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TNO report - TNO 2016 P11606

| Final report

Recognizing, Explaining and Countering Norm Transgressive Behaviour on Social Media

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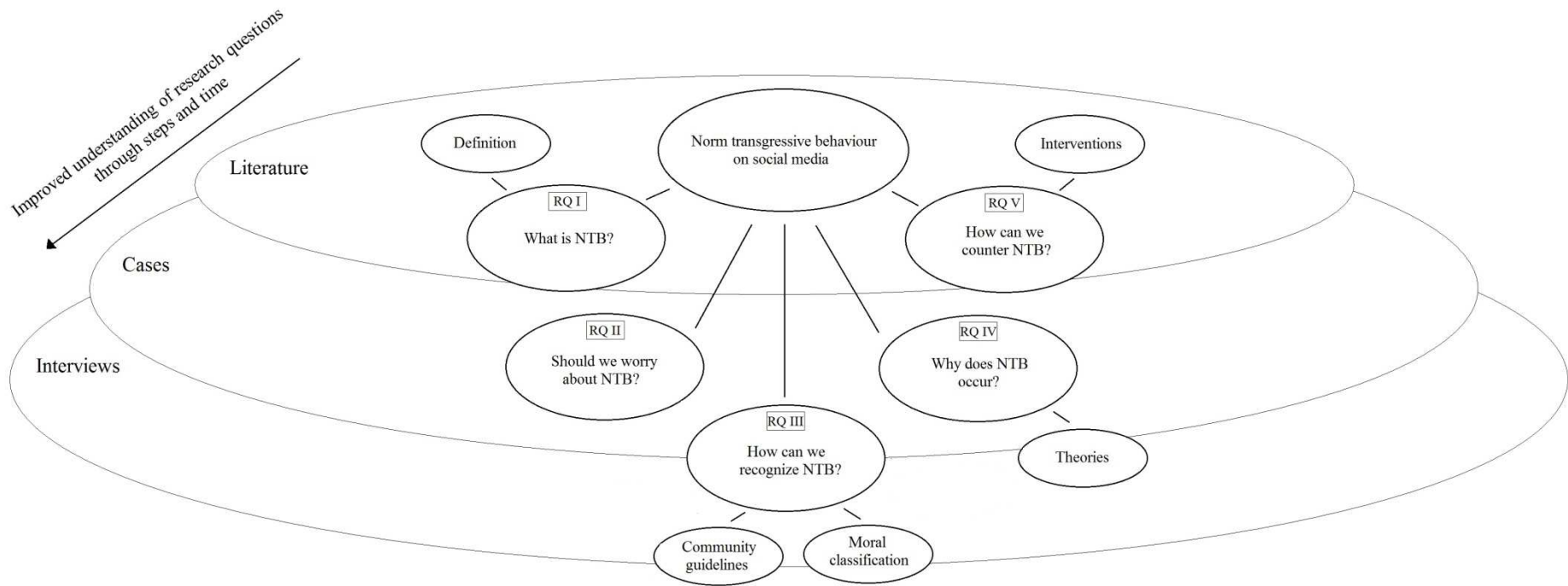|	
Number of pages	105 (incl. appendices)
Number of appendices	2

Summary

In this thesis, it is researched how norm transgressive behaviour exhibited on the Dutch domains of social media can be recognized, explained and countered. An analysis of four comment threads is conducted, of which the comments can be found on the Facebook pages of three Dutch news sites and on a nationalistic Facebook page, respectively. The comments that are included in these four cases give an idea about which behaviours can be classified under the concept of norm transgressive behaviour on social media. Based on an extensive literature research and the four cases, sociological and criminological theoretical explanations for the online norm transgressive behaviour are included, as well as first ideas for interventions to counter it.

Research design - The theoretical framework based on literature research and the analysis of the four cases is submitted to eighteen experts. They are active in the field of behavioural science/cybersecurity/social media, and possess theoretical and/or practical expertise relevant to the subject of online norm transgressive on social media. The research method of Realistic Evaluation is used to form an idea about 'What Works for Whom in Which circumstances'. A teacher-learner cycle is gone through, in which the researcher and the interviewees alternate in providing knowledge in order to come to a joint understanding of the discussed subjects. The opinions of the experts are discussed in the interviews, using a theory-driven approach: the core focus lies on retrieving the knowledge of the experts relevant to the subject of online norm transgressive behaviour on social media. The opinions of the experts about the original theory refine and enhance it: consensus and disagreements among the experts are reported, that lead to conclusions about the plausibility of theoretical explanations and interventions discussed.

Results – A definition of norm transgressive behaviour on social media is given, which is validated by the experts. Based on the interviews, it is found that the behaviour may be worrisome when it has societal effects such as the blurring of norms, social unrest and polarisation, which can be bigger than individual interests such as the freedom of speech. Community guidelines of various social media platforms are compared to the behaviours that the experts find to be norm transgressive. A classification of online norm transgressive behaviour is proposed, consisting of three moral domains and two moral issues. Behaviours in the categories of personal attacks and off-topic/insubstantial contribution appear to be especially norm transgressive to the experts, while most social media platforms do not prohibit such behaviours in their community guidelines. Of the seven theoretical explanations discussed, the experts assess the explanations about dissatisfied citizens on the societal ladder and a lack of charismatic authority for governmental leaders to be most plausible for explaining norm transgressive behaviour on social media. Of three interventions discussed, the following interventions are believed to work best to counter the online behaviour: instating a more interactive role of the government in the online domain regarding behaviour and questions of citizens, and teaching citizens a way of assessing subjective information on the internet. An additional theoretical explanation that is inspired by the contribution of the experts regards a horizontal pillarization, while an additional intervention concerns the idea of bonding and bridging. Recommendations for future research and the design of interventions are given. These recommendations advise to better look into policy regarding norm transgressive behaviour on social media, while it is simultaneously important to address a larger dissatisfaction with societal structures and governmental decisions that Dutch citizens currently seem to express in both the online and physical domain.

Improved understanding of research questions through steps and time

Literature

Cases

Interviews

Definition

Norm transgressive behaviour on social media

Interventions

RQ I
What is NTB?

RQ V
How can we counter NTB?

RQ II
Should we worry about NTB?

RQ IV
Why does NTB occur?

RQ III
How can we recognize NTB?

Theories

Community guidelines

Moral classification

NTB = Norm transgressive behaviour on social media

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Contents of figures and tables included in the this research

1 Introduction

1.1 Problem indication

Before the widespread use of the internet, the opportunities for citizens to let themselves be heard in society were more limited. When most households were not connected to the internet nor to social media, indirect communication would go from one individual to another through letters, telephone, or conversation in a pub. Spreading a message could be done in a newspaper or by using other messengers spread in public; ways of communication that are neither as effortless nor as ad hoc as the communication in the online world. An online domain in which writing a message is very unconstrained and relatively easy, is the domain of comment sections on social media. The only thing that is needed to add a contribution to the enormous stream of opinions is an internet connection and (in some cases) a personal account. Moreover, the internet makes it possible to engage with citizens from the whole world and to venture into numerous communities at the same time. The relative freedom on the internet, combined with the low costs of participating in online discussions, contribute to the fact that a lot of citizens use social media. In The Netherlands, a vast majority of citizens is present in the online domain: ninety percent of the Dutch citizens use social media (Oosterveer, 2016; Wokke, 2015).

Unfortunately, the widespread use of social media also makes its negative sides more visible. In the interaction of enormous groups of people in which each citizen has its own opinion, friction occurs. The discussions that arise among replies to posts on social media platforms seem to have become more intense. In the majority of comment sections, you can most probably find comment threads in which people with different opinions – and often from different social groups – get into arguments that are not always substantive or on-topic. Albert Benschop, who is connected to the University of Amsterdam as an internet sociologist, has observed that throughout society, there is a hardening of the tone of communication. He thinks that next to a greater visibility of negative behaviour on social media, the behaviour of citizens has actually become more coarse (Van Teeffelen, 2015). Further, 'hot topics' such as the refugee debate and criminal and terrorist activities committed by minorities especially seem to ensure a lot of online discussion, in which commenters transgress norms held in society. Benschop has also observed this development, and especially sees a blurring norm of what is acceptable to say when it comes to commenting about people from different ethnicities (Van Teeffelen, 2015).

The occurrence of norm transgressive behaviour on social media is picked up in the Dutch media as well. Multiple platforms and public figures address the negative online comments directed at them or at citizens in general. Journalist Maarten Reijnders for example, recognizes the presence of commenters who pollute the internet: 'everyone who has clicked on the comments on a news site must be familiar with them' (Reijnders, 2013). He sketches which kinds of rude commenters you can encounter in those comment sections: 'The fools who use a lot of exclamation marks to compensate their lack of every other form of punctuation'. 'The xenophobes, who manage to blame Moroccan people, even below a message about the Spanish house market'. 'And the heartless trolls who rub salt into the wound of a victim of many years of rape' (Reijnders, 2013). Writer and columnist Özcan Akyol has also been fed up with online commentary. He writes that on social media, ethical boundaries are exceeded every week (Akyol, 2016).

Akyol argues that 'indirectly, political and societal debates are influenced by the 'insane' dominating the internet, who are mistaken for concerned citizens' (Akyol, 2016). In the book 'Veel gekwetter, weinig wol', researcher Chris Aalberts and futurologist Maurits Kreijveld also write about how 'internet twaddle' influences Dutch politics. They name negative externalities such as the danger that political and cultural organisations will adapt their style of writing and content to what is popular on social media (which is often the more dramatic content; Aalberts & Kreijveld, 2011). In addition, members of our government have also spoken up about the negative ethos in the online domain. In the beginning of this year, the Dutch Deputy Prime Minister Lodewijk Asscher indicated to be fed up with the online cursing directed at him, and he publicly addressed the behaviour of his followers on his social media channels (Jach, 2016). European Commissioner and Dutch politician Frans Timmermans has also observed the increasing norm transgressive behaviour on social media, and writes that 'nowadays, the debate has equally become as coarse as it is sterile'. He observes that 'citizens scream a lot but do not listen to each other' (Timmermans, 2016). Finally, the call for a more decent online environment is also made by Dutch citizens themselves. This February for example, the Dutch photographer William Rutten launched the campaign '#BeNiceorLeave', that demonstrates against loutish behaviour on social media and has reaped a lot of support throughout the Dutch society (Van Aken, 2016). The employees of newspaper Metronieuws have joined the action of Rutten, because they also encounter a lot of norm transgressive behaviour on their Facebook page. As social media editor Dave Van Aken states: 'the filth that we must struggle through daily is taking abnormal proportions.' (Van Aken, 2016). He says that on their Facebook page with over 277,000 quite active members, 'the endless tirades and threats take the upper hand' (Van Aken, 2016).

As can be read above, citizens can go very far in what they write. In 2013, it has been demonstrated that the Dutch police researched two-hundred serious death threats per day, of the total of 35.000 that are sent (just on Twitter) daily (De Vries, 2015). It is evident that such behaviour can be considered as being norm transgressive. Depending on the norm for acceptable behaviour, using ad hominem argumentation or polluting comment sections by posting off-topic statements can also be considered as norm transgressive behaviours. Since the Dutch domains of social media do seem to harbour behaviour that is not acceptable for a part of the citizens in society, it would be interesting to know when behavioural norms are transgressed for different citizens and organisations that are active in this domain.

1.2 Social relevance

Thus, the culture of negative reactions on social media does not fare well with all citizens. Since at least five years, Dutch citizens are worried about loutish behaviour and incivility in the Dutch society. In 2011 for example, citizens rated loutish behaviour as more alarming than the economic situation, even with the latter's increasing budget cuts ("*Hufterigheid vervelender …*", 2011). In 2015, three quarters of Dutch citizens were still worried about the lack of decency in the Netherlands. They identified probable factors for this lack of decency as well: discrimination, aggression and a lack of respect (Dekker, Van Dijk, Van Houwelingen, Mensink, & Sol, 2015). In addition, the problem of antisocial and loutish behaviour is in the top ten of social problems that Dutch citizens are worried about. The issue has become thirty-three percent more important in 2015 than in previous years, according to the Dutch Issuebarometer (Spaans, 2015).

When looking at multiple studies, these worries seem justified. It is thought that an ethos of complaining and 'saying what you think' has become more and more normal in the Netherlands, and may even be preferred above a less individualised ideal of social interaction (Özdemir, 2010). Frans Timmermans writes that the debate about the freedom of speech has been going on for fifteen years, but that the fundamental right is now used as a permit to say anything that citizens urge to say (Timmermans, 2016). Unfortunately, the incivility in the present Dutch society also seems to be exhibited by a larger group of citizens instead of by a minority. It is even known to be exhibited by the middle class and the educated, who used to protest it (Özdemir, 2010). Research also finds that uncivil behaviour in The Netherlands is not reserved to more right wing citizens and politicians: unlike earlier times, the left wing elite is also said to participate in indecent behaviour (Duyvestijn, 2016). As a result of the wrangling in the Dutch politics, a part of the citizens has lost its trust in democracy, politics and its elites (Duyvestijn, 2016; Pels, 2008). Dutch sociologist Dick Pels writes that there seems to have developed a kind of civil negativism. The lost trust in politics seems to be a recipe for the rise of political populism, a form of 'anti-politics' (Pels, 2008). This overall negative feeling among Dutch citizens seems to be present on and reinforced by social media, where citizens can ventilate their discontent with politics without many preconditions. Ken Roth, The president of non-governmental organisation Human Right Watch, also observes this development that benefits from civil negativism. He says that throughout Europe, 'illiberal' democracies are being built by extreme right wing and even central political parties that 'trade in intolerance, xenophobia and fear'. Roth says that the citizens' reaction to the insecurity that this awakens is 'the sheltering in own social groups, while locking out others and blaming them for our problems and disappointments', which fosters increasing hate speech (Roth, 2016). Roth stresses the importance of countering this development: 'because they are questioning the nature of our society, we all have the duty to reject this movement in the direction of hate, exclusion, and intolerance' (Roth, 2016). In this light, it can also be said that the tolerance that The Netherlands were once known for is at stake. Some even claim that we already lost this virtue and that in other countries, the idea prevails that The Netherlands is no longer a guide in tolerance (Özdemir, 2010). The reasons given for this thought are that decency in our society is lost, and that citizens judge others based on features such as their skin colour (Özdemir, 2010). A lot of the norm transgressive behaviour that is exhibited in the Dutch domains of social media does indeed seem to be about dividing people in groups of good and bad, whether it is in distinctions of race, sex, political orientation or educational level. Negatively discussing persons for who they are and/or what group they belong to, may give rise to thinking patterns of 'us versus them'. Then, groups of citizens that contest each other's viewpoints can form, between which communication directed at reaching consensus does not seem to exist. As a result of this, tunnel vision can occur, in which own ideas are confirmed by everything that is read (Salm, 2016; Zollo et al., 2015). Sociologist Arjan Leerkes foresees an ultimate sign of polarisation in the Dutch society: for the first time in a long time, he sees that two groups of citizens emerge. These different groups consist of nationalistic citizens and more international oriented citizens, indicating a potential bifurcation in the Dutch society ("Ik ben geen racist, maar ...", 2015). A development that can enhance such a bifurcation is the idea that citizens end up in a 'filter bubble'. This is a concept introduced by internet activist Eli Pariser, and it describes the danger that algorithms on social media select the information that a citizen sees based on his personal information. Then, a highly personalized overview of

information is offered, that excludes contesting information and isolates the individual in his own ideological bubble (Pariser, 2011). Further, another sort of bifurcation that may have developed is the one between citizens who actively engage in the discussion on 'open' social media, and the citizens who refrain from such interaction because they do not want to get involved (Arnout de Vries, personal communication, August 30th 2016). The latter may think 'never mind'. In this way, the 'biggest screamers' are not called to account and as a consequence, their opinion may seem to resemble the general public opinion.

