Framing Fatherhood in the Dutch newspapers articles

How fatherhood is framed and to what extent this framing is ethnically and class diverse

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Abstract

The Dutch government has extended the birth leave arrangement to stimulate fathers to take on more care responsibilities. This change marks and change how fathers are viewed and expected to be. The media tends to mirror these changing ideals and plays a role in the formation of social norms and stereotypes. Crucially, though, changing media portrayals are narrowly focused on white, middle-class fathers. Research on ethnic and class diversity within fatherhood ideals and framing is sparse. This research is focused on the framing of fatherhood in Dutch newspapers and what (ideal) types were represented in the Dutch newspapers. Furthermore, this conducted what types of masculinities were found in the news articles. 60 newspaper articles were collected from databank LexisNexis and analysed in QSR Nvivo 12.6. Four ideal types of fatherhood were distinguished and only the involved father was clearly represented in the newspapers articles. Regarding masculinity types, predominately the neotraditional type of masculinity was represented in the newspaper articles. It appears that there is a tension between the involved father and the neotraditional type of masculinity whereas the breadwinner role is central to this concept. Furthermore, work culture, managers and the company are key aspects for fathers to use the birth leave or not. In other words, the workplace plays an important role. The results showed that there was little to no diversity within the articles in terms of ethnicity or class.

Introduction

Since 1st of July 2020 birth leave is extended in The Netherlands (Ministerie Algemene zaken, 2021). Through this policy the government is trying to stimulate women to work and thereby closing the gap on the labour market between women and men. Another ambition of this policy is to encourage partners to divide work and care more equally (Ministerie Algemene zaken, 2021). These changes in policies also reflect how partners in this case, fathers, are viewed and expected to be. Social expectations as well as men's individuals expectations are also moving towards the ideal of the new involved father. This father is emotionally engaged and spends time with his children (Dermott & Miller, 2015).

The media tend to mirror these changing ideals and this matters because media portrayals matter for the formation of social norms and stereotypes. Crucially, though, changing ideals and media portrayals are narrowly focused on white, middle-class fathers (Clarke & Popay, 1998;Plantin, 2007). If this is the consistent and dominant frame of how the social world is, people may adopt this version of reality as 'facts' and/or norms (Schnell, 2001) Thus, if there is a selection which highlights certain 'facts' and exclude other information, it can result in frames that can have a powerful impact on public opinions and influence the interpretations of issues (Shen, 2004). Following these frames and created social norms, in this case being an involved fathers, is important to experience a sense of belong, due to the fact you will be socially rewarded for adhering to social norms (Meeussen & van Laar, 2018). In case you will not meet the social norms, you will be evaluated by others as 'bad father'. This narrow view excludes fathers from diverse backgrounds and ignores potentially other fatherhood identities, equally relevant to fathers and their role as caregivers. In other words there is diversity among fathers in cultural identity, social class, family arrangements and sexuality and there is not one type of fatherhood but many (Kay, 2006).

Research regarding framing of fatherhood is mostly conducted in America, where Sunderland (2000) found many of the same frames in the media of fathers. The notion is still the one of the part-time father and the mother as the main parents, which support traditional division of labour and care (Wall & Arnhold, 2007; Schmitz, 2016). The word "help" is often used in relation to fathers, implying that the primary responsibility for the job of parenting belongs to someone else (e.g. the mother). This is in line with Kaufman's research (1999) where she analysed American commercials. She finds that men are less likely to be shown with children, and those men who are pictured with children usually also have a woman present, suggesting that men are not expected to take on parenting duties alone (Wall & Arnold, 2007). Fathers are placed in the background.

The effect of dominant frames can create thoughts on how an issue is viewed by the public. The ways in how caring for children will be differently by class and ethnicity may perhaps not be visible to policymakers and employers. Resulting in that these groups are more likely to be excluded in considering the consequences of some policies. While this can be the case, it is important to first explore what dominant frames are there regarding a certain topic. Most of the research focussing on framing fatherhood is done in America. However, these results are from a couple of years ago and is not done in The Netherlands. Since the Netherlands changed their policies regarding birth leave to stimulate partners (in this case fathers) to take more care tasks, it is relevant to research what frames are used in the newspapers.

Theory

As research in this field shows, there are certainly a good number of fathering 'ideal types', from the traditional 'breadwinner' to the much celebrated father as 'new man' (Marks & Palkovitz, 2004). The types fall in a binary category of good – bad fathering. The first two types fall in the category of 'good' and the last two fall in the category of 'bad'. The first type (good) is the new and involved father, in other research also called nurtured father (Marks & Palkovitz, 2004) This 'new father' is plays an active role in day-today child care. This type of father is more involved in an intimate and expressive way, plays a larger part in the socialization process. The second type is the good-provider father. This father is able to provide the family in an economic sense. The investment of fathers in economic provision for their children has been correlated with enhanced father-child relationships, educational achievement and have behaviour adjustment and children's self-esteem (Marks & Palkovitz, 2004). The core of this type is to balance economic provision with close-at-hand father involvement (Marks & Palkovitz, 2004).

