

It looks like war out here!

Peace protest during the Nijmegen Four Days Marches, 1979-1984.



Picture: Eric Koch, Nationaal Archief/Anefo

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Abstract

This thesis aims to place the peace protest of *Is Het Hier Oorlog?* (IHHO) during the Nijmegen Four Days Marches in a broader historical context to provide more insight into the motivation, goals, representation, and results of the protest. Considering the relationship between sport and social protest in the 1980s this thesis asks the following research question: In what ways has IHHO used framing to advance social protest during the Nijmegen Four Days Marches in the period 1979-1984? The concept of framing and the practice theory of Pierre Bourdieu form the analytical framework for this research, focussing on the documentation from IHHO and their representation in the local newspaper *De Gelderlander*. It can be stated that IHHO has partly successfully used framing to advance social protest during the Nijmegen Four Days Marches. The variation in the extremity of the different collective action frames determines the degree of the success of the protest. Requesting attention for their pacifistic ideas certainly succeeded, however, the removal of the army from the Marches have proved to be hopeless. In the long term, the weapons disappeared from the streets to which IHHO's protest certainly contributed.

Keywords: Nijmegen Four Days Marches, Social Movements, Peace Protest, Framing, Practice Theory, IHHO.

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The worldwide situation around the COVID-19 caused a lot of trouble, of which the cancellation of the Nijmegen Four Days Marches is the result as well. Considering the history of the Four Days Marches this is quite unique because this is the first time that the Marches have been cancelled in advance outside a war situation. Walking the Marches was inspiring to me and brought me on the subject of this thesis. In the year that this sport event is not able to inspire somebody else, my thesis became a homage to the Four Days Marches.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, sister, friends, and fellow students for their support, proofreading, and distraction.

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List of abbreviations

IHHO	Is Het Hier Oorlog – Is it war out here
KNBLO	Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond Lichamelijke Opvoeding – Royal Dutch League for Physical Education
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PSP	Pacifistische Socialistische Partij – Pacifistic Socialistic Party

Introduction

Living in the city of Nijmegen, you cannot ignore the Four Days Marches. Every year, the third week of July is all about ‘The Walk of The World’. For four days, around 47.000 participants walk 30, 40, or 50 kilometres a day. Participants come from all over the world, of which about 6.000 are from the military.¹ Participating in the Four Days Marches myself in 2018 I was pushed off the road by a passing German platoon. This got me thinking and made me realize that military participation may have led to friction and social protest in the past. While initially created to improve the condition of the military, nowadays more civilians than military staff are participating. However, the military aspect always remained visible through the march music, the parade of flags, and the temporary military camp Heumensoord, yearly built to house thousands of military participants. The (international) military participation can be described as an attraction but always caused irritations or protest as well. A controversial example that caused upheaval is the participation of the *Hitlerjugend* in 1938 and 1939.² During the 1980s the protest group *Is Het Hier Oorlog* (IHHO) protested against weapons and military participation.³ After five years of participation, they became the first group that was permanently excluded from participation for political protest during the Marches. This research will focus on the social protests of the IHHO in the 1980s, and particularly on their framing.

Historiographic overview

Social Peace Protests in the 1980s

Like the majority of historical research on social peace protest and sport, this thesis considers peace or pacifism as a recurring concept in social movements. Considering social movements focussing on peace or pacifism, several revivals of peace protest have taken place since the Second World War which are interpreted in different ways. Although the exact years differ in the various interpretations, two major revivals of peace protests are distinguished in literature, around 1955/57-1963, and around 1980-1988. Even though several pieces of research put forward varying specific causes of the protests, the common dominator is that they must be approached against the backdrop of the Cold War. All the protests can be traced back to the underlying difficult relationship regarding nuclear weapons.⁴

¹ The named numbers refer to the official numbers of the 103th Four Days Marches from 2019. De 4Daagse, ‘Statistieken 2019, 103de Vierdaagse’ *4Daagse* <https://www.4daagse.nl/images/files/2019/Statistieken_2019.pdf> [last seen at 04-05-2020].

² Based on: ‘De historie in vogelvlucht: het grootste wandelevenement ter wereld, toen en nu’ *4Daagse* <<https://www.4daagse.nl/nl/evenement/historie.html>> [last seen at 07-05-2020]; Clemens Verhoeven, *De Vierdaagse: het grootste evenement van Nederland* (Utrecht, 2009).

³ *Is Het Hier Oorlog* can be translated as ‘Is it war out here?’.

⁴ Named timeframe based on: David S. Meyer, ‘Peace Protest and Policy: Explaining the Rise and the Decline of Antinuclear Movements in Postwar America’ *Policy Studies* 21:1 (1993), 41-42; Stefan Berger, Holger Nehring, *The History of Social Movements in Global Perspective: A Survey* (London, 2017), 20; David Cortright, *Peace: A*

Besides these more general trends of afterwar protests, some specific developments can be highlighted regarding the protest revival of the 1980s. Historian Kim Salomon argues that the protests often possessed an anti-establishment character since a conflict exists between the social movement and the authorities, or the values these two parties represent: industrial society and post-material values. During these 1980s campaigns, peace rallies were a special, symbolic act to protest against the establishment and their norms and values. At the same time, they attracted attention to creating publicity.⁵ These peace rallies or public protest marches highlight a typical development of the wider 1980s peace movement. According to historian Holger Nehring, during this revival peace campaigners became more conscious of the ‘politics of space’ and moved their protest to the *public sphere* to attract attention.⁶ Both Salomon and Nehring describe how marches are used as a form of protest which led to more publicity and popularity.⁷ Historian Joseph Amato elaborates further on this when he states that marches are ‘planned in advance, they aim at being “a decisive step” on the way to forming a coalition and changing a government policy’.⁸ In this process, framing is an important tool for protest groups to present their views and to attract publicity.⁹

The popularity of the 1980s protests led to mass mobilization and created a major change in philosophical thinking, even a ‘Copernican turning point’, according to sports sociologist Sven Güldenpfenning. Güldenpfenning describes that it becomes ‘manifest what an immense revolution in the political thinking and acting of people and their political and social institutions, will be necessary to interrupt simple extrapolation of classical military and armament-political tendencies and to “turn them around” into true peace policies’.¹⁰ The social mass mobilization in the 1980s coincided with a few of the most remarkable Four Days March editions where peace protests were central.

Sport and peace protest

Considering the Four Days Marches is a sports event and focussing more on walking as a sport in literature, there is a lack of attention for the historical role of road walking or long-distance walking.¹¹

History of Movements and Ideas (London, 2008), 126; Sam Marullo, Alexandra Chute, Mary Anna Colwell, ‘Pacifist and nonpacifist groups in the U.S. peace movement of the 1980s’ *Peace and Change* 16:3 (1991), 235-259; Kim Salomon, ‘The Peace Movement – An Anti-Establishment Movement’ *Journal of Peace Research* 23:2 (1986), 115.

⁵ Kim Salomon, ‘The Peace Movement – An Anti-Establishment Movement’, 122.

⁶ Holger Nehring, ‘Peace Movements’ in: Stefan Verger and Holger Nehring, *The History of Social Movements in Global Perspective: A Survey* (London, 2017), 506.

⁷ Kim Salomon, ‘The Peace Movement – An Anti-Establishment Movement’, 122; Holger Nehring, ‘National Internationalists: British and West German Protest against Nuclear Weapons, the Politics of Transnational Communications and the Social History of the Cold War 1957-1964’ *Contemporary European History* 1920-1970 (2005), 564.

⁸ Joseph Amato, *On Foot: A History of Walking* (New York, 2004), 263.

⁹ Holger Nehring, ‘National Internationalists: British and West German Protest against Nuclear Weapons’, 562.

¹⁰ Sven Güldenpfenning, ‘Sport in the Peace Movement – A Challenge for the Social Science’ *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 20:3 (1985), 204.

¹¹ Recent research on sport history focuses on the role sport(events) play in international relations such as rugby, baseball and ice hockey and classic sports such as athletics and football. For example: Graham Scambler,

Walking, together with hunting, fishing, horseback riding, and swimming were once indispensable in Western society. However, with the rise of cars and other modes of transport, the functional aspect of walking was lost. Walking became a choice, a non-essential form of ‘recreation, sport, or health, an expression of style, and even a vehicle to make a political statement’.¹² Joseph Amato recognizes that at the beginning of the twentieth century, walking did not gain the recognition of established sports. However, the military and health establishments used walking as a test of fitness since then. Marching and distance marching in this way became a measure of physical endurance and spiritual strength.¹³ The Nijmegen Four Days Marches can be considered as such a tool to test fitness. However, it must be understood that although participants received the cross of honour after completing the marches, there was no element of competition.¹⁴

In literature, there are differences in the ideas about the role of sport in society. As a consequence of globalization and the institutionalization of sports events, the relations of countries are expressed in the discourse about sport.¹⁵ Historian Stuart Macintyre continues in this reasoning and states that this ritualized form of competition can be seen as preparation or replacement of war.¹⁶ Political scientist Scott Watson reasons that international tournaments and competitions are a cultural practice where nations get the opportunity to gain attention and appreciation from other states. Even more than war, sport produces a systematic framework where countries can be compared with each other in terms of winners and losers.¹⁷ Besides this militaristic role in international relations, sociologists Peter Kaufman and Eli Wolff associate sport more negatively with oppression and inequalities such as sexism, racism, ableism, and homophobia.¹⁸

Besides these negative connotations, attention is also drawn to the positive characteristics of sport. Kaufman and Wolff recognize these positive aspects of sport, such as ‘fair play’ and ‘sportsmanship’. They connect sport with the meritocratic idea of the ‘American Dream’ because you see the improvements of the efforts that you put in directly. Kaufman and Wolff argue that although capital – economic, cultural, social, symbolic, or political – can still form a limitation, sport represents a field where individuals with fewer resources can equally compete with individuals with more resources.¹⁹ Therefore, Kaufman and Wolff state that sport can set an example within the development

Sport and society: history, power and culture (London, 2005); James Riordan, Arnd Krüger, *European cultures of sport: examining the nations and regions* (Bristol, 2003); Anthony King, *The European ritual: football in the new Europe* (London, 2017).

¹² Joseph Amato, *On Foot*, 255-258.

¹³ *Ibidem*, 262.

¹⁴ Clemens Verhoeven, *De Vierdaagse: het grootste evenement van Nederland* (Utrecht, 2009), 47-48.

¹⁵ Joseph A. Maguire, ‘Globalization, sport and national identities’ *Sport in Society* 14:7-8 (2011), 981.

¹⁶ Stuart Macintyre, ‘Sport and past Australasian culture’ *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 17:2-3 (2000), 6.