What is also unfortunate, is that it is not known how big the part of the Dutch citizens is that engages in norm transgressive behaviour on social media. We can question if it is always the same group of citizens that engages in the behaviour. Factors as anonymity and the massive scale of interactions in the online domain prohibit us from knowing which citizens write norm transgressive comments, and make it harder to research why the behaviour is exhibited. The lack of knowledge about the origin and frequency of norm transgressive behaviour can be dangerous, since the behaviour can have negative societal externalities that can be left unaddressed. In addition, interventions to counter norm transgressive behaviour on social media cannot be designed when there is no clear idea about how the occurrence of norm transgressive behaviour can be explained. Also, the studying of the behaviour may point us to further underlying problems in our society. Apart from that, the exhibition of the behaviour in itself can be seen as problematic. In real life, it is known that the contact between different groups such as the higher and lower educated decreases, and it is stated that 'contradictions manifest themselves especially in separate worldviews and living in separate worlds' (Nijmeijer, 2016). More often, it is observed that citizens confine their online communication more and more to their inner circle (Peenstra, 2014). Simultaneously, the number of users of 'open' social media platforms such as Twitter decreases (Oosterveer, 2016). Thus, the conversations that used to be out in the open might now be held in closed-off social circles, which is unfavourable for a multicultural society and an open debate. This increasing alienation of different groups in society thus makes it even more important that the 'open' part of the online domain, where citizens do still come for general (news) posts, is not a pool of hate and intolerance that can foster the blurring of norms, social unrest and polarisation. Citizens from different social layers and demographics may still encounter each other in those domains, and others who now shy away may take part again once the general sphere is less hostile. After all, a possibility to enhance the cohesion in the Dutch society in the online domain, which does not need as much resources compared to a physical meeting point, should be treasured greatly.

1.3   Scientific relevance: what is missing in scientific literature and knowledge

Although not all online norm transgressive behaviours are in violation of the law, there are certain behaviours on the internet that are prohibited. Racism, discrimination, slander, defamation, and hate speech are behaviours that are in violation of the Dutch law when they are exhibited in the online domain (Engelfriet, 2012). It is also known that online death threats are punishable, and that the writers of those threats can be prosecuted as such (Wet & Recht Juristen, n.d.). In addition, insulting is a criminal offence, but its punishability depends highly on the context in which the insult is made (Engelfriet, 2012). More specifically punishable is the insulting of a group of people because of their race, religion, personal beliefs, or sexual orientation. Swearing at someone generally is punishable too, just as 'hurtful criticism and needlessly hurtful statements' (Engelfriet, 2012).

Online norm transgressive behaviours that are in the grey area between punishable and acceptable behaviours are not in conflict with current law. This may be because it can be highly subjective if certain behaviour transgresses the norms of citizens that encounter it. This can depend on what is written and by whom, and is also influenced by the circumstances in which the comment is written (and read by others). In addition, there seems to be no consensus in the Dutch society about what we generally consider to be norm transgressive behaviour. The law provides us with guidelines about punishable behaviours, and the legal system determines if the law is violated in an individual context. What does not exist however, is a similar system that guides acceptable behaviour according to societal norms that are not incorporated in current law. This makes it hard to determine what falls under online norm transgressive behaviour, let alone to counter it.

Unfortunately, not much research seems to be done into norm transgressive behaviour on social media. Within the behavioural sciences, much is already known about the behaviours of individuals and groups in the physical world, which are researched by psychology and sociology. However, the research into online developments has just yet begun, since the internet and social media are only on the rise in The Netherlands since about 1993 and 2008, respectively (De Vries & Smilda, 2014, p. 46; p. 50) . I have come across journalistic articles addressing norm transgressive behaviour, and I have found studies that have researched behaviours such as incivility, rudeness, loutish behaviour, impoliteness, flaming or trolling (flaming is personally attacking another person online. When the impoliteness becomes a goal in itself, it is called trolling; Hardaker, 2010). Although these studies have looked at similar behaviour, they all use different names for it. Thus, there seems to be no consensus about how to name the sort of negative online behaviour that transgresses the norms of other citizens. The lack of research into this subject is unfortunate, since the stream of negative comments on social media can be seen as a negative development for citizens and organisations present in the online domain.

Moreover, the government and law enforcement agencies do not know if and how they should intervene in norm transgressive behaviour on social media (Arnout de Vries, personal communication, January 4th 2016). The European TNO project MEDI@4SEC in which this thesis will be included, is instated to help answer this question and is about 'how social media can be used more effectively to tackle crime and the fear of crime, while at the same time preserving the freedoms offered by that social media' (*What is MEDI@4SEC?,* 2016). Further, norm transgressive behaviour must definitely have a negative connotation for Dutch social media platforms, since a negative atmosphere on their channels can keep users away.

The platforms try to find the best way to react to such comments, for example by deploying a moderator that filters out comments containing curse words or insubstantial arguments. There are also services that can help companies to monitor their social media channels, such as the commercial tool Coosto. However, there seems to be no science based intervention that intervenes in norm transgressive comments on online channels in the public space. Compared with other subjects, relatively little scientific effort seems to be directed at searching for the causes of norm transgressive behaviour, let alone for possible interventions. Some more pragmatic efforts in intervening in negative online behaviours are made, however. For example, a Dutch man who wrote 'Let them go to hell those * phthisis sufferers*, we are all going to the town hall' on his Facebook page, was visited by the police and asked to remove his post because of the incitement to demonstrate (Bos & Kuiper, 2016). In addition, moderators on social media pages and forums do delete offensive messages. However, moderation seems to run short on the more 'public' areas of social media, which are ran by big companies such as Facebook and are visited by users from over the whole world. Reactions that are given to comments from citizens are coming from web care teams of companies, who mostly react out of the commercial purpose of keeping their customers happy. Further, in accordance with European regulations there are efforts of Facebook and Twitter to act on a report within 24 hours (Hern, 2016). Unfortunately, what this 'something' is that they do with reports of citizens remains unknown. All in all, little still seems to be arranged for the grey area between acceptable comments and comments that contain punishable statements. I will attempt to show that although norm transgressive behaviour may not be punishable at this moment, it is having an effect on the Dutch society on a larger scale. Apart from seeing it as a social phenomenon or as a social problem, it is an interesting development that is worth researching, since it is one of the new developments that the large-scale use of social media entails.

1.4   Definition of norm transgressive behaviour

In the theory chapter, a first definition of norm transgressive behaviour is given. In the chapter of results, a new version of this definition is listed, that has been improved by the feedback of the experts. As a first result of this thesis, the improved definition of norm transgressive behaviour is included in this introduction, and reads: 'the transgressing of a collection of collectively accepted online norms, in which norm transgressive behaviour has consequences for society through the blurring of norms, social unrest, and polarization'. In adopting this definition, behaviour on the internet needs to transgress the norms of the collective of citizens to be seen as 'going too far'. In addition, the behaviour is not restricted to what is prohibited by law. It can also lie in the area of behaviours that people do not find acceptable, regardless of those behaviours being punishable. Lastly, the consequences of the blurring of norms, social unrest and polarization are included in the definition. These societal problems are found to be possible outcomes of norm transgressive behaviour on social media, in both the literature research as well as later, in the interviews with eighteen experts.

1.5   Goal and research questions

The goal of this thesis is to carry out an exploratory research into norm
transgressive behaviour on the Dutch domains of social media, meant to name the
main sociological and criminological perspectives regarding this subject. There
seems to be a big knowledge gap in behavioural scientific knowledge about online
norm transgressive behaviour, which I would like to diminish with the contribution of
this research. By means of this thesis, I hope to answer the following research
questions:

  o   What is norm transgressive behaviour on social media?
  o   Should we worry about norm transgressive behaviour on social media
      (in both the digital and the physical world)?
  o   How can norm transgressive behaviour on social media be recognized?
  o   How can we explain the occurrence of norm transgressive behaviour
      on social media?
  o   What can be done to counter norm transgressive behaviour on social
      media?

The five research questions are depicted schematically in figure 1 that is given
below. In this figure, the methods are included that will be utilized to help answer
their corresponding research questions. The second element of the figure shows
how the whole of research questions can be answered through time and through
the different phases of this research. A more detailed overview of the steps in this
research can be found in figure 2 in the chapter of research design.
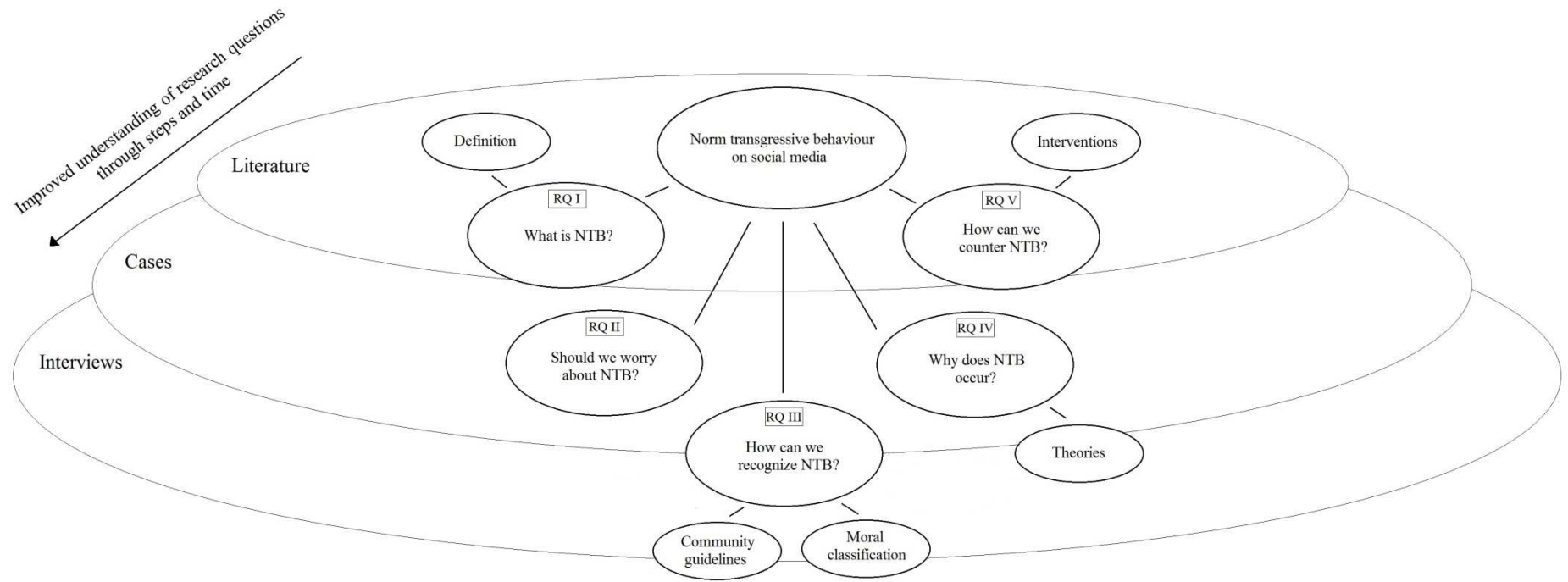
Figure 1: Research questions and their corresponding methods, plus the overarching research methods which help to answer the research questions through time

1.6   Study design

Complicating factors in researching behaviour on the internet are, among others, the possibility of reacting anonymously on the internet, and citizens not being in am observable physical environment. To be able to explain behaviour, this context is precisely what needs to be known, however. In this research, efforts are made to reveal some of the context wherein people react on the internet. To do this, the research method of Realistic Evaluation is used. This research method is eminently suitable to study the context of the internet, because one researches the context, mechanisms that work in this context, and the outcomes in this particular context as a whole. This is done with placing emphasis on the importance of the context in the establishment of behaviour, without dismissing it as a disturbing factor (Pawson & Tilley, 1997). Thus, finding a 'clean' causal relationship is not the goal of a research conducted through Realistic Evaluation, but getting to the bottom of the workings of a certain development is (Pawson & Tilley, 1997). From an idea about the workings of a development, further steps could be taken to let mechanisms that are working in a particular context 'travel' to other contexts, a process that is called abstraction (Rol & Cartwright, 2012). Since the context is never completely the same in two situations, this method of research is a valuable one. Fortunately, we do not have to reinvent the wheel: we can adopt elements that are on a higher level of abstraction, without the need for contexts to be exactly the same.

What will be researched in this thesis is the online behaviour of citizens in four comment sections below news articles on Facebook. On literature research and the analysis of these cases, theoretical explanations and possible interventions for norm transgressive behaviour are based. Using the feedback given by experts in eighteen interviews to refine and supplement this original theory, I hope to give explanations and possible interventions for the norm transgressive behaviour that occurs on the Dutch domains of the internet. By relating developments in the physical world to this online domain and by taking into consideration the unique context of the internet, more clarity can hopefully be created around the subject of norm transgressive behaviour on social media.

1.7   Thesis outline

In this thesis, the following chapters will be included. First, the chapter of research design is given, in which the manners of data collection and processing are explained. The research method is based on the method of Realistic Evaluation, and is performed by taking two paths of research activities. The third chapter is the original theory as it is submitted to the eighteen experts. An overview is given of the community guidelines of various social media platforms. In addition, an analysis of four cases of Facebook comment threads is included, on which theoretical explanations that can help explain norm transgressive behaviour on social media are based Further, possible interventions for the online behaviour are given. The fourth chapter covers the results of this research, which form the renewed and improved version of the original theory. This improvement is based on the outcomes of the interviews with the experts, and gives a subdivision of the norm transgressive behaviours on social media in moral domains and moral issues. The fifth chapter is that of the conclusion and discussion, in which it is discussed what can be concluded from this research. Recommendations for future research are given and points of improvements are discussed. Appendix I includes short biographies of the eighteen experts that have been interviewed in this research. Finally, appendix II contains the original comment threads that are anonymized screenshots from Facebook, which form the basis for the cases that are analysed in the theory chapter.

2 Signature

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3   Research design

The manner of research in this thesis is based on the teacher-learner cycle proposed in the research method of Realistic Evaluation. In this cycle, the theory formed by the researcher is submitted to experts, who help ameliorate the theory in order to create a more informed end result. By taking turns in getting informed, the researcher and expert(s) alternately fulfil the role of teacher and learner (Pawson & Tilley, 1997, p. 156). This relatively new method of Realistic Evaluation exists next to quantitative and qualitative research, and zooms in at the context and the mechanism leading to a certain outcome, using the question 'What Works for Whom in Which circumstances?' (Pawson & Tilley, 1997, p. 57). The data collection in this method is theory-driven: the theory that is composed by the researcher is the subject of the interview. The interviewee is the person who is asked to confirm, falsify and refine this theory (Pawson & Tilley, 1997, p. 155). The method has been fitted to the manners of data collection in this research. In order to reach the goal of a better idea of norm transgressive behaviour on social media, and adapted version of the teacher-learner cycle is gone through. This is done by using two steps of inquiry, which can jointly lead to a well-funded theory about explanations and interventions for this online behaviour. A schematic representation can be found in figure 1 below.
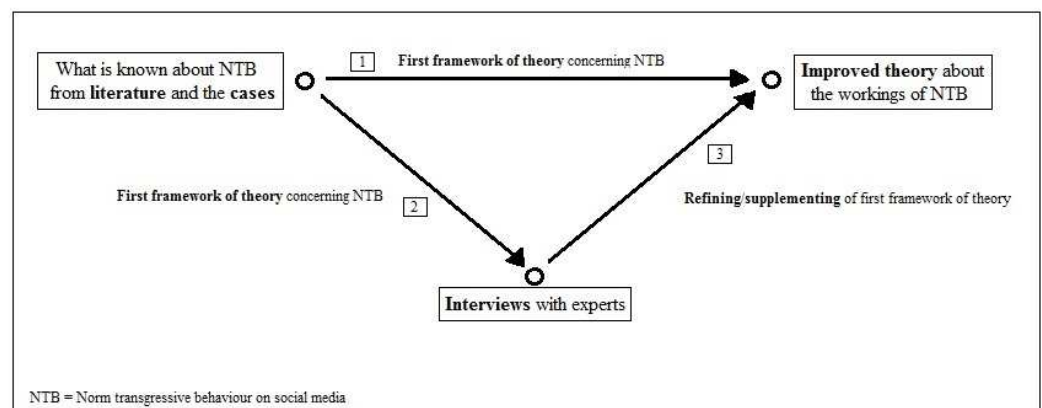
Figure 2: Representation of the two paths of research conducted in this thesis

As can be seen in figure 1, the first path that has been taken is the formation of a framework of theoretical explanations and interventions for norm transgressive behaviour on social media, based on literature and the analysis of the four cases of online behaviour. This method alone brings us further in creating some order in the chaos of ideas about norm transgressive behaviour on social media. The second path that has been taken provides an analysis of the original theory included in this research, conducted by using feedback from experts to improve this theory. Thus, this path is a first evaluation of the feasibility of the theoretical explanations in the Dutch online context. The second path consists of two steps. In the first step, the first framework of theory is submitted to experts and is discussed in eighteen interviews. The second step consists of the refining and supplementing of the original theoretical framework based on the feedback from the interviews.