The counterpart of the second type (good-provider) is the Deadbeat father. The bad father is a man who fail to live up his parental responsibilities. Even though the good dad has possessed a variety of qualities, failure as a breadwinner has been an significant feature of the bad father. As a consequence a deadbeat father cannot pay alimony. The fourth type is known as the uninterested: paternity-free manhood, fatherhood is becoming a more voluntary role that requires a greater degree of personal and economic sacrifice and that fathers may be becoming a more differentiated population with only more highly committed males entering their ranks.

The 'good' types of fathering tend to be fathers that are well-educated and middle-to upper class. Many fathers are married to well-educated women who also provide substantial financial contributions to the family (Marks & Palkovitz, 2004). What is forgotten is that many less educated, low-to middle-class fathers (and mothers) have to work long(er) hour and sometimes have multiple jobs to have a living income (Coltrane, Parke & Adams, 2004).

Although fatherhood has changed, the expectation of fatherhood remain rooted in a traditional gendered division of labour reinforced by hegemonic masculinity (Doucet, 2004). The primary expectation for fathers reflect dominant masculine norms such as providing and lack of emotional expression (Petts, Shafer & Essig, 2018). The core of someone's masculinity is being the breadwinner (Oechsle, Müller & Hess, 2012; Behnke & Meuser, 2012). This is in line with fatherhood being determined more by the fathers position in the professional sphere than in the relational/family sphere. Research suggest that working class-men prioritize the breadwinner role and if they cannot fulfil this role, they feel their masculinity is threatened

(Shows & Gerstel, 2008). Because of the male breadwinner being the cornerstone of hegemonic masculinity and fatherhood, reshaping fatherhood affects automatically hegemonic masculinity (Oechsle et al., 2012).

Hegemonic masculinity is a fluid concept, which means that the understanding of the concept changes over time. Nevertheless it represents dominant and most culturally accepted way of being a men, whereas all "other" men have to position and have to related to (Scheibling, 2020; Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Connell's work on the understanding of masculinity is widely known and used to understand the formation, practices and meaning of masculinity within a range of contexts (Moller, 2007). The core of the concept is the recognition that there are multiple forms of masculinity and there is a power difference between them (Demetriou, 2001, p.343) In other words, hegemonic masculinity solely exist in relation to sub-dominant forms of masculinity and also femininity (Conell, 2005; Randles, 2018). It is crucial to take into account the hierarchy of masculinities.

Connell (2005) & Messerschmidt (2019) have distinguished four types of nonhegemonic masculinities related to hegemonic masculinity. Complicit masculinities do not actually embody hegemonic masculinity yet through practice realize some of the benefits of unequal gender relations and consequently when practiced help sustain hegemonic masculinity; second, subordinate masculinities are constructed as lesser than or aberrant and deviant to hegemonic masculinity, such as effeminate men; third, marginalized masculinities are trivialized and/or discriminated against because of unequal relations external to gender relations, such as class, race, ethnicity, and age; and finally, protest masculinities are constructed as compensatory hyper masculinities that are formed in reaction to social positions lacking economic and political power (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) It is crucial to take into account the hierarchy of masculinities. This hierarchy changes over time. While only a minority of men might enact exactly the hegemonic masculinity, it is certainly a normative way of viewing what it means to be a men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Two models of masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity is difficult to operationalize and therefore components of types of masculinities are focused on. The first one being the dominant "neotraditional model" (Shows & Gerstel, 2008) in which men set breadwinning and job prospects first and rely on their partners for daily care of children. Another key aspect of neotraditional masculinity is heterosexuality (Jewkes, Morrell, Heaern, Lundqvist, Blackbeard, Lindegger, Quayle, Sikweyiya & Gottzén, 2015).

Men have to prove manliness through competition in the workplace (Kimmel, 2009). Financial provision is one of the most enduring parts of what it means to be a man (Griswold 1993; Scheibling, 2005). The second is known for the more egalitarian model, where there is an more equal share in the daily care of children (Townsend, 2002). Furthermore, this egalitarian model is based on authenticity and self-realization (Kaplan, Rosenmann & Shuhendler, 2016). These men take an overall and nurturing perspective on their self and their relationship with someone else (Kaplan et al., 2016)

However, one could argue that hybrid masculinity fits better then categorizing masculinity in traditional masculinity and egalitarian masculinity. It can be seen as mixing traditional masculinity and egalitarian masculinity (Randles, 2018). This means that some elements of the traditional masculinity are being reproduced, while other elements are dismissed or changed. (Doucet, 2006; Randles, 2018). This hybrid form of masculinity mostly rejects elements such as being incapable of expressing emotions and over display of domination (Randles, 2018). Overall, masculinity is a social act and it exists due to the interaction of people in everyday life (Connell, 2010).

Investigations of masculinities among a diverse population of fathers is fragmented. Cross-cultural comparisons reveal that the definition of good fatherhood and the expectations of men's involvement with their children differ from one culture to another (Miller & Maiter, 2008). Townsend (2002) outlines U.S. cultural assumptions about men's engagement with children. The fathers has multiple responsibilities, such as to be married to the mother, to live with his children, and to provide and protect the children. In the Netherlands, the majority thinks it is acceptable the father is not married to the mother (Conkova & Ory, 2016). Research (Conkova & Ory, 2016) shows that 72% thinks it is both women and men's responsibility to earn money. On the contrary, 28% thinks that earning money is solely a men's task. Regarding to media framing of fatherhood in the Dutch newspapers, I expect that there is a predominately a frame of the involved father.