¹⁷ Scott D. Watson, ‘Everyday nationalism and international hockey: contesting Canadian national identity’ *Nations and Nationalism* 23:2 (2017), 290-291.

¹⁸ Peter Kaufman and Eli A. Wolff, ‘Playing and Protesting: Sport as a Vehicle for Social Change’ *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 34:2 (2010), 155.

¹⁹ Peter Kaufman and Eli A. Wolff, ‘Playing and Protesting’, 163-165.

named above. Sport creates a platform for athletes, from which they can promote a social cause. In this way, sport can be a tool for social protest.²⁰ Guldenpfenning goes a step further in his argumentation when he speaks about the activist role of sport. In the ‘Copernican turning point’, all social institutions have a common responsibility for the preservation of peace. According to Guldenpfenning, sport cannot only be used as a tool for social protest but has the responsibility to support social protests when these aim for peace.²¹

These active roles of sport refute the common idea that sport is a neutral field. Although this neutrality is questioned in literature, the public reaction to athletes who speak out for dilemmas or inequalities makes clear that they do not appreciate this. Sport sociologists explain this negativity stating that protest in sports is ‘stopping play’, and therefore is not greeted enthusiastically by the public.²² Kaufman explains this negative reaction arguing that activist athletes are seen as ‘norm breakers’ of the usual behaviour within sports and therefore treated the same as others who reject behavioural norms. Even though sport might create a stage and provides a certain responsibility to act as a responsible citizen, reactions of the public are mostly negative.²³

Relevance and research question

This thesis aims to place the peace protest of IHHO during the Four Days Marches in a broader historic context which provides more insight into the motivation, goals, representation, and results of the protest. Considering the relationship between sport and social protest in the 1980s described above this thesis asks the following research question:

In what ways has IHHO used framing to advance social protest during the Nijmegen Four Days Marches in the period 1979-1984?

To answer the central question of this thesis, the following sub-questions are asked:

- 1. In which way did IHHO frame the Nijmegen Four Days Marches as a tool for social protest?*
- 2. How was the framing of IHHO perceived by local media?*

These questions are relevant for multiple reasons. Firstly, the Nijmegen Four Days Marches are a unique sports event, considering the non-competitive element and the participation of civilians as well as military staff. However, in historical research about sport and social protest in the Netherlands, the

²⁰ Ibidem, 157-165.

²¹ Sven Guldenpfenning, ‘Sport in the Peace Movement’, 204.

²² Cathal Kilcline, ‘Sport and Protest: Global Perspectives’ *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 34:3-4 (2017), 159.

²³ Peter Kaufman, ‘Boos, Bans, and other Backlash: The consequences of being an activist athlete’ *Humanity and Society* 32 (2008), 227-233.

Marches are largely absent.²⁴ Perhaps the lack of a competitive element results in the lack of recognition of the importance for Dutch sports history. This research tries to correct this lack of attention and aims to explain how social protest during this event could have an impact on the development of social movements in the 1980s.

Subsequently, as Kilcline describes ‘shedding light on protest movements in sporting contexts may help to articulate an alternative, and potentially new, ways of engaging with the sport as both participant and spectator’.²⁵ Research on protest movements in sports, and the Four Days Marches in particular, could lead to new insights and contribute to the knowledge about the role of sport in the 1980s peace movement.

Moreover, historical research on the Four Days Marches is very limited to almanacs or special editions issued in anniversary years. These issues focus on the history of the Marches and give a broad overview of several personal stories. However, these editions pay less attention to the historic context and do not provide explanations about the causes and consequences of certain developments.²⁶ Therefore, this research fills the gap in research into the Nijmegen Four Days Marches, and especially the gap regarding the social protests that took place during the Marches in the 1980s.

Methodology and Analytical framework

The analytical framework of this thesis consists of a multilevel analysis. The first stage of the analysis consists of the concept of framing applied as an analytical tool. Framing is applied as a concept in different fields of research and has different meanings or applications in these disciplines. Media- and political scientist Robert Entman attempts to formulate a structured theory to interpret framing better as a concept. According to Entman, framing is a way to communicate information to a person or to the wider public, where some aspects of a situation or event are more emphasized than others. The salience serves the goal to hide particular aspects, to promote or define a special problem.²⁷ Used as a political and/or social tool, framing can serve the purpose of defining problems, defining causes, creating moral judgements, and suggesting remedies.²⁸ Sociologists Robert Benford and David Snow examine framing by social movements more closely and argue that with the use of collective action frames social movements have agency in the construction of ‘reality’. Since collective action frames can mobilize supporters, influence bystanders, and demobilize opponents, this thesis will focus on these collective

²⁴ Bart Jungmann, *De Sportcanon: De sportgeschiedenis van Nederland* (Amsterdam, 2012).

²⁵ Cathal Kilcline, ‘Sport and Protest’, 160.

²⁶ For example: Jan Cottenaar, *Op gouden voet: het relaas van 50 Vierdaagsen* (Amsterdam, 1966); Clemens Verhoeven, *De Vierdaagse: het grootste evenement van Nederland* (Utrecht, 2009). The last title dedicates two pages to IHHO but elaborates not further on the motives or goals of the group.

²⁷ Robert, M. Entman, ‘Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm’ *Journal of Communication* 43:4 (1993), 52-53.

²⁸ Baldwin van Gorp, ‘Een constructivistische kijk op het concept framing’ *Tijdschrift voor Communicatiewetenschap* 34:3 (2006), 249.

action frames.²⁹ In this process, there is a special role reserved for the media since they form a tool of mutual communication between authorities and social movements. Thereby, the media is important to influence the public discourse. The media reflect on and contribute to the public discourse, according to communication scientist Patrick McCurdy.³⁰ Social movements have a complex relationship with the media since they have limited power to influence the way they are being framed in the media.³¹ In this first part of the analysis, the theory of framing and collective action frames are helpful providing a theoretical basis for the collection and the comparison of the different frames of IHHO.

The second level of the analysis aims to explain the reaction to the social protest and is based on the practice theory of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu who tries to explain the social practice. According to Bourdieu, society exists in multiple ‘fields’ – or habitats - where different rules apply. All these fields have their structure and common practices where different actors are intertwined in relationships of power.³² The sports field or the Four Days Marches as an event can be considered as such. If actors want to achieve something in a field or if they would like to change the structures, they must follow the common practices of the field. Bourdieu uses the term (social) capital to describe the social and economic rules that are common practice. In this way, fields can work exclusively since members have to gain social and economic capital first.³³

Making use of the theory of framing provides the opportunity to compare the initiatives of the protest with the results. The theory hands an analytical tool to interpret the motivations and intentions of IHHO. Thereby, framing can help analyse the way in which the media mimic the frames of the protest group. In order to draw conclusions about the public debate an additional theory is needed, framing alone is not sufficient. The practice theory of Pierre Bourdieu helps to understand the reaction of the public and helps to explain why and how certain frames were successful while others were not. I will elaborate more broadly about the approach of these two levels and different concepts in chapter 1 of this thesis.

Sources and outline thesis

This thesis will be divided into three chapters. The first chapter will elaborate further on the analytical framework, methodology, and sources. There, the concepts and theories that form the basis for this research are discussed. The second and third chapter consist of sub-questions that will lead to the answer to the main question: In what ways has IHHO used framing to advance social protest during

²⁹ Robert D. Benford, David A. Snow, ‘Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment’ *Annual Review Sociology* 26 (2006), 614.

³⁰ Patrick McCurdy, ‘Social Movements, Protest and Mainstream Media’ *Sociology Compass* 6:3 (2012), 246.

³¹ Patrick McCurdy, ‘Social Movements, Protest and Mainstream Media’, 246.

³² Richard Jenkins, *Pierre Bourdieu* (London, 1992), 52-53.

³³ P.J. Kitchin, P. David Howe, ‘How can the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu assist sport management research?’ *Sport Management Review* 16 (2013), 127.

the Nijmegen Four Days Marches in the period 1979-1984? Both sub-questions will be answered by making use of primary sources.

The first sub-question, asking in which way IHHO framed the Four Days Marches as tool for social protest is mainly based on the primary sources from the Regional Archive in Nijmegen. This archive contains private communication between the organization and IHHO, information sheets, and songbooks of IHHO. I will use all the different kinds of primary sources to describe the collective action frames that IHHO uses the most. The second sub-question, focussing on the framing of IHHO in the media I focus on *de Gelderlander* and the legal documents of the court case of 1984. Using Koopmans' theory, I look to what extent and in which context the collective action frames from chapter two are reflected in the news articles and the legal documents. Subsequently, Bourdieu's practice theory is applied to the way in which IHHO used their collective action frames and how IHHO is framed by local authorities.

The timeframe chosen for these questions covers the period that IHHO was participating in the Four Days Marches. After 1984, the group was excluded for participation but organised protests and incidental actions around the Four Days Marches. I chose not to cover these actions and only focus on the years that the group was physically participating because this resulted in a larger number of responses. This research uses a local perspective and focuses on the framing of- and its reception around Nijmegen.³⁴ I will elaborate more on the methodology and the analysis of the different sources in chapter 1 of this thesis.

³⁴ Due to the Covid-19 situation, a nationwide perspective unfortunately became impossible since the archives were closed.

1. Analytical framework and methodology

This section provides the conceptual/analytical framework of this thesis and discusses how the participation of the protest group in the Four Days Marches can be analysed. The analytical framework consists of a two-stage analysis. Employing the concept of framing in this study requires a compact account of its theoretical understanding as a first level of the analysis. Therefore, this chapter discusses the concept of framing as an analytical tool. Besides, framing by social movements and protest groups is discussed. Next, the relation between the media and social movements is examined, where after framing by journalists is explained.

Subsequently, as the second level in the analysis, this chapter focusses on the practice theory of Pierre Bourdieu and elaborates on the concepts of field and capital. A combination of these theories and concepts can fill the gap to explain possible friction between the protest group and the way the protest was received in the media, as I will argue below. Finally, this section lays down a methodology for the empirical analysis of this thesis, where also the selection of the sources is discussed.

1.1 Framing

Sociologist Erving Goffman was the first who conceptualized the term frame as ‘schemata of interpretation’ that enables people to ‘locate, perceive, identify, and label’ their experiences.³⁵ Issues can be interpreted ‘from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations. Framing refers to the process in which people develop a conceptualization for an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue’.³⁶ In this way, frames provide the glasses, or the lens people look through to give meaning to their environment.

