalisenNet	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Daily Express	Daily Express	xxx	xxx	xxx	express.co.uk	@daily_express	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Dagblad van het Noorden	Dagblad van het Noorden	xxx	dvh	xxx	dvh.nl	@dvh_nl	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Regio	Traditioneel	
Coöperatie De Vrije Media	Coöperatie De Vrije Media	xxx	DVM	xxx	cooperatiedevrijemedi.nl	@devrijemedi	Onderzoeksjournalistiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Cobouw	Cobouw	xxx	xxx	xxx	cobouw.nl	@CobouwNL	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Christelijk Informatie Platform	Christelijk Informatie Platform	xxx	CIP	xxx	cip.nl	@cipnl	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
CFO	xxx	xxx	CFO	xxx	cfo.nl	@CFOcommunity	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Centraal Planbureau	Centraal Planbureau	xxx	CPB	xxx	cpb.nl	@centraalpb	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek	Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek	xxx	CBS	xxx	cbs.nl	@statistiekcbs	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Cable News Network	Cable News Network	xxx	CNN	xxx	cnn.com	@CNN	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Internationaal	Traditioneel	
BuzzFeed	BuzzFeed	xxx	BuzzFeed	xxx	buzzfeed.com	@BuzzFeed	Actualiteiten/Lifestyle	Website	Internationaal	Nieuw	
Business Insider	Business Insider	xxx	xxx	xxx	businessinsider.nl	@businessinsider	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Business Class	Business Class	xxx	xxx	xxx	business-class.nl	@Dutch_travel	Vakspecifiek	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Buitenhof	xxx	xxx	Buitenhof	xxx	vpro.nl/buitenhof	@Buitenhofv	Talkshow	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
British Broadcasting Corporation	British Broadcasting Corporation	xxx	BBC	xxx	bbc.com	@BBC	Algemeen	Omroep	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
BRIGHT	xxx	xxx	BRIGHT	xxx	bright.nl	@bright	Technologie/Lifestyle	Magazine	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Briefje van Jan	Briefje van Jan	xxx	xxx	xxx	briefjevanjan.nl	@indkgrf	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	PartijBron
Breibart	xxx	xxx	Breibart	xxx	breitbart.com	@BreitbartNews	Actualiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	Dubius
Brandpunt	Brandpunt	xxx	xxx	xxx	brandpunt.tv	@BrandpuntTV	Actualiteiten	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Brainwash	xxx	xxx	Brainwash	xxx	brainwash.nl	@Brainwashonline	Opinie	Omroep	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Brabants Dagblad	Brabants Dagblad	xxx	BD	xxx	bd.nl	@brabantsdagblad	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Regio	Traditioneel	
Bollenstreek Omroep	Bollenstreek Omroep	xxx	xxx	xxx	bollenstreekomroep.nl	@omroepbo	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
Boeddhistisch Dagblad	Boeddhistisch Dagblad	xxx	xxx	xxx	boeddhistischdagblad.nl	@boeddhadagblad	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
BNR Nieuwsradio	BNR Nieuwsradio	xxx	xxx	xxx	bnr.nl	@BNR	Muziek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
BNN FM	BNN FM	xxx	BNN FM	xxx	bnnfm.nl	@OmroepBNN	Muziek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
BN De Stem	BN De Stem	BN De Stem	xxx	xxx	bndestem.nl	@BNDeStem	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Regio	Traditioneel	
Blik op Noordwijk	Blik op Noordwijk	xxx	xxx	xxx	blikopnoordwijk.nl	@blikopnoordwijk	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Blendle	xxx	xxx	Blendle	xxx	blendle.com	@BlendleNL	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Bits of Freedom	Bits of Freedom	xxx	xxx	xxx	bof.nl	@bitsoffreedom	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Binnenlands Bestuur	Binnenlands Bestuur	xxx	xxx	xxx	binnenlandsbestuur.nl	@BBnieuws	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Better call Sjuul	Better call Sjuul	xxx	xxx	xxx	bettercallsjuul.nl	@BCSOpinie	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
BestuurlijkNieuws.nl	xxx	xxx	BestuurlijkNieuws.nl	xxx	bestuurlijknw.nl	@BestuurlijkNWS	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Berliner Zeitung	Berliner Zeitung	xxx	xxx	xxx	berliner-zeitung.de	@berlinerzeitung	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
BelNieuws	Bel Nieuws	xxx	BelNieuws	xxx	belnieuws.nl	@Belnieuws	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
Batavrus	xxx	xxx	Batavrus	xxx	batavrus.nl	@Batavrus	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	Dubius
Barneveldse Krant	Barneveldse Krant	xxx	xxx	xxx	barneveldsekrant.nl	@BarneveldseKmt	Overheid	Website	Regio	Traditioneel	
Autoriteit Financiële Markten	Autoriteit Financiële Markten	xxx	AFM	xxx	afm.nl	@AutoriteitFM	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
ATS	xxx	xxx	ATS	xxx	ats.nl	@ATS	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
Argos	xxx	xxx	Argos	xxx	vpro.nl/argos	@Argosradio1	Onderzoek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
ANBO	xxx	xxx	ANBO	xxx	anbo.nl	@ANBO_Nederland	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Amor FM	Amor FM	xxx	xxx	xxx	amorfm.eu	@RadioAmorFM	Muziek	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Amnesty	Amnesty International	xxx	Amnesty	xxx	amnesty.org	@amnesty	Belangen	Website	Internationaal	Nieuw	
Amazigh Times	Amazigh Times	xxx	AmazighTimes	xxx	amazightimes.nl	xxx	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Alkmaar Centraal	Alkmaar Centraal	xxx	xxx	xxx	alkmaarcentraal.nl	@alkmaarcentraal	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
Algemene Rekenkamer	Algemene Rekenkamer	xxx	xxx	xxx	rekenkamer.nl	@Rekenkamer	Overheid	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Algemene Inlichtingen- en Veiligheidsdienst	Algemene Inlichtingen- en Veiligheidsdienst	xxx	AIVD	xxx	aivd.nl	@AIVD	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Algemeen Dagblad	Algemeen Dagblad	xxx	xxx	xxx	ad.nl	@ADnl	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Al Jazeera	Al Jazeera	xxx	AlJazeera	xxx	aljazeera.com	@ajenglish	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Aalten Vooruit	Aalten Vooruit	xxx	xxx	xxx	aaltenvooruit.nl	@Aalten_Vooruit	Actualiteiten	Weekblad	Regio	Traditioneel	
AAFM	xxx	xxx	AAFM	xxx	aafm.nl	@_aafm	Actualiteiten	Radio	Regio	Nieuw	
7days	7 days	xxx	7days	xxx	sevendays.nl	@7daysnl	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
3voor12	3 voor 12	xxx	3voor12	xxx	3voor12.vpro.nl	@3voor12	Muziek	Omroep	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
3FM	3FM	xxx	3FM	xxx	3fm.nl	@3FM	Muziek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
1Limburg	1 Limburg	xxx	1Limburg	xxx	1limburg.nl	@1limburg	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
100% NL	100% NL	xxx	100%NL	xxx	100p.nl	@100pnl	Muziek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
De Nederlandsche Bank	De Nederlandsche Bank	xxx	DNB	xxx	dnb.nl	@DNB_NL	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Congress.gov	xxx	xxx	Congress.gov	xxx	congress.gov	@congressdotgov	Overheid	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
vrij-zinnig.nl	xxx	xxx	vrij-zinnig.nl	xxx	vrij-zinnig.nl	@Vrij_Zinnig	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
MVO Nederland	MVO Nederland	xxx	MVO	xxx	mvonederland.nl	@MVO_NL	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Vechtdal Centraal	Vechtdal Centraal	xxx	xxx	xxx	vechtdalcentraal.nl	@VechtdalCentraal	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
WDR	Westdeutscher Rundfunk	xxx	WDR	xxx	wdr.de	@WDR	Actualiteiten	TVprogramma	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Thuis in Maastricht	Thuis in Maastricht	xxx	xxx	xxx	thuisinmaastricht.nl	@Thuismaastricht	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
DutchCowboys	DutchCowboys	xxx	xxx	xxx	dutchcowboys.nl	@dutchcowboys	Vakspecifiek	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Bloomberg Politics	Bloomberg Politics	xxx	xxx	xxx	bloomberg.com/politics	@bpolitics	Actualiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
OxfamNovib	Oxfam Novib	xxx	xxx	xxx	oxfamnovib.nl	@oxfamnovib	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Westerwolde Actueel	Westerwolde Actueel	xxx	xxx	xxx	westerwoldeactueel.nl	@wwactueel	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
SKIN Rotterdam	Samen Kerk in Nederland	SKIN Rotterdam	xxx	xxx	skinrotterdam.nl	@SKINRotterdam	Lifestyle	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Doopsgezind.nl	xxx	xxx	Doopsgezind.nl	xxx	doopsgezind.nl	@doopsgezinden	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Greenpeace	xxx	xxx	Greenpeace	xxx	greenpeace.nl	@greenpeacenl	Belangen	Website	Internationaal	Nieuw	
Bredavandaag	Breda Vandaag	xxx	Bredavandaag	xxx	bredavandaag.nl	@bredavandaag	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Windenergie Magazine	Windenergie Magazine	xxx	xxx	xxx	windenergie-magazine.nl	@WindEnergieMag	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Natuurmonumenten	xxx	xxx	Natuurmonumenten	xxx	natuurmonumenten.nl	@natuurmonument	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
mic.com	xxx	xxx	mic.com	xxx	mic.com	@mic	Actualiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
National Geographic	National Geographic	xxx	xxx	xxx	nationalgeographic.nl	@natgeonl	Vakspecifiek	Website	Internationaal	Traditioneel	
Gazet van Antwerpen	Gazet van Antwerpen	xxx	GvA	xxx	gva.be	@gva	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	Buitenlands en regionaal
Gemeente Waterland	Gemeente Waterland	xxx	xxx	xxx	waterland.nl	@gem_waterland	Overheid	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
The Irish Times	The Irish Times	xxx	xxx	xxx	irishtimes.com	@IrishTimes	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Oisterwijk Nieuws	Oisterwijk Nieuws	xxx	xxx	xxx	oisterwijknieuws.nl	@oisterwijknews	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Eemskrant	xxx	xxx	Eemskrant	xxx	eemskrant.nl	@eemskrant	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Breikend	xxx	xxx	Breikend	xxx	breikend.nl	@breikendnl	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Publiekrecht en politiek	Publiekrecht en politiek	xxx	xxx	xxx	publiekrecht/politiek.nl	@publiekrecht	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Sociaal Werk Nederland	Sociaal Werk Nederland	xxx	xxx	xxx	sociaalwerk nederland.nl	@SociaalWerkNL	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Unicef	xxx	xxx	Unicef	xxx	unicef.org	@unicef	Belangen	Website	Internationaal	Nieuw	
Retecool	xxx	xxx	Retecool	xxx	retecool.com	@retecool	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Arnhemse Koerier	Arnhemse Koerier	xxx	xxx	xxx	arnhemsekoerier.nl	@arnhemsekoerier	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
Kidsweek	xxx	xxx	Kidsweek	xxx	kidsweek.nl	@kidsweeknl	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Landelijke Studentenbond	Landelijke Studentenbond	xxx	LSVB	xxx	lsvb.nl	@studentenbond	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Alles in Alphen	Alles in Alphen	xxx	xxx	xxx	allesinalphen.nl	@allesinalphen	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	