A lot of research is conducted in America media outlets and research shows that atherhood is framed differently for different ethnic groups. Taking into account the diversity within the Latino population, these families are portrayed for their great emphasis on the importance of child-rearing on the family bond and on the other hand Latino fathers are described as authoritarian and distant. While in reality, low-income Mexican-American fathers, compared to American White men, were more involved in hobbies, games, shopping, cooking activities with their children (Maiter & Miller, 2008; Coltrane, Parke & Adams, 2004).

Compared to the general population in the United States, Latino families are more likely to be working poor, two-parent families, with responsibilities within the family as well as within the extended families (Cabrera & Coll, 2004, Miller & Maiter, 2008). Due to their economic position, a lot of Latino families face challenge due to the exposure to risk factors. For example, school dropout, crime, victimization, and teenage pregnancy (Coltrane et al., 2004).

Focussing on the media portrayals of African-American men, they are likely to be portrayed in some type of criminal activity. And if they are involved in raising children, they are often displayed as the absent father who is uninvolved in the upbringing. According to Smith, Krohn, Chu and Best (2005) there is little literature about the relationship between African-American men and their children. Most of the literature is about African – American as dysfunctional, deviant and having little or no presence in their children's lives. The literature seems to reflect the public's view of African-American fathers as financially irresponsible, hyper masculine, and uninvolved (Smith et al., 2005).

Thus, cross-cultural comparisons of fatherhood are on the one hand necessary to realize and know that fatherhood can be very different between people, families, neighbourhoods, cities and countries and take into account these differences where possible in policies, films, movies, books. On the other hand it is crucial to avoid producing caricatures of cultures. The use of a cultural lens for understanding fathering practices is helpful only when the definition of culture is expanded beyond ethnicity to include race, gender, sexual orientation, religion, and economic standing. How these variables intersect will be unique for each father.

Despite the growing research on fatherhood more generally, the research on fathering among diverse racial and ethnic groups is sparse and focused primarily on the US situation (Miller & Maiter, 2008).There is little know about the framing of fatherhood in other contexts, such as in the Netherlands. Therefore, the research question will be: To what extent is the framing of ideals of fatherhood in the Dutch media ethnically or class diverse? How can this framing be explained in relation to hegemonic masculinities? The subquestions are "What types of masculinities are represented in the Dutch newspapers? What types of fatherhood are represented in the Dutch newspapers? My expectations regarding the framing of fatherhood in Dutch media is that there will be little to no diversity regarding ethnic or class within fatherhood. If any, the portrayal tends to be stereotypical or monolith. Masculinity types that are represented in the Dutch newspapers will be the egalitarian one, rather than the neotraditional or the hybrid type.

Research question and subquestions

To what extent is the framing of ideals of fatherhood in the Dutch media ethnically and/or class diverse? How can this framing be explained in relation to hegemonic masculinities?

The research question is divided in two subquestions:

1. What type of masculinities are represented in Dutch media?
2. What ideal(types) of fatherhood are represented in Dutch media and to what extent are these class and ethnically diverse?

Design & procedure

Knowledge about the masculinity types and ideal types of fatherhood represented in the media can be studied by a framing analysis. The media is used as an indicator for the "cultural temperature" of society and therefore a reflection of cultural change (Foley, Ward , McNaughton, 2019). While media has changed over time , media content still reveal assumption of public discussions and issues (Keller, 2012). The understandings of an issue is suggested to concentrated around the most dominant or consistent frame(s) presented by the media (Foley et al., 2019). The frames are related to people's way of making sense of the world. According to Entman (1993) frames in the news are there to "*select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation"* (1993, p. 52). In other words frames are key components of ideas or story lines. These ideas and story lines provide meaning to events (Wagner and Gruszczynski, 2016). These frames stimulate a specific version of reality (Wagner and Gruszczynski, 2016).

Specifically, this framing analysis is theory based, meaning it will be partly deductive. According to theory some concepts will be used as a lens, such as *mannelijkheid, neotraditionele mannelijkheid, egalitaire mannelijkheid, vaderschap, ethniciteit en klasse.*

Sampling

Newspaper articles will be used for the framing analysis, which means that the participants are newspaper articles. Newspaper articles are chosen due the access to decennia of articles. Other forms of media were not chosen due to the lack of availability. The news articles will be collected in LexisNexis database in The Netherlands. To collect valuable news articles for the framing analysis, it is crucial to select an period in which fatherhood was an topic of focus. The

timeframe was 3 months before and after birth leave for fathers was extended from 2 up to 5 days, 31/03/2020 and 31/10/2020. A first exploration of articles was done by using words such as: *vaderschapsverlof, goed vaderschap and ideale vader*. All of the articles are written in Dutch and terms used are also in Dutch. During the exploration the following criteria were used: timeframe 31/03/2020 – 31/10/2020, type of publication are newspapers. In the first exploration the 5 largest newspapers were used. Based on printed-year-round 2016/2017 the 5 largest newspapers are De Telegraaf, Algemeen Dagblad, NRC (Handelsblad) De Volkskrant & Trouw. Due to the media used as an indicator of 'cultural temperature', the decision was made to use all newspapers in The Netherlands.