Media- and political scientist Robert Entman recognizes multiple definitions of framing in various fields of research and therefore attempts to formulate a more structured theory. According to Entman, framing is a way to describe a communicating text, where some elements get a more prominent place than the other. Framing a situation, selection and salience are an important part of the process. Some aspects are selected and made more salient in a text, to promote or define a special idea or problem. In this way, parts of information are more noticeable for audiences.³⁷ Communication scientist Baldwin van Gorp elaborates on this work of Entman when he states that frames can be used as tools to understand and interpreting ‘reality’. Used as a tool, Van Gorp recognizes four main functions of framing: defining problems, defining causes, creating moral judgments, and suggesting remedies.³⁸

³⁵ Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis* (London, 1974), 21.

³⁶ Dennis Chong and James N. Druckman, ‘Framing Theory’, *Annual Review Political Science* 10 (2007), 104.

³⁷ Robert, M. Entman, ‘Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm’ *Journal of Communication* 43:4 (1993), 52-53.

³⁸ Baldwin van Gorp, ‘Een constructivistische kijk op het concept framing’ *Tijdschrift voor Communicatiewetenschap* 34:3 (2006), 249.

Entman recognizes four possible locations of frames in the process: the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture. The communicators make framing judgements, contained in texts with special keywords, stereotypes, and other facts or judgements. These frames guide or influence the way of thinking of the receiver, who concludes. In this process, the culture refers to the frames that are common in the Netherlands in the 1980s, which therefore belong to the social capital of Bourdieu to which I will return later.³⁹ Van Gorp does not focus on these different places where to find frames but makes the distinction between several thematic frames and provides methodologies to research these frames. Frames can be quantitatively or qualitatively researched, in an inductive or deductive way. Thereby, different stages in the process of framing are emphasized.⁴⁰ Before I discuss the methodology of this thesis, I will discuss framing in social movements and the media, and their mutual connection.

1.2 Framing and social movements

Sociologist Stephen Adair describes how the research focus of social movements changed from political opportunities and organizational structure to issues related to the public culture and political consciousness.⁴¹ This shift is visible in the work of sociologists Robert Benford and David Snow when researching the process of framing and its relation to social movements. As for the goal of frames, Benford and Snow elaborate on Van Gorp when they argue that frames are an active process that ‘implies agency and contention at the level of reality construction’.⁴² As action-oriented ideas and meanings that inspire and legitimate activities and actions of social movements, collective action frames are an important example of this agency. These collective action frames can mobilize potential supporters, gain the support of bystanders, and demobilize opponents.⁴³

In addition to the functions of framing mentioned before, Benford and Snow make the distinction between three goals of collective action frames that somewhat correspond to the functions named by Van Gorp. Firstly, *diagnostic* framing is needed because social movements want to change or remedy a problematic issue. There needs to be explained what this specific issue is, and who is there to blame. Secondly, *prognostic* framing provides a solution or a plan of attack. Thirdly, *motivational* framing calls for action, with the matching vocabulary for this purpose.⁴⁴ Within these collective action frames, different dynamics take place: discursive processes, strategic processes, and contested processes. This thesis focusses on the discursive processes in the (self)framing of IHHO, which refers

³⁹ Robert, M. Entman, ‘Framing’, 52-53.

⁴⁰ Baldwin van Gorp, ‘Een constructivistische kijk op het concept framing’, 250-253.

⁴¹ Stephen Adair, ‘Overcoming a Collective Action Frame in the Remaking of an Antinuclear Opposition’, *Sociological Forum* 11:2 (1996), 347.

⁴² Robert D. Benford, David A. Snow, ‘Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment’ *Annual Review Sociology* 26 (2006), 614.

⁴³ Robert D. Benford, David A. Snow, ‘Framing Processes and Social Movements’, 614.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 615-616.

to the speech acts of the social movements. They involve their talks, statements, and written communications.⁴⁵

1.3 The framing of social movements in the media

The relationship between social movements and the media is important since authorities will mostly react, and only know about the protests that are reported in the media. Media function as a tool of mutual communication between the authorities and the social movements. Thereby, the visibility of social movements such as the IHHO in the media is important to influence the public discourse.⁴⁶ Concerning this public discourse, communication scientist Patrick McCurdy points to the double function of the media as a tool. Since media frames function as a central idea in a news story and thereby place events into perspective, media reflect on but also contribute to ‘the creation of public discourse and understanding’.⁴⁷ *De Gelderlander* is a newspaper a platform where this dual role can be recognized in the articles and submitted letters.

Considering the agency of collective action frames that Benford and Snow emphasize, the relationship social movements have with the media is complex. Even though social movements have agency in creating their collective action frames, their influence or agency on the media is marginal. As Benford and Snow argue themselves, a ‘social movement activist rarely exercises much control over the “stories” media organizations choose to cover’.⁴⁸ As social movements have difficulties to control frames about them or their actions, sociologist Ruud Koopmans comes up with three possible ways of media attention. *Resonance* explains to which extend a message provokes the media attention that it asks. *Consonance* is a form of, often verbally, supportive resonance. However, there is a principle included that ‘any action that signals support, endorsement, or encouragement of the actor, his actions, or his aims, e.g., court rulings in favour of an actor, or executive action meeting the actor’s demands’.⁴⁹ *Dissonance* is a form to describe negative resonance. Despite the negative connotation, this can still be helpful to spread the ideas of the social movement. The degree in which claims are supported in the public sphere by third parties, contribute to the legitimacy of the actions of the social movement.⁵⁰ Taking the relation between the public discourse and news frames into account, in this thesis I will focus on the frames created by the protest group IHHO, and the news frames about this group in the local media. I will compare these two, to see how the protest is received and interpreted on a local level.

Framing is a good approach to research the way in which IHHO used the Four Days Marches since the theory assigns an analytical tool to interpret the motivations and goals of the social movement.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, 623-625.

⁴⁶ Ruud Koopmans, ‘Movements and media: Selection processes and evolutionary dynamics in the public sphere’ *Theory and Society* 33 (2004), 372-373.

⁴⁷ Patrick McCurdy, ‘Social Movements, Protest and Mainstream Media’ *Sociology Compass* 6:3 (2012), 246.

⁴⁸ Patrick McCurdy, ‘Social Movements, Protest and Mainstream Media’, 246.

⁴⁹ Ruud Koopmans, ‘Movements and media’, 373-375.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, 373-375.

At the same time, framing provides a tool to describe how the media mimic the frames of the social movement which forms the link to the public opinion. Making use of the theory of framing, thus provides the opportunity to compare the initiatives of protest with the results. However, to make statements about public opinion and explain why and how certain frames are more influential than others, the theory of framing is not sufficient. Since ‘public opinion formation involves the selective acceptance and rejection of competing frames that contain information about candidates and issues’ it is important to explain this selective acceptance as well.⁵¹ The practice theory of Pierre Bourdieu is a good addition here. Where framing provides the tools to describe and compare the different frames, the practice theory helps to understand why and how certain frames were successful while others were not.

1.4 Practice Theory Pierre Bourdieu

To analyse the local reaction on the social protests of the 1980s in Nijmegen, I will further elaborate on the practice theory of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu attempts to construct a theoretical model of social practice and tries to provide structures within social behaviour. Using different concepts such as (social) field and capital, the practice theory of Bourdieu can be used as a toolkit that can help to explain everyday life.⁵² Notwithstanding the economic insertion of Bourdieu, looking for greater structures and using terms as ‘capital’, the combination and implementation of these concepts offer explanatory power to understand how the protests during the Four Days Marches were received.

According to Bourdieu, there exist several fields in society in which different rules apply. These specific fields all have their structure and hierarchy. The sports field, or the Four Days Marches in particular, can be described as such a field where different rules and values are present. A field is a social arena where different actors are active, who struggle for economic and social resources.⁵³ In this way, the field is a complex network of relationships. If an individual or a group wants to achieve something in a specific field, they have to do this within the framework of the existing structures. For example, by proclaiming their views, IHHO attempts to increase its social capital in the field.

Regarding actors who want to change their positions by gaining resources, they must accumulate capital and knowledge about the rules and common practices within a certain field, before a message can be conveyed successfully.⁵⁴ Considering the different forms of capital, the distinction can be made between the economic capital, social capital (norms and values to others in the field), cultural capital (knowledge about the different relations), and symbolic capital. The common frames Van Gorps elaborates on can also be part of this symbolic capital. Regarding the social capital, geographer Matthew Tonts suggests that social capital can form a barrier to a certain field that provides a closed character

⁵¹ Dennis Chong and James N. Druckman, ‘Framing Theory’, *Annual Review Political Science* 10 (2007), 120.

⁵² P.J. Kitchin, P. David Howe, ‘How can the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu assist sport management research?’ *Sport Management Review* 16 (2013), 124.

⁵³ Richard Jenkins, *Pierre Bourdieu* (London, 1992), 52-53.

⁵⁴ Lars Schmitt, *Bourdieu Meets Social Movement*, in: *Social theory and social movements: mutual inspirations*, red. Jochen Roose en Hella Dietz (Wiesbaden, 2016), 67.

that could exclude others.⁵⁵ Bourdieu is aware of this point himself, and ‘viewed marginalization’s as likely outcome for any individual who did not possess the requisite levels of economic or cultural capital’.⁵⁶ In the case of IHHO, this capital is therefore important because as a protest group they otherwise run the risk of being marginalized if they do not adhere to this common social capital.

Besides these troubles newcomers to the field might experience regarding the social or economic capital, bringing changes to the field, either with or without knowledge of this capital, is problematic. The more intertwined agents are with the structures of the field, the more likely they are motivated to replicate these structures. When this does not occur, and people want to change these structures, tensions can result with other agents.⁵⁷

Combining the concepts and theories of framing with the practice theory of Bourdieu can provide knowledge about the way sport is used as a tool for protest. After studying the frames of IHHO and the media, these concepts provide the explanatory power to understand why, and in which way the protest was understood and received support and misunderstanding. Examining sport as a field, the Nijmegen Four Days Marches can be seen as a special sub-field. Formed partly by military tradition, the Nijmegen Marches are accompanied by certain standards, values, and customs which belong to this field. Here, different actors encounter each other. In this way, the field of the Marches can be seen as a microcosmos of society, where social relationships in society can be uncovered.

1.5 Methodology

Framing is used in multiple fields of research, and therefore there exist different approaches. The first stage of the analysis of this study consists of an inductive qualitative discourse analysis, focusing on the framing devices. In short, this means that the sources of IHHO and the news articles are analysed with ‘an open mind’.⁵⁸

Researching frames with an inductive strategy, potential reasoning devices in the sources are examined before in a second phase the frames are reconstructed. This is the opposite of a deductive analysis, where frames are identified first before analysing how often they are found in the sources. According to Van Gorp, the inductive strategy is preferred to examine frames because of the abstract character of frames that makes it hard to research quantitatively. However, it should be noted here that the research depends to a greater extent on the ability of interpretation from the researcher.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, there are some conditions attached to inductive analysis. It is important to analyse the

⁵⁵ P.J. Kitchin, P. David Howe, ‘How can the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu assist sport management research?’, 127.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, 127.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, 129.