Through both paths of research, an improved idea is formed about how norm transgressive behaviour on social media comes about, as well as how it can be countered. By including the second path of validation by experts, the final

theoretical explanations in this research are not solely based on the ideas of one researcher, but are assessed on plausibility by eighteen other persons that possess the right expertise to do so. The improved theory forms the results chapter of this thesis, in which it will become clear what can be concluded from the combination of research methods that is used. The chapter of the research design follows the two paths, and thus consists of two parts. Below, I will explain how and why steps on both paths are taken.

3.1 The first path: from literature and the analysis of cases to an improved theory

3.1.1 Literature research

From the literature research into a great number of articles, it can be learned that while some research into (online) norm transgressive behaviour is conducted, there is no clear framework of scientific knowledge about it. To provide some input for such a framework, I have searched for and assessed as much relevant literature as possible, and have used information from this literature as input for my own contribution. In this contribution, expectations are included about which theoretical explanations can explain and help to counter norm transgressive behaviour on social media. This whole of expectations forms the theory chapter, which is submitted to eighteen experts in the field of behaviour and/or social media. Their opinions about the theory are analysed in order to refine, enhance and supplement it. The outcome of this is a renewed and improved theory, which forms the chapter of results of this research.

The literature research that was conducted inquired about moral norms and values, and the transgressing of those norms and values in both the online and the physical world. I have searched for research and news about (online) norm transgressive behaviour in scientific literature and in Dutch and international media. This has resulted in a framework of literature of around two hundred sources. After going over these sources, the content of each of those sources was included in short summaries. In this way, I was able to learn about terms and concepts related to, viewpoints of, and theoretical explanations and possible interventions for norm transgressive behaviour on social media. The theoretical explanations and interventions included in this research are applicable to the cases, the current political and societal situation in The Netherlands, and to norm transgressive behaviour on social media in general. The choice for the specific theoretical explanations and interventions stems from the idea that there are a lot of viewpoints from which to look at norm transgressive behaviour, while there is also a need for a first framework of theoretical explanations regarding this relatively new scientific subject. To make this first framework as complete as is possible for one research, the theoretical explanations included are some of the bigger sociological and criminological ideas tailored this specific form of behaviour. Further, the interventions that are included are based on the societal needs that citizens seem to have. These needs can be derived from citizens' complaints in the cases and on social media in general, and the theoretical explanations indicate certain shortages in the needs of Dutch citizens as well. For example, the government is often blamed for not knowing what concerns the people in The Netherlands, and multiple theoretical explanations and interventions address this complaint.

3.1.2 *Cases, theoretical explanations & interventions, and community guidelines*

After learning about what already had been written about the subject, I have constructed four cases that qualify as examples of norm transgressive behaviour on social media. Each case is a comment thread taken from the Facebook pages of AD.nl, RTL News, NOS and The Netherlands my Homeland (Nederland Mijn Vaderland), respectively. The choice for using Facebook comments is a conscious one. In the Netherlands, 9,6 million Dutch citizens use Facebook (De Jong, 2016; Oosterveer, 2016). From this group, 6.8 million Dutch citizens use Facebook every day (Oosterveer, 2016). The younger generation in The Netherlands does resort more and more to other media like Instagram and WhatsApp (De Jong, 2016; Oosterveer, 2016), Nonetheless, Facebook still has a large user percentage in The Netherlands. Among the adult generation, the use of the medium is still increasing, especially among citizens of 65 years and older, and even those of eighty years and older, with a relative growth in users of nine and fifty-two percent, respectively (De Jong, 2016). Fortunately, the high percentage of adults rather than younger users is not a disadvantage, since this research focuses on the adult part of Dutch citizens. The reason of this is that in theory, adults can know better than to behave norm transgressive on social media. This can be different for children and adolescents: they have a prefrontal cortex that is not fully developed. Because of this, the brain area for the assessment of risks and probabilities of outcomes is underdeveloped, making it more likely that deviant behaviour is exhibited (Sturman & Moghaddam, 2011). I found it interesting to research why citizens that can know better than to behave antisocially still engage in this kind of behaviour. In addition, there is another advantage of researching the reactions on Facebook in comparison with other social network sites: all comments on a certain topic are gathered below a post, and can thus be more easily related to each other.

From four news articles posted on the Facebook pages named above, comment threads have been selected that can be read as commentary on said posts. I have chosen to analyse comments written on Facebook pages of news sites, because I expect that the general public will read and comment on those pages. In this way, it can be shown that norm transgressive behaviour can be observed all over the Dutch domains of social media, and that it is not limited to more closed-off groups in which antisocial behaviour especially seems to be common. I have included the case taken from The Netherlands my Homeland in order to show that those groups do indeed exist. To ensure the privacy of the commenters, I have anonymized their contributions by placing coloured bars over their names.

Next to the analysis of the cases, an elaboration of the community guidelines of eight social media platforms in The Netherlands is included in this research. The guidelines of the big platforms Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, as well as the guidelines of some of the bigger news platforms in The Netherlands (RTL News, AD and NUjij) are compared. The more general platforms are included because it seems that citizens from all layers and groups of the Dutch society comment on those domains. In my opinion, this gives the best focus on adult citizens that are users of social media in the Netherlands, and the clash of different opinions mirrors the quantity of norm transgressive behaviour in the Dutch online domain. The last three platforms are included because I have observed that citizens post the most negative comments on the Facebook pages and websites of those mediums, compared to other news mediums in The Netherlands. In addition, the guidelines of weblog GeenStijl are included for its reputation of allowing relatively much behaviour in their comment section, compared to other media. Lastly, the

Facebook page of The Hoax-index ('De Hoax-Wijzer') is included for being a citizen initiative that combats hoaxes and online norm transgressive behaviour, and for the observation that the page has to deal with a lot of negative comments. In the theory chapter, the community guidelines of all the platforms mentioned above are studied and compared.

3.2 The second path: a first framework of theory improved by interviews with experts

3.2.1 Experts

The whole of the theory, consisting of an analysis of the cases, an elaboration of the community guidelines, and explanations and possible interventions for norm transgressive behaviour on social media, has been submitted to eighteen experts. I have asked the experts to read a main document with the theory chapter and the comment threads in appendix II in order to form their opinion these documents. The teacher-learner cycle was explained to the experts in an accompanying email, emphasizing that it was important to read the documents, to think about plausibility of the theory and to think about refining and supplementing elements.

The eighteen experts interviewed in this research possess expertise relevant to norm transgressive behaviour out of education, occupation and/or experience. First, there are three persons that possess knowledge about the subject directly from their occupation. The first person is Marc Wessels, a content and communication specialist. I asked him to give an interview because I had read some of his articles related to norm transgressive behaviour, and I found it interesting to learn about his opinion. The second expert is Hans Boutellier, who is a Professor by special appointment in the field of Security and Resilience at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. I have read an essay of his about social stability, that contained relevant information to norm transgressive behaviour on social media, and Arnout de Vries has also suggested that Boutellier could provide relevant knowledge. A third interviewee is Lidwien van de Wijngaert, who is a professor in the Department of Media, Communication and Organization at Twente University. I have read her research about disputations on the internet regarding refugee centres, and thought that it had a lot of similarities with my own research.

As a second group of experts, I have approached and interviewed six colleagues from TNO. They are all linked to my research through the network of Arnout de Vries, who has helped me to select the experts with the most relevant knowledge related to the subject of norm transgressive behaviour on social media. The first person that has given an interview is Remco Wijn, who possesses expertise about processes of radicalization. I found his expertise to be relevant because in my thought process, norm transgressive behaviour can be precursor to more extreme and radicalized behaviour. Dianne van Hemert conducts psychological research in the field of safety and justice and also has expertise about radicalization and cybersecurity, which can all be relevant fields of expertise as they are related to the subject of this research. Third, Arnold Roosendaal is an expert in privacy (and has meanwhile made the switch from TNO to Privacy Company). In our interview, we have spoken about legal matters around norm transgressive behaviour on social media. Fourth, I thought that Joke Kort could provide valuable input because among other things, she possesses expertise about the digital world and society. Fifth, I asked David Langley to agree to an interview for his expertise about slacktivism and online hurting patterns. Lastly, I have conducted an interview with Kristian Helmholt. I asked him to agree to an interview

because of his personal interest: he is an active reader and writer on fora and on social media, and therefore has practical experience concerning online norm transgressive behaviour.

A third group of interviewees form moderators social media pages. Among them are moderators of Dutch News sites AD and NUjij, the moderator of Facebook page and website The Hoax-index, and two moderators from positivo pages ('positives'; initiatives created by groups of citizens to positively react to negative behaviour on social media), respectively (Nieber, 2016). The positivo pages of which I have interviewed the moderators are named 'A Netherlands without hate and lies' ('Voor een Nederland zonder haat en leugens') and 'Tolerant Netherlands' ('Nederland Tolerant'). Next to the experience of the moderators in interacting with citizens and reacting to norm transgressive comments, the administrators of these pages also must have had the intrinsic motivation to do something about the negative ethos on social media, after which they founded their pages. I thought that it was interesting to know the opinion of citizens who both have practical experience with norm transgressive behaviour, as well as being occupied with it out of personal interest. A last interviewee that can be included in this group is the editor in chief of Elsevier magazine, who is also the administrator of the magazine's website. Since a while, the comment section of the website of Elsevier is shut down because of the high amount of norm transgressive comments (Gasthuis, 2016). I found it interesting to know more about the negative behaviour that lead to this decision and therefore requested an interview.

Fourth, two citizens that react to norm transgressive comments on social media are interviewed. They are members of Facebook page 'A Netherlands without hate and lies'. One of them studies psychology next to her job, and one of them is a coordinator Social Safety at the GGZ (The Dutch Mental Health Care organization) and provides training in aggression control. The choice to interview citizens who are members of positivo pages was made in order to hear about practical experiences of reacting to norm transgressive comments. To find members who had such experiences, I have posted a message on the Facebook page of 'A Netherlands without hate and lies'. Timara van der Meulen and Carla de Bruyn reacted to this message. Further, I found it valuable for my research that Van der Meulen has psychological expertise and that De Bruyn is familiar with social safety and aggression, since these concepts are all related to norm transgressive behaviour.

Lastly, I have spoken with a Master's student forensic criminology at Leiden University, who also has a personal interest in norm transgressive comments on social media. I have asked around for students that were familiar with and interested in the subject, and Lara van de Wal was such a student. I thought it was interesting to interview her because as a student, she would be likely to have experience in using social media, and she probably would have encountered online norm transgressive behaviour. In addition, seeing that she has completed her bachelor criminology, I thought that she could both offer theoretical and pragmatic insights into norm transgressive behaviour on social media.

3.2.2 *Interviews*

The interview questions are developed with the main purpose of getting to know the opinion of the experts about the theory, and to ask about improvements, refinement and supplements. The interview questions can be consulted below. To ensure that the questions were comprehensive, the interview questions and the files that would be sent to the experts were discussed in a pilot interview. Minor changes were made in the formulation of the questions, and some questions were omitted, keeping in mind the length of the interviews. In addition, the choice was made to send the interview questions to a few of the experts prior to the interviews, in order to stimulate the best possible preparation. This was done for the experts that hold the more practical expertise about the subject, and who do not have a scientific background per definition. For a vast majority of the experts, the interview questions were not sent beforehand. This choice was made to let the experts form their own opinions about the theory, and to let them value the importance of the different elements on their own.

The interviews had the design of a closed interview, in which there was explicit room for the feedback and supplements of the experts and their specific expertise. The interview questions have been developed out of a theory-driven approach that suits the method of Realistic Evaluation: the theory that is composed by the researcher is the subject of the interview (Pawson & Tilley, 1997, p. 155). The intention during the interviews has been to let the experts answer as much questions as possible, while simultaneously retrieving the relevant expertise of the specific expert. In order to further validate input by experts, new input from earlier interviews was occasionally mentioned in subsequent interviews.

3.2.2.1 *Interview questions*

3.2.2.1.1 *General questions*

- What are your ideas about a definition for norm transgressive behaviour on social media?
  - How would you refine or improve the definition used in this research?
- When you look at the community guidelines and the behaviour of citizens on different social media platforms, would you say that different norms exist for acceptable behaviour between those platforms?
  - What do you think of the idea that community guidelines of platforms guide norm transgressive behaviour? (current versus ideal situation)
  - According to you, how can norm transgressive behaviour on social media further be recognized? (For example, when one wants to monitor it?)
  - For you personally, where lies the boundary between an acceptable comment and a norm transgressive comment?
- Do you think that we should worry about norm transgressive behaviour on social media? (Is it harmful in itself? Does it have effects in society?)

3.2.2.1.2 *Case specific interview questions*

- What do you think of the cases that I have analysed?
- According to you, do these cases show norm transgressive behaviour?
- What is your opinion about the theoretical explanations that I have included for the behaviour in these cases?
  - Are there theoretical explanations that you would like to refine or improve?

- Are there theoretical explanations that stand out to you for their (un)plausibility?
- According to you, are there additional theoretical explanations that I should include in this research?

3.2.2.1.3 Solutions for norm transgressive behaviour on social media
- Do you think that something should be done about norm transgressive behaviour on social media?
    - If yes, what should this be?
- Who do you think should intervene in norm transgressive behaviour on social media? (role of the government/police/media/citizens)
- What do you think of the interventions that I propose to counter norm transgressive behaviour on social media?
- From your experience with and knowledge about social media and/or behaviour, do you have further recommendations for countering norm transgressive comments on social media?
- According to you, which policy implications should follow from your previous answer?

3.2.3   Processing of the interviews and results
The interviews generally were one and a half to two hours long. I have written along with what the experts have said and have recorded the interviews. The interviews have been written down not literally transcribing every sentence, but using the notes to create a whole of statements expressed by the experts. This has resulted in a file of about thirty-eight pages, in which all that is said is included as much as possible while using the experts' own words. Before including the input of the experts as the renewed theory in the results chapter, the elaboration of the interviews has been submitted to the experts for approval. Seven of the experts submitted minor changes in their elaboration of the interview, particularly in formulation of sentences. To ensure the correctness of the table, the experts were asked to go over the table once more in a later point in time. Six experts have supplemented table 4 of the results chapter, which is indicated with the entries entered in a bold and cursive letter type.

Subsequently, the contributions of the experts have been sorted according to the interview questions and the different subtopics of this research. Per subtopic, the contributions of the experts have been analysed. The result is a summary of the statements of the experts, paired with a conclusion about what can be derived about their opinions of the theory. I have tried to include as much of the relevant answers of the experts as possible, while simultaneously focusing on the consensus or disagreement of the experts about a certain subject. In addition, the theory is supplemented by including the best fitting and most relevant theoretical explanations put forward by experts. The final result is an improved framework of theory about the cases, explanations and interventions. Going through the teacher-learner cycle, the framework is based on literature research, after which it is substantiated with the theoretical and pragmatic knowledge of experts in the field of behaviour and social media.

4 Theory - Analysis of Facebook comment threads: theoretical explanations and interventions

Below, the theory chapter that was submitted to the experts is included. The theory is based on an extensive literature research, and applies sociological, criminological and psychological theoretical explanations to norm transgressive behaviour on social media. Expectations about explanations and interventions for the behaviour are based on the four cases of Facebook comment threads. An analysis of these cases is carried out, and seven theoretical explanations are proposed that can help explain why the norm transgressive behaviour is exhibited, both in the cases and on social media in general. Lastly, three possible interventions are given, which are first ideas to counter the online norm transgressive behaviour that can be observed on the Dutch domains of social media.

4.1 Community guidelines

In this research, community guidelines for multiple social media platforms and pages with comment sections are inspected, which are those of Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, GeenStijl, RTL News, AD.nl, NUjij.nl, and the Facebook page The Hoax-index. Of course, it does not mean that the norms set out by the guidelines match the norms of the users of the platforms. However, to be able to moderate the interaction on a platform, rules need to be set out that represent the framework of norms that a platform wants to enforce.

Table 1 forms a schematic representation of the different guidelines. In the table, it can be seen that the guidelines are more or less similar in the more extreme forms of antisocial and criminal behaviour. Racism is named as prohibited behaviour in almost all guidelines, as well as discrimination, hate speech (and the creation of hate accounts), and criminal and terrorist activity. Also named frequently is the (credible) threat with sexual, physical and financial violence which affects personal and/or public safety. What complicates the enforcement of its guidelines, is that Facebook states that hate speech and criminal activity are only prohibited if they are not meant to be satirical or humorous (*Facebook community standards,* 2016). As can be wondered with every behaviour, the question is when comments are considered as satire or humour, as the meaning of a comment can be different from how it comes across to other citizens.