The results the first exploration is written in table 1.

Table 1.

Timeframe	Criteria	Terms	Results	Usefull
31-03-2020	Newspapers	Vaderschapsverlof	63	2
31-03-2020	Newspapers	Goed vaderschap	5	0
31-03-2020	Newspapers	Ideale vader	14	0

The numbers of articles are not sufficient, so the second attempt was by using a wider timeframe, namely, 1st October 2018 till 1st October 2020, in this timeframe birth leave was extended to 5 days instead of 2 days. The type of publication is still 'Newspapers'. In appendix 1 there is an overview written what terms are used and the results of those used terms. Sometimes articles will be twice or even more times available. So, there is also controlled for the same writers and titles. Articles are considerate useful if the introduction and/or the title states something about, birth leave, sharing household tasks and fatherhood.

If other relevant topics were involved in articles, those topics and terms were used for a new search, for example manmade. Manmade is an documentary made by Sunny Bergmans. There were some interviews with Sunny about Manmade in the newspapers. Manmade is an documentary focussing on what do we consider as manly and what the impact of stereotypes on men's lives are. How do the men in documentary relate to the ideas of what a man should be and look like?

Data collection

60 articles were found eligible for this framing analysis. Based on literature the following codes are expected in the articles: *man als kostwinner, betrokken vaderschap, verzorgende vader, vaderschapsverlof als middel voor gendergelijkheid, moeder als hoofdverantwoordelijk van het gezin.* In appendix X the aspects of the concepts are written down and used as operationalization. This is based on the theory stated earlier. Focussing on ethnicity there are two perspectives on how ethnicity is conceptualized. The first one is the ethnic identity someone ascribed to themselves (Clarke, Colantonio, Rhodes & Escobar 2008). The second perspective is the one which is based on ethnic or cultural group someone's ancestors belong. Traits to consider are language, surnames, region of birth can be used as proxies. For this research the articles are already published which makes unfeasible to gather more information about someone's ethnicity. Therefore, the second perspective is used for this research.

Table 3.

Neotraditional masculinity (Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Gerson, 2007)	- Leadership - Tough - Showing emotions is weak - Financial provision - Breadwinner
Egalitarian masculinity (Townsend, 2002; Kaplan, Rosenmann and Shuhendler,2017)	- Equality - Value authenticity, - Self-realization - Self-growth - Holistic and nurturing perspective on the self and in relationship with others.
Involved father (Furstenberg, 1988; Pleck, 2004)	- Nurturing, - Taking care of - More present
Good-provider father (Furstenberg, 1988; Palkovitz, 2002; Pleck, 2004;)	- Nurturing - Emphasis on financial support
Deadbeat father (Furstenberg, 1988; Pleck, 2004)	Failure as a breadwinner

	• Not paying alimony
	• Uninvolved
Uninterested father (Furstenberg, 1988; Pleck, 2004)	• Fatherhood is voluntary
	• Abandonment
Class (Goldthorpe, 2010, Barata, 2013)	• Income
	• Job
	• Education
Ethnicity (Clarke et al., 2008)	• Culture
	• Language
	• Surnames
	• Region of birth

Analysis

For a qualitative research it is important to identify the most important elements and write them up into a coherent and convincing `story´ that answers the research questions and provides insights that are loyal to the date (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2013, & Linneberg & Kosgaard, 2019). QSR Nvivo 12.6 will be used to code the articles. Through coding researchers will acquire deep, comprehensive and thorough insights into the data (Linneberg & Kosgaard,2019). It will allow you to collect things you have not noticed during the actual data collection. The predefined list of codes is added in the appendix. The analysis consisted of two rounds of coding. Codes and subcodes were constructed based on theory, which means a part of this research is theory-driven and deductive. This approach helps focus the coding on those issues that are known to be important in the existing literature. While engaging in deductive coding, the process can still be flexible. Due to the process still being flexible a combination of deductive and inductive coding is possible, this is also known as blended approach (Graebner, Martin & Roundy, 2012 & Linneberg & Kosgaard, 2019). Deductive approach ensure structure and theoretical relevance from the start, while still enabling a closer inductive exploration of the deductive codes in later coding cycles. By doing this, the researcher remains open to surprises while at the same time staying attuned to existing theories.

There will be coded in two cycles. The first-cycle coding will be descriptive coding from an deductive point of view. Everything that does not fit in the pre-existing codes are placed under new codes. In the second-cycle, I will look at the coded fragments again, to refine those choices; explore patterns between the first-cycle codes and categorize first-cycle codes if

necessary (Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019). In both rounds, memos are used to reflect on choices and to keep thinking about the analysis. The last cycle is the reporting process. This means that the main categories (codes) and possible extra categories that have emerged during coding, are presented on the basis of fitting quotes from the news articles. It is important because it makes the analysis more systematic and a possibility to create a matrix or a model. After the two rounds of coding, there will be an reflection on the results of analysis as well on the expectations. Are the results in line with the expectation? If not, what could be a fitting explanation?