⁵⁸ Baldwin van Gorp, ‘Een constructivistische kijk op het concept framing’, 251.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, 250-251.

sources between a certain timeframe, and that the frame is abstract but functional. In this way, the frame can function as an umbrella where more specific topics can be placed under.⁶⁰

The reasoning devices that are researched to identify the frames, consist of the larger metacommunicative message which manifests itself in for example the word choice, metaphors, arguments, and stereotype descriptions.⁶¹ In this research, a narrative analysis will focus on the positive and negative frames that are used by both parties. Communication scientist Claes de Vreese provides a mechanism of ‘focal point’ to compare frames with each other. Accordingly, the next elements of the text should be studied in the following order: the headlines, subheads, photos, photo captions, leads, source selection, quotes selection, pull quotes, logos, statistics, and charts, concluding statements, and paragraphs.⁶²

Regarding the theory about collective action frames of social movements, these theories will only be leading in chapter two about the frames produced by IHHO. In chapter three, where the local reception of these frames is discussed, it is only examined whether these frames are taken over, and which frames are used in the newspaper to describe IHHO. The theory of collective action frames does not apply here. The second level of the analysis will then elaborate on Bourdieu’s theory. Bourdieu’s concepts are used to explain the interaction and tension between the frames of IHHO and the frames about IHHO in the media but elaborate not further on how they are produced. The focus here is therefore on the resonance, consonance, and dissonance of the local news articles.

1.6 Sources

This research uses a large number of different primary sources. The first sub-question answered in chapter two asks ‘*In which way did IHHO frame the Nijmegen Four Days Marches as tool for social protest?*’. This chapter pays attention to the historical context of military participation in the Four Days Marches. Thereby, it describes the frames IHHO used to explain the motivations and goals of the protest. I will dissect IHHO’s collective action frames from these sources which will provide more information about the goals and the intentions of IHHO. Considering the framing of IHHO, I will use the archive of the *Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond Lichamelijke Opvoeding* (KNBLO), located in the Regional Archive of Nijmegen. This archive contains comprehensive sources such as personal letters between the IHHO and the organization, songbooks with protest songs, information sheets of IHHO, and judicial documents. Subsequently, I will analyse photographs and pamphlets of IHHO, digitally available from the International Institute for Social History. Finally, I have interviewed Theo van Stiphout, a member of IHHO that participated in the Marches in 1981. Besides the written sources, this interview helps to provide an insight into the thoughts of participants.

⁶⁰ Ibidem, 252.

⁶¹ Ibidem, 249.

⁶² Claes H. de Vreese, ‘News framing: Theory and typology’ *Information Design Journal + Document Design* 13:1 (2005), 54.

The second sub-question answered in chapter three is as follows: ‘*How was the framing of IHHO perceived by local media?*’. The chapter elaborates more deeply on the history of Dutch social protest and researches the frames that are used by newspapers and legal documents to cover the actions of IHHO. Examining the representation of the protests provides more insight into the way in which the protest was received. These descriptions can be compared with the goals and intentions of IHHO, to conclude to what extent the protest can be considered to be successful or not. To answer this sub-question, I focus on archival documents about IHHO such as legal documents which can also be found in the archive of the KNBLO. Moreover, special attention is paid to the newspaper *De Gelderlander*. *De Gelderlander* is the local newspaper focussing on the area around Nijmegen which pays a lot of attention to the Marches yearly. *De Gelderlander* was originally a Catholic newspaper, founded to promote the emancipation of the Catholics in Nijmegen. During the last years of the nineteenth century, the newspaper changed into a versatile newspaper with regional, national, and international news and sections for different target groups. The Catholic conservative slant was abandoned in the 1950s which changed the readership base. Since then the newspaper has been read by people of different faiths and backgrounds. *De Gelderlander* was written in Nijmegen in the 1980s and has had editions for Arnhem, Apeldoorn, and the Achterhoek since 1920.⁶³ Focussing on *de Gelderlander* provides a more complete overview and at the same time allows looking at different reactions. Concerning the timeframe, not all the issues of the years 1979 and 1984 are researched. I focus on the third week of July each year when the Marches take place. Subsequently, I review the newspapers five days in advance and five days after the Marches to gain a broader overview. All the newspapers are digitally available online in the Regional Archive of Nijmegen. Besides the small timeframe around the Marches where the whole newspapers are researched, I searched in the database with a few terms to see if there were additional articles about the protest group during the year. These terms are: IHHO, *Is het hier oorlog*, *protest*, *vierdaagse*.

The concept of framing and the practice theory of Pierre Bourdieu form the analytical foundation for these two sub-questions. On this basis, the main question regarding how IHHO used framing to advance social protest during the Nijmegen Four Days Marches in the period 1979-1984 can be answered. To answer the questions a large extent of primary sources is used. Subsequently, secondary literature is examined to explain the relation between military and sports events, and social peace protests in the Netherlands in the 1980s.

⁶³ ‘Historie van de Gelderlander’ *De Gelderlander* <<https://www.gelderlander.nl/service/geschiedenis>> [last seen at 12-08-2020]. Reliable circulation figures from the relevant years were difficult to trace. In the edition of *de Gelderlander* of 18-05-1983 a number of 160.000 is mentioned on page 21.

2. The Four Days Marches as tool for protest of IHHO

This chapter will answer the following question: *In which way framed IHHO the Nijmegen Four Days Marches as tool for social protest?* Before I start examining the primary sources, I will start with a short overview of the participation of the military in (civilian) sports events and focus on the resistance against this. Also, I will give a brief overview of the creation of IHHO and place them in the historical context of the social protest in the Netherlands in the 1980s. Here, I will focus only on IHHO, a broader context of peace protest in the Netherlands can be found in the next chapter. Subsequently, all the primary sources from IHHO are examined to formulate an answer to the sub-question leading in this chapter. The theory of Benford and Snow regarding the collective action frames is applied to these sources.

2.1 Military participation in (civil) sport events

As mentioned earlier in the introduction of this thesis, the relations of countries can be expressed in the discourse around sports. A militaristic function can be derived from sport because countries can be compared with each other in terms of winners and losers.⁶⁴ Given the fact that these statements focus on regular competition games, sociologists Richard Giulianotti and Gary Armstrong provide an addition when it comes to military participation in sports when they state that sport has an ambivalent relationship with war and peace. Focussing on the history of the relation between sports and the military they distinguish three phases and argue that there are ‘deep connections between sport and the war-making masculinities of the modern military’.⁶⁵ Especially since the Second World War, sport played an inevitable role in postcolonial struggles and the Cold War as well. This changed gradually around the 1990s when the sport was used more and more as a ‘tool for promoting peace and development’.⁶⁶ At the same time, the role of the military changed radically since international military coalitions are used for peacekeeping operations in post-conflict situations. As Giulianotti and Armstrong conclude, ‘the function of the military moves towards establishing sustainable peace and winning ‘‘hearts and minds’’ of citizens, it makes sense to explore sports’ potential contribution to meeting these objectives’.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Scott D. Watson, ‘Everyday nationalism and international hockey: contesting Canadian national identity’ *Nations and Nationalism* 23:2 (2017), 290-291.

⁶⁵ Richard Giulianotti and Gary Armstrong, ‘Sport, the Military and Peacemaking: history and possibilities’ *Third World Quarterly* 32:3 (2011), 381-382.

⁶⁶ Richard Giulianotti and Gary Armstrong, ‘Sport, the Military and Peacemaking’, 383-384.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, 383-384.

2.2 IHHO: a brief overview

The roots of IHHO can be found in the *Aktiecomitee Vierdaagse* that organised different manifestations around the Four Days Marches since 1978.⁶⁸ In 1979 they founded the anti-militaristic walking club IHHO but before they were already organizing movie evenings, photo exhibitions, and music performances as an alternative for the official Four Days Marches festivities. All these activities had an educative character where the glorification of the army during the Marches was a central point of discussion.

Besides the *Aktiecomitee Vierdaagse*, anti-militaristic criticism was more widely supported in Nijmegen society. Multiple pacifistic organisations were active during the 1980s such as the *Bond voor Dienstplichtigen* (BvD) that supported active resistance in the military, or the *Vereniging Dienstweigeraars* that represents the interests of conscientious objectors.⁶⁹ This pacifist philosophy was not limited to voluntary organizations, but also penetrated to local politics in the city council where the *Pacifistic Socialist Party* (PSP) was well represented. The PSP worked in special groups on the topic of disarmament and was active in the *Aktiecomitee Vierdaagse*.

IHHO participated in the Nijmegen Four Days Marches from 1979 until 1984 with a varying number of between 20 and 50 people. Supported by the *Aktiecomitee Vierdaagse*, the group protested against military participation in the Four Days Marches and wanted to start a discussion about pacifist thinking. For moral reasons IHHO never used the special pontoon bridge in Cuijk, that was built temporarily by the military for participants to cross the Maas river and deviated from the route every year. After the edition of 1984, this became problematic when the organisation of the Marches decided to disqualify the group for deviating from the route. IHHO disagreed with this decision and decided to file a lawsuit which they lost. It was decided that the group was excluded from future editions due to political protest and deliberately run of an alternate route. From 1985 until 1993 IHHO therefore organized an alternative Four Days Marches that passed military barracks to draw attention to their pacifistic ideals. Thereby, they kept organizing alternative activities during the Four Days Marches in Nijmegen to spread their pacifistic thoughts.⁷⁰

2.3 Pacifist protest in the Netherlands during the 1980s

Two waves of international peace protest can be distinguished after the Second World War. The second wave that took place in the 1980s in the Netherlands has a clear relationship with the Cold War and focused on the protest of nuclear weapons. In 1979, the NATO decided to modernize the nuclear arsenal

⁶⁸ Translation *Aktiecomitee Vierdaagse*: Action Committee Four Days Marches.

⁶⁹ Translation *Bond voor Dienstplichtigen*: Union for Conscripts. Translation for *Vereniging Dienstweigeraars*: Society for Conscientious Objectors. Other active pacifist organisation were the Anti-NATO committee, the Workgroup Information Conscripts/Conscientious Objectors (WID), and the Political Objectors Collective (PDK).