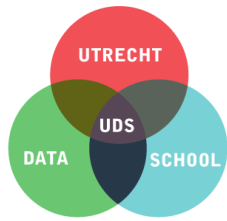
Naam zoals bekend	Naam (niet 1 woord)	Extra naam (niet 1 woord)	Afkorting (1 woord)	Extra afk URL	Twitteraccount	Twitteraccount met @	Soort content	Soort medium	Binnenland/bu	Traditioneel/nie	Opmerkingen
DeWereldMorgen	xxx	xxx	DeWereldMorgen	xxx	@dewereldmorgen	@dewereldmorgen	Actualiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Rutgers	xxx	xxx	Rutgers	xxx	RutgersNL	@RutgersNL	Onderzoek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
De Mool Sen en Breugel	xxx	xxx	Demoisantenbreugel	xxx	MooSenBkrant	@MooSenBkrant	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
Nunspeet Huis aan Huis	xxx	xxx	Nunspeet Huis aan Huis	xxx	nunspeethuisaanhuis.nl	@NunspeetHH	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
Algemene Onderwijsbond	xxx	xxx	AOB	xxx	abob.nl	@AOBtweets	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Republiek Allochtonie	xxx	xxx	Republiek Allochtonie	xxx	republiekallochtonie.nl	@allochtonie	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Omroep PIM	xxx	xxx	Omroep PIM	xxx	omroep-pim.nl	@OmroepPIM	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Meertens Instituut	xxx	xxx	Meertens Instituut	xxx	meertens_know.nl	@meertens_know	Onderzoek	Website	Binnenland	N	
Jong Havenvereniging	xxx	xxx	Jong Havenvereniging	xxx	jonghavenvereniging.nl	@JongHaVe	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Terug naar de bossen	xxx	xxx	Terug naar de bossen	xxx	terugnaardebossen.nl	@Terugnaardebossen	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Waterschap de Dommel	xxx	De Dommel	xxx	xxx	wddommel	@wddommel	Overheid	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Hard/hoofd	xxx	Hard/hoofd	xxx	hardhoofd	hardhoofd.com	@hardhoofd	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
MO*	xxx	MO*	xxx	xxx	mondainnieuws	@mondainnieuws	Actualiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Folia	xxx	xxx	Folia	xxx	folia	@folia	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
Stad Doetinchem	xxx	xxx	Stad Doetinchem	xxx	staddoetinchem.nl	@StadDoetinchem	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
Sargasso	xxx	xxx	Sargasso	xxx	sargasso.nl	@sargasso	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
CE Delft	xxx	xxx	CE Delft	xxx	ce.nl	@CEDelft	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Noordzee Strandnieuws	xxx	xxx	Noordzee Strandnieuws	xxx	noordzeestrandnieuws.nl	@noordzeenieuws	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
thelocal.de	xxx	xxx	thelocal.de	xxx	TheLocalGermany	@TheLocalGermany	Actualiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
The Ecologist	xxx	xxx	The Ecologist	xxx	the_ecologist.org	@the_ecologist	Vakspecifiek	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
EVO	xxx	xxx	EVO	xxx	evo.nl	@evofenedex	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
LandschappenNL	xxx	xxx	LandschappenNL	xxx	landschappen.nl	@LandschappenNL	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Frontbencher	xxx	xxx	Frontbencher	xxx	frontbencher.nl	@frontbencherNL	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Ons Eiland Schouwen-Duivels	xxx	xxx	Ons Eiland Schouwen-Duivels	xxx	onseiland	@onseiland	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
Weekblad Forum	xxx	xxx	Weekblad Forum	xxx	weekbladforum.nl	@weekbladforum	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Foreign Policy	xxx	xxx	Foreign Policy	xxx	foreignpolicy.com	@foreignpolicy	Vakspecifiek	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Transnational Institute	xxx	xxx	Transnational Institute	xxx	tni.org	@TNInstitute	Onderzoek	Website	Internationaal	Nieuw	
Het Kontakt	xxx	xxx	Het Kontakt	xxx	hetkontakt.nl	@HetKontakt	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Inter Press Service	xxx	xxx	Inter Press Service	xxx	ipsnews.net	@ipsnews	Actualiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Rijn en Veluwe	xxx	xxx	Rijn en Veluwe	xxx	rijnaveluwes.nl	@rijnaveluwes	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
Hoofdstorpe Courant	xxx	HC Nieuws	Hoofdstorpe Courant	xxx	hcnieuws.nl	@HoofdstorpeCmt	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
COC Nederland	xxx	xxx	COC Nederland	xxx	coc.nl	@COCNederland	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Think GeoEnergy	xxx	xxx	Think GeoEnergy	xxx	thinkgeoenergy.com	@thinkgeoenergy	Vakspecifiek	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Huishoudbode	xxx	xxx	Huishoudbode	xxx	huishoudbode.nl	@emlebo	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Me Justice	xxx	xxx	Me Justice	xxx	mejustice.nl	@MeJusticeNL	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
DutchTurks.nl	xxx	xxx	DutchTurks.nl	xxx	dutchturks.nl	@dutchturksNL	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	Turks en zeker ook zo gekleurd
headlines.nl	xxx	xxx	headlines.nl	xxx	headlines.nl	@headlines_nl	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Opinie	xxx	xxx	Opinie	xxx	opinieez.com	@OpinieMagazine	Opinie	Magazine	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Movisie	xxx	xxx	Movisie	xxx	movisie.nl	@Movisie	Onderzoek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Krapul	xxx	xxx	Krapul	xxx	krapul.nl	@Krapul	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Voorburgs Dagblad	xxx	xxx	Voorburgs Dagblad	xxx	voorbursdagblad.nl	@dagbladvoorburg	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Kennisplatform Integratie	xxx	xxx	Kennisplatform Integratie en S	xxx	kis.nl	@platformkis	Onderzoek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Süddeutsche Zeitung	xxx	xxx	Süddeutsche Zeitung	xxx	sueddeutsche.de	@SZ	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Stimuleringsfonds voor de	xxx	xxx	Stimuleringsfonds voor de Jou	xxx	svdi.nl	@persinnovatie	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
CareiBrendel.nl	xxx	xxx	CareiBrendel.nl	xxx	careibrendel.nl	@CareiBrendel	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Couturekrant	xxx	xxx	Couturekrant	xxx	couturekrant.nl	@couturekrant	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
EI Universal	xxx	xxx	EI Universal	xxx	eiuniversal.com.mx	@EI_Universal_Mx	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
RTV Katwijk	xxx	xxx	RTV Katwijk	xxx	rtvkatwijk.nl	@RTVkatwijk	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
Frontaal Naakt	xxx	xxx	Frontaal Naakt	xxx	frontaalnaakt.nl	@FrontaalNaakt	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	Tendentieus
Das Erste	xxx	xxx	Das Erste	xxx	daserste.de	@daserste	Algemeen	TVprogramma	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Climategate.nl	xxx	xxx	Climategate.nl	xxx	climategate.nl	@climategateNL	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
De Ondernemer	xxx	xxx	De Ondernemer	xxx	deondernemer.nl	@de_ondernemer	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
De Bilt in Beeld	xxx	xxx	De Bilt in Beeld	xxx	debiltinbeeld.nl	@DeBiltinBeeld	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Regio TV de Bilt	xxx	xxx	Regio TV de Bilt	xxx	regiotvdebilt.nl	@RegioTVDeBilt	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
Het nieuws	xxx	xxx	Het nieuws	xxx	hetnieuws.in	@nieuwsin	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	Verzamel handle voor allerlei regionaal nieuws via twitter. Op zichzelf geen account
Telesport	xxx	xxx	Telesport	xxx	telesport.nl	@telesport	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
mashtable.com	xxx	xxx	mashtable.com	xxx	mashtable.com	@mashtable	Vakspecifiek	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Turks.nl	xxx	xxx	Turks.nl	xxx	turks.nl	@trksnl	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Pob Radio	xxx	xxx	Pob Radio	xxx	pobradio.nl	xxx	Vakspecifiek	Radio	Binnenland	traditioneel	
De Met	xxx	xxx	De Met	xxx	demet.nl	@demet_tv	Actualiteiten	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Nieuw	
De Groene Rekenkamer	xxx	xxx	De Groene rekenkamer	xxx	groenerekenkamer.nl	@GroenRekenkamer	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Zupthens Koerier	xxx	xxx	Zupthens Koerier	xxx	zupthenskoerier.nl	@zupthenskoerier	Vakspecifiek	Dagblad	Regio	traditioneel	
Forbes	xxx	xxx	Forbes	xxx	forbes.com	@forbes	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Buitenland	traditioneel	
lelystad.nl	xxx	xxx	lelystad.nl	xxx	lelystad.nl	@gem_Lelystad	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Mare	xxx	xxx	Mare	xxx	mareonline.nl	@WeekbladMare	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Regio	traditioneel	
Woonbond	xxx	xxx	Woonbond	xxx	woonbond.nl	@woonbond	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Sociaal en Cultureel Plan	xxx	xxx	Sociaal en Cultureel Planbure	xxx	scp.nl	@SCPonderzoek	Algemeen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Fenixx	xxx	xxx	Fenixx.org	xxx	fenixx.org	@Fub_Fub	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	zeer Radicaal fout
Verbond voor opheffing v	xxx	xxx	Verbond voor opheffing van h	xxx	voc-nederland.org	@vonderderland	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Raam op Rusland	xxx	xxx	Raam op Rusland	xxx	raamoprusland.nl	@raamoprusland	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
www.breda.nl	xxx	xxx	www.breda.nl	xxx	breda.nl	@breda	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Ars Technica	xxx	xxx	Ars Technica	xxx	arstechnica.com	@arstechnica	Vakspecifiek	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Stormfront	xxx	xxx	Stormfront	xxx	stormfront.org	@StormfrontWPWW	Opinie	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	zeer radicaal fout
Nederlandse Volks-Unie	xxx	xxx	Nederlandse Volks-Unie	xxx	nvu.info	xxx	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	zeer radicaal fout
Openbaar Ministerie	xxx	xxx	Openbaar Ministerie	xxx	om.nl	@Het_OM	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Zuid Friesland	xxx	xxx	Zuid Friesland	xxx	zuidfriesland.nl	@ZuidFriesland	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Futurism	xxx	xxx	Futurism	xxx	futurism.com	@Futurism	Vakspecifiek	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
CM	xxx	xxx	Tijdschrift CM	xxx	cmweb.nl	@TijdschriftCM	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Sojourners	xxx	xxx	Sojourners	xxx	sojo.net	@sojourners	Lifestyle	Magazine	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Associated Press News	xxx	Associated Press	Associated Press News	xxx	apnews.com	@AP	Actualiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Datagraver	xxx	xxx	Datagraver	xxx	datagraver.com	@datagraver	Onderzoek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Emerce	xxx	xxx	Emerce	xxx	emerce.nl	@Emerce	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Ekşi sözlük	xxx	xxx	Ekşi sözlük	xxx	eksisozluk.com	@sozlu	Actualiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Kiesraad	xxx	xxx	Kiesraad	xxx	kiesraad.nl	@kiesraad	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
JeCele.nl	xxx	xxx	JeCele.nl	xxx	jecele.nl	@jouwefeld	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
078Vandaag	xxx	xxx	078 Vandaag	xxx	078vandaag.nl	@078vandaag	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Rollingstoned.nl	xxx	xxx	Rollingstoned.nl	xxx	rollingstoned.nl	@rolstoned	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
leconomics	xxx	xxx	leconomics.com	xxx	leconomics.com	@ECONOMICS	Onderzoek	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Uproxx	xxx	xxx	Uproxx	xxx	uproxx.com	@uproxx	Actualiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
New Republic	xxx	xxx	New Republic	xxx	newrepublic.com	@newrepublic	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Europa Nu	xxx	xxx	Europa Nu	xxx	europa-nu.nl	@europa_nu	Actualiteiten	Website	Internationaal	Nieuw	
The Times of Israel	xxx	xxx	The Times of Israel	xxx	timesofisrael.com	@TimesofIsrael	Actualiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Traditioneel	Israel propaganda
Nieuws In Assen	xxx	xxx	Nieuws In Assen	xxx	nieuwsinassen.nl	@nieuwsinassen	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Gemeente Oldambt	xxx	xxx	Gemeente Oldambt	xxx	gemeente-oldambt.nl	@gemeenteloldambt	Overheid	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Gemeente Amsterdam	xxx	xxx	Gemeente Amsterdam	xxx	amsterdam.nl	@AmsterdamNL	Overheid	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
NBC News	xxx	xxx	NBC News	xxx	nbcnews.com	@nbcnews	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
TV Rain	xxx	xxx	TV Rain	xxx	tvrain.ru	@tvrain	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
International Labour Orga	xxx	xxx	International Labour Organiza	xxx	ilo.org	@ilo	Vakspecifiek	Website	Internationaal	Nieuw	
Der Tagesspiegel	xxx	xxx	Der Tagesspiegel	xxx	tagesspiegel.de	@tagesspiegel	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Eufin-nieuws	xxx	xxx	Eufin-nieuws	xxx	eufin.nl	@eufin	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	