The behaviours that are unacceptable according to the law are now covered. For the other behaviours, comparing the community guidelines is more difficult, and it can be seen that there are quite some differences in further behaviour that is listed. What is named in the guidelines multiple times, especially by the smaller platforms, are personal insults. The personal insult is also known as the ad hominem argument, in which insults about one's person are made, trying to make the claim of that person look false (*Fallacy: Ad hominem,* 2012). In addition, cursing and misleading others for the harvesting of likes, comments and shares is not tolerated on most of the different platforms. Trolling and flaming are also frequently named as prohibited. These behaviours are not always named with these exact names, but the guidelines do often name their meanings, like 'insulting, offensive, harmful, inappropriate language, bullying, degrading and shaming', etcetera. It is often the case in the different guidelines that the same behaviours are prohibited, but that they are named slightly different, which makes comparing the guidelines a more difficult task. Further, norm transgressive behaviour is not literally

included in the guidelines, which is understandable since it seems that there is no general concept that describes unacceptable behaviour for Dutch society as a whole. However, the whole of behaviours that are not allowed on the platforms can be seen as a collection of norm transgressive and sometimes criminal behaviour, that transgresses the norms that a platform wants to keep up.

Summarized, when looking at the online environment of the most prominent social media platforms and news sites in The Netherlands, norm transgressive behaviour is anything from using unfounded allegations to exhibiting illegal behaviours as racism and discrimination. A first definition of norm transgressive behaviour will be adapted in this research, which can be improved by the outcomes of the interviews with experts. Since there does not seem to exist a clear definition of norm transgressive behaviour in existing literature, an adapted definition of the related concept of incivility is used. As a first version, norm transgressive behaviour is defined as 'the transgressing of a collection of collectively accepted online norms, whereby norm transgressive behaviour has consequences for democracy' (adapted from Papacharissi, 2004). With the knowledge that is gained from the interviews, more clarity can hopefully be obtained about the online norms of experts and users, after which the definition of norm transgressive behaviour on social media adopted here can be refined.

Community Guidelines of social media platforms	Platform							
Prohibited behaviour	Facebook	Twitter	Instagram	GeenStijl	RTL News	AD	NUjij	The Hoax-index
The domain of criminal law****								
Racism/hate speech (and hate accounts)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
(Inciting) Sexual, physical and financial violence*	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
Criminal and terrorist activity	x	x	x			x	x	x
Discrimination	x		x		x	x	x	
Illegal behaviours/content			x		x		x	x
Slander (laster)				x	x		x	
The domain of social regulation								
The moral issue of personal attacks								
Personal attacks/ insults/ad hominem arguments/flaming/offensive language		x		x**	x		x	x
Degrading or shaming language or bullying	x	x	x		x			
Behaviours that do not attest to social decency/respect					x	x	x	
Harassment/intimidation	x	x	x					
Harmful/disruptive/abusive language		x					x	
Trolling				x				x
Generalising								
The moral issue of off-topic/insubstantial contributions								
Porn	x	x	x		x		x	x
Revenge and conspiracy theoretical explanations/misleading others***	x	x	x		x			x
Vulgar/obscene language/sexism		x		x	x		x	x
Off-topic and meaningless comments				x	x	x	x	
Unfounded/unreasoned/insubstantial allegations				x		x	x	x
Cursing				x		x	x	
Inappropriate language							x	
Whining/complaining				x				
The domain of obviousness								
Digital shouting (CAPSLOCK)				x		x	x	
Spelling errors/Lack of punctuation				x				

* including the credible threat with, and which affects personal and/or public safety   ********= the categorisation will be explained in the chapter of results, but is included here to be able to compare the different tables later on in this thesis

** Flaming is acceptable when it is enjoyable, ordinary offensive language/cursing is not

*** for the harvesting of likes, comments and shares or personal gain

Table 1: Behaviours that are explicitly named as being norm transgressive by community guidelines of Dutch social media platforms

ONGERUBRICEERD

4.2   Analysis of four Facebook comment threads

Below, an analysis of four cases of Facebook comment threads is included. The anonymized comments in appendix II are written by Dutch citizens and depict real-life discussions as replies to news articles posted on Facebook (on three Dutch news pages and a nationalistic Facebook page, respectively). In table 2, it is depicted which norm transgressive behaviours can be observed in each case, and examples of those behaviours are given. More detailed elaborations of the cases can be found below the table, in which the behaviours that can be considered as norm transgressive behaviours are indicated in a bold letter type. After the analysis of the four cases, seven theoretical explanations and three possible interventions are included, that are based on the behaviours that can be observed in those cases.

Norm transgressive behaviour	Bonuses Police	Bus Drivers on Strike	Report Citizens	Refugees Start Companies	Examples from Appendix II
The domain of criminal law					
Illegal behaviours/content	4	9	1	4	
Racism/hate speech (and hate accounts)		7		3	'I finally know what those Muslims do to enrich our country. We did not have violence in our society. Of course, they have to supplement it'
Discrimination		2			'F*ck off to your own country of culture mister white'; 'Come and give some arguments. You can't do that, huh? Just like most people of your kind'
(Inciting) Sexual, physical and financial violence*	3				'Don't act tough b*tch, my people are everywhere'
Slander (laster)	1		1	1	'Paedophile that you are'; 'You are a dirty patricide'
Criminal and terrorist activity					-
The domain of social regulation					
The moral issue of personal attacks					
Personal attacks/ insults/ad hominem arguments/flaming/offensive language	3	5	2	1	'Are you on drugs?'; 'Spoiled b*tch who has gotten everything from her mom and dad'
Behaviours that do not attest to social decency/respect		2	1		'What the hell are you still doing in The Netherlands?'
Harmful/disruptive/abusive language	2	1			('Arming all drivers with tasers.') 'Riot gun'. 'Bomb belt'
Generalising	4	4		1	'Refugees are being helped with their education, while our children have to take a loan (…). I find it downright disgusting'
Trolling		2			'Soon there will be no more buses, all because of the foreigners. (…). Later, it will be one big ghetto with all those foreigners (devil emoticons)
Degrading or shaming language or bullying	5				'Grandma, just enjoy your old age, O.K?'
Harassment/intimidation			1		'I will report you. Then, the hotline for Turkish Dutchmen will deal with you'
The moral issue of off-topic/insubstantial contributions					
Unfounded/unreasoned/insubstantial allegations	4	6	3	13	'Policemen do not deserve the bonuses because they only do easy jobs such as issuing fines'; 'The left-wing political clique has made us slip away'
Off-topic and meaningless comments	5	6			'By the way, are you proud to shoot animals? A visit to the psychologist would not hurt'
Revenge and conspiracy theoretical explanations/misleading others***				1	(Admin): 'While hundreds of thousands native Dutch people are left at home being jobless, refugees start their own companies with ten million of our tax money'
Cursing	7	1	4		'Keep your mouth shut'; 'Loser'; 'Misfit'
Whining/complaining	2			5	'In The Netherlands, people are being screwed over by the government from all sides; referendums are being imposed on us (…), we have to pay until we're broke for boats and palaces of the King, etc. '
Porn					-
Vulgar/obscene language/sexism			3		(see figure 25 of appendix II for various examples)
Inappropriate language	7	1	4		(see figure 25 of appendix II for various examples)
The domain of obviousness					
Spelling errors/Lack of punctuation	2	1			(see appendix II for various examples)
Digital shouting (CAPSLOCK)			1	1	'OVER MY DEAD BODY THAT SUCH A VIOLENT RELIGION WILL TAKE OVER THIS COUNTRY'; 'REVOLT!!!!'

* including the credible threat with, and which affects personal and/or public safety *** for the harvesting of likes, comments and shares or personal gain

** Flaming is acceptable when it is enjoyable, ordinary offensive language/cursing is not number = among this number, there are behaviours mentioned under other categories as well

Table 2: Numbers of norm transgressive behaviours that can be observed in the cases in Appendix II (as observed by the researcher)

ONGERUBRICEERD

4.2.1 *Dutch police officers receive two times 500 Euros this year*

The news article on page 1 of appendix II is originally posted on the website of the Dutch newspaper AD, and is also displayed on their Facebook page. The article states that police officers get a bonus for their work in the form of 500 Euros, which they will receive two times throughout the year (Winterman, 2016). What is noteworthy about this article is the way in which the news is framed. Throughout the message the amount received is called a bonus, while in reality, it is only a compensation for the lack of pay raises for policemen in the past years ("*Politiebonden en minister bereiken …*", 2015).

I took one thread of the comment section below the Facebook post, in which one commenter gets into an argument with other citizens. It can be read that the comments that are written become quite uncivil, and that the top commenter is reprimanded for behaviour that is norm transgressing to other commenters. The comment thread begins with a reaction by a woman (her name blurred with a red bar), that feels that the police **does not deserve the bonuses** because they only do easy jobs such as issuing fines. The second person (yellow bar) reacts with a witty remark, but this does not seem to have the desired effect of moderation on the first commenter. She elaborates on her opinion, referring to **The Netherlands being a stupid country**. A third commenter points the first commenter out on her words, stating that she should be ashamed of herself. That she transgresses a norm does not permeate with the red commenter, and she states that **the other person should be ashamed**, as well as the police **officers who receive ´undeserved money´**. What seems to happen here is that the person justifies her behaviour by pointing at her norms being transgressed by others. Another person (light blue bar) then starts with **personal insults**, after which the first commenter seems to get angry. The 'purple' commenter **cusses** the red commenter out and they get into an argument. The degrading tone of the comments may make others also see it as norm transgressive behaviour. The red commenter may justify her behaviour for herself by using neutralizing definitions. It is the adopting of a thought process by an individual who justifies deviant behaviour by thinking that 'although the act itself might be wrong, under certain conditions it is all right' (Akers & Sellers, 2013). The commenter seems to feel very strongly about the subject of compensation for the police, and seems to think that her opinion is the right one, making it right to behave this way.

A new commenter then posts a quote, on which the red commenter does not seem to have a reply. The quote may have been sufficient in stopping the discussion, if it was not for the purple commenter asking if the red commenter is on drugs. This question is clearly an **ad hominem argument** that does not follow from the earlier interaction, making it the start of a new norm transgressing discussion. The commenters continue to call each other **junkies**. Below this, the red commenter gets acclaim by another commenter. However, by now it is obvious that the general sphere in the comment section is negative towards the commenters who are 'against' the police. They are criticized on their **spelling** and not listened to. An in-group of people who identify with each other and an out-group of people against whom they protest seems to have formed. The criticized commenters seem to belong to the out-group of people with a 'dumb' opinion, while the in-group consists of the people that are 'right'.

The red commenter then begins to **curse with words as cancer**, and she **threatens to wound a commenter if they would meet in person**. A new commenter (the teal bar) asks about the bitterness of the first commenter. This again seems to be a way to point out that the commenters' behaviour is

transgressing her norms. The commenter reacts with more **cursing** towards multiple commenters, and then reveals a possible reason for her behaviour: she had to be independent from a young age. Next, a commenter (light purple) states that he is **not afraid to get into a fight** with the red commenter, which seems to make her a little desperate, not being able to 'win' the discussion. She threatens that '**her people are everywhere**' and continues to **insult** people with the use of **ad hominem arguments**. A new commenter (brown-red) writes something quite striking, stating that the incorrect language use testifies of the disinterest of the people that use it. She writes that it seems that these people have little knowledge about everything but do want to state their opinion. This is a phenomenon that is also recognized in literature and is called '**mount stupid**', with people who know the littlest voicing their opinion the most (Linnemann, 2016). The most commenters now seem to be against her, and the red commenter just wants the discussion to stop. She is called **stupid** and is clearly placed in the out-group of people that the other commenters see as 'less' than them. In an attempt to have a bigger impact, the red commenter has sent out private messages to some of her opponents. The pink commenter wants to keep the discussion public and asks for her message to be repeated in the comment section. The red commenter does this and asks the person to '**keep her mouth shut**'. The discussion stops here, most probably not out of respect for the request but more likely because of the other commenters being 'done' with the discussion.

From this analysis, it can be seen that the discussion has become uncivil and insults are given back and forth. The commenters seem to be encouraged by each other's behaviour and are agitated because of the norm transgressive nature of it. People that are alike may then only associate with each other, and could deliberately seek contact only with likeminded others on specific pages, or interact with likeminded people on generic pages. When this happens, homogenous communities arise in which opinions that are expressed form an echo-chamber: opinions are strengthened and adopted, but not contested (Zollo et al., 2015). Commenters that flock together against an out-group is what can also be observed in this comment thread. There is no room for the opinion of the red commenter, and the comments against her are very similar in content. The only thing that seems to be important is combating the red commenter at all costs. People that come across this discussion could deem it to be norm transgressive, considering the great amount of insults and cursing. Citizens are not granted their own opinion, the discussion is not 'on topic', and it is sadly not contributing to the social debate, but only making it more inflammable.

4.2.2 *Why are the bus drivers in Almere on strike?*
The second article that is analysed is about the ongoing violence in busses in the Dutch city Almere, which has made the local bus drivers decide to go on a strike. ("*Met bloedende wenkbrauw …*", 2016). While commenters judge the behaviour of assaulters in the busses as shameful, quite a lot of them seem to engage in norm transgressive behaviour themselves.

The thread that I have selected out of the comments below the article shared on the Facebook page of the NOS shows how some of the commenters **blame ethnic minorities** for the assaults and get into a **discussion about race**. In figure 17 of appendix II, the two commenters with the orange and beige bars covering their names begin the norm transgressive behaviour by using **hate speech** about race and by **cursing**. The second commenter gets called upon by a fourth commenter (light pink bar), who defends the **Middle East being called a**

'sandpit'. The third commenter reacts quite polite but remains critical. The 'green' commenter then introduces the often present **distrust concerning the government**. The blue, light blue and bright pink commenters are also critical about prevention and punishment by the government but all three remain quite polite, although it is another question if their opinions are **reasoned and factual**. The dark blue commenter begins to imagine **own punishments** for the assaulters. Next, the purple commenter states that **Muslims have brought violence into our society**. This is a quite unreasoned comment which can be seen as norm transgressive, containing elements of **hate speech, racism and discrimination**. The light pink commenter contests the statement with his own sources and does this polite but **without using citation**. Then, an in-group and an out-group seem to be formed of Dutch citizens on one side and others being or sticking up for ethnic minorities on the other side. The light pink commenter is being **insulted** and told to '**go back to his own country**'. The **generalising** goes on, but this time it is against the green commenter who points out that the purple commenter does not have enough knowledge to comment about the subject. A red commenter lastly comes in with a quite reasoned comment containing some positivity.

After a more positive message is being fed into the discussion, the commenters mentioned above do not write new reactions in the thread, except for the orange commenter and in the end, the light pink commenter. New commenters then go on about **the government not doing enough**. Then, a new remark is written by a commenter (orange swirl), hinting at **racism**. While other citizens discuss the topic quite normally, the white commenter engages in an **off-topic** and **ad hominem argument**, and **Moroccans and Turkish people** are named in a negative context. Further down the comment thread, all kinds of penalties and weapons are discussed, but citizens are keeping it quite civil. The orange and light pink commenter seem to engage in some **trolling** by steering the conversation to increasingly heavy weapons, but luckily it is not picked up by other commenters.

The reactions on the next figure (figure 21) are civil and no one gets into a discussion, but this is not for long. In the last part of the thread, primarily the yellow and light blue commenter get into an argument. The yellow commenter begins with **blaming foreigners for the assaults** and is stating that the Netherlands will become a ghetto, especially with all the refugees arriving. The emoticons of the devils make you think that the commenter is a **troll**, wanting to get a discussion started by writing norm transgressive things, by **generalising** and by **using unfounded accusations**. The light pink commenter asks for citation and makes the remark about a different percentage named by an 'ally' of the yellow commenter. The green commenter **taunts** the yellow commenter, after which a new player enters the online arena: the light blue commenter. She makes a remark about the yellow commenters' own Dutch identity, hinting that his **spelling** is not that good. The general sphere becomes more negative and the distinction between the in-group and the out-group divided by **xenophobia** becomes clear once again. The blue commenter is then encouraged by a purple commenter, probably giving her a bigger will to 'fight' back. The yellow commenter keeps on **insulting** others, and comes across as quite desperate to win the discussion. The blue commenter **belittles** the yellow commenter, and tells him that she is leaving for work. A new commenter takes over and calls the yellow commenter a **hooligan**. On her turn, the dark blue commenter **belittles** him. The thread concludes with the yellow commenter posting the song of the **chicken dance**, and it is not completely clear what he means by that. The probable ridiculing meaning of the link does not make for new comments, and the discussion is finally ceased. The comment thread

remains on the internet for everyone to see, testifying of the uncivil online behaviour and xenophobia of some Dutch citizens.