⁷⁰ Based on: Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), Nijmegen, 1241, Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding (KNBLO) te Den Haag/Nijmegen 1908-2003, 1001, Information book about the history and the viewpoints of IHHO, 1980.

in Western Europe. In response to the deployment of new Soviet ballistic missiles, the NATO wanted to place 572 new nuclear weapons on Western European territory. For the Netherlands, this meant that, in addition to the existing nuclear weapons, a further 48 cruising fight weapons would be placed. This decision caused strong reactions within the member states.⁷¹ In the Netherlands, these reactions resulted in ‘one of the greatest social and political conflicts that the Netherlands has experienced after World War II’.⁷² The protest was not only limited to the peace activists but was widely shared in Dutch society. Large demonstrations took place in Amsterdam and The Hague in 1981 and 1983, with as many as 400.000 and 550.000 participants. In 1985 the aversion to the cross-arms did not diminish when 3.75 million people signed a manifesto against the placement of the weapons. In addition to these massive actions, hundreds of local manifestations took place to express the discontent: strikes, occupation actions, and blockades are some examples.⁷³

Although the main reason for IHHO’s protest was not opposition to nuclear weapons, their protest must be understood in this context. IHHO originated from the *Aktiekomitee Vierdaagse* which in turn arose from various local peace organisations in Nijmegen. These peace organisations were mainly concerned with protesting the cruise missiles, so IHHO can be traced back to this as well. In addition to the protest to the military participation in the Marches, IHHO profiles itself as a movement that likes to be associated with these anti-nuclear ideas. This is reflected in the protest songs, but also emerges in the logo in which they refer to the *Ban de Bom* movement from the 1960s. The *Ban the Bom* movement campaigned against (nuclear) armaments from the late 1950s tot 1968 in the Netherlands.⁷⁴ By connecting themselves with this anti-nuclear philosophy, IHHO joins a more widely supported protest in society, which makes it possible for them to count on more supporters.

2.4 Framing by IHHO

Against military propaganda and military glorification

Examining all the sources and taking the theory of Benford and Snow in mind, two main collective action frames can be distinguished used by IHHO in their protest. The collective action frame that occurs the most focusses on the participation of the army in the Four Days Marches. Overall, the participation of the army and the weapons they carry with them during the marches are the main problems. The role of the army is glorified, and the protest group sees it as their duty to bring to light the true role of the army. However, there is a great variety in the severity of framing.

⁷¹ See for example: Eirini Karamouzi, ‘Out With the Bases of Death’: Civil Society and Peace Mobilization in Greece During the 1980s’ *Journal of Contemporary History* 0:0 (2020), 1-22; Kristan Stoddart, *Facing Down the Soviet Union: Britain, the USA, NATO and Nuclear Weapons, 1976-1983* (London, 2014).

⁷² Remco van Diepen, *Hollanditis: Nederland en het kernwapendebat, 1977-1987* (Amsterdam, 2004), 19.

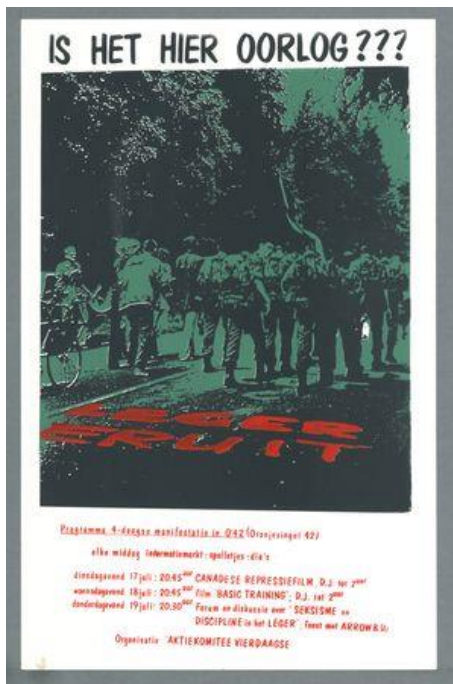
⁷³ Jan Hoffenaar, Jan van der Meulen en Rolf de Winter, *Confrontatie en ontspanning: Maatschappij en krijgsmacht in de Koude Oorlog, 1966-1989* (The Hague, 2004), 189-190.

⁷⁴ Kerst Huisman, *Ban de bom: de beweging tegen kernwapens, 1960-1969* (Amsterdam, 1981), 9.

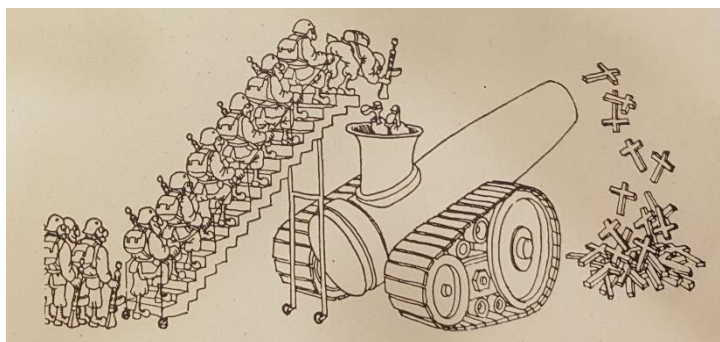
More extreme forms of diagnostic framing focus on the violence of the military where death and destruction seem to be the only purpose of the army. This is reflected in the two visual sources on the next page. The first source is a poster of IHHO from the year 1979 to promote the activities of the *Aktiekomitee Vierdaagse*. The picture shows the army marching past, leaving behind traces of blood. In red blood letters is written ‘leger eruit’, or ‘army out’, which suggests that the departure from the army is the only solution for IHHO. The second source is an image from the information book of IHHO from 1980. Here, the rhetoric is reversed. The army not only causes death and destruction, but the image suggests that soldiers themselves are victims of the armed forces. They are constantly sacrificed and wilfully sent to death. Both images focus on the violent and destructive element of the army. In other forms of extreme diagnostic framing, a link is made with radical political ideas. Therefore, comparisons are made with historical forms of struggle in which a parallel is drawn with the bad or losing party that is on the wrong side of history. The third source on the next page is an example of this. On the poster of IHHO from 1982 the development of average men, recognizable by their work cap and costume, to a marching military is visible. With this development, the diversity in clothing and walking seems to disappear, suggesting that any individual disappears. Moreover, the goose step is very similar to the way in which it is customary in the Soviet Union or North Korea, and the outstretched hand is very similar to the Hitler salute. It is therefore easy for the spectators to associate this negatively with political ideologies. Behind this visual background, IHHO states that the military strolls with arms and calls for participation in the protest during the Four Days Marches. Thereafter, several dates are listed when training can take place. Another example where the link with the military and radical political ideas comes to light is one of the protest songs of IHHO.⁷⁵ The text of the song is quite innocent, paying attention to and expressing an opinion about nuclear power. However, the melody of the song is more interesting since it was written on the melody of the Italian song *Bella Ciao*. The roots of this song probably lay in nineteenth-century Northern-Italy and was used by seasonal workers to denounce dissatisfaction with the failed harvest. Later on, the song was used in protests multiple times such as during the Spanish Civil War and in Italy during the Second World war, where it was popular among the Partisan guerrillas that fought against the fascists and national socialists. It became the ultimate song of rebellion, that was also used for protest by the international student movement during 1968.⁷⁶ Making use of this song of protest the IHHO aligns itself with the Partisan guerrillas and suggests that they are fighting the fascism and national socialism, where the army is compared with. This alignment is enhanced by the visual aspect of the posters, which also highlights this anti-fascist aspect of IHHO.

⁷⁵ Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), Nijmegen, 1241, Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding (KNBLO) te Den Haag/Nijmegen 1908-2003, 1000, Bundle of anti-militaristic songs published by IHHO on the occasion of the actions against the militaristic character of the 64th Four Days Marches, page 3, April 1984.

⁷⁶ Franco Fabbri, ‘Five easy pieces 1964-2006: 40 years of music and politics in Italy, from B(ella ciao) to B(erlusconi)’, *Forum Italicum* 49 (2015), 640.



1. Poster IHHO 1979⁷⁷



2. Image information book IHHO 1980⁷⁸



3. Poster IHHO 1982⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (IISG), Amsterdam, IISG BG E2/565, Poster 'Aktiekomitee Vierdaagse', 1979.

⁷⁸ Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), Nijmegen, 1241, Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding (KNBLO) te Den Haag/Nijmegen 1908-2003, 1001, Information book about the history and the viewpoints of IHHO page 7, 1980.

⁷⁹ Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (IISG), Amsterdam, IISG BG D9/659, Poster 'Wandelklup "Is het hier oorlog" Aktiekomitee Vierdaagse (Nijmegen)', 1982.

In contrast to these extreme frames, more moderate diagnostic frames of IHHO recognize the intertwining of the military and the Four Days Marches. In these frames, the emphasis is mainly on the weapons the military carries with them. The following text of a protest song on the melody of ‘Hit the Road Jack’ shows this development as follows:

*Is het oorlog hier het lijkt van wel
Ook al ziet het eruit als een spel
Soldaten bij een wandelfeest
't Is nog nooit eerder zo leuk geweest
Militairen burgers zij aan zij
Het leger hoort er helemaal bij MAAR*

*We mogen alles van ze zien
Een show van het nieuwste vliegmachien
Dat er miljoenen zelfs mee zijn gemoeid
Mag je niet denken, je mond wordt dan gesnoeid
We moeten het leuk vinden allemaal
Maar dat is waar ik zo van baal⁸⁰*

⁸⁰ Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), Nijmegen, 1241, Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding (KNBLO) te Den Haag/Nijmegen 1908-2003, 1000, Bundle of anti-militaristic songs published by IHHO on the occasion of the actions against the militaristic character, page 2, 1983. The translation of the song can be found in the appendix.

In this song, it is emphasized that at the first sight it looks very friendly that the military is participating side by side with civilians in the Marches, but it should not be forgotten that this organization involves a lot of money that is not spent well. Thereby, the song states that this glorious performance of the army must be received enthusiastically by the public and that criticism hereupon is not tolerated. The critique of this glorified military parade appears in more sources. An information sheet of IHHO describes how the army is using the Four Days Marches purposefully as a propaganda tool. According to the info sheet, the ministry of Defence is aware of the negative image of the army. To boost this image the Stumik report of 1977 advised to focus more on mixed military-civilian events in the social-cultural area, including sports.⁸¹ Although the timeframe does not completely overlap, this development is in line with the statements of Giulianotti and Armstrong regarding the military aim to win the ‘hearts and minds’ of the citizens and use sport as a tool to achieve this goal.