Validity & Reliability

In qualitative research, validity means ''appropriateness'' of the tools, processes, and data (Leung, 2015). To ensure validity in this research, the process is well-documented (Leung, 2015). There is an in-and-exclusion criteria for the articles. To enhance the reliability a minimum of 60 articles are collected. A minimum of 60 articles were found to enhance the reliability. Memos are used to

Reflection on ethics

Since this study consists of a framing analysis, this study may be ethically problematic due to problems with obtaining informed consent of the authors of the articles. In the utilitarianism framework where ethical choices are based on consequences, one could argue that whilst there is some difficulty of obtaining informed consent, the insights on how fatherhood is framed is valuable, since there is little research available (Casali, 2009). In other words, the knowledge from this research is outweighing the fact that authors cannot give informed consent over their articles. On the other hand, the articles are already accessible for the public. While there is no influence on the ethics on their behalf, the newspapers have their own procedure on what they publish. Thus, I have to trust that they are acting on their shared moral values and the authors approved the publication in the newspaper.(Casali, 2009).

Due to the fact that anonymity is crucial, data management is as well. The data of the magazines and newspapers will be stored on U-drive. While I will use my own device to write my thesis and therefore the result of the analysis, I will save everything on the U-drive and nothing will be saved on my own device. If needed, I will transport the data via a secure connection, such as Surf file sender (Bos, Hoeneveld, van Steenbergen, Abma, van Meijl, & Lepianka, 2020).

My own position as researcher will to a certain extent influence the research (Barret, et al.,2020). To limit this, I will write down the concepts, conceptualisation, operationalisation and codes and some subcodes. After obtaining all the articles, memos are used to remember and argue the choices that were made.

Results

The research question is *"To what extent is the framing of ideals of fatherhood in the Dutch media ethnically and/or class diverse? How can this framing be explained in relation to hegemonic masculinities?".*

The research question is divided in two sub questions:

1. What type of masculinities are represented in Dutch media?
2. What ideal(types) of fatherhood are represented in Dutch media and to what extent are these class and ethnically diverse?

As stated in the theoretical framework the expectation was that the framing in (ideals) of fatherhood will be little to ethnically or class diverse. Furthermore, the ideal type what will be mentioned most is the involved father. The types of masculinities represented in the Dutch media will be predominately the egalitarian one rather than the neotraditional or the hybrid one.

Types of fatherhood

Four types of fatherhood were distinguished in the theoretical framework, two of which appear in the framing of fatherhood in Dutch media from the involved father and the good-provider father. The two frames found are exclusively related to the 'good' types of fatherhood. This involved father plays an active role in the details of day-to-day child care and is more involved in an intimate and expressive way. The involved father frame is evident in many articles. For example, in the following articles :

"Ik vind het belangrijk dat we allebei werken en zorgen, dat is gelijkwaardiger." (NRC, 27 juni & 28 juni 2020)

Similarly, an article in the Telegraaf.

Man moet helpen bij zorg' (Telegraaf, 3 juli 2020)

It seems to create a frame of fathers that are more willing to be involved. This might be the case, but it is still unclear how the tasks are divided and what care responsibilities fathers have. According to contemporary research fathers are still likely to do less than their (female) partner regarding to care. Mothers spend more time in physical care such as changing a diaper, cooking

and cleaning than fathers do. Fathers tend to spend their time in play, talking and recreational (Craig, 2002a; Craig;2006). Consequently, this shows that the time mothers spend on care tasks are more demanding than the time fathers spend in care tasks. Thus, even if fathers do spend more time on care tasks, it does not necessarily result in fathers relieving mothers on care tasks (Craig, 2006)

The second ideal type of father, who is involved but only in an economic sense, is implicitly framed in several articles that discuss the provision of birth leave for fathers. Economic provision and promotions are mentioned as important components for men to use or not use parental leave. A crucial barrier for fathers to use their birth leave is the financial consequences. Fathers are afraid that they will be denied promotion if they leave for 6 weeks.

"Werkende vaders die geen kraam- of ouderschapsverlof opnemen doen dat vanwege financiële redenen en omdat ze bang zijn dat het hun carrière schaadt." (Trouw, 19 juni 2019)

Besides the chance of being denied promotion, for some fathers birth leave is also framed as unattainable due to that some cannot miss 30% of their salary for six weeks. This frame is used by researches and employees working at FNV to emphasize their worries about how accessible this birth leave is.

"Ook de WIEG werpt financiële obstakels op, vreest Judy Hoffer van vakbond FNV, omdat na de eerste week vrij slechts 70 procent van het salaris wordt vergoed. Hoffer, dagelijks bestuurder bij de vakbond, noemt dat „ontzettend jammer". „Mensen moeten zo een derde van het inkomen inleveren. Dat kunnen middenen lage inkomens vaak niet missen." Ze vreest dat partnerverlof daarmee alleen bereikbaar zal zijn voor „mensen die het zich kunnen veroorloven, vooral hoger opgeleiden." (NRC, 27&28 juni 2020)

No articles used a frame of a deadbeat father, either in how fathers are described in news articles or in quotes taken from fathers themselves. Frames of the remaining two types of fathers, the the deadbeat father and the uninterested father, could not be identified as frames in the articles.