4.2.3   *Turkey: Report Dutch citizens that insult us and president Erdogan*
On the 21th of April 2016, RTL News published an article on their website and Facebook page about president Erdogan asking Turkish-Dutch citizens to report other Dutch citizens that insult Turkey and/or president Erdogan. He does this because of the recent 'hate campaign' against Turkey and its president ("*Turkije: Meld Nederlanders …* ", 2016). This stream of hate reactions begun with a satirical poem by the German comic Jan Böhmermann, who may be persecuted for including insults like 'goat fucker' to the Turkish president in it ("*Turkije: Meld Nederlanders …* ", 2016). The request for his prosecution has harvested a lot of angry reactions in The Netherlands and in neighbouring European countries, both online and offline. It is questioned if the freedom of speech is threatened by the power of the Turkish president. The comment thread that I will analyse below is written in the week of the earliest developments in the debacle, and a lot has been written about it since.

On page 27 of appendix II, a green commenter kicks off with what seems to be a quite norm transgressive comment, **insulting president Erdogan** in its last sentences. What is written first are political facts which could be true, but that **lack citation**. The commenter already states that his contribution is not meant as an insult but rather as a statement of the truth, and that he expects that Turkish Dutch citizens will get angry at him. Some citizens do get angry and **cuss** him out. Below that, people get angry at someone else: a commenter (yellow bar) has written a comment that seems to be deleted by Facebook after somebody has reported it. The comment clearly must have been **unacceptable according to the community guidelines** of Facebook. Judging from the reactions of citizens, other comments that are also considered to be norm transgressive behaviour are left untouched by Facebook (or not reported to them by citizens). This indicates that with the current enforcement of community guidelines, Facebook apparently still accepts quite some behaviours that citizens do regard as being unacceptable.

Further down the comment thread, the discontent with the Dutch government is named, and the commenter (white bar) seems to be guilty of writing **unfounded accusations**. The yellow commenter is then **bashed** by numerous others by the use of **cursing** and **insulting comments**. A woman (light blue) is **belittled** by a young man (blue-ish bar), stating that she should not comment and instead enjoy her time as an 'elderly grandma'. Although belittling is not prohibited by the Facebook community guidelines, it seems a quite childish way of reacting to a reasoned comment, and it can be considered as being norm transgressive behaviour by other citizens. In the following comments, citizens seem to become irritated with each other. In the fifth figure of the thread (figure 29), the commenter with the dark green bar asks for more decent and diplomatic comments, and puts our relatively wealthy lives into perspective. The commenter with the dark blue bar then engages in **digital shouting** (the excessive use of caps lock; *Gebruiksvoorwaarden registratie AD.nl,* 2014) about the Islam. He then proceeds to call a woman who says that Erdogan is right a **patricide**. The commenter states that the freedom of speech also entails insulting, and that Erdogan can be expected to be insulted as a public figure. While it can be contested if the freedom of speech should justify insults, his comment seems quite ironic. He calls another citizen that expresses her opinion a patricide, while simultaneously advocating the right of the freedom of speech. Next, the light blue commenter writes about a Turkish reporting

page that is alleged to be on Facebook. Later, she says **she is going to report** the purple commenter who replicates the insult the article is about. Finally, the first commenter is **cursed out** and is called a **paedophile** by the red commenter, which seems to be quite norm transgressing. The rest of the comment section of 527 (unfiltered) reactions contains a lot more comments that could be seen as being norm transgressive, but which are not deleted by the Facebook moderators.

4.2.4 *Refugees start their own companies*

The comment section analysed next comes from the Dutch nationalistic Facebook page 'The Netherlands my Homeland'. On April 4th, a post was shared from the news site NU.nl (*Vluchtelingen starten eigen bedrijf*, 2016). This post is about refugees getting help with starting their own businesses and finding jobs and education, for which the government has allocated ten million Euro. Government funds being used for refugees enrages the members of The Netherlands my Homeland, and a discussion about refugees is initiated (see page 35 of appendix II). In between the patriotic figures of windmills and tulip fields, the page posts hate messages about refugees and ethnic minorities. Statements as 'our own people first' and 'enough is enough' are used and dubious sources are cited to reinforce and justify the nationalistic and xenophobic message of the page. What is said about the article is that 'refugees start their own companies with ten million of our tax money, while hundreds of thousands Dutch people are jobless'. It can be expected that a sentence like that will provoke a lot of norm transgressive comments. The post has attracted more than a thousand likes, 695 shares and almost 500 comments.

I have taken one thread of the many reactions, starting with the light blue reaction on the first figure, which has gotten 53 replies (see appendix II figure 33). The commenter expresses her anger about **refugees being helped with their education, while 'Dutch' children** have to get a loan to go to college. The comment is laced with **generalisation**, and seems to strengthen the distinction between the in-group of Dutch citizens and the out-group of refugees that the admin has made. Next, **discontent with the government** is expressed, and educational institutions are **blamed for favouring migrants**. Left wing politicians and parties are also named as **culprits**, just as current representatives of our country. In addition, the highly subjective page of The Netherlands my Homeland seems to be an example of the development that an increasing part of Dutchmen seek out their own channels to access news, since two thirds of Dutch citizens have lost their trust in the traditional Dutch press (Gorris, 2016). This loss of trust gives rise to more and more news sites that spread **fake or one-sided news** (Gorris, 2016). The Facebook page of 'The Netherlands my Homeland' can be seen as an example of this.

Continuing the comment thread in figure 34 of appendix II, the commenter whose name is covered by a dark grey bar is critical of what is said, stating that 'our' children can be lazy in getting an education. He is **put down** by the other commenters as a person who looks away, making it possible for Moroccan youth to cause trouble. A sort of conflict occurs that sociologist Arjan Leerkes terms 'armchair activism'. Uncivilized discussions are carried out online, while the bifurcation between opponents and proponents certain ideas is not likely to be dissolved. The problem keeps existing, but citizens can make themselves feel better by purging about others they do not agree with ("*Ik ben geen racist, maar …*", 2015). The general sphere in the comments now seems to have become quite **xenophobic**. A 'pink' commenter speaks disgrace of Dutch citizens not revolting. A

new commenter (dark yellow) writes about the disadvantage that 'purebred' Dutch citizens face in favour of the **Islamic 'rabble'**. The comment gets eight likes from likeminded people, but seems to be containing **unreasoned statements** and to be **insulting** to the Islam. The light blue and light pink commenters speak of a **decline of the Dutch mindset**. A new **unfounded accusation** is written by the orange commenter, who states that '**those foreigners really get everything done**'. A red commenter then **digitally shouts for a revolt**. Left wing political parties **are said to have a part in the refugee problem** and the general problems in The Netherlands. The solidarity between likeminded people on the page seems to make for a common sphere wherein hate reactions and norm transgressive comments are accepted and alternative opinions are not heard. A 'dark green' commenter writes such an alternative opinion, stating that hate makes the commenters in this thread **blind and dumb**. The blue commenter writes a quite civil response, while another commenter **ridicules his comment**. The next commenter **blames Prime Minister Rutte**. All in all, the comment thread does not become that uncivil towards the end, but is full with unfounded accusations. The commenter who begun the discussion also concludes it by asking questions such as '**Are refugees worth more than our own children?**', '**Why should they have better and more chances than our children?**' and '**What have they contributed to our country?**'. The thread is a good example of fear of the unknown and xenophobia, which seem to enhance polarisation and hate in The Netherlands. Unfortunately, you can find countless similar discussions on nationalistic pages and also on more general pages, and their occurrence only seems to increase.

4.3 Theoretical explanations and interventions

In this part of the theory chapter, seven theoretical explanations for norm transgressive behaviour on social media are proposed. These theoretical explanations are based on some of the biggest sociological and criminological theories, which are applied to the specific context of norm transgressive behaviour on the Dutch domains of social media. Next to the seven theoretical explanations, three interventions are proposed, which form first ideas about the design of efforts to counter norm transgressive behaviour on social media. After the theoretical explanations and the interventions are listed, the chapter of results will follow, in which the opinions of the experts about the content of the theory chapter are reported.

4.4 Theoretical explanations that apply to norm transgressive behaviour on social media

1. Imitation

The concept of imitation could be a process which leads to more norm transgressive behaviour on social media. It is an element in criminologist Ronald Aker's social learning theory, which entails that behaviour that is modelled by others in front of the individual is copied (Akers & Sellers, 2013). The disadvantage of having the norm transgressive behaviour in a written form and accessible for all, is that there is more opportunity for imitation. Citizens can copy the behaviour of other commenters long after the comment is written, even when the commenter himself has already forgotten about it. In addition, research has shown that rudeness can be contagious, making others imitate the person first exhibiting it. In an experiment, rudeness experienced during a negotiation was adopted and subsequently inflicted upon other persons, keeping its effects for up to seven days (Adonis, 2016). This exposure to rudeness need not be recurring: one instant is enough for making persons exhibit rude behaviour themselves (Adonis, 2016). Imitation is also more likely when the impression of the imitated commenter is positive, and when the rewards for imitation are higher than the risks (Akers & Sellers, 2013). On social media, the cost-benefit analysis of risks and rewards leans towards the rewards: norm transgressive comments are not likely to be punished by law enforcement agencies but may yield likes, reactions and a positive interaction with likeminded people. Imitation seems to foster the development of comment sections in which most people are in agreement and opponents are often taunted, as can be seen in the analysis of the cases.

2. Relative deprivation theory: anomie theory and different forms of adaptation by Merton[1]

The second theoretical explanation that is proposed in this research concerns a feeling of discontent of Dutch citizens with their position in society, which may result in the symptom of norm transgressive behaviour on social media. For example, the categories of citizens with low incomes may struggle to get along with other citizens

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[1] The social ladder theory is discussed with the experts, but is substituted with the theory of relative deprivation based on received feedback. This is because the latter does a better job in explaining the relative way in which citizens may compare themselves with others in society, rather than the comparison purely being made in an absolute way. Luckily, the experts have pointed out the importance of the relative element in the interviews themselves.

in the Dutch society, such as with the norm that seems to have been established that citizens go on vacation multiple times per year. People with higher incomes are going on vacation two to three times a year, but half of the citizens with a low income do not go on vacation (Schonewille & Bos, 2015). These citizens may feel dissatisfied for not being able to comply with the norm of going on vacation(s). However, dissatisfaction can also be felt by citizens of a higher socioeconomically status: foremost, it is the relative position among other citizens that can make an individual feel displeased with the means that he has at his disposal. This idea reflects the concept of relative deprivation, a term that was first introduced by sociologist Robert Merton. He chooses not to define it in exact words since the idea is already demonstrated in numerous researches (Merton, 1968). Sociologist Peter Townsend has conducted such a research (although later in time), and provides us with a definition of relative deprivation. It reads that it is "the lack of resources to sustain the diet, lifestyle, activities and amenities that an individual or group are accustomed to or that are widely encouraged or approved in the society to which they belong" (Townsend, 1979, p. 31). Thus, the concept is about individuals that are not able to 'keep up with the Joneses', which results in a feeling of dissatisfaction. Merton himself does write about what the consequence of relative deprivation can be, which is that individuals can engage in deviant behaviour when their means do not match their goals (Merton, 1938). Norm transgressive behaviour is such a category of deviant behaviour since it breaks with social norms, that are defined as "rules and standards that are understood by members of a group, and that guide/and or constrain social behaviour without the force of laws" (Cialdini & Trost, 1998, p. 152). In online comment sections, it seems that dissatisfaction felt by Dutch citizens is expressed a lot. As you can read in those comment sections, comments sometimes literally say that 'the ordinary citizen is being screwed over by the government', and similar statements are made in the cases analysed above.

The situation in which citizens realise that the goal of economic success cannot be reached by all and that their means to reach those goals are not sufficient, is what Merton calls anomie (Akers & Sellers, 2013). He differentiates five types of coping with the dissatisfaction resulting from a state of anomie. The first behavioural alternative is conformism: the acceptance of goals in the national culture, and the compliance with the norms of that culture about legal and illegal ways to reach those goals (Ultee et al., 2003). Dutch people who can be classified as this type of citizen will probably be less likely to write norm transgressive comments on the internet. They will accept how society is structured and will probably be less dissatisfied in this area. Luckily, most of the people in Western societies are conformists (Ultee et al., 2003).

The second behavioural alternative is innovation. In this alternative, the person has adopted the goals in his society, but not the corresponding norms that specify the acceptable means to reach those goals (Ultee et al., 2003). Since citizens that belong to the innovation type care about reaching certain goals but not about the ways to achieve those goals, society will have some problems with these citizens. On social media, citizens that are innovators will probably write what suits them best to reach a goal (e.g. persuasion, status or fame), without considering others.

A third behavioural alternative is ritualism, in which people no longer aspire to reach the goals in society, but do still conform to the norms about the means they can legally employ (Ultee et al., 2003). While this way of behaving could be very detrimental for the individual, society will probably notice less of the negative consequences because social norms are still respected.

The fourth and rarest behavioural alternative is retraitism. The citizens belonging to this category retract themselves from society and are people such as alcoholics, drug abusers and wanderers (Ultee et al., 2003). Retraitists have tried to reach conventional goals as conformists, but failed to do so. In wanting to conform but by not succeeding, they have given up altogether. On social media, retraitists will probably not be the biggest problem, since they primarily shut themselves off from interaction with others.

The fifth and last behavioural alternative is called rebellion. Rebels reject conventional norms and accept and spread alternative norms (Ultee et al., 2003). Therefore, this behavioural alternative is probably the biggest threat to a positive ethos on social media. Of course, it can be good to reject the status quo, for example if it is unjust or outdated. However, when the rebellion becomes extreme and when illegal means are used to accomplish goals, the behaviour can become a social problem.

   3. Labelling theory

The labelling theory could also help explain why citizens exhibit norm transgressing behaviour on the internet. The theory is posed by sociologist Howard Becker and entails that people exhibiting criminal behaviour can go through a deviant criminal career in the eyes of others (Ultee et al., 2003). I propose that a same career can exist for citizens who write norm transgressive comments. Namely, other citizens can interpret the comment as being deviant from prevailing norms. Subsequently, the person can be called to account by other commenters for the things he has written, and a general unfavourable figure of the commenter can be constructed. In the comment sections of the cases, it can also be seen that citizens personally attack commenters that write a negative and clearly norm transgressing comments. There even seem to be certain commenters that react on many posts in the same negative way, and people are recognizing them and are speaking up about it. What happens then is that citizens agree with other commenters about the deviant behaviour of the person, and they publicly stigmatize the commenter. As a result of this, people can treat the person negatively at the moment that the commenter interacts on other places on social media and is being recognized, even before the person has written something negative. As a result of this negative treatment, the commenter may be tempted to repeatedly write norm transgressive comments. He may feel that he cannot change his negative reputation anyway, and react out of anger. With this mechanism, a self-fulfilling prophecy can be at work. Citizens expect a person to behave negative and they treat him accordingly, where after the person actually behaves negatively in response, and their expectations are confirmed. This is also known as the Thomas-theorem: 'If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences' (Merton, 1995).

Now, the deviant criminal career can stop with the continued writing of norm transgressive comments. The deviant citizen may not experience further negative consequences such as exclusion. However, even more problems arise when the individual commenters unite in new groups with a subculture of new and looser norms. This is what seems to have happened on Dutch social media, where people that react norm transgressive on general pages may write even more extreme comments on specific (political) pages. The norms of those subcultures of deviant groups will be looser, and the comments that are given on specific pages will probably not be norm transgressing to the group of commenters themselves.