Another more moderate form of diagnostic framing can be found in the logo of the walking club shown on the next page, which is a combination of signs other protest groups used earlier in history to protest the military. The broken weapon dates from the time after the First World War when people pinned this sign on their chest as a condemnation of violence and show their support for pacifism. The peace sign was used in the first post-Second World War wave of protest when amongst others the use of nuclear energy was criticized. Instead of the foot shown in the logo, during the sixties, a clenched fist was used as a logo for the *Ban de Bom* movement. As for IHHO, combining the elements of the foot, peace sign, and broken arms, the group places itself in the tradition of the pacifist movement of the interwar period and the peace protest of the 1960s. Using the logo, they identify themselves with the ideas and values of these previous forms of protest. These more moderate forms of framing are more in line with the vision of Theo van Stiphout, who participated himself in the IHHO during the Marches in 1980. According to Van Stiphout, the protest aimed to question, and start a discussion about the weapons of the military they carried during the Marches. Van Stiphout states that the main aim of the protest was not to make the military disappear entirely, contrary to what the earlier described diagnostic frames suggest.⁸²

⁸¹ Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), Nijmegen, 1241, Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding (KNBLO) te Den Haag/Nijmegen 1908-2003, 1001, ‘Mobiel Nijmeegse Vredeskrant’ piece newspaper, July 1982.

⁸² Theo van Stiphout, interviewed by Sanne Dijksterhuis, Nijmegen, May 25, 2020.



4. The IHHO logo⁸³

After this extensive description of the different diagnostic frames, the prognostic frames are more univocal, however these are of course related to the extremity of the diagnostic frames. Regarding these prognostic frames of IHHO, above all, the Four Days Marches should change into a celebration for civilians, not for the military. Considering the role of the military, extreme prognostic frames suggests that they should disappear from the Marches entirely. More moderate frames also see a solution in the disappearance of the weapons that are carried by the military. According to Van Stiphout both frames were made clear by participating in the Marches. IHHO was thus well aware of the ‘politics of sphere’ described by Nehring. Being in the same place or field as the military, the problems could be exposed more clearly than protesting only along the line. The protest songs themselves had a special function. Not only could this spread the message of IHHO better, but accordingly to Van Stiphout, this also resulted in a less tense situation and a better atmosphere between the soldiers, spectators, and IHHO.⁸⁴

The call for action or the motivational framing focusses more on other pacifistic movements to participate than to the larger public. IHHO is aware of the difficulty of the message to be conveyed by the popularity and the long tradition of the Marches. However, together with the other peace and pacifist organisations, IHHO sees it as their duty to set an example by peacefully protesting a violent organisation.⁸⁵ Overall, it is striking that the prognostic and motivational frames are very minimal when compared to the diagnostic frames. IHHO mainly focused on explaining the main problem and was not very extensive about the next steps and their further method of approach.

⁸³ Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), Nijmegen, 1241, Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding (KNBLO) te Den Haag/Nijmegen 1908-2003, 1001, Logo of IHHO, date unknown.

⁸⁴ Theo van Stiphout, interviewed by Sanne Dijksterhuis, Nijmegen, May 25, 2020.

⁸⁵ Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), Nijmegen, 1241, Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding (KNBLO) te Den Haag/Nijmegen 1908-2003, 1001, ‘Mobiel Nijmeegse Vredeskrant’ piece newspaper, July 1982.

Threat to women and homosexuals

A second collective action frame that occurs less than the one described above regards the threat to women and homosexuals. This frame focusses on the atmosphere around the festivities in Nijmegen during the Four Days Marches. According to IHHO, this sphere is threatening and oppressive. In the peace newspaper, IHHO describes that homosexuals, women, and foreigners do not feel at home in the festivities because they are often the victim of aggressive behaviour. Especially women are considered public property in these days, and soldiers contribute to an oppressive atmosphere. During the day, the soldiers have to make a good impression, but they often sing sexist unfriendly songs to which they also behave at night.⁸⁶ Regarding these sexist songs, IHHO has included a number of them in their repertoire to provoke and mock. An example is a song from the time of the Belgian revolt (1830) in which is sung: *'En 's avonds in het kwartier, dan naaien wij de wijven... En mocht er onverhoop nog ooit een kind van komen, dan hangen we dat kreng te spartelen in de bomen'*.⁸⁷ But also in self-written songs, this point is expressed:

*'Women, gays, and lesbians
To them, you're only cruel,
When you're far away from home
You just act like a fool'*⁸⁸

According to IHHO, the ambiance is unpleasant for immigrants or foreigners since these minorities do not fit within the nationalist or patriotic institute of the military. IHHO does not describe clearly why this is specifically related to the oppressive atmosphere during the festivities.⁸⁹ Moreover, this position is not very tenable given the fact that many foreign military powers participate in the Marches.

The prognostic frame here has a protective character. To defend the dignity of the women and homosexuals, the military must leave. In this frame there is no attention paid to other men who

⁸⁶ Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), Nijmegen, 1241, Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding (KNBLO) te Den Haag/Nijmegen 1908-2003, 1001, 'Mobiel Nijmeegse Vredeskrant' piece newspaper, July 1982.

⁸⁷ Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), Nijmegen, 1241, Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding (KNBLO) te Den Haag/Nijmegen 1908-2003, 1000, Bundle of anti-militaristic songs published by IHHO on the occasion of the actions against the militaristic character, page 19, 1983. Translation song: 'And in the evening in the quarters, then we fuck the bitches. And in the unlikely event that a child will ever come of it, we hang that bitch floundering in the trees'.

⁸⁸ Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), Nijmegen, 1241, Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding (KNBLO) te Den Haag/Nijmegen 1908-2003, 1000, Bundle of anti-militaristic songs published by IHHO on the occasion of the actions against the militaristic character, page 7, 1983.

⁸⁹ Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), Nijmegen, 1241, Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding (KNBLO) te Den Haag/Nijmegen 1908-2003, 1001, 'Op Mars' information sheet about the different anti-militaristic actions in 1984, 1984.

misbehave, the soldiers are the only ones found guilty of the oppressive atmosphere.⁹⁰ This frame supports the previously described mainframe and should reinforce the idea that the army should disappear entirely from the Marches. Considering the motivational framing, this frame is not very different from the earlier described frame. The arguments are named in the same information sheets and books who aim to inform the public but call especially for other pacifistic movements to participate.⁹¹

Overall, this collective action frame was much less present than the frame focused on weapons and military participation. This frame did not appear visually on posters but was only found in information booklets and some protest songs.⁹² A possible explanation for this phenomenon is the fact the IHHO originates from the *Aktiecommissie Vierdaagse* in which various left-wing (protest) movements worked together. Although this collective action frame does not reflect the primary concern of IHHO, it does ensure that other left-wing (protest) movements in Nijmegen can associate themselves faster and easier with the positions of IHHO, which yields more supporters. An example of this is the group *Vrouwen voor Vrede Nijmegen*, that speaks out in a letter to the organization for the positions of IHHO.⁹³

2.5 Conclusion

Comparing the two most important collective action frames of IHHO with each other provides the opportunity to answer the central question of this chapter: *In which way framed IHHO the Nijmegen Four Days Marches as a tool for social protest?* Overall, it stands out that IHHO is focussing on diagnostic framing, the group is mainly describing what is problematic about the presence of the military. IHHO is aware of the fact that the intertwining of the military and the Marches have a long history but would like to start the discussion with their protest. To provoke or initiate this discussion they do not hesitate to make extreme comparisons with violent political or radical ideologies from the past. As the different years of participation pass, these frames do not change, they are comparable in terms of extremity. However, more people participate every year and a larger group ensures more attention of the public.

⁹⁰ Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), Nijmegen, 1241, Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding (KNBLO) te Den Haag/Nijmegen 1908-2003, 1001, Information book about the history and the viewpoints of IHHO page 12-13, 1980.

⁹¹ Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), Nijmegen, 1241, Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding (KNBLO) te Den Haag/Nijmegen 1908-2003, 1001, 'Mobiël Nijmeegse Vredeskrant' page 3, July 1982.

⁹² For example: Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), Nijmegen, 1241, Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding (KNBLO) te Den Haag/Nijmegen 1908-2003, 1001, Information book about the history and the viewpoints of IHHO page 9-12, 1980.

⁹³ Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), Nijmegen, 1241, Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding (KNBLO) te Den Haag/Nijmegen 1908-2003, 997, Submitted petition against military participation send by the 'Vrouwen voor Vrede Nijmegen', June 1, 1987. Translation *Vrouwen voor Vrede Nijmegen* is *Women for Peace Nijmegen*.

Placing the frames of IHHO within the practice theory of Bourdieu I foresee multiple problems. Firstly, IHHO is participating in the Marches but by criticizing the participation of the military, they do not abide by the rules that apply within the field. This does not have to be problematic itself but becomes problematic because secondly, IHHO does not try to expose the problem or critique within the applicable norms and values. Criticizing the presence of the military is attacking a tradition belonging to the capital of the Four Days Marches. Because IHHO does not accumulate capital and knowledge and instead choose to oppose this, their message cannot be conveyed successfully. In particular, the extreme comparisons with politically radical ideologies make it for IHHO difficult to move within the field without provoking strong resistance.

3. Representation of the protest of IHHO

This chapter focusses on the following question: ‘*How was the framing of IHHO perceived by local media?*’. The frames that are used by the newspaper *de Gelderlander* and legal documents are researched that cover the actions of IHHO. Examining the representation of the protests by local and national media provides more insight into the way in which the protest was received locally. It can be examined whether IHHO’s frames are taken over by the media and how the public subsequently responded to these based on submitted letters to *De Gelderlander*.

3.1 Framing of IHHO in the media

When IHHO participated in the Four Days Marches for the first time in 1979 *de Gelderlander* pays attention to their participation right away. Even before the start of the Marches, the *Aktiekomitee Vierdaagse* is introduced. A news item provides an overview of the alternative programme as well as the motivations that drives the group.⁹⁴ Although all the views and frames of the group are mentioned - the glorification of the military as well as the threatening sphere during the festivities for women and minority groups, such as homosexuals and Moluccans, is mentioned - but the article is not neutral. The opinion of the author becomes clear from the word choice, it can be concluded that the writer does not take the group’s views seriously and criticizes IHHO for exaggeration.⁹⁵ This value judgement appears in several articles. For example, attention is paid to a slogan of IHHO that asks ‘Is it war out here?’ that is painted on a viaduct, but in the news article, it is immediately commented that the passing Swedish soldiers do not make the impression that they go to the front.⁹⁶

Another news item focuses on the participation of two Lebanese soldiers, of whom their home country was at war at the time. The two Lebanese came to Nijmegen on the advice of friends to forget the war and enjoy the festive atmosphere. The author of the article concluded that the Marches indeed are a walking festival and not a war, contrary to what IHHO painted on bridges and viaducts.⁹⁷ Only one article interviews a member of IHHO itself, Henny Kerkhuis. Kerkhuis emphasizes that weapons and peace are not a good combination. Soldiers can be involved in the Marches but should only participate as civilians. In addition to all the negative attention in the newspaper, Kerkhuis is positive about the effect of the protest. ‘If people start thinking about the subject, IHHO already achieved a great deal’.⁹⁸ With the exception to the last article, the representation of IHHO in 1979 clearly shows the dual role of the media concerning the public debate as McCurdy describes. On the one hand, the news reports reflect on the events, but at the same time, the authors give a value judgement that contributes to the creation

⁹⁴ ‘Alternatief 4-daagse feest’, *De Gelderlander* (12 juli 1979), 11.