Naam zoals bekend	Naam (niet 1 woord)	Extra naam (niet 1 woord)	Afkorting (1 woord)	Extra afk URL	Twitteraccount	Twitteraccount met @	Soort content	Soort medium	Binnenland/bui	Traditioneel/nie	Opmerkingen
Veren of Loof	Veren of Loof	xxx	xxx	veren_of_loof	veren_of_loof	@veren_of_loof	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Flabber	xxx	xxx	Flabber	flabber.nl	flabber	@flabber	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
dken.com	xxx	xxx	xxx	dken.com	xxx	xxx	Niet bekend	Niet bekend	Niet bekend	Niet bekend	Website niet toegankelijk
De Schapenhoeder	De Schapenhoeder	xxx	xxx	schapenhoeder.nl	schapenhoeder	@schapenhoeder	Opinie	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
DeepDotWeb	xxx	xxx	DeepDotWeb	deepdotweb.com	DeepDotWeb	@DeepDotWeb	Vakspecifiek	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Yahoo News	Yahoo News	xxx	xxx	yahoo.com/news	yahoo news	@yahoonews	Actuiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Dordtse Koppen	Dordtse Koppen	xxx	xxx	dordtsekoppen.nl	dordtsekoppen	@dordtsekoppen	Lifestyle	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Washington's Blog	Washington's Blog	xxx	xxx	washingtonsblog.com	WashingtonsBlog	@WashingtonsBlog	Actuiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
RTV Dordrecht	RTV Dordrecht	xxx	xxx	rtvdordrecht.nl	rtvdordrecht	@rtvdordrecht	Actuiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
Staatsgeheim	xxx	xxx	Staatsgeheim	staatsgeheim.com	hoxha	@hoxha	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Café Weltschmerz	Café Weltschmerz	xxx	xxx	cafeweltschmerz.nl	cafeweltschmerz	@cafeweltschmerz	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Harenre Weekblad	Harenre Weekblad	xxx	xxx	harenreweekblad.nl	harenreweekblad	@harenreweekblad	Actuiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
Bitch Media	Bitch Media	xxx	xxx	bitchmedia.org	bitchmedia	@bitchmedia	Actuiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Foodwatch	xxx	xxx	Foodwatch	foodwatch.nl	foodwatch_nl	@foodwatch_nl	Belangen	Website	International	Nieuw	
Nederlands Juristen Com	Nederlands Juristen Comité v	xxx	xxx	NJCM	njcm.nl	@njcm_nl	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Autoriteit Persoonsgegeev	Autoriteit Persoonsgegevens	xxx	xxx	autoriteitpersoonsgegevens.nl	rijksoverheid	@rijksoverheid	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
AndereBlik	xxx	xxx	AndereBlik	andereblik.com	lerenmetpassie	@lerenmetpassie	Onderzoek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Spreekbuis.nl	xxx	xxx	Spreekbuis.nl	spreekbuis.nl	Spreekbuisnl	@Spreekbuisnl	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
meedogenloos.nl	xxx	xxx	meedogenloos.nl	meedogenloos.nl	venerderland	@venerderland	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	Links populistische Tendentieus
Numrush	xxx	xxx	Numrush	numrush.nl	Numrush	@Numrush	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Zuurkool	xxx	xxx	Zuurkool	zuurkool.nl	zuurkool	@zuurkool	Muziek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Welt	xxx	xxx	Welt	welt.de	welt	@welt	Actuiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Pratvoer.nl	xxx	xxx	Pratvoer.nl	pratvoer.nl	xxx	xxx	Actuiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Stichting Diensten en Onc	Stichting Diensten en Onderz	xxx	xxx	docP	docP	@docP_	Onderzoek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
De Cooperatie	De Cooperatie	xxx	xxx	decooperatie.org	jourcoop	@jourcoop	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Quartz	xxx	xxx	Quartz	qz.com	qz	@qz	Actuiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Good Magazine	Good Magazine	xxx	xxx	good.is	good	@good	Actuiteiten	Magazine	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Nederlandse vissersbond	Nederlandse vissersbond	xxx	xxx	vissersbond	vissersbond	@vissersbond	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Tweakers	xxx	xxx	Tweakers	tweakers.net	tweakers	@tweakers	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Naked Security	Naked Security	xxx	xxx	nakedsecurity.sophos.com	NakedSecurity	@NakedSecurity	Vakspecifiek	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
College voor de rechten v	College voor de rechten van d	xxx	xxx	mensrechten.nl	MensenrechtenNL	@MensenrechtenNL	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Haaretz	xxx	xxx	Haaretz	haaretz.com	haaretzcom	@haaretzcom	Actuiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
112jmond.nl	112 Umond	xxx	xxx	112jmond.nl	112jmond	@112jmond	Actuiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Corporate Europe	Corporate Europe	xxx	xxx	corporateeurope.org	corporateeurope	@corporateeurope	Onderzoekjournalistiek	Website	International	Nieuw	
Netkwesties	xxx	xxx	Netkwesties	netkwesties.nl	netkwesties	@netkwesties	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Wired	xxx	xxx	Wired	wired.com	wired	@wired	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Distraction Pieces	Distraction Pieces	Distraction Pieces Podcast	xxx	xxx	scroobuspip.co.uk/distraction	Scroobuspipyo	Lifestyle	Radio	Buitenland	Nieuw	Podcast
oneworld.nl	One World	xxx	xxx	oneworld.nl	oneworldnl	@oneworldnl	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Economics	xxx	xxx	Economics	economics.com	economicsmag	@economicsmag	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Nederlandse Vereniging v	Nederlandse Vereniging van J	xxx	xxx	nvi.nl	nvi	@nvi	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Privacy First	Privacy First	xxx	xxx	privacyfirst.nl	privacyfirst	@privacyfirst	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Variety	xxx	xxx	Variety	variety.com	variety	@variety	Lifestyle	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Hier hoor je hoe het echt :	Hier hoor je hoe het echt zit	xxx	xxx	stitcher.com/podcast/hier-oor	stitcher	@stitcher	Actuiteiten	Radio	Binnenland	Nieuw	Podcast
Duurzaamnieuws.nl	Duurzaam Nieuws	xxx	xxx	duurzaamnieuws.nl	DuurzaamNieuws	@DuurzaamNieuws	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Ravage Webzine	Ravage Webzine	xxx	xxx	ravage-webzine.nl	RavageWebzine	@RavageWebzine	Actuiteiten	Magazine	Binnenland	Nieuw	Webzine
ibestuur	xxx	xxx	ibestuur	ibestuur.nl	ibestuur	@ibestuur	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