What is striking here, that there is little to no information about the ethnic or class background of the fathers or journalists. While there are some fathers interviewed with their names, such as "Bas" and "Willem", which could be described as typical Dutch names, or at least sounding

Dutch. Exclusively, based on their names, we cannot jump into the conclusion that these fathers are white, but it does give the impression that those men are white.

The newspaper articles showed different types of fathers and opinions on what a father should do but it seems to highlight and therefore suggest that most of the father expressed their preference to be an involved father. The majority of articles analysed relied on the frame of the involved father, using quotes from fathers stating it is their responsibility to protect and take care of your family.

Masculinity

Masculinity can be broadly defined as primarily neotraditional or egalitarian. Neotraditional masculinity is mostly explained as masculinity based on breadwinner role and relying on their partner to take care of the children. To some extent neotraditional masculinity overlaps with the second type of fatherhood, namely the good-provider. The neotraditional type is mostly mentioned in the articles, but rather as an comparison to the past or something that is not modern anymore. Today's men's are also trying to broaden the neotraditional type.

"De moderne man lijkt echter steeds meer af te willen van de stereotypering van mannelijkheid en het beperkende keurslijf." (AD, 23 mei 2019)

Some news articles give the impression that fathers are developing (new) ways to integrate a more softer approach of what it means to be a man. For example some fathers are organizing so called "father cafés", where fathers come together to have a chat and a drink. Here in these father cafés different topics are discussed such as parenting styles and their own emotions.

"Een halfuur geleden, rond half acht, opende Timmermans de avond: "Welkom mannen. Vaders. Dit is een plek waar we goed en eerlijk met elkaar in gesprek kunnen. En diep - we gaan zo diep mogelijk. Belangrijk: luister echt naar elkaar. Reageer vanuit je eigen ervaring op de ander. Het is goed dat jullie er zijn. Dit zie je niet veel, het is pionierswerk. We voelen ons hier gehoord. Dat is de magie van de avond." (Het parool, 17 december 2019)

Based on this research, it would suggest there is a tension between the frame of fathers as increasingly involved in the care for their children while at the same time the frame neotraditional masculinity. Where hegemonic masculinity is the dominant and most culturally

accepted way of being a man (Scheibling, 2020; Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).From the analysis of these Dutch newspaper articles, it would appear that most fathers are still expected to live up to the neotraditional masculine ideal that dominates Dutch society.

This tension shows that there are still barriers in place for fathers who wish to be more involved. An good example is the workplace. Based on my analysis there are three factors that hinder fathers to be more involved, namely culture, managers and how big the company is.

In term of culture employees are afraid taking 6 weeks leave is not socially accepted. The ideal employee is still the one who is always available. Most companies expect that employees are able and willing to work long hours with no other demands on their time (Bailyn 2003; Sallee, 2012). Organizations structures exclude participation from those with significant responsibilities in the home (Bailyn 2003; Sallee, 2012). Blair-Loy calls this phenomena the work devotion schema, meaning work demands an immense time commitment and emotional allegiance to one's employer or career. Which is usually a requirement for senior executive positions (Blair-Loy, 2001).

"Ze willen het wel opnemen, maar durven het nog onvoldoende aan te kaarten bij leidinggevenden en collega's en ervaren nog financiële belemmeringen." (Trouw, 14 juni, 2019)

Secondly, fathers are experiencing obstacles to discuss this with their manager and according to research a lot of fathers have not felt that birth leave was valued in the company.

"Vaders hebben niet het idee dat hun werkgever het belangrijk vindt dat zij het verlof opnemen, blijkt uit recent internationaal onderzoek van MenCare, een coalitie van onder meer Oxfam, Save the Children en Plan Internationaal. De helft van de ondervraagde Nederlanders zegt dat hun manager vaderschapsverlof geen prioriteit vindt." (Trouw, 14 juni, 2019).

Thus, the culture in the company is an important factor to using the birth leave or not. Within organisations, what the manager does is also important. If the manager is using these six weeks and the manger encouraged you to do so as well, it is reasonable that it will be more likely that employees will use the birth leave too (Den Dulk, Yerkes, Peper, 2012). Moreover, the managers of companies play an important role in stimulating the implementation of policies

within the company (Major and Litano, 2016). How supportive managers are depends on to what extent they view work-family arrangements beneficial for the company.

Thirdly, which company you work for plays a role. Larger companies can afford to pay their employees the 'missing' 30% during the 6 weeks off, while smaller companies do not always have the money to pay employees the rest. Some large companies have introduced the extra weeks off on their own initiative to be a modern organisation. Taking this into account, it is expected that the differences between large companies and smaller companies is even increasing rather than decreasing.