4. Routine Activities Theory

In the Routine Activities Theory, it is stated that three elements must be present for criminality to be committed: an available target, a motivated offender, and a lack of guardians (Cohen & Felson, 1979). The online and intangible domains of social media create a context in which these three elements especially are present. First, there are a lot of available targets: a person can easily be mocked, trolled or flamed by using personal information listed online against the person. The second element of motivated offenders is present on social media as well. Since this manner of communication brings so much people together, there is always a part of those people who transgress the norms of others. Citizens will not all have the same motivation to do so, however. There will be the trolls that enjoy irritating other people, but there can also be citizens who want to make their opinions be heard at all costs, for example. A third category can be the citizens who unconsciously write norm transgressive words, whether it be because of a mental disability or disorder, or simply out of a lack of consideration for others. Lastly, there can be people that are sensitive to group pressure, who simply react out of impulsivity when they see others react in a negative way. There are a lot more reasons why citizens would be motivated to behave the way they do on social media, whether it is a rational decision or not. The third and very important element of the routine activities theory is that a lack of supervision makes for a higher chance of norm transgressive behaviour and crime. This can have to do with the difficulty for citizens to exercise social control over other commenters that are not physically proximate. Also, the government and law enforcement agencies have less possibilities to coerce citizens to behave, since activities on the elusive online domain are much more beyond the control of those institutions than activities in the physical world can be.

5. Broken Windows Theory

Another theory that can be applied to norm transgressive behaviour on social media is the broken windows theory proposed in 1982 by social scientists Wilson & Kelling. It states that disorder and crime go hand in hand. When there is disorder in a neighbourhood (for example, a broken window), people will litter sooner and behave antisocially in other ways, because the disorder gives the signal that it would not be punished because no one cares (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). This can result in further and worse norm transgressive behaviour, and eventually in crime. On social media, similar signs of disorder can be observed. When there is visible disorder in a comment section caused by people who write everything that they think without considering social norms, people can (un)consciously decide that it is not wrong to contribute to this disorder. For example, they can think that 'further negative commenting by me is not that bad since there are already so much mean comments'. The visible disorder in the comment section, the suggestion that norm transgressive behaviour will not be punished because no one cares, and the idea that guardians are not present can make that more online norm transgressive behaviour will occur.

6. Differential Association Theory

A theory that is based on group processes as well is the differential association theory proposed by sociologist Edwin Sutherland. Sutherland states that an individual is located within different social groups, which have different values and beliefs towards crime. Whether an individual shifts more or less toward positive values and beliefs about crime, depends on the balance of how much is interacted with those different groups (Sutherland, Crutchfield, Bridges, & Weis, 1996). This balance is not one that takes place in a conscious matter in one's head. If it was, the individual could simply - and rationally - choose the group that has the most favourable attitude towards crime and that matches the individuals own values and beliefs. Rather, this balance is the result of the influence of the groups in which the individual interacts (Sutherland et al., 1996). The individual does not always choose the groups in which he interacts; it can also be a matter of 'it just came to be this way'.

However, when a person has liked or followed certain pages or is a member of certain groups on social media, he has chosen to be part of those communities. The interaction that is encountered on those pages is less chosen, however. Citizens will not be able to predict with whom they can interact on social media, since everyone can access it. Also, when a comment section 'blows up' and a citizen finds himself engaging in the interaction, the ruling norms and values may be adopted. When it seems to be the norm that norm transgressive behaviour is exhibited and that nobody is sanctioned, citizens that are new to the discussion may adopt this norm and participate in the behaviour.

7. The lack of charismatic authority

Finally, another cause of the dissatisfaction that Dutch citizens show in their online comments can be that too little charismatic authority is ascribed to members of the Dutch government. This may be because a part of the Dutch citizens does not feel they are being represented by current leaders, which makes them question the legitimacy of the government ("*Nederlander gelooft …*", 2015). In this case, Representatives only have a form of authority that sociologist Weber calls legal authority: the ability to base orders on the name of the law (Ultee et al., 2003). However, one needs to be ascribed credibility by citizens to acquire what Weber calls charismatic authority. This kind of authority is based on the possession of

extraordinary qualities that makes citizens look up to a leader. On social media, the general ethos seems to be that Representatives do not know what they are doing and are making the wrong choices. On pages that are dedicated to populist parties, it can be read that the ethos is even more negative: not only the charismatic but even the legal authority of current leaders is questioned by the members of those pages. On both categories of pages, sympathy for the current political leaders seems to be lacking. Prime Minister Rutte seems to be insulted especially often, and there are even memes (bits of culture that are spread quickly and that are easily shared; Mekkes, 2014) made and spread about him. This phenomenon may not be the result of hate towards the political leader himself, but may also stem from dissatisfaction with current governmental policies.

4.5 Interventions for norm transgressive behaviour on social media

Researchers argue that the government should play a part on the internet in bringing back civility and facilitating better argumentation (Ghonim, 2015). It is argued that citizens need what is called digital literacy: a new kind of literacy with eight aspects that everyone on the internet should possess (creativity, critical thinking & evaluation, cultural & social understanding, collaboration, the ability to find & select information, effective communication, functional skills and e-safety; Tempelaar, 2013). Below, I propose three interventions that could help to facilitate a better online environment which could diminish online norm transgressive behaviour.

I.   Assessment of subjective information

First, it would be wise to help citizens to become more knowledgeable in terms of the subjectiveness of news. Currently, assessing the value of (news) sources does not seem to be a skill that is taught explicitly on schools. Giving them a few cues, most adults should be able to distinguish between false and true sources. Unfortunately, some media are good in making even satiric news articles look authentic, such as the Dutch satirical websites Nieuwspaal or De Speld. Bart Bettens from the Flemish computer magazine Clickx provides us with six ways to recognize a hoax or false information, which can help citizens to debunk even the most authentic looking news. First, citizens should be wary of posts in which the person is asked to share the information as much as possible. Second, superlatives like the excessive use of capitals often seem to be used by people who really want their message to come across (Bettens, 2009). A third way to recognize subjective or false information is by checking if a vague authority is mentioned, for example in a sentence like this: 'Microsoft has issued a statement about a virus that will take over your computer'. If the sender of the message is not Microsoft or the post does not link to credible sources and/or concrete contact information, then the messenger has probably used a familiar name to make the hoax more credible (Bettens, 2009). A fourth way to see if information is correct, is to check for a date. To let citizens keep on sharing the information and not letting it become obsolete, the person will mostly not state a date. Fifth, citizens should also check the source of the information: 'when it is not coming from authorities but they heard about it from a friend, where did he or she get the information if it cannot be found anywhere else?' (Bettens, 2009). The sixth tip that Bart Bettens gives for checking information is the use of common sense (Bettens, 2009). Things that are too good to be true, will be just that in most cases, he says.

Naturally, not all posts can be classified as true or false. A lot of citizens and organizations will have their own reasons for sharing information, which may have to do with profit or gaining political support, for example. When confronted with posts that carry out subjective (political) views, citizens could be advised to form their own opinion about the matter, and to remain moderate in expressing or imposing that opinion to others. When a citizen does choose to engage in heated online discussions, it would be wise to at least explain one's opinion. As Zoé Christoff, PhD at the University of Amsterdam states: it is important to make one's thought process clear to others, in order to be able to reach common ground, and to not let discussions become a wealth of unreasoned information (Waterval, 2016).

II.   Encouraging norms to be shaped more moderately

Helping citizens to better assess the trueness of content on websites that they visit is a good start, but it does not seem to be sufficient. People are likely to share information that is partly or fully incorrect or biased, and this does not contribute to a reasoned and mature discussion that informs citizens of the right information. What worsens this development is that citizens do not assess information objectively, but let their assessment depend on the opinion of others (Waterval, 2016). When comments have been posted below a certain message, chances are that these comments are written by citizens belonging on 'mount stupid'. Those first comments will set a norm for future commenters, who might think that the opinion expressed by these commenters is the general opinion of Dutch citizens. Unfortunately, new commenters will not always know that the existing comments may be uneducated and are not reflecting the opinion of the majority of Dutch citizens, and their comments can be influenced by this apparent norm.

The group that can help neutralize online discussions is the more moderate group of Dutch citizens with a more neutral opinion, but sadly, they are often antagonized (Waterval, 2016). When social media users read comments that balance out the extreme ones, they may also perceive the norm of what society thinks of a subject as being more moderate. This could shape citizen's own comments, making its content less norm transgressive. A current policy being considered that is related to this idea, is the initiative of Dutch organisations to appoint cybervolunteers who can monitor citizens' behaviour on social media (Arnout de Vries, personal communication, January 4th 2015). The police academy for example, is currently collaborating with the NHL University of Applied Sciences in Leeuwarden to search for youth to help detect internet criminals ("*Experiment: Noordelijke scholieren …* ", 2016). I propose that such cybervolunteers could have a role in writing more moderate comments in reaction to other users, which may bend the discussion into a more positive one.

III.   Shaping the interaction with the government more interactively

Lastly, it is good to study the best and worst practices shown by Dutch businesses who already have a larger presence on social media when looking for a good way to enforce policy concerning social media. It is said that the current problem with organizations is that they are reacting to customers only after a problem has arisen, while they could provide more information on their website instead, making the interaction with customers more targeted ("*Go social! …* ", 2016). This could also be a good course of action for the government: it could make sure that the information that is provided is clear and that it answers questions that citizens may have. An addition to the current governmental website could be that the communication is more interactively shaped, similar to online initiatives of citizens such as The Hoax-index. Following such examples, the government could publish factual information

about its actions when these are negatively and falsely discussed on social media. In this way, citizens have an official channel resembling 'The Hoax-index', where they know they can go when they need factual information about governmental actions. Citizens can then refer to this website or page in online discussions, hopefully making these discussions less hateful and testifying of more digital literacy.

4.6 Theoretical explanations and interventions: connecting elements

The theoretical explanations and interventions that are discussed in this thesis are linked through three sorts of disturbed ties between citizens and the government or between individuals or groups of citizens themselves. Figure 3 clarifies this, while table 3 connects the theoretical explanations and interventions to the three categories of disturbed ties.

1 = Inadequate information from and/or attitude of the Dutch government towards its citizens

2 = Group processes

3 = Deteriorated, negative or antisocial/criminal ties of Dutch citizens with other citizens and/or the Dutch government
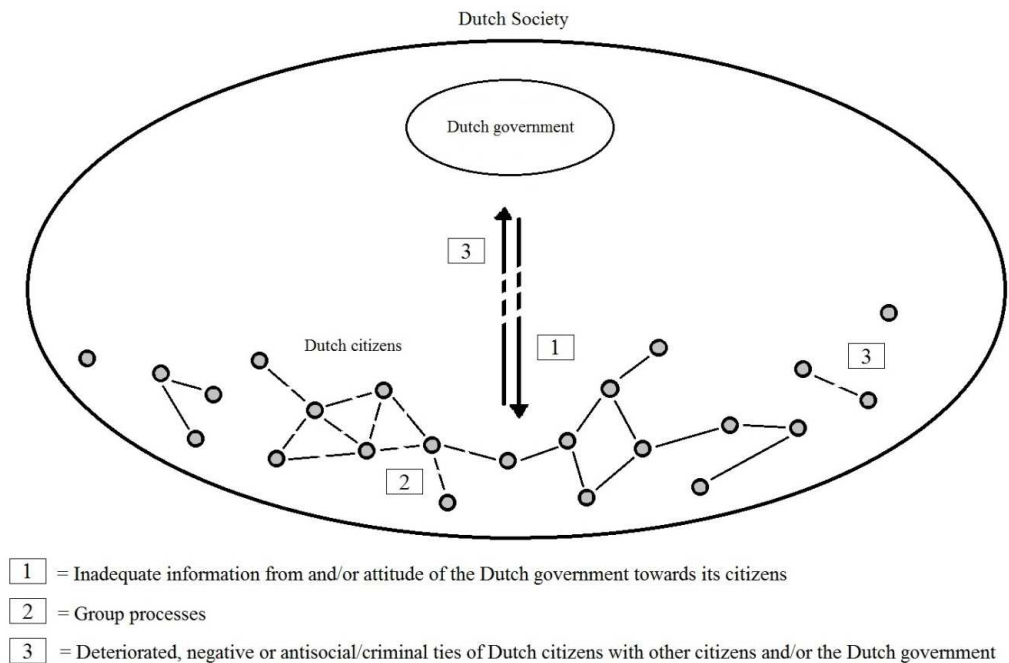
Figure 3: The connection between theoretical explanations and interventions: disturbed ties

	Disturbed ties	Theoretical explanations	Interventions
1	Inadequate information from/attitude of the Dutch government towards Dutch citizens	Lack of Charismatic Authority; Routine Activities Theory	Interactive government; Assessment of Subjective Information;
2	Group processes between Dutch citizens	Broken Windows Theory; Labelling; Differential Association Theory	Moderate Shaping of Norms (& cybervolunteers)
3	Deteriorated/negative/antisocial/criminal ties with citizens and/or government	Relative deprivation, Imitation; Routine Activities Theory;	

*= theory/intervention supplemented by experts

Table 3 : Theoretical explanations and interventions categorized under the three categories of disturbed ties

Figure 3 shows how three sorts of ties can be distinguished, which the different theoretical explanations and interventions concerning norm transgressive behaviour on social media have in common. The first tie reflects the disturbed process of the provision of information by the Dutch government. The information that the government provides to its citizens can be insufficient or wrong. This of course also depends on the way in which the information is interpreted by citizens, who do not all desire the same quantity and quality of information. A complicating factor is that the way in which the information is framed cannot be positive for all citizens and groups at the same time, making it difficult for the government to adopt a certain attitude towards its citizens. As can be seen in table 3, the theory about a lack of charismatic authority and the routine activities theory can both be included in this category of disturbed ties. First, when citizens attribute little charismatic authority to the government, the bonds between the citizens and the government is weakened. As can be seen in the theory chapter, this can cause citizens to behave norm transgressive towards the government on social media. Second, the element of the routine activities theory that belongs in this first category of disturbed ties is that of the lack of guardians. The government does not have the same capacity to monitor the online world equally as thorough as the 'offline' society. This gives citizens the chance to behave in an norm transgressive way in the online environment, without a high chance of getting caught. Two of the four interventions are based on ameliorating the ties of the government with its citizens: reacting more interactively to subjects that citizens are occupied with, and helping citizens to better assess subjective online information.

The second sort of disturbed ties with others are those caused by group processes. When individuals interact in groups, processes can arise that collectively shape the behaviour of the persons in those groups. Fuelled or strengthened by the interaction in a group can be the inclination to exhibit online norm transgressive behaviour. The theoretical explanations that can be grouped under this third category of ties help to explain this. First, the broken windows theory depicts a group process in which a first norm of disorder signals to other citizens that such disorder is accepted in a particular (online) environment, after which they feel free to transgress norms themselves. Another group process is labelling, in which a commenter is stigmatized for his online behaviour by other citizens, after which the behaviour repeats itself and whole groups of deviant commenters can be formed. A third theory that is eminently about a group process is the differential association theory. It is about the balance of (un)favourable attitudes towards norm transgressive behaviour that dominate in the groups in which a citizen interacts, which determines the individuals own attitude towards the negative behaviour. The intervention that belongs to the category of disturbed group processes is that of the attempt to shape online norms in a more moderate manner. This can be done by making sure that a bigger part of comments to a post is more positive. In this way, a group process of the formation of a common norm that norm transgressive behaviour is O.K. can be redirected.

The third and last kind of tie concerns disturbed ties of individuals with others. A citizen may be disconnected from other citizens, the ties that he/she does have may be of a negative character, or those ties can be of an antisocial or even criminal nature. Lastly, an individual can have an unfavourable attitude towards the government, lined with distrust or anger, for example. The first theory belonging to the category of individual ties of citizens is that of relative deprivation. When an individual relates what he has to the position of others in a negative way, this may provoke online norm transgressive behaviour. A process of imitation also belongs in

the same category of disturbed ties: norm transgressive behaviour that one individual exhibits on social media is copied by another individual that observes it. The elements of the routine activities theory belonging under the category of individual ties are the motivated offenders and the available victims. Motivation to exhibit online norm transgressive behaviour can be formed by antisocial or criminal ties to others, as well as by a negative attitude towards the government. Deteriorated ties to other citizens and/or the government can make for motivated offenders as well as available victims, the latter not having the adequate resources to guard themselves against online norm transgressive behaviour (such as education, friends that warn them against certain online behaviour, etcetera).