HaberArnhem.nl	Haber Arnhem	xxx	xxx	haberarnhem.nl	haberarnhem	@haberarnhem	Actuiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Nederlandse Orde van Advoc	Nederlandse Orde van Advoc	xxx	xxx	advocatenorde.nl	Advocatenorde	@Advocatenorde	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Marketingfacts.nl	xxx	xxx	Marketingfacts.nl	marketingfacts.nl	Marketingfacts	@Marketingfacts	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Advocatenblad	xxx	xxx	Advocatenblad	advocatenblad.nl	advocatenblad	@advocatenblad	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Beveiliging Nieuws	Beveiliging Nieuws	xxx	xxx	beveiligingnieuws.nl	beveiliging	@beveiliging	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Texel-Plaza	Texel Plaza	xxx	xxx	texelplaza.nl	TexelPlaza	@TexelPlaza	Actuiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Scientific American	Scientific American	xxx	xxx	scientificamerican.com	sciam	@sciam	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Webwereld	xxx	xxx	Webwereld	webwereld.nl	webwereld	@webwereld	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Het Streekblad	Het Streekblad	xxx	xxx	hetstreekblad.nl	het_streekblad	@het_streekblad	Actuiteiten	Magazine	Binnenland	Nieuw	Streeknieuws uit het hele land
Nederlandstalig Netwerk I	Nederlandstalig Netwerk Basii	xxx	xxx	basissinkomen.net	basissinkomen	@basissinkomen	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Hollands Turkierl konye	Hollands Turkierl konye	xxx	xxx	hollands-turkierlkonye.nl	xxx	xxx	Actuiteiten	Website	International	Nieuw	Turkse propaganda
Radio BART	Radio BART	xxx	xxx	radiobart.nl	radiobart	@radiobart	Belangen	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel	Radiostation Geenpeil
Foundation for a free infor	Foundation for a free informat	xxx	xxx	ffi.org	ffi	@ffi	Belangen	Website	International	Nieuw	
Foreign Affairs	Foreign Affairs	xxx	xxx	foreignaffairs.com	foreignaffairs	@foreignaffairs	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Index on Censorship	Index on Censorship	xxx	xxx	indexoncensorship.org	IndexCensorship	@IndexCensorship	Belangen	Magazine	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Vileine	xxx	xxx	Vileine	vileine.nl	VileineNL	@VileineNL	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
SC Online	SC Online	Staats Courant	xxx	xxx	sconline.nl	@SCredactie	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Pirate Times	Pirate Times	xxx	xxx	piratetimes.net	piratetimes	@Piratetimes	Vakspecifiek	Website	International	Nieuw	
Wos.nl	xxx	xxx	Wos.nl	wos.nl	wosnieuws	@wosnieuws	Actuiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Visionair	xxx	xxx	Visionair	visionair.nl	VisionairNL	@VisionairNL	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
AutoWeek	xxx	xxx	AutoWeek	autoweek.nl	AutoWeek	@AutoWeek	Lifestyle	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Totaal TV	Totaal TV	xxx	xxx	totaalTV.nl	TotaalTV	@TotaalTV	Lifestyle	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Nederlands Advocaten C	Nederlands Advocaten Comit	xxx	xxx	advocatencomite.nl	NACFJ	@NACFJ	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Nederlands MediaNieuws	Nederlands MediaNieuws	xxx	xxx	nederlandsmedianieuws.nl	MediaNetwerk	@MediaNetwerk	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Fast Moving Targets	Fast Moving Targets	xxx	xxx	fastmovingtargets.nl	fastmoving	@fastmoving	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Institute for Financial Cri	Institute for Financial Cri	xxx	xxx	ifci.nl	ifci	@ifci	Vakspecifiek	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Today Show	Today Show	xxx	xxx	today.com	TODAYshow	@TODAYshow	Actuiteiten	TVprogramma	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Open Source en Overhe	Open Source en Overheid	xxx	xxx	oseno.nl	oseno_nl	@oseno_nl	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Ministerie van Defensie	Ministerie van Defensie	xxx	xxx	defensie.nl	defensie	@defensie	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Middle East Eye	Middle East Eye	xxx	xxx	middleeasteye.net	MiddleEastEye	@MiddleEastEye	Actuiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
the Milk Story	the Milk Story	xxx	xxx	milkstory.nl	KoeOpAvontuur	@KoeOpAvontuur	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
USA Politics Today	USA Politics Today	xxx	xxx	usapoliticstoday.com	USPoliticsToday	@USPoliticsToday	Actuiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
No Pictures Please	No Pictures Please	xxx	xxx	nopicuresplease.nl	npvt	@npvt	Algemeen	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
PGGM	xxx	xxx	PGGM	pggm.nl	PGGMnieuws	@PGGMnieuws	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
UT Nieuws	UT Nieuws	xxx	xxx	utnieuws.nl	utnieuws	@utnieuws	Actuiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
Schuttevaer	xxx	xxx	Schuttevaer	schuttevaer.nl	schuttevaer	@schuttevaer	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
De Rechtspraak	De Rechtspraak	xxx	xxx	rechtspraak.nl	rechtspraaknl	@rechtspraaknl	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
TTM	xxx	xxx	TTM	ttm.nl	ttmnl	@ttmnl	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
IUCN NL	IUCN NL	xxx	xxx	iucn.nl	iucnnl	@iucnnl	Belangen	Website	International	Nieuw	
Gemeente Schouwen-Dui	Gemeente Schouwen-Duivenl	xxx	xxx	schouwen-duiveland.nl	gemeentesd	@gemeentesd	Overheid	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
DeMooiGestelKrant	De Mooi Gestel Krant	xxx	xxx	moogestel.nl	moogestel	@moogestel	Actuiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Gemeente Westland	Gemeente Westland	xxx	xxx	gemeentewestland.nl	gemwestland	@gemwestland	Overheid	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
GGZ Nederland	GGZ Nederland	xxx	xxx	ggznederland.nl	ggznederland	@ggznederland	Overheid	Vakspecifiek	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Zulphen24	Zulphen24	xxx	xxx	zulphen24.nl	zulphen24	@zulphen24	Actuiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Rathenau Instituut	Rathenau Instituut	xxx	xxx	rathenau.nl	rathenauNL	@rathenauNL	Onderzoek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Groot Vaardingen	Groot Vaardingen	xxx	xxx	grootvaardingen.nl	GrootVaardingen	@GrootVaardingen	Actuiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
Utzending Gemist	Utzending Gemist	xxx	xxx	utzendinggemist.nl	NPO	@ngo	Algemeen	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Woudrichem.net	xxx	xxx	Woudrichem.net	woudrichem.net	Woudrichemnet	@Woudrichemnet	Actuiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Rebonieuws.nl	xxx	xxx	Rebonieuws.nl	rebonieuws.nl	rebonieuws	@rebonieuws	Actuiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Kliknieuws	xxx	xxx	Kliknieuws	kliknieuws.nl	kliknieuws	@kliknieuws	Actuiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
GrootGoereOverflakke	xxx	xxx	GrootGoereOverflakke	ggof.nl	gem_go	@gem_go	Actuiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
Loko Cartoons	Loko Cartoons	xxx	xxx	lokokartoons.nl	lokokartoons	@LokoCartoons	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Melkvee.nl	xxx	xxx	Melkvee.nl	melkvee.nl	melkveetweet	@melkveetweet	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Telstar-online.nl	xxx	xxx	Telstar-online.nl	telstar-online.nl	telstaronline	@telstaronline	Actuiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	