"Wat de verschillen nog groter maakt: juist bij grote bedrijven waar veel hoger opgeleide mensen werken, zoals ABN Amro, chemieconcern DSM en verzekeraar Achmea, hoeven vaders en medemoeders geen inkomsten mis te lopen. Die bedrijven hebben in hun cao vastgelegd dat ze het bedrag aanvullen tot 100 procent. ,,Maar het mkb heeft het geld niet altijd om dat ook te doen", zegt Hoffer. Daar ligt, vindt ze, een taak voor de overheid. ,,Iedereen, ongeacht inkomen of werkgever, heeft recht op deze start met hun kind." (NRC, 27 juni, 2020)

Thus, different factors influence the choice of fathers to use birth leave and take on more care tasks, such as which company you work for, if it is accepted to leave for 6 weeks and the managers behaviour.

Discussion & Conclusion

The predominant type of masculinity was the neotraditional type of masculinity. However, this was mostly stated in something that is in the past or a masculinity type that has to evolve. For example, men were 'obligated' to be the breadwinner and this type of man is tough, has leadership skills and does not show his emotions and weaknesses. It appears that these ideals are evolving into ideas where man are able to express their emotions and are also able to care for the children. The egalitarian type of masculinity is not mentioned or found in the articles. Simultaneously, there was nothing mentioned about leaving the neotraditional type of masculinity behind, but rather something that exist next to each other. In the literately this phenomena is known as hybrid masculinity (Bridges & Pascoe, 2014).

The ideal(types) of fatherhood represented in Dutch media are predominately the involved father. This includes that fathers are also involved in caring for their offspring. The bad types of fathers (unattended & uninterested fathers) are barely found in the articles and only mentioned as something that is in the past and that nowadays fathers have to be involved, or at least want to be involved. Focussing on ethnic and class diversity within the framing fatherhood, there is almost none. The latter, is solely mentioned when articles are writing about extended birth leave, which is not feasible for low-income partners. The former is not mentioned at all.

According to the results, work culture, managers, and which company are important factors for fathers to use birth leave or not. This is in line with the fact that workplace work-family policies can encourage the public policies already in place (Den Dulk, Peters & Poutsma, 2012; Den Dulk, Yerkes & Peper, 2017). Workplace work-family policies can complement the public policies by offering such as flexible working hours and working from home (Den Dulk, et al, 2012; Den Dulk, et al., 2017). Furthermore, there are different types of supports a workplace could offer, namely, childcare support and enhance leave arrangements which support workers to combine work and care. While flexible work arrangements are not exclusively for workers with care responsibilities. Moreover, according to a analysis conducted across European companies that focused on state and workplace support, it showed that people working in the public sector and large organizations have the most policy support (Den Dulk,

According to research putting in place work-family policies is not always enough for fathers to decide to use the policies These work-family policies need to be implemented into the workplace culture, so all the employees are aware about the responsibilities we all have outside work (Den Dulk et al., 2017). Which is difficult to obtain partly due to the idea that the ideal worker is someone who is always available. Therefore, shared norms within the workplace create 'unwritten rules' on how to behave, what to wear and also what to do or not. Research

shows that when the norms are in conflict with the policies, the employees will make little use of them (Dikkers et al.,2007; Den Dulk et al., 2017). For most companies it is easier to introduce new policies rather than to change the culture within the company.

The managers of companies play an important role in stimulating the implementation of policies within the company (Major and Litano, 2016). How supportive managers are depends on to what extent they view work-family arrangements beneficial for the company. Focussing on the strengths of this research is that conducting research by using a framing analysis, is limited in The Netherlands, let alone by focussing on the Dutch newspapers. Furthermore, this research tried to include ethnicity and class within the analysis, which is mostly not the case in other research. At least 60 articles are coded and used and therefore this amount is sufficient to conduct a framing analysis. This was a first exploration in this topic meaning a qualitative approach is suitable.

Focussing on the limitations of this research is that the results are not generalizable to a larger audience, due to the narrow focus on newspapers and the smaller sample, but due to time constraints this was not feasible. These fatherhood types do not say anything about equal share between the father and the partner. It just say something about the type of father, but it is not very detailed how to operationalize these types. Perhaps further research could explore that operationalisation. For instance, what does it mean to be involved? Is there a minimum of time spend on care tasks before you will be labelled as involved? Is the focus only on (equal) share, or is there so a focus on what types of care tasks partners do. Research shows that fathers still tend to do the certain type of tasks, such as taking the garbage out, takes care of the vehicles, while their partners tend to do more 'feminine' types of tasks, such as cleaning and washing (Craig, 2006). Concepts such as hegemonic masculinity are difficult to operationalize and therefore the choice was made to focus on the aspects within hegemonic masculinity (neotraditional & egalitarian). It was hard to explain the results in the light of hegemonic masculinity. In future research this would an interesting concept to research, by trying to operationalize it based on various research focussing on this topic. The operationalisation of class and ethnicity could be revised and questioned to what extent this can be measured through text, where these components were not the main topic of focus. On the other hand it is striking that it looks like all these fathers and journalists have Dutch sounding names, which gives the impression for them being a white Dutch citizen. Further research could conduct multiple framing analysis to see if this results still stands. Perhaps it is interesting to compare newspapers over time in which frames they use about whom. Another suggestion could be to do a framing analysis focussing on TV series, movies, books and compare them to the frames in newspapers.