5   Results: renewed theory

Based on the interviews, there are elements that can be improved, supplemented and refined in the original theory. Below, the elements of the original theory will be named, where after I will add the opinions of the experts about the theory, and improvements that have emerged from their interviews. The answers of the experts relevant to each element will be summarized and considered collectively. In addition, both a theoretical explanation and an intervention brought forward by the experts are added to the results of this research. The results chapter forms the renewed theory, reviewed by eighteen experts. Thus, it reflects a better and more complete framework of theory compared to a version solely based on literature research.

5.1   [RQ I] - What is norm transgressive behaviour on social media: a definition

Based on the interviews, it became clear that the definition of norm transgressive behaviour on social media adopted in this research can be refined. What is also evident, is that defining norm transgressive behaviour is a challenge because of its subjectivity: the experts find it a difficult task. Dianne van Hemert for example, says that norm transgressive behaviour is as a black box as is culture, but that it is important to try and define it. She further thinks that norm transgressive behaviour is 'behaviour that is not considered as socially desirable in a particular setting', and that the online context influences what people find acceptable behaviour. Remco Wijn wonders what can be considered a norm: 'is it etiquette, or what most people do?' 'And when are norms transgressed?'. David Langley thinks that online norm transgressive behaviour is exhibited by a certain language use, in which forms of expression that are used go against what other citizens deem acceptable. He argues that we should collectively decide about how we want to interact with each other on a platform. Further, Langley points out that with adopting the democratic element in the definition, the behaviour considered as being norm transgressive would have to be restricted to punishable behaviours, since those behaviours are undesirable for maintaining a democratic society. Arnold Roosendaal, Dianne van Hemert and Lara van de Wal agree with David Langley that using 'consequences for democracy' is not the best option for a definition of norm transgressive behaviour on social media. Among others, all four agree that including societal problems as social unrest and polarization would be a better fit. In addition, Kristian Helmholt names the part 'collection of collectively accepted online norms', and finds it to be good. Joke Kort also thinks that what is accepted in society must be leading for a definition of norm transgressive behaviour. Lastly, Helmholt thinks that the confirmation of norms and the blurring of norms could both be elements of the definition of norm transgressive behaviour.

As can be read above, there is some consensus among the experts about the definition that is adopted in this research. Five of the eight experts that I discussed the definition with, point out that the democratic element of the definition is less suitable because our democracy is influenced by illegal behaviours, while norm transgressive behaviours may 'only' have societal consequences (thus, the democratic element is a too high level of influence). Further, all eight experts find including societal consequences of norm transgressive behaviour in its definition a good idea. They think that norm transgressive behaviour on social media can cause social unrest and polarization, and multiple experts name the blurring of norms.

Taking these three factors as the main societal consequences of the behaviour, the definition of norm transgressive behaviour on social media is adapted. The improved definition adopted in this research is: 'the transgressing of a collection of collectively accepted online norms, in which norm transgressive behaviour has consequences for society through the blurring of norms, social unrest, and polarization'. The new elements in the definition have been validated by discussing them with eight of the experts. By adopting these new elements in the new definition, the experts find it to be a good manner of describing norm transgressive behaviour on social media. Just as in the original definition, elements as 'collective norms' and 'the blurring of norms' still continue to be subjective parts. However, since the domain of norms is one in which opinions of citizens differ particularly often, subjective elements will always remain. After all, when practically every citizen agrees that something is a norm, it will sooner or later become a rule or even a law (and such an agreement will go from a societal to a democratic element).

> - Norm transgressive behaviour can be defined as 'the transgressing of a collection of collectively accepted online norms, in which norm transgressive behaviour has consequences for society through the blurring of norms, social unrest, and polarization'

5.2   [RQ II] - The consequences of norm transgressive behaviour on social media

Five of the eighteen experts see norm transgressive behaviour more as a social phenomenon rather than a social problem. Arnold Roosendaal for example, feels that what you can see on social media is behaviour exhibited by a specific group of people that are the loudest shouters. René Van Rijckevorsel (Elsevier) sees a bigger development of people who are dissatisfied in the Dutch society, and argues that this is not solved by banning citizens from social media. Iwan Verrips (NUjij) is of the opinion that norm transgressing comments are already addressed by parties such as the Dutch reporting centre for discrimination. As a student in Journalism, the element of providing news is more dominant to him, compared to societal consequences of providing that news. Marc Wessels thinks that social media are a place for minorities to let themselves be heard, because they receive a lower level of representation in conventional media. Remco Wijn has the same opinion as Wessels, and thinks that giving citizens an opportunity to have an outlet for negative thoughts is important for society. Wijn does not think that the expression of norm transgressive behaviour is the problem, but merely the stage that websites and platforms are offering it. Thus, Wijn is of the opinion that only the illegal behaviours considered in this research are problematic, and that the rest of the norm transgressive behaviours are not. Although it may not reflect Wijn's opinion most clearly, this is also indicated in table 4, in which the behaviours that he finds problematic are indicated with a plus, while the other behaviours are indicated with a minus.

All the arguments above do not have to do particularly with norm transgressive behaviour being negative in itself. None of the experts seem to doubt the negative features of norm transgressive behaviour on social media, but some of the experts think that the function of the behaviour for society is more important than its negative externalities. Thirteen of the eighteen experts however, do consider norm transgressive behaviour on social media to be more of a social problem than rather than a social phenomenon. They think that the behaviour has more negative consequences in society than it has a positive function. For these

experts, the biggest problematic element of norm transgressive behaviour on social media seems to be the increase of the behaviour. This can happen both in the sense of the behaviour becoming more extreme, as well as that the behaviour can spread and 'infect' other citizens. Stefan from Tolerant Netherlands for example, thinks that it is not a minority of citizens who engage in the behaviour. Further, Joke Kort thinks that when negative behaviour is exhibited once that it is not that norm transgressive, and that it is good that we are free to express criticism on social media. However, she also thinks that this criticism is very visible on the online domain and that it can be adopted by the mass, after which excesses of norm transgressive behaviour arise. Although she believes that social media has a self-regulating ecosystem to level norm transgressive behaviour, she thinks that the capacity of this ecosystem is limited.

In addition, the experts are worried about the blurring of norms, after which society can become less decent as a whole. When those norms of civility fade, the experts see the dangers of social unrest and eventually, polarization. David Langley for example, sees that communities often have their own belief systems and that they set forth evidence for those beliefs, without there being much chance for rebuttal. Kristian Helmholt and Timara van der Meulen say that if nobody intervenes in norm transgressive behaviour, citizens may think that this behaviour is normal. Helmholt also says that online norm transgressive behaviour could blur norms and that we should prevent that, especially since we have less common news sources and citizens seek out news that confirms their own ideas. According to Helmholt, the effects of norm transgressive behaviour are unrest and the enhancement of every sound, while alternative sounds are no longer heard. He says it is a problem for an open and free constitutional state, which is threatened by underground hate and polarisation. Van de Meulen also observes that matters are often seen as black and white and that there is too little consideration about the grey area, which crystallizes into citizens adopting a way of in-group out-group thinking. She thinks that imitation and normalisation are at work in this process of the hardening of society. Van der Meulen argues that over time, this could lead to worse behaviours such as discrimination, which in its turn will cause more polarisation. Stefan also sees polarisation as a consequence of norm transgressive behaviour, especially in the refugee debate. The admin of The Hoax-index thinks that online norm transgressive behaviour can lead to slander, violence and vandalism. He thinks that it is easier to find citizens' personal information on social media, after which the switch from the online world to the physical world can be made. Just as Lara van de Wal and Carla de Bruyn, Stefan has noticed that the media gives less attention to the 'silent majority', because a good example of decent behaviour is not newsworthy. He argues that a skewed public opinion is formed that is enforced by the media, where the norm is set by 'the biggest screamers'.

A turning point for when norm transgressive behaviour on social media becomes a social problem may be when it goes from being a nuisance and norm transgressive according to individuals, to becoming norm transgressive for bigger groups in society. Multiple experts name this condition, and its satisfaction is indeed the step from the micro level of the individual to the macro level of society. Remco Wijn for example, thinks that norm transgressive behaviour may be problematic 'when it predicts the transgressing of laws and may lead to a dysfunctional society'. Considering the definition of norm transgressive behaviour in this research, it is the part 'collection of collectively accepted online norms' that indicates this higher macro level on which the behaviour should be assessed. The development of main social problems, such as the blurring of norms, social unrest and polarization, may

indicate the transition from a social phenomenon to a social problem. It is then that norm transgressive behaviour on social media can cause more social problems than are prevented by letting the online domain be an outlet for citizens' feelings, for example. When considering the transition from the micro level to the macro level, an element of society and the bigger cause is taken into account in deciding which behaviours are norm transgressive and can thus be seen as unacceptable. In this manner, the designing of policy around norm transgressive behaviour is done the same way as how the individual and collective interests are weighed in the constituting of laws.

> - The majority of the eighteen experts see norm transgressive behaviour on social media as a social problem, especially when it has consequences such as the blurring of norms at the moment that the behaviour becomes considered as being acceptable. Eventual outcomes can be social unrest and polarisation prevailing in the Dutch society, especially since citizens increasingly seek out their own news sources that confirm their ideas
> - Norm transgressive behaviour on social media may be seen as a social problem especially when it has consequences for bigger groups in society

5.3   [RQ III] - Recognizing norm transgressive behaviours in the online domain

a. Classification of norm transgressive behaviour on social media according to three moral domains and two moral issues

5.3.1   Introduction: trichotomy of norm transgressive behaviours

During the interviews, it became clear to me that I needed to classify the online norm transgressive behaviours in order to indicate the different levels of severity that those behaviours can be considered to have. The answer to this I have found to be a categorisation that Hans Boutellier and I discussed in our interview, and the prime topic we discussed was the defining of moral norms. Boutellier has helped me tremendously in defining what norm transgressive behaviour means and which behaviours can be categorized under it. Below, the proposed categorisation will be fitted to norm transgressive behaviour on social media.

Boutellier argues that there are three categories in norms that jointly form the 'moral space', in which society with all its citizens has to come to an understanding about what is and what is not acceptable in behaviour. First, there is the domain of criminal law. Boutellier sees the Dutch criminal law as a 'solidified morale' in which our collective norms of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour have crystallized through history. On the other side of the categorization, we have the domain of what Boutellier calls 'the domain of obviousness' (also called 'mores'). He says that it is the whole of norms that are not necessarily made explicit, but are 'the way to go' in an implicit way. The category that lies in the middle of the domain of criminal law and the domain of obviousness, is what Boutellier terms the domain of 'social regulation' or 'normative regulation'. In this domain, social regulation makes for explicit agreements about acceptable behaviour, which are bounded by the law. An example that Boutellier mentions is the norm that we have to 'check in' with a card to use public transport. He argues that this behaviour is not required of us just because we find the behaviour in itself desirable. We want that everybody pays for public transport, and that those who do not pay can be punished by law. Boutellier says that in the domain of social regulation, not all norms are defined or collectively shared, and that they can be of a subjective kind: the collective of norms as a guideline of acceptability is a social

construct that is continually being reshaped. Boutellier argues that this guideline applies to behaviours which lie between the things we obviously must not do because they are wrong, and the behaviours we get punished for by law. He says that the transition from the domain of social regulation to the domain of the law is made when the collective recognition of unacceptability is that big, that we are prepared to punish certain behaviour.

5.3.2   *Norm transgressive behaviours in table 1 classified according to the trichotomy*
Making the switch from the general idea of the categorisation to the specific case of norm transgressive behaviour on social media, the online behaviours in table 1 of the theory chapter can be classified under the different moral domains. This is shown schematically in table 1 (page 27) , and will be further explained here. First, the behaviours of discrimination, hate speech, racism, criminal and terrorist activity, slander and sexual, physical and financial violence can be included in the domain of criminal law. All are illegal behaviours that are restricted both in the physical world as well as on the internet. On the other side of the categorisation of norm transgressive behaviour, there is the domain of obviousness. This category includes behaviours that can be called aesthetically undesirable, which are digital shouting (the use of caps lock), making spelling errors, or failing to use punctuation. Most citizens seem to adhere to these principles as a form of common manners. The way in which deviant language in this domain can be seen as undesired is not because of suffering that is brought on to others, but because it can be a nuisance to read.

Between the illegal online behaviours and online behaviours that are implicitly and widely seen as 'not done', there is the domain of social regulation. In table 1, most of the behaviours cannot be considered as punishable, nor a matter of aesthetics. Some platforms prohibit these behaviours, while others do not mention them: it is a matter of the collection of norms that a platform has composed. When looking at the table, 'behaviours that do not attest to social decency or respect' is named both by platforms and experts, and the sentence essentially summarizes what the domain of social regulation and norm transgressive behaviour entail. Further, the use of or engaging in trolling, personal attacks/insults/ad hominem arguments/flaming/offensive language, harmful/disruptive/ abusive language, inappropriate language, degrading or shaming language, vulgar/obscene language/ sexism, generalising, bullying, posting porn, harassment/intimidation, cursing, revenge and conspiracy theories/misleading others, unfounded/unreasoned/insubstantial accusations/allegations, off-topic and meaningless comments and whining/complaining, can all be seen as behaviours that are or must be socially regulated in norms of acceptability. This regulation depends on who is asked and on the context in which the behaviour is exhibited. When looking at the interviews, there luckily is some consensus among the experts about which of these behaviours can be seen as norm transgressive behaviours. The opinion of the experts about all the behaviours in table 1 will be discussed below. A new table is composed, in which the categorisation in moral domains is maintained, and a further categorisation of the domain of social regulation is incorporated.

- Norm transgressive behaviours can be classified under three moral domains: the criminal domain, the domain of social regulation, and the domain of obviousness
- The domain of social regulation includes most of the norm transgressive behaviours mentioned in this research, especially the behaviours about which shared social norms do not exist

5.3.3   *Norm transgressive behaviours named by the experts*

The norm transgressive behaviours that the experts have brought forward in the interviews can be classified under the same categorisation of moral domains. Similar to the table with community guidelines, I have composed a table with behaviours that the experts have named as being norm transgressive. Aside from the categorisation in the three moral domains, the table is classified by how often behaviours are named under each domain. In addition, a further classification of the domain of social regulation is made, that divides the behaviours under two moral issues. This subdivision, including its schematic representation, is explained below the table.

	Experts																	
Norm transgressive behaviour	LvdW	HB	MW	RW	DvH	AR	JK	DL	KH	RvR	HW	KK	IV	LvdWal	MW	CdB	TvdM	St
The domain of criminal law																		
Illegal behaviours/content	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Racism/hate speech (and hate accounts)		+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+		+	+		+		+
Discrimination		+		+	+			+					+	+		+		+
(Inciting) Sexual, physical and financial violence*		+		+	+			+	+			+				+		+
Slander (laster)				+		+	+	+			+			+		+		
Criminal and terrorist activity		+		+	+			+						+		+		
The domain of social regulation																		
The moral issue of personal attacks																		
Personal attacks/ insults/ad hominem arguments/flaming/offensive language		+	+	-		+	+	±			+	+	+	+		+	+	+
Behaviours that do not attest to social decency/respect			+	-				±		+	+			+				+
Harmful/disruptive/abusive language		+		-			+	±			+			+		+	+	+
Generalising				-		+	+			+								
Trolling				-			+	±			+			±		+		+
Degrading or shaming language or bullying	±			-		+	+	±								+	+	+
Harassment/intimidation	±			-			+	+			+			+		+		
The moral issue of off-topic/insubstantial contributions																		
Unfounded/unreasoned/insubstantial allegations		+		-		+	+	-	+	+	±		+		+	+	+	+
Off-topic and meaningless comments		+		-			+			+		+	+		+	+	+	+
Revenge and conspiracy theoretical explanations/misleading others***				-		+	+	±		+	+			+	+		+	+
Cursing			+	-				±		+	+	±		+			+	+
Whining/complaining				-						+	+							
Porn				-	+	±		±						+				
Vulgar/obscene language/sexism				-				±/±/+			+			+		+		
Inappropriate language				-							+			+				+
The domain of obviousness																		
Spelling errors/Lack of punctuation	+			-					+	+				+	+			
Digital shouting (CAPSLOCK)		+		-							+	±		+				±

* including the credible threat with, and which affects personal and/or public safety
** Flaming is acceptable when it is enjoyable, ordinary offensive language/cursing is not
*** for the harvesting of likes, comments and shares or personal gain

+ = behaviour is named by the expert
± = behaviour is named by the expert to be norm transgressive depending on the context (e.g. audience, platform)
- = behaviour is named by the expert as not to be norm transgressive

LvdW = Lidwien van de Wijngaert
HB = Hans Boutellier
MW = Marc Wessels
RW = Remco Wijn
DvH = Dianne van Hemert

AR = Arnold Roosendaal
JK = Joke Kort
DL = David Langley
KH = Kristian Helmholt
RvR = René van Rijckevorsel

HW = Admin of The Hoax-index
KK = Karolien Koolhof (AD)
IV = Iwan Verrips (NUjij)
LvdWal = Lara van de Wal
MW = Matt Westerlaken

CdB = Carla de Bruyn
TvdM = Timara van der Meulen
St = Stefan from Tolerant Netherlands

Table 4 : Behaviours that are named as being norm transgressive by the eighteen experts

5.3.3.1 *The domain of criminal law*

The punishable behaviours in table 4 are not all separately named by the experts, but are included in their consensus that the behaviours that are prohibited by law are also norm transgressive behaviours (indicated with the plusses in the first row of the table). It seems logical that the experts deem behaviours as racism and discrimination to be norm transgressive, since they go beyond transgressing norms to being in violation of the Dutch law. Among the experts that name behaviours from the domain of criminal law, Stefan from Tolerant Netherlands sees behaviours as discrimination and hate speech throughout the cases, and the admin of The Hoax-index observes racism. He argues that we have a right to insult others, but that that using insults as a game to hurt others is an abuse of that right. Lastly, Joke Kort also finds behaviours that violate others to be norm transgressive.