Naam zoals bekend	Naam (niet 1 woord)	Extra naam (niet 1 woord)	Afkorting (1 woord)	Extra afk URL	Twitteraccount	Twitteraccount met @	Soort content	Soort medium	Binnenland/bui	Traditioneel/nie	Opmerkingen
Dienst Uitvoering Onderw	Dienst Uitvoering Onderwijs	xxx	xxx	duo.nl	@Duostudent	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Hart van Enschede	Hart van Enschede	xxx	xxx	hartvanenschede.nl	@hartvanenschede	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel		
IGO	xxx	xxx	xxx	igo.nl	@igonl	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw		
RTV Bodegraven	RTV Bodegraven	xxx	xxx	rtvbodegraven.nl	@rtvbodegraven	Actualiteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel		
New Business Radio	New Business Radio	xxx	xxx	newbusinessradio.nl	@newbusradio1	Vakspecifiek	Radio	Binnenland	Traditioneel		
Drimble	xxx	xxx	xxx	drimble.nl	@drimbl	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Baarnsche Courant	Baarnsche Courant	xxx	xxx	baarnschecourant.nl	@BCBaarn	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel		
Hoeksch Nieuws	Hoeksch Nieuws	xxx	xxx	hoekschnieuws.nl	@hoekschnieuws	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw		
Parkstad Veendam	Parkstad Veendam	xxx	xxx	parkstadveendam.nl	@parkstadveendam	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw		
Jonet	xxx	xxx	xxx	jonet.nl	@JONET_nl	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
menterwolde.info	xxx	xxx	xxx	menterwolde.info	@robesio	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw		
moobermheze.nl	xxx	xxx	xxx	moobermheze.nl	@moobermheze	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel		
Deutscher Bundestag	Deutscher Bundestag	xxx	xxx	Bundestag	@bundestag	Overheid	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw		
Vries.nu	xxx	xxx	xxx	vries.nu	@vriesnu	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw		
Wijks Nieuws	xxx	xxx	xxx	wijksnieuws.nl	@wijksnieuws	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel		
NABU	Naturschutzbund Deutschland	xxx	xxx	Naturschutzbund	@NABU_de	Belangen	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw		
European Environment Ag	European Environment Agenc	xxx	xxx	eea.europa.eu	@euevroment	Overheid	Website	Internationaal	Nieuw		
Nederlandse Organisatie	Nederlandse Organisatie voor xxx	xxx	xxx	NOJG	@xxx	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Koepel van Nederlandse 1	Koepel van Nederlandse Vere xxx	xxx	xxx	KNVG	@xxx	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Vereniging Praktijkhouder	Vereniging Praktijkhouder	xxx	xxx	VPHuisartsen	@vphuisartsen	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Dier & Recht	Dier & Recht	xxx	xxx	Dierenrecht	@dierenrecht	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Wiardi Beckman Stichting	Wiardi Beckman Stichting	xxx	xxx	WBS	@wiardibeckman	Onderzoek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Raad voor de leefomgev	Raad voor de leefomgeving e	xxx	xxx	ri	@ri.nl	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Nederlandse Voedsel- en	Nederlandse Voedsel- en Wa	xxx	xxx	NVWA	@_NVWA	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Nieuwsgrazer	xxx	xxx	xxx	Nieuwsgrazer	@nieuwsgrazer	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
horses.nl	xxx	xxx	xxx	horses.nl	@horsesnl	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Rijksinstituut voor Volksge	Rijksinstituut voor Volksgez	xxx	xxx	RIVM	@RIVM	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Gemeente Sliedrecht	xxx	xxx	xxx	sliedrecht	@sliedrechtgem	Overheid	Website	Regio	Nieuw		
HilversumNieuws	Hilversums Nieuws	xxx	xxx	HilversumNieuws	@HilversumsNws	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel		
The Dodo	The Dodo	xxx	xxx	thedodo.com	@dodo	Lifestyle	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw		
PTSD Journal	PTSD Journal	xxx	xxx	PTSDJournal	@ptsdjournalmag	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Buitenland	Nieuw		
Vogelbescherming	xxx	xxx	xxx	Vogelbescherming	@vogelnieuws	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
TVvisie	xxx	xxx	xxx	TVvisie	@TVvisie	Lifestyle	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Nieuw		
VNO-NCW	VNO NCW	xxx	xxx	VNO-NCW	@vnoncw	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Foodlog	xxx	xxx	xxx	Foodlog	@foodlog_nl	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
De Faunabescherming	De Faunabescherming	xxx	xxx	Faunabescherming	@faunabescherm	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Milieu Front Eijsden	Milieufront Eijsden	xxx	xxx	MilieufrontEijsden.nl	@xxx	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	Alleen acties via twitter	
Provincie Zuid-Holland	Provincie Zuid-Holland	xxx	xxx	Zuid-Holland	@zuid_holland	Overheid	Website	Regio	Nieuw		
Rijksoverheid	xxx	xxx	xxx	Rijksoverheid	@xxx	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
EURACTIV	xxx	xxx	xxx	EURACTIV	@euractiv	Actualiteiten	Website	Internationaal	Nieuw		
CultureClub	CultureClub Magazine	xxx	xxx	CultureClub	@cultureclubmagazine.be	Actualiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw		
Ruimtevolk	xxx	xxx	xxx	Ruimtevolk	@ruimtevolk	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Nicolaas G. Pierson Foun	Nicolaas G. Pierson Foundat	xxx	xxx	NGPF	@NGPFoundation	Onderzoek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Nieuws op Beeld	xxx	xxx	xxx	Nieuwsopbeeld.nl	@nieuwsopbeeld	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw		
IJmuider Courant	IJmuider Courant	xxx	xxx	IJmuidercourant.nl	@ijmuidercourant	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw		
Natuur- en Milieufederatie	Natuur- en Milieufederatie Zui	xxx	xxx	NatuurMilieuZH	@NatuurMilieuZH	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Maassius.nu	xxx	xxx	xxx	Maassius.nu	@MaassiusNu	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw		
Natuur- en Milieufederatie	Natuur- en Milieufederatie No	xxx	xxx	NatuurMilieuZH	@NatuurMilieuZH	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Weekblad De Brug	Weekblad De Brug	xxx	xxx	WeekbladDeBrug.nl	@weekbladdebrug	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel		
Haren FM	Haren FM	xxx	xxx	HarenFM	@harenFM	Actualiteiten	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel		
De Lange Mars	De Lange Mars	xxx	xxx	delangemars.nl	@delangemars	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Aedes	xxx	xxx	xxx	Aedes	@aedesnet	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Daily Mail	Daily Mail	xxx	xxx	DailyMail.co.uk	@MailOnline	Roddel	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel		
Young Critics	Young Critics	xxx	xxx	YoungCritics	@YoungCriticsNL	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Zorgwelzijn	Zorg + welzijn	xxx	xxx	Zorgwelzijn	@zorgenwelzijn	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Filosofie Magazine	Filosofie Magazine	xxx	xxx	Filosofie.nl	@filomag	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel		
RTI Hilversum	xxx	xxx	xxx	RTI Online	@RTI_Online	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Traditioneel		
Mienthuus.de	xxx	xxx	xxx	Mienthuus.de	@mijnbuurtje	Actualiteiten	Website	Internationaal	Nieuw		
mijnjimegenzuid.nl	xxx	xxx	xxx	mijnjimegenzuid.nl	@mijnjimegenzuid	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw		
Pauwnieuws.nl	xxx	xxx	xxx	Pauwnieuws.nl	@pauwnieuws	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
The Moscow Times	The Moscow Times	xxx	xxx	Themoscowtimes.com	@MoscowTimes	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel		
Wakker Emmen	Wakker Emmen	xxx	xxx	WakkerEmmen.nl	@WakkerEmmen	Belangen	Website	Regio	Nieuw		
Het Nieuwsblad	Het Nieuwsblad	xxx	xxx	Nieuwsblad.be	@Nieuwsblad.be	Actualiteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel		
Wake Up World	Wake Up World	xxx	xxx	wakeup-world.com	@joiwakeupworld	Vakspecifiek	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw		
Valkyries	xxx	xxx	xxx	valkyries.nl	@valkyries_nu	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	Militantenwebsite	
Zero Hedge	Zero Hedge	xxx	xxx	zerohedge.com	@zerohedge	Vakspecifiek	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	Dubius	
Cooperatie de Vrije Media	Cooperatie de Vrije Media	xxx	xxx	Cooperatiedevrijemedi	@DeVrijeMedia	Onderzoek/journalistiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
GGZNieuws	xxx	xxx	xxx	GGZNieuws	@GGZNieuws_nl	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Politalk	xxx	xxx	xxx	Politalk	@Politalknl	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
FC Kunst	FC Kunst	xxx	xxx	fc-kunst.nl	@fckunst	Satire	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	De spel van de kunstwereld	
National Review	National Review	xxx	xxx	NationalReview.com	@NRO	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Buitenland	Traditioneel		
Nine for News	Nine for News	xxx	xxx	ninefornews.nl	@9fornews	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	Conspiracy website	
The Jamestown Foundati	The Jamestown Foundation	xxx	xxx	jamestown.org	@JamestownTweets	Onderzoek	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw		
wijliverthier.nl	xxx	xxx	xxx	wijliverthier.nl	@wijliverthier	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
mediacourant.nl	Media Courant	xxx	xxx	mediacourant.nl	@mediacourant	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Blik op Nieuws	Blik op Nieuws	xxx	xxx	BlikopNieuws.nl	@blikopnieuwsnl	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
De Tielenaar	De Tielenaar	xxx	xxx	detielenaar.nl	@detielenaar	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw		
City Journal	City Journal	xxx	xxx	cityjournal.org	@cityjournal	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Buitenland	Nieuw		
Overheidsgedonder	xxx	xxx	xxx	Overheidsgedonder.nl	@xxx	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
World Unity	World Unity	xxx	xxx	WorldUnity.me	@WorldUnity	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	UFO en homeopat Conspiracy website	
Doorbraak	xxx	xxx	xxx	doorbraak.eu	@Doorbraakeu	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
New Europe	New Europe	xxx	xxx	neweurope.eu	@New_Europe	Actualiteiten	Website	Internationaal	Nieuw		
New Media Platform	New Media Platform	xxx	xxx	newmediaplatform.nl	@xxx	Belangen	TVprogramma	Binnenland	Traditioneel		
Radio Free Europe	Radio Free Europe	xxx	xxx	RadioLiberty	@RFERL	Actualiteiten	Radio	Buitenland	Nieuw		
Waterkant.net	xxx	xxx	xxx	waterkant.net	@waterkant_net	Actualiteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Denken macht frei	Denken macht frei	xxx	xxx	denken-macht-frei.info	@dmf_info	Actualiteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	Duits rechts radica; Dubius	
MSN	xxx	xxx	xxx	MSN	@MSNNL	Actualiteiten	Website	Internationaal	Nieuw		
I Love inspiration	I Love inspiration	xxx	xxx	iloveinspiration.nl	@iloveinspiratie	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
De Faam	De Faam	xxx	xxx	de-faam.nl	@de_faam	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel		
Harper's Bazaar	Harper's Bazaar	xxx	xxx	harpersbazaar.nl	@bazaar_nl	Lifestyle	Magazine	Internationaal	Traditioneel		
Het Kompas	Het Kompas	xxx	xxx	hetkompasonline.nl	@KompasWeekkrant	Actualiteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel		
Nieuw Religieus Peil	Nieuw Religieus Peil	xxx	xxx	NieuwReligieusPeil.net	@religieuspeil	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Lindenhol Leeft	Lindenhol Leeft	xxx	xxx	Lindenholleeft.nl	@lindenholleeft	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw		
Mondriaan Fonds	Mondriaan Fonds	xxx	xxx	MondriaanFonds	@MondriaanFonds	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
The Spectator	The Spectator	xxx	xxx	spectator.co.uk	@spectator	Opinie	Magazine	Buitenland	Traditioneel		
Institute for New Economi	Institute for New Economic Th	xxx	xxx	instituteconomics.org	@instituteconomics	Onderzoek	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw		
Humanistisch Verbond	Humanistisch Verbond	xxx	xxx	humanistischverbond.nl	@humanverbond	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw		
Health Unity	Health Unity	xxx	xxx	healthunity.pw	@HealthUnityPW	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	Zeer dubieus gezor Dubius	
Vlaardingen24	Vlaardingen 24	xxx	xxx	Vlaardingen24.nl	@Vlaardingen24	Actualiteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw		
Katholiek Nieuwsblad	Katholiek Nieuwsblad	xxx	xxx	KatholiekNieuwsblad.nl	@KNieuwsblad	Lifestyle	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel		