It is important to notice that intersectionality includes more than ethnicity & class, it includes also gender, sexuality, (dis)abled bodies and family composition. It is questionable if a framings analysis is the best research method to explore these intersections. Therefore, it appears that other types of research are likely to be more suitable. Surveys have the ability to operationalize intersections of gender and race (Steinbugler, Press & Dias, 2006).Investigating these intersections give scholars the opportunity to better comprehend the potential consequences of gender/racial imagery (Steinbugler et al., 2006) Combining all these intersections result in a unique set of experiences (Steinbugler, et al., ,2006) specific locations in this matrix of intersecting hierarchies create a unique set of experiences that involve more than the sum of their parts and reflect the multiplicative nature of intersecting oppressions (Collins [1991] 2000; King 1988; Steinbugler et al., 2006).

This research is limited to the frames in the Dutch media, it would be interesting to further explore the relation if any, between media framing and public policies.

Conclusion

Thus, based on this research only two types of fatherhood are represented in the Dutch newspaper article, namely, the involved father and the good-provider father. The type of masculinity represented is predominately neotraditional type. Based on the used newspaper articles, there is little to no diversity in the framing in terms of class and ethnicity. Class is only mentioned in the light of the extension of the birth leave. Nowadays the research on the diversity within fatherhood (frames) is sparse, so it would be valuable to conduct more research and thereby taking into account the diversity in terms of class and ethnicity. Furthermore, it would to interesting to explore the consequences of the absence of class and ethnicity within these media frames. It is important to elaborate on the matrix of these intersections and that the intersections also include, sexuality, (dis)abled bodied and for this area also family composition.

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Appendixes
Table 2.

Timeframe	Criteria	Terms	Subterms	Results	Usefull
01/10/2018 - 01/10/2020	Newspapers	Rol van vaders	-	40	3
01/10/2018 - 01/10/2020	Newspapers	Rolverdeling vaders moeders	vaders	<10.000	
01/10/2018 - 01/10/2020	Newspapers	Rolverdeling vaders, moeders	Geboorteverlof, partnerverlof	4234	13
01/10/2018 - 01/10/2020	Newspapers	Rolverdeling vaders, moeders	Geboorteverlof, partnerverlof	13	5
01/10/2018 - 01/10/2020	Newspapers	Man en zorg	Vader, rolverdeling	7	1
01/10/2018 - 01/10/2020	Newspapers	Man en zorg	Zorgende vader	6	1
01/10/2018 - 01/10/2020	Newspapers	Man en zorg	Vader, ouderschap	47	1
01/10/2018 - 01/10/2020	Newspapers	Mannelijkheid en vaderschap	vader	287	8
01/10/2018 - 01/10/2020	Newspapers	Traditionele mannelijkheid		24	6
01/10/2018 - 01/10/2020	Newspapers	Echte mannen, vaderschap	Vader, vaderschap, mannen	225	20

Nodes

Name	Description
Bedrijfscultuur invloed op het opnemen van verlof	
Competitieve arbeidscultuur	
De ideale mannelijke werknemer	
Manager moet zelf ook verlof opnemen	
maar niettemin een poging af te rekenen met het idee dat een echte man dit soort	
Mannelijkheid	
Definitie onduidelijk	
Egalitair	
Giftige mannelijkheid	
Hybrid	
Kwestie van cultuur	
Neotraditioneel	
Hiërarchie	
Man als kostwinner	

Name	Description
Man als leider	
Man die geen emoties toont	
Reden verval traditionele mannelijkheid	
Vaderschap	
Ideaaltypen vaders	
'Goede typen' vaders	
De betrokken vader	
De goede provider	
Kritiek op betrokken vaders	
Klassieke vader	
Slechte typen vaders	
De afwezige vader	
De ongeïnteresseerde vader	
Mix van ideaaltypen	
Vadercafé	
Verdeling zorg vaders en moeders	
cultuur	

Name	Description
Factoren die de rolverdeling beïnvloeden	
Aantal uur dat moeders werken	
Bedrijfscultuur	
Biologische verschillen tussen man en vrouw	
Gatekeeping van moeders	
Moederschapsideologie	
Historische verklaring voor moederschapsideologie	
Vader wordt vergeten bij verloskundigen	
Man verdient geld uit noodzaak	
Mening van vaders op rolverdeling	
50-50 onnodig, doen wat past	
Moeders zorgen het meeste	
Verdeling in de praktijk	
Verlofregeling partners	

Name	Description
Argumenten voor de invoering	
Betere vader kind relatie	
Bevordering arbeidsparticipatie vrouwen	
Goed voor kind en moeder	
Bedrijven regelen zelf verlof	
Reden voor verruiming	
Ervaringen van extra verlof van vaders	
Extra tijd met kind is fijn	
Reacties op de verlofregeling	
Extra tijd met kind is fijn	
Het moet voor iedereen een recht zijn	
Lastig voor kleine bedrijven	
Te weinig	
Verlof enkel mogelijk voor hoge inkomens	
Verruiming verlof onnodig	