⁹⁵ ‘Alternatief 4-daagse feest’, *De Gelderlander* (12 juli 1979), 11.

⁹⁶ ‘Is het hier oorlog?!’, *De Gelderlander* (17 juli 1979), 11.

⁹⁷ ‘Vierdaagse geen oorlog’, *De Gelderlander* (18 juli 1979), 21.

⁹⁸ ‘Actiegroep: Onze leus stemt tot nadenken’, *De Gelderlander* (20 juli 1979), 13.

of the public discourse. It is considered normal for soldiers to walk with weapons, therefore the protest against this is considered nonsensical.⁹⁹ This indicates that the positions of IHHO do not correspond to the norms and values that are customary within the field. The frame of IHHO does not approve of these traditions and does not connect to the social capital, which causes irritation and resistance.

In contrast to the participation in 1979, the participation of 1980 is shown a lot more objectively in news articles written by authors of *de Gelderlander*. The ideas and collective action frames of the group are explained short and to the point. Besides, many letters to the editor have been published since 1980, in which it is noticeable that many opponents of IHHO are given the floor. These letters to the editor are a good indication of the public debate. Although the newspaper is responsible for the preselection and determines which letters are published, the letters indicate that people noticed the protest of IHHO. In the letters to the editor, opponents are particularly annoyed that the IHHO neglects the military origin of the Nijmegen Marches.¹⁰⁰ Also, the manner of protest would be vandalistic and the followers of IHHO would spoil the experience of the other participants.¹⁰¹ Letters from supporters of IHHO emphasize mostly on the idea that the weapons must be left at home. When comparing the letters from supporters and opponents, it is striking that both reflect only on the collective action frame about military participation and glorification. The oppressive atmosphere during the other festivities is not discussed here. Even more than these submitted letters to *de Gelderlander*, an interview with a member of IHHO describes the reaction of the public to the protest. The member, whose name is not mentioned, describes the atmosphere as ‘very hostile towards the members of IHHO’ which suggests that there are few supporters outside the members of the group.¹⁰² The submitted letters to the newspaper and the atmosphere described show that IHHO does not meet standards and responds too little to the common social capital which causes friction. The views of IHHO attack the traditions of the Four Days Marches, which appears to the public as an attack that makes them feel threatened. As Bourdieu describes, actors who want to implement changes within a field can count on criticism, which is what also happens here with the protest of IHHO.

As a result of the participation in 1981 and 1982, relatively few articles have been published in which IHHO is discussed. In addition to the developments described earlier, in these two years of participation, more attention is given to the negative reaction of the audience to the group. News reports not only mention ‘booing’, but they also mention the throwing of cans and other objects.¹⁰³ Besides, there has been a violent incident between some soldiers and a few members of IHHO when members of

⁹⁹ ‘Vierdaagse geen oorlog’, *De Gelderlander* (18 juli 1979), 21.

¹⁰⁰ L.M.G. van der Lans, ‘Vierdaagse’, *De Gelderlander* (17 juli 1980), 2; J.H. Scherpenborg, ‘Vierdaagse’, *De Gelderlander* (19 juli 1980), 2.

¹⁰¹ ‘Oorlog?’, *De Gelderlander* (12 juli 1980), 14; J.H. Scherpenborg, ‘Vierdaagse’, *De Gelderlander* (19 juli 1980), 2.

¹⁰² *De Gelderlander* (19 juli 1980), 11.

¹⁰³ ‘Wandelklub “Is Het Hier Oorlog?” Reacties komen vanzelf’, *De Gelderlander* (21 juli 1981), 15; ‘Nijmegenaren: weinig blaren, veel plezier’, *De Gelderlander* (25 juli 1981), 13; ‘Moe maar gelukkig’, *De Gelderlander* (24 juli 1982), 11.

IHHO were hit by some soldiers. Here, it is remarkable that IHHO is by no means the aggressor of these incidents according to the news article.¹⁰⁴ Besides singing songs and carrying flags, they never show aggressive behaviour. However, the group does not seem to be bothered by these negative reactions. ‘The fact that people respond to our presence during the Four Days Marches is in itself already a right to exist’, according to IHHO.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, the displeasure of the organization of the Four Days Marches against the group first became clear in 1982 when IHHO was threatened with disqualification because they were carrying flags with political statements such as the broken arms. Also, the hesitant attitude of the organizing committee on the grandstand at the finish is described, when IHHO did not have to count on a warm welcome.¹⁰⁶ For the later exclusion of IHHO in 1985, it is important that it is already clearly reported in the newspaper in 1982 that the action group is taking an alternative route on the last walking day since its participation in 1979 because they do not want to cross the pontoon bridge that is temporarily built thanks to the army. For this reason, IHHO walks around 10 km extra so that they can take the ferry over the Maas river in Ewijk and resume the official route.¹⁰⁷

The articles about the participation in 1983 are characterized by a large number of submitted letters to the author, but how IHHO is described remains comparable to previous years. *De Gelderlander* names both collective action frames of IHHO and opponents mention the same points of annoyance in the submitted pieces. Subsequently, news articles focus on the ‘flag problem’. IHHO is not allowed to participate with a white flag or a flag with a broken gun because this makes a political statement according to the organisation, for which there is no room within the Four Days Marches.¹⁰⁸ The Marches present themselves as a sporting event and want to remain neutral in this regarding political matters. After the violent incident between members of the action group and some soldiers in 1982, in this edition opponents show their displeasure in a different way when they throw croquettes to the walking group.¹⁰⁹

After incidents in previous years, the participation of 1984 was the rowdiest and tense. In this year IHHO organized the Alternative Four Days Marches in which various important places for the army were visited to show their displeasure here. *De Gelderlander* reports this alternative march in which it becomes clear that in addition to the disappearance of the soldiers from the Four Days Marches, IHHO is also profiling itself more broadly and is more clearly in line with the antinuclear ideas that are more widely supported in society.¹¹⁰ The newspaper also describes that IHHO is supported in the protest by various pacifist groups, so the call for support that was part of the motivational framing has been picked

¹⁰⁴ ‘Na de Vierdaagse’, *De Gelderlander* (28 juli 1982), 4.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Wandelklub “Is Het Hier Oorlog?” Reacties komen vanzelf’, *De Gelderlander* (21 juli 1981)

¹⁰⁶ ‘Actiegroep in Wijchen bijna gediskwalificeerd’, *De Gelderlander* (22 juli 1982), 15; ‘Moe maar gelukkig’, *De Gelderlander* (24 juli 1982), 11.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Moe maar gelukkig’, *De Gelderlander* (24 juli 1982), 11.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Probleem’, *De Gelderlander*, (23 juli 1983), 9; ‘Lopers in sneltreinvaart vanwege weersverwachting, Legioen op toeren’, *De Gelderlander* (20 juli 1983), 13.

¹⁰⁹ ‘Actiegroep rolt de vlaggen op’, *De Gelderlander* (21 juli 1983), 13.

¹¹⁰ ‘Alternatieve vierdaagse start’, *De Gelderlander* (18 juli 1984), 18.

up.¹¹¹ Besides, several incidents occur during this edition that cannot be directly traced back to IHHO but are mentioned in the same breath as the protest group by the newspaper. For example, a squat is cleared during the entry and there is a bomb threat, which meant that a part of the stand had to be cleared to bring the spectators to safety.¹¹²

In addition to the submitted letters to the author, it also appears that IHHO has become a permanent part of the Marches for the spectators. For example, *de Gelderlander* describes the reaction of a Nijmegen resident who states that ‘in the past, everyone asked each other: are the Israelis already over, or the Americans? Now everyone asks about IHHO. People like to wait to see them pass by’.¹¹³ This is a confirmation that IHHO has certainly managed to attract the attention of the public. Moreover, the mayor is also clearly aware of the views of the action group. Where a year earlier the officials still welcomed IHHO with hesitant applause, the mayor and the provincial commissioner of the queen make a clear statement of displeasure this edition by turning their back on the group during the entry. This reaction can be explained by Bourdieu’s practice theory, but an administrative argument can also be added here using a local perspective. The reputation of Nijmegen and the smooth running of the Marches are at stake, which may cause dissatisfaction with the mayor.

After this cold reception, another unpleasant surprise awaits IHHO. The group is disqualified upon entry and excluded from future participation because they have deviated from the route. The newspaper reacts neutrally on this disqualification, in an article in which both the organization and IHHO has been asked for a response. However, it is interesting that *de Gelderlander* calls the disqualification exclusion, a choice of words with which the newspaper is giving judgement in favour of IHHO.¹¹⁴ For example, if the word disqualification had been used, this would have worked more to the disadvantage of IHHO. This is an interesting development in view of Bourdieu. Despite the lack of social capital, the prevailing position on IHHO has changed, which is not usual according to Bourdieu’s theory.

3.2 Reaction to disqualification

The disqualification of the action group caused a storm of reactions. In addition to the fact that submitted articles of opponents are published, the supporters of IHHO now seem to gain the upper hand in the numbers of publications. Several letters can be found in the archive of the KNBLO, showing that more participants agree with the ideas of IHHO.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ ‘Op weg naar de laatste stap’, *De Gelderlander* (17 juli 1984), 9.

¹¹² ‘Rumoerig slot Vierdaagse’, *De Gelderlander* (21 juli 1984), 21.

¹¹³ ‘De zwaarste zit erop’, *De Gelderlander* (21 juli 1984), 11.

¹¹⁴ ‘Uitsluiting van “Is het hier oorlog?”’, *De Gelderlander* (21 juli 1984), 11.

¹¹⁵ Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), Nijmegen, 1241, Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding (KNBLO) te Den Haag/Nijmegen 1908-2003, 997, Letter from Alje Vennema directed for March leader A.J. van Dongen, February 25, 1985.

In particular, the reaction of the mayor causes fierce criticism among opponents. According to them, groups of people with a different opinion are not accepted and excluded. Articles to the author discuss how the freedom of expression is at stake and how the exclusion of IHHO can be interpreted as discrimination. For example, Carla de Rooy writes to the *de Gelderlander*: *'In de stad waar je woont kun je onder de ogen van medeburgers, en soms zelfs met hun instemming, gepakt worden omdat je 'anders' bent. Het lijkt wel oorlog'*.¹¹⁶ De Rooy refers here to war that is not linked to the protest, but the undemocratic reaction of the opponents. An explanation for this possible changing position towards IHHO is that the criticism is directed against the way in which the group has been excluded. Because this has been presented in local politics as a restriction on the freedom of expression, this argument may have caused the newspaper to speak more positively against IHHO. There is no need to entirely agree with the opinion of the group, but if a fundamental right such as freedom of speech is compromised or that suggestion is made, this creates more support for IHHO.