Naam zoals bekend	Naam (niet 1 woord)	Extra naam (niet 1 woord)	Afkorting (1 woord)	Extra afk. URL	Twitteraccount	Twitteraccount met @	Soort content	Soort medium	Binnenland/bui	Traditioneel/nie	Opmerkingen
Iederin	xxx	xxx	Iederin	iederin	iederin	@iederin	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Israpundit	xxx	xxx	Israpundit	israpundit	israpundit	@israpundit	Actualliteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	Israel propaganda
Vice Versa	xxx	xxx	xxx	viceversaonline.nl	ViceVersaNL	@ViceVersaNL	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
RBB	xxx	xxx	RBB	rbb-zonnie.de	rbb24	@rbb24	Algemeen	TVprogramma	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Clingendael	xxx	xxx	Clingendael	clingendael.nl	clingendael83	@clingendael83	Onderzoek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
ESPN	xxx	xxx	ESPN	espn.com	espn	@espn	Actualliteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Washington Free Beacon	Washington Free Beacon	xxx	xxx	freebeacon.com	freebeacon	@freebeacon	Actualliteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
The Hard Times	The Hard Times	xxx	xxx	thehardtimes.net	realpunknews	@realpunknews	Satire	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
xandernieuws.punt.nl	xxx	xxx	xandernieuws.punt.nl	xandernieuws.punt.nl	xandernieuws	@xandernieuws	Actualliteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	Dubieus
Omroep Venray	Omroep Venray	xxx	xxx	omroepvenray.nl	omroepvenray	@omroepvenray	Algemeen	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
Almere Vandaag	Almere Vandaag	xxx	xxx	almerevandaag.nl	almere_vandaag	@almere_vandaag	Actualliteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
mmaplanet.nl	xxx	xxx	xxx	mmaplanet.nl	MMApianeNL	@MMApianeNL	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
hockey.nl	xxx	xxx	xxx	hockey.nl	hockey_nl	@hockey_nl	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Universiteitskrant Groning	Universiteitskrant Groningen	xxx	xxx	xxx	ukr.nl	@UK_Groningen	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Brabants Erfgoed	Brabants Erfgoed	xxx	xxx	xxx	brabantserfgoed.nl	@ErfgoedBrabant	Belangen	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Bladna.nl	xxx	xxx	xxx	bladna.nl	bladna_nl	@bladna_nl	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Studio040	xxx	xxx	xxx	studio040.nl	studio040	@studio040	Actualliteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Lazarus Magazine	Lazarus Magazine	xxx	xxx	lazarusmagazine.nl	volglazarus	@volglazarus	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Den Haag FM	Den Haag FM	xxx	xxx	denhaagfm.nl	denhaagfm	@denhaagfm	Actualliteiten	Radio	Regio	Traditioneel	
Waldnet	xxx	xxx	Waldnet	waldnet.nl	waldnet	@waldnet	Actualliteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Archined	xxx	xxx	Archined	archined.nl	archined	@archined	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Basler Zeitung	Basler Zeitung	xxx	xxx	bazonline.ch	bazonline	@bazonline	Actualliteiten	Dagblad	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
TwenteActueel	Twente Actueel	xxx	xxx	twenteactueel.nl	rieget	@rieget	Actualliteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Rolling Stone	Rolling Stone	xxx	xxx	rollingstone.com	RollingStone	@RollingStone	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Milieu Centraal	Milieu Centraal	xxx	xxx	milieucentraal.nl	milieucentraal	@milieucentraal	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
The Journal	The Journal	xxx	xxx	thejournal.ie	thejournal_ie	@thejournal_ie	Actualliteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Science Daily	Science Daily	xxx	xxx	sciencedaily.com	sciencedaily	@sciencedaily	Vakspecifiek	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Sociale Vraagstukken	Sociale Vraagstukken	xxx	xxx	xxx	socialevraagstukken.nl	@socialevraagstukken	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Bouwend Nederland	Bouwend Nederland	xxx	xxx	xxx	bouwendnederland.nl	@BouwendNL	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
De Leunstoel	De Leunstoel	xxx	xxx	deleunstoel.nl	DeLeunstoel	@DeLeunstoel	Lifestyle	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
thelocal.se	xxx	xxx	xxx	thelocal.se	TheLocalSweden	@TheLocalSweden	Actualliteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
KomenskyPost	xxx	xxx	xxx	KomenskyPost	komenskypost	@komenskypost	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Midden-Limburg-Actueel	Midden-Limburg Actueel	xxx	xxx	Midden-Limburg-Actueel	mimburbactueel	@mimburbactueel	Actualliteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
NTR	xxx	xxx	NTR	ntr.nl	omroepntr	@omroepntr	Algemeen	Omroep	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Advalvas	xxx	xxx	Advalvas	advalvas.vu.nl	advalvas_vu	@advalvas_vu	Vakspecifiek	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Belastingdienst	xxx	xxx	Belastingdienst	belastingdienst.nl	belastingdienst	@belastingdienst	Overheid	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Rij-instructie	xxx	xxx	Rij-instructie	rij-instructie.nl	Rijinstructie	@Rijinstructie	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Hit Radio	Hit Radio	xxx	xxx	hitradio.nl	HitradiONL	@HitradiONL	Muziek	Radio	Binnenland	Nieuw	Online radio
DonauKurier	DonauKurier	xxx	xxx	donaukurier.de	donaukurier	@donaukurier	Actualliteiten	Website	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Parlementaire Monitor	Parlementaire Monitor	xxx	xxx	parlementairemonitor.nl	xxx	xxx	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Noorderkrant	xxx	xxx	Noorderkrant	noorderkrant.nl	Noorderkrant	@Noorderkrant	Actualliteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
Almere deze week	Almere deze week	xxx	xxx	xxx	almeredezeweek.nl	@almeredezeweek	Actualliteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
Provincie Fryslân	Provincie Fryslân	Provincie Friesland	xxx	xxx	fryslan.fri	@provfryslan	Overheid	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
NL Times	NL Times	xxx	xxx	nltimes.nl	NL_Times	@NL_Times	Actualliteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
International Institute of Social History	International Institute of Social History	xxx	xxx	xxx	socialhistory.org	@iisg_amsterdam	Onderzoek	Website	Internationaal	Nieuw	
ZNieuws	xxx	xxx	ZNieuws	znieuws.nl	znieuwsnl	@znieuwsnl	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
DTV Oss	DTV Oss	xxx	xxx	xxx	d-iv.nl	@dvtoss	Actualliteiten	Omroep	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Epoch Times	Epoch Times	xxx	xxx	epochtimes.de	ching_well_news	@ching_well_news	Actualliteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Centrum Informatie en Documentatie	Centrum Informatie en Documentatie	xxx	xxx	CIDI	CIDI_nieuws	@CIDI_nieuws	Onderzoek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
De Botlek	De Botlek	xxx	xxx	debotlek.nl	DeBotlek	@DeBotlek	Actualliteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
OccuWorld	xxx	xxx	OccuWorld	occuworld.org	OccuWorld	@OccuWorld	Vakspecifiek	Website	Internationaal	Nieuw	
Coop	xxx	xxx	Coop	coop.nl	coop	@coop	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Vriezerpost	xxx	xxx	Vriezerpost	vriezerpost.nl	vriezerpost	@vriezerpost	Actualliteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
CNS News	CNS News	xxx	xxx	xxx	cnsnews.com	@cnsnews	Actualliteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Nijmegen Leeft	Nijmegen Leeft	xxx	xxx	xxx	nijmegenleeft.nl	@Nijmegenleeft	Actualliteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
HanzeMag	xxx	xxx	HanzeMag	hanzemag.nl	hanzemag	@hanzemag	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Regio	Nieuw	
Lang Leve Europa	Lang Leve Europa	xxx	xxx	langleveeuropa.nl	LLEuropa	@LLEuropa	Opinie	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Report UK	Report UK	xxx	xxx	reportuk.org	ReportUK	@ReportUK	Actualliteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
The Tower	The Tower	xxx	xxx	thetower.org	TheTowerDotOrg	@TheTowerDotOrg	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Buitenland	Traditioneel	Israel propaganda
VNG Magazine	VNG Magazine	xxx	xxx	xxx	vng_magazine.nl	@vng_magazine	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Trajectum	xxx	xxx	Trajectum	trajectum.hu.nl	trajectum	@trajectum	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
Ipswich Advertiser	Ipswich Advertiser	xxx	xxx	xxx	ipswichadvertiser.com.au	xxx	Actualliteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
rijswijk.tv	xxx	xxx	rijswijk.tv	rijswijk.tv	rijswijktv	@rijswijktv	Actualliteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
Waddenvereniging	xxx	xxx	Waddenvereniging	waddenvereniging.nl	waddenweets	@waddenweets	Belangen	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Farma-Magazine	Farma-Magazine	xxx	xxx	farma-magazine.nl	FarmaMagazine	@FarmaMagazine	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Medisch Contact	Medisch Contact	xxx	xxx	medischcontact.nl	medischcontact	@medischcontact	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
STAD Magazine	STAD Magazine	xxx	xxx	stadmagazine.nl	stadmagazine	@stadmagazine	Actualliteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
jobbo.nl	xxx	xxx	jobbo.nl	jobbo.nl	jobbo	@jobbo	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Waardig ouder worden	Waardig ouder worden	xxx	xxx	xxx	waardigoudervorden.nl	xxx	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Heeze24	Heeze 24	xxx	xxx	heeze24.nl	HeezeLeende24nl	@HeezeLeende24nl	Actualliteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Vastgoedmarkt.nl	xxx	xxx	Vastgoedmarkt.nl	vastgoedmarkt.nl	vastgoedmarkt	@vastgoedmarkt	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Vastgoedjournaal.nl	xxx	xxx	Vastgoedjournaal.nl	vastgoedjournaal.nl	vjprof	@vjprof	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Baaz	xxx	xxx	Baaz	baaz.nl	baazmagazine	@baazmagazine	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Siris	xxx	xxx	Siris	siris.nl	sirisnieuws	@sirisnieuws	Actualliteiten	Omroep	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Actus	xxx	xxx	Actus	actus.nl	ActusSZ	@ActusSZ	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Boxmeers Weekblad	Boxmeers Weekblad	xxx	xxx	boxmeersweekblad.nl	boxmeersweekbla	@boxmeersweekbla	Actualliteiten	Magazine	Regio	Traditioneel	
Nederlandse Organisatie Vrijwilligers	Nederlandse Organisatie Vrijwilligers	xxx	xxx	NOV	VerenigingNOV	@VerenigingNOV	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Harderwijkse Zaken	Harderwijkse Zaken	xxx	xxx	harderwijksezaken.nl	HarderwijkZaken	@HarderwijkZaken	Actualliteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
ABU	xxx	xxx	ABU	abu.nl	ABUNl	@ABUNl	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Duitslandnieuws	Duitsland nieuws	xxx	xxx	duitslandnieuws.nl	did_nieuws	@did_nieuws	Actualliteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Dag 6	Dag 6	xxx	xxx	dag6.nl	dag6	@dag6	Actualliteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Groentenet	xxx	xxx	Groentenet	groentenet.nl	GroenteNet_nl	@GroenteNet_nl	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
AALSMEERVANDAAG	AALSMEER VANDAAG	xxx	xxx	aalsmeeervandaag.nl	AalsmeerVandaag	@AalsmeerVandaag	Actualliteiten	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
3ML	xxx	xxx	3ML	3ml.nl	omroep3ml	@omroep3ml	Actualliteiten	Omroep	Regio	Traditioneel	
Stemmen vanuit het buitenland	xxx	xxx	xxx	stemmenvanuithetbuitenland.nl	xxx	xxx	Overheid	Website	Internationaal	Nieuw	
KampenOnline	Kampen Online	xxx	xxx	kampenonline.nl	kampenonline	@kampenonline	Actualliteiten	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
De Binnenvaartkrant	De Binnenvaartkrant	xxx	xxx	binnenvaartkrant.nl	BVK_binnenvaart	@BVK_binnenvaart	Vakspecifiek	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Co Schipper	Co Schipper	xxx	xxx	coschipper.nl	coschipper	@coschipper	Opinie	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
boerenbusiness.nl	xxx	xxx	boerenbusiness.nl	boerenbusiness.nl	boerenbusiness	@boerenbusiness	Vakspecifiek	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
Libelle	Libelle TV	xxx	xxx	libelle.tv	tv_libelle	@tv_libelle	Lifestyle	Magazine	Binnenland	Traditioneel	
Stem op een Vrouw	Stem op een Vrouw	xxx	xxx	stemopeenvrouw.com	StemopeenVrouw	@StemopeenVrouw	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
DUB	xxx	xxx	DUB	dub.nl	dubnieuws	@dubnieuws	Vakspecifiek	Website	Regio	Nieuw	
Nationaal Zorgfonds	Nationaal Zorgfonds	xxx	xxx	nationaalzorgfonds.nl	NLzorgfonds	@NLzorgfonds	Belangen	Website	Binnenland	Nieuw	
The Rebel	xxx	xxx	xxx	therebel.media	therebelty	@therebelty	Lifestyle	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	Tendentieus
Dallas News	Dallas News	xxx	xxx	dallasnews.com	dallasnews	@dallasnews	Actualliteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
Gatestone Institute	Gatestone Institute	xxx	xxx	gatestoneinstitute.org	GatestoneInst	@GatestoneInst	Onderzoek	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	
FOX News	FOX News	xxx	xxx	foxnews.com	FoxNews	@FoxNews	Actualliteiten	TVprogramma	Buitenland	Traditioneel	dubieus
Full Measure	Full Measure	xxx	xxx	fullmeasure.news	FullMeasureNews	@FullMeasureNews	Onderzoeksjournalistiek	TVprogramma	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Tagesschau	xxx	xxx	Tagesschau	tagesschau.de	tagesschau	@tagesschau	Actualliteiten	TVprogramma	Buitenland	Traditioneel	
Merkurist	xxx	xxx	Merkurist	merkurist.de	merkur_de	@merkur_de	Actualliteiten	Website	Buitenland	Nieuw	