The discussions about the exclusion and the behaviour of the mayor were not limited to the public but also penetrated to local politics. *De Gelderlander* reports that the PSP is strongly opposed to the behaviour of the mayor and is asking questions to the executive board of the municipality. These articles briefly mention the exclusion of IHHO, but the collective action frames are not discussed here. The discussion is not about the presence of weapons in the Marches, but about fundamental rights and dealing with minority groups. Nevertheless, the debate on weapons has not gone unnoticed by national politics, in 1990 *GroenLinks* put parliamentary questions to the minister of defence regarding the weapons, although they are not banned by then.¹¹⁷ Nowadays the weapons have disappeared from the streets during the Four Days Marches. Soldiers are still recognizable by their clothing, but otherwise only carry their backpack with luggage.

The 1984 edition remains the last in which IHHO participated, they lost the lawsuit that IHHO filed against the organization. The collective action frames are highlighted in the legal documents and magnified to demonstrate that IHHO purposefully used the Marches as tool to make political statements. The frames of IHHO are often described here, precisely to show that their protest was political. This political protest in then used as an argument to exclude IHHO from future participation.¹¹⁸ IHHO is therefore excluded from future participation based on deviation from the official route and the political statements they made. The organization of the Marches allowed the group's participation for several years, but the atmosphere around IHHO became increasingly grim which was a bother to the

¹¹⁶ Rooy, Carla van, 'Vierdaagse (1)', *De Gelderlander* (27 juli 1984), 13. Translation: 'In the city where you live, you can be caught in front of fellow citizens, and sometimes even with their consent, because you are "different." It looks like war "

¹¹⁷ Staten Generaal digitaal, Aanhangsel Tweede Kamer 1989-1990 nummer 746, Vragen van het lid Van Es (Groen Links) over deelname aan de Vierdaagse in Nijmegen door wapens dragende militairen.

¹¹⁸ Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), Nijmegen, 1241, Koninklijke Nederlandse Bond voor Lichamelijke Opvoeding (KNBLO) te Den Haag/Nijmegen 1908-2003, 998, Statement of rejoinder in the case KNBLO against IHHO, page 1-5, May 7, 1985.

organisation. The whole exclusion is a reaction provoked by the fact that IHHO's protest frame is unacceptable to the organization, which can be explained with Bourdieu's ideas. IHHO wanted to make a change in the structure of the Marches but did not make use of social capital. By speaking out so radically against the prevailing norms and values, the organization felt attacked, which resulted in a lot of opposition and friction. IHHO, therefore, became the first group in the history of the Four Days Marches to be excluded from participation in future editions. Instead, the group started organizing the alternative Four Day Marches to militarily relevant places to protest for their ideas. They also continued to organize festivities in Nijmegen.

3.3 Conclusion

Examining the reaction to IHHO, a large amount of *resonance* can be found. The *dissonance*, or negative *resonance*, predominate in most sources. Both *de Gelderlander* and the legal documents copy the two collective action frames from IHHO, but the authors often attach a negative value judgement. This value judgement can be found, among other things, by the name of titles, the choice of words, and the less degree in which proponents of IHHO are allowed to speak when compared with the opponents. There is some *consonance*, or supportive *resonance*, in the pieces of the newspaper. Here, the writers mainly focus on carrying weapons, which they believe should change. Although *consonance* responses to the protest grow as time goes on, the *dissonance* is the most present. Many writers express their displeasure with the way in which, and the positions against IHHO protests.

This development can be explained by the practice theory of Pierre Bourdieu. IHHO makes use of extreme comparisons in some frames and by actively opposing against the Marches, no use is made of the social capital. Because the message is not delivered acceptably by the recipient, it is not properly received and understood. Opponents of IHHO do not see the protest as an opening for a dialogue but as an outright attack on an event with traditions to which much value is attached. This makes opponents immediately defensive. Despite the zeitgeist in which large-scale pacifists protest took place, there is relatively little positive attention for IHHO, except when they are excluded. However as described earlier, negative attention is also attention and can be helpful as well for social movements.

Conclusion

This thesis has aimed to understand the protest of IHHO in its historic and local context. In this way, the research does not only provide more information about these protests during the Nijmegen Four Days Marches but contributes as well to the academic debate that is focussing on the role of sport within the peace movement. Using the analytical framework that consisted of theories about framing and the practice theory of Pierre Bourdieu, the main question of this thesis was: *In what ways has IHHO used framing to advance social protest during the Nijmegen Four Days Marches in the period 1979-1984?*

Partly successful protest of IHHO

Examining the different sources of IHHO, it became clear that two collective action frames were used. The first collective action frame focused on the role of the army and the resistance to participation in the Four Days Marches. The second collective action frame focused on the depressing atmosphere that the military created in the city for women, homosexuals, and immigrants. Focusing on the different types of framing within the collective action frame, it became clear that IHHO mainly focused on diagnostic framing. The prognostic and motivational framing receive less attention. One possible explanation for this is that the military tradition is so deeply intertwined with the Four Days Marches and taken for granted that more attention should be paid to bringing the public into contact with IHHO's points of view.

Comparing the collective action frames of IHHO with the frames presented in the newspaper and legal documents, above all, it should be stated that both collective action frames are adopted. Every year attention is paid to the positions of IHHO, which mention both the aversion to the military and the oppressive atmosphere during the festivities in the city. The value judgement of the newspaper is less present here as the years progress. On the other hand, support is found with other pacifist movements in Nijmegen, a part on which the motivational framing was focused.

Focussing more on the submitted articles to the author, it must be said first that the protest has certainly attracted attention. Regarding the documents in *de Gelderlander*, the protest has caused a lot of discussions every year, given the number of letters published. Besides, it emerged from an interview with a resident that the audience likes to watch a little longer for sensation-related purposes to see IHHO pass. IHHO was mentioned here in the same breath with the American and Israeli troops, so it can be said that they certainly have gained name recognition. However, when focussing on the content of the letters, it is striking that many of them are directed against IHHO. The way in which IHHO protest; the songs; and especially the inscription on viaducts do not appeal. Moreover, the authors disagree with the views of IHHO, the group would ignore the history of the Four Days Marches and the interdependence with the army.

The practice theory provides an explanation for this reaction of the opponents. IHHO makes the use of different frames that differ in the degree of extremity. Because these frames are not formulated within the social capital of the Four Days Marches and are contrary to them, this ensures that the message of IHHO is not heard. Within the Four Days Marches field, these frames from IHHO were a threat to the continuation of the tradition of the Marches. Within the field, people therefore feel attacked and threatened, so the IHHO message is not heard and opponents get defensive instead. This makes the dialogue between the IHHO and their opponents difficult, resulting in a tense situations in which there are abuse and incidental use of violence.

There are other developments regarding the administrative level. The exclusion of future participation in 1984 ensures that IHHO can no longer spread its message as a participant of the Four Days Marches. However, the lawsuit that has been instituted ensures that the protest group continues to receive a lot of media attention even after the Four Days Marches. Although this discussion also calls into question the degree of freedom of expression, the name IHHO is mentioned every time. The same applies to the behaviour of the mayor about which questions are asked. Fierce criticism comes from the city council, the freedom of speech would be compromised by its behaviour and the independence of the mayor may be questioned. Although the last two examples do not fully show the frames of IHHO, the group is in the spotlight during this discussion. At the administrative level, this discussion even reaches the House of Commons, wherein 1990 questions are asked about the weapons that the military carries with them during the Four Days Marches.

To answer the main question of this thesis, it can be stated that IHHO has partly successfully used framing to advance social protest during the Nijmegen Four Days Marches in the period 1979-1984. It is important here that the degree of the extremity of the different variations of the collective action frames be observed. Some documents of IHHO indicated that they only wanted to initiate the discussion because of the obvious presence of the weapons. Requesting attention to this matter has certainly succeeded. Extreme frames that focused on the removal of the army from the Four Days Marches have proved to be hopeless, particularly because of the intertwining between, and the history of the Four Days Marches. However, the carrying of weapons has been banned and they disappeared from the streets. The attention that IHHO has requested for this matter has certainly contributed to this and ensured long-term success. The end of the Cold War is also a major cause of the changed military aspect of the Marches. Earlier 'enemies' such as the Poles, Russians, and Czechs are just walking along. Besides, the participation of a platoon of Arms Control Inspectors is symbolic of this turnaround, where, among other things, Americans and Russians walk together.¹¹⁹

In this research, I have attempted to fill the gap regarding the protest during the Nijmegen Four Day Marches. IHHO shows a new special form of protest, where both the protesters (IHHO) enter the same space or field as the actors against whom they are protesting (soldiers). This creates a unique

¹¹⁹ Clemens Verhoeven, *De Vierdaagse: het grootste evenement van Nederland* (Utrecht, 2009), 136-137.

dynamic in the sports field between participants, protesters, soldiers, and the public. The physical presence and special role of protest songs have generated a lot of attention. Thereby, this research reveals an alternative way of engaging with sport, as Kilcline mentions as an important addition to the literature on the role of sport in the 1980s peace movement.

Possible further research could focus on the protest after 1984. The focus here can then be placed on how IHHO tried to defend its positions without taking part in the Four Days Marches. Framing is therefore an interesting topic to examine here because it may be questioned whether these changes outside the field. The reactions of the public could also be compared to see if they might be less negative if IHHO operates outside the field of the Marches. I am aware of the local perspective that I have used. Several newspapers could be investigated in a sequel to see how the protest was received nationwide. It may be questioned whether the resonance, consonance, and dissonance differ on a national level. Also, more archives can be consulted. Due to the limited possibilities by COVID-19, I was unable to consult the physical archives of the International Institute of Social History and the National Archive, this could be done in the future. Nonetheless, this research has shed light on an interesting episode in the history of the Four Days Marches. In a year that the Marches could not take place, this thesis has kept some of its spirit alive.

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Appendix

I. Transcription interview Theo van Stiphout (Dutch).

Due to privacy reasons, the transcription of this interview is not available.

II. Translation protest song

It is war here it seems
Even if it looks like a game
Soldiers at a walking event
It has never been so much fun
Military and civilians side by side
The army is totally part of it, BUT

We can see everything about them
A show of the latest flying machines
That millions are involved
But don't you think, your mouth is then pruned
We should all like it
But that's what bothers me