Appendix 4: Algorithmic Accountability Statement



Algorithmic accountability statement

Utrecht Data School

Basic info

Name of the algorithm/script:	[Twitter/Facebook] getmedium
Name of the researcher(s):	Maranke Wieringa (programmer), Tim de Winkel
Research for which the algorithm was developed:	<i>Wie is de waakhond op sociale media</i>
Research for which the algorithm was used:	Ibid.
Date:	February-March-april 2017 [final version 10-4-2017]

Accountability statement

What does the algorithm do, in pseudocode¹?

The script searches Twitter or Facebook data for various identifiers linked to media outlets. If one is found, the entry is written to a second file, with the addition of an extra data point specifying the medium found.

Step by step the script does the following:

Open CSV with data

Transform CSV in list of lists (values)

Open CSV with media

Transform CSV in list of lists (values_m)

Initialize variables (mdm & toCheck)

Open new CSV

Loop through lists in values.

Assign the 'column' with tweet/facebook post content a name (b)

For every medium entry in values_m we identify the column with the medium's name (mediumName), and the name consisting of multiple words (fullName + fullName2).

If the medium was not found already (present in mdm),

We want to see if there is a value in fullName, if there is, we want to check if the complete name is present in b (all in lowercase). If it is, we add mediumName to mdm.

If we didn't find fullName, we check if there is a value in fullName2 for which we can check and repeat.

We split the content on spaces.

For each word, and for each medium in values_m

We identify the mediumName again, the URL (url), and a placeholder (toCheck)

We check for the columns of identifiers which are left (single words + twitter handles) to see if they have a value stored. If so, we add it to toCheck.

We again check if we haven't already found the medium in this message. If not we loop through

¹ Pseudocode means the translation of a program or script from code to human language.

each identifier in toCheck, to see if the word corresponds with the selected word of the message (in lower case). If so, we again append mediumName to mdm. If we find the URL in the words, we do the same. *

If there are more than 1 entries in mdm, we loop through them each time writing the post to the second file with the medium found.

If there is only one medium found, we just write the entry + the medium name.

* In the Facebook dataset we searched for this particular feature in a different column

What patterns, correlations, or sequences does the algorithm look for?

It matches identifiers to the text. E.g. "Algemeen Dagblad", or "@ADnl". It thus relies heavily on a list drafted by the researchers based on observations and sampling of the dataset.

We search the data in 3 different ways:

- For n-grams we search the entire message. (e.g. is "Algemeen Dagblad" present in "Goed stuk in het Algemeen Dagblad vandaag!")
- For single words we check if the identifier corresponds with the single word exactly.
- For URLs we check within a single word (for we check for the domain name).

What might it miss? What is invisible? What are the biases or the presuppositions?

It misses the media which are not identified on the list (traditional media, or media linked to between 1-1-2017 and 28-2-2017 by the politicians). Moreover, we experienced pollution of the selection due to unforeseen matches. We thus went through several iterations of selection, each time cleaning up our identifiers to reduce bycatch. Thus, some references might be left out because we had to remove some identifiers, because they also referred to things that were real broad (e.g. we had to remove the identifier 'MKB' from 'mkb.nl' as this resulted in a lot of noise where politicians did discuss *MKB'ers* but not that particular source.

Moreover, we did not check if the politician referred to 'media' or 'the press' or the like in general.

In what context was the algorithm developed, and for what kind of data?

It was developed in a research context, for a commissioned research by the Dutch Association of Editors-in-Chief. It was developed for Twitter and Facebook data.

Have you checked if the outcome is valid, and under which conditions?

We have qualitatively checked the data, and our confident that the algorithm correctly selects the mediums. While most problematic identifiers were removed, some small errors linger (e.g. in my analyses for this thesis I encountered a tweet which reported on a visit to a Christian primary school ('CBS'), which was labeled as a reference to the Central Bureau of Statistics.) Nevertheless, from manual checks on the data, these errors are limited, and we thus believe that the outcome is valid.