5.3.3.2 *The domain of social regulation*

The domain of social regulation can be subdivided in two domains of moral issues that make clear the two biggest characterizations of the behaviours in this domain. Hans Boutellier argues that the internet is a different moral setting from the physical world, with its own rules, norms and characteristics. Joke Kort also thinks that we need a different set of rules for this different context. Boutellier compares the online context to the context of the clubbing scene, in which different (often looser) norms are in place than in everyday life. Based on this idea, Boutellier and me came up with three moral issues that the different moral setting of the internet holds, that seem to constitute the biggest elements of norm transgressive behaviour. These three moral issues are: anonymity, personal attacks (ad hominem argumentation), and comments that are off-topic and/or are insubstantial contributions. What is noteworthy is that I found that the last two elements are also the big overarching elements that can be extracted out of the interviews. In my opinion, the moral issue of anonymity is more of contextual factor that can help explain why more norm transgressive behaviour is exhibited on the internet. In this research, I will use the other two moral issues as a way to further classify the behaviours in the domain of social regulation. Discovering the similarity of the categorisation with the content of the other interviews, I came up with a further subdivision of the behaviours in the domain of social regulation in the two categories mentioned above. In this way, both a categorisation in norms and a categorisation in moral issues are accomplished, as can be seen in figure 4. In the next sections, I will elaborate on this subdivision of the domain of social regulation, and the opinions of the experts about the corresponding norm transgressive behaviours are reported.
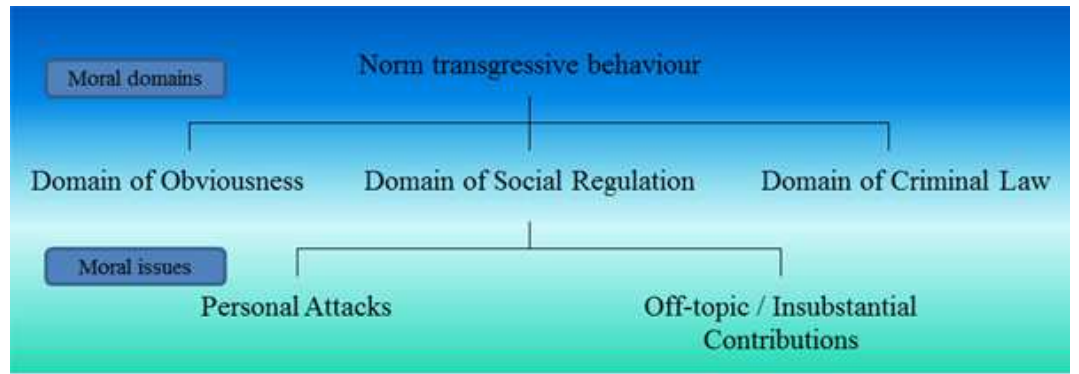
Figure 4: Subdivision of norm transgressive behaviour according to three moral domains and two moral issues

5.3.3.2.1 *Personal attacks*

The first element of personal attacks forms an overarching characteristic of other norm transgressive behaviours. As an individual element, it is named by eleven of the eighteen experts and by five of the community guidelines (see tables 1 and 4). The experts primarily find insulting by using personal attacks norm transgressive because it does not add anything to the discussion, and also because it is most likely done with a motive other than being a contribution to a fruitful discussion. Experts state that people use personal attacks (also named personal insults, ad hominem arguments, flaming or offensive language within the tables) in order to win the discussion, and to bring down opponents without having to come up with reasoned arguments. Further, the element of personal attacks is related to a concept that is named by multiple experts: a lack of respect for the dignity of others.

For Marc Wessels, Arnold Roosendaal, Stefan and Lara van de Wal, purposefully insulting people is what they see as online norm transgressing behaviour. In addition, Roosendaal's personal boundary of online norm transgressive behaviour lays at the use of the ad hominem argument and generalizing, and he also names degrading and shaming language. Arnold Roosendaal, René Van Rijckevorsel and Joke Kort see that individuals and groups are attacked and the public debate is lost. The ad hominem argument is also named by Hans Boutellier, Matt Westerlaken, Timara van der Meulen, and the admin of The Hoax-index. Van der Meulen also names hurting and cheering about or wishing for someone's death. Van Rijckevorsel lastly names the hauling of World War Two and the inciting people to vote for a political organization. These last two arguments can be seen as personal attacks since they are about people's political orientation, but can also be considered to fall under the off-topic/insubstantial contribution. In any case, the experts indicate that behaviours directed to persons are norm transgressive because of their off-topic nature. Both elements of personal attacks and the off-topic/insubstantial contribution can thus be seen as being irrelevant to a substantive discussion. The category of personal attacks is considered separately in this research, since the behaviours in this category have an added element of hurting others. This consequence is different from off-topic/insubstantial contributions, since those seem to be more of a nuisance than that they are hurtful per se.

5.3.3.2.2 *The off-topic and/or insubstantial contribution*

The second big overarching element of norm transgressive behaviour on social media put forward by the experts is the off-topic and/or insubstantial contribution. The two elements are individually listed as 'unfounded/unreasoned/insubstantial allegations' (named eleven times) and 'off-topic and meaningless comments' (named nine times). It seems that not contributing to a good discussion by steering it in a non-relevant direction, or by displaying a lack of knowledge backing up one's opinion, are big norm transgressive elements in comment sections.

The experts name specific behaviours that can be classified in the category of the off-topic and/or insubstantial contribution. Lara van de Wal for example, names defensive language as a main element of norm transgressive behaviour. Cursing, especially with diseases, is what Marc Wessels, Timara van der Meulen, and René Van Rijckevorsel consider as 'not done'. For Karolien Koolhof, cursing is not always norm transgressive: this depends on the context. Matt Westerlaken further sees that 'the roots of behaviour are wearing off'. He observes a lot of online content that is made up or is taken out of context, and finds spreading stories that are not true to be norm transgressive. This is related to writing comments without

reason and argumentation, which Kristian Helmholt, Arnold Roosendaal and Timara van der Meulen consider to be norm transgressive behaviour. Roosendaal and Van der Meulen also name misleading others, posting or sharing conspiracy theoretical explanations, the spreading of lies and unfounded accusations as norm transgressive behaviour. In addition, Van der Meulen remarks that the online norm transgressive behaviour is getting worse, especially the spreading of fake videos and hoaxes. Lastly, Joke Kort also thinks that there is a lot of pollution of the online environment with irrelevant information. She observes the blurring of norms in online discussions, because other elements such as popularity are more important than giving an honest opinion or giving a reaction to a topic.

5.3.3.3 *The domain of obviousness*

The experts name multiple behaviours that can be categorized in the domain of obviousness. Kristian Helmholt for example, is bothered by the lack of periods and commas. René Van Rijckevorsel and Lara van de Wal also name spelling errors as being norm transgressive behaviour. Further, the excessive use of caps lock as a way of digital shouting is named by René Van Rijckevorsel and by Hans Boutellier. Karolien Koolhof and Stefan argue that the use of caps lock falls under norm transgressive behaviour depending on the context. Koolhof argues that it can be acceptable when it is not used in whole sentences, and that AD.nl sometimes uses caps lock in a cheerful way. A behaviour that is also named by Stefan and by Timara van der Meulen is repetition of comments or sentences, which GeenStijl also prohibits on its weblog. In addition, ignorance is named multiple times by the experts, both as a cause and a symptom of norm transgressive behaviour. Finally, a lack of punctuation, phonetically written words and posting strange (insulting) figures are what Lidwien van de Wijngaert considers to be norm transgressive behaviours. All in all, wrong forms of language use, repetition and ignorance are elements of comments that about half of the experts do not like to see.

5.3.3.4 *The importance of context in assessing behaviour*

Further, the experts often mention that it is important to consider the context of a comment in determining if it can be classified as norm transgressive behaviour. Timara van der Meulen suggests that one should look at the post below which is commented. An example she gives is the use of the emoticon of a gun. When this emoticon is used in a post about guns, the emoticon may resemble the love for firearms, she says. However, she argues that when the emoticon is used in a reaction that is threatening someone - like a politician - it may entail a more serious threat and come across as norm transgressive behaviour. Further, Lara van de Wal says that when a discussion below a news article suddenly becomes really negative, that the collection of comments responsible for that development can be considered norm transgressive, while a comment in itself may not be. In addition, Dianne van Hemert also sketches why the context is very important in moderating norm transgressive behaviour. A Master's student of hers has done research into cultural differences in insults, and has found that in Spain for example, the insulting of one's mother is considered to be not done, while in The Netherlands, one often uses diseases to curse with.

- • The behaviours in the domain of social regulation can be subdivided under the categories of personal attacks and off-topic/insubstantial contributions, respectively
- • From the behaviours connected to the moral issue of personal attacks, the category of 'personal attacks/ insults/ad hominem arguments/flaming/offensive language' is considered to be most norm transgressive by the experts
- • For the moral issue of off-topic/insubstantial contributions, the categories of 'unfounded/unreasoned/insubstantial allegations' and 'off-topic and meaningless comments' are most seen as norm transgressive by the experts
- • The behaviours in the domain of obviousness (spelling errors/lack of punctuation; digital shouting) are seen as norm transgressive only by a minority of the experts

5.3.4   *Comparison of community guidelines and experts' opinions*
When tables 1 and 4 (page 27 and page 51, respectively) are compared, there are multiple similarities and differences to be observed. First, the category of personal insults, ad hominem arguments and the like is named by twelve of the eighteen experts, as well as in five of the ten community guidelines. From the interviews, it has become clear that such personal attacks are what a lot of the experts primarily name as being norm transgressive behaviour. What stands out is that the bigger platforms of Facebook and Instagram do not prohibit comments that insult or attack others. Smaller platforms such as RTL News and NUjij do prohibit behaviours in the category of personal insults and ad hominem argumentation, but they seem to have a more direct commercial interest of keeping the comments a relevant complement to their news articles. The second category in the domain of social regulation is about categories of behaviour that are 'off-topic' or that are not substantial to the discussion. The main behaviours that belong under this moral issue are the categories of 'unfounded/unreasoned/ insubstantial allegations' and 'off-topic and meaningless comments'. In table 4, these elements are named as norm transgressive by eleven and nine experts, respectively. Both categories are named as prohibited four times by social media platforms.

More similarities in norm transgressive behaviours for both tables exist in the domains of criminal law, as well as the domain of obviousness. First, both groups find the behaviours from the domain of criminal law to be unacceptable behaviours in the online domain (see tables 1 and 4). The Dutch law could thus be the fundament on which to base further social regulation of behaviours on the internet. The administrator of The Hoax-index also thinks that prohibiting punishable behaviours is a good starting point, from where behaviours can be added that are not accepted in the specific context of a platform. Further, behaviours in the domain of obviousness are indeed not often named by the experts nor the platforms. It could be that it is assumed that citizens try to refrain from those things as much as possible out of themselves. Another option is that the actors may value those behaviours as acceptable.

Multiple experts say that it is logical that social media platforms prohibit mostly illegal behaviour, but are not keen to burn their fingers on more subjective norm transgressive behaviour. Carla de Bruyn for example, says that the more platforms prohibit in their community guidelines, the more behaviours they are obligated to counter. Joke Kort confirms this idea, and knows from her research into virtual communities that as soon as a platform is aware of which behaviours are

exhibited in its community, that it is also responsible for that behaviour. Kort therefore argues that from the perspective of social media platforms, it is wise to prohibit the bare minimum of behaviours in their guidelines, and to act as if they are not aware of the rest of the negative behaviours that are exhibited. Thus, it seems logical that it is not in the commercial interests of platforms to institute more moderation. With the level of moderation on social media in 2014, it was estimated that the number of content moderators on social media platforms, apps and the cloud worldwide was already 'well over 100,000' (Chen, 2014; Kist, 2016). The fact that the costs to hire more moderators may be high, does not seem to be a sufficient excuse, however. From the actors that attract many users to social media, it could also be expected that they help to minimalize the negative externalities of the medium they earn from, an idea that multiple experts name. Dutch citizens also seem to 'vote' with their choice of social media, and take their advertising value elsewhere than where a negative sphere dominates the online space. Twitter has experienced this, and has faced a quite drastic decrease in (active) users because of the great amount of negative tweets and the high level of harassment on their medium (McLaren, 2016).

5.3.4.1   *Analysis of Facebook comment threads*
All of the nine experts that I have discussed the cases with, have read comments that in their opinion contain norm transgressive behaviour. Even with the interviews generally being one and a half to two hours long, I unfortunately was not able to discuss the questions about the cases as thoroughly in all interviews. Throughout this research, the cases have counted more as examples of norm transgressive behaviour on social media, which the experts could refer to in discussing the behaviour. When there was not enough time to discuss all subjects, I have chosen to focus more on the other interview questions about elements such as explanations, and on the specific expertise of the interviewee concerning different facets of norm transgressive behaviour. Since I heard from the experts that they are familiar with the behaviour in the cases and norm transgressive behaviour on social media in general, I think this was the best choice to handle the relatively short time that the interviews could cover.

What can first be noted about the cases is the severity of the norm transgressive behaviours that they display. Multiple experts have said that the cases show relatively mild norm transgressive behaviours. They have seen worse, but understand that I chose these cases: severer cases lean more towards punishable behaviour and would do less good in supporting the thought that current guidelines and laws may not always be sufficient. In addition, Timara van der Meulen and Lara van de Wal say that they may find the displayed comments relatively mild because they have gotten used to norm transgressive behaviour on social media, and that this familiarization is not a good thing.

5.3.4.1.1 Dutch police officers receive two times 500 Euros this year

The reaction that is named most often is the first comment in the case about bonuses for the police (figure 3 of appendix II). The experts notice a high level of personal insults back and forth, making the thread more norm transgressive than the other cases. Three of the four experts that have talked about this case, name the cursing in the reaction and in the following comments as a norm transgressive element. As one of the moderators of AD.nl, Karolien Koolhof has read the case about bonuses of the police, but has not written or moderated the article published on AD.nl. She has read comments that she would have deleted, especially the ones containing personal insults, cursing, and off-topic statements. She further confirms that the moderators of the Facebook page of AD.nl use the feeling of 'you know it when you see it' when moderating comments. When cursing is combined with personal insults, it is more likely that Koolhof deletes it, she says. The cursing in the first reaction of the case about the police would have been acceptable to her. Her personal boundary of norm transgressive behaviour does begin at using curse words, but she knows that AD.nl attracts a certain audience who express themselves in such ways.

In addition, I asked Koolhof about the quite speculative framing of the article about the police. She said that it is quite 'AD-ish' to publish an article with a new title without the writer having time to approve it. She says that she personally does not always agree with the titles that are given to the articles. Arnold Roosendaal thinks that the news is generally framed more neutral than it is done in the case about the police, and Lara van de Wal agrees with him. Roosendaal argues that for some media, sensation seeking is the chosen approach, but that the media have a responsibility when engaging in journalism, which is to refrain from too suggestive framing that can lead to a polarized discussion.

5.3.4.1.2 The cases about the bus driver strike in Almere and the reporting of insults to Turkey

The cases about the strike of bus drivers and about insults directed at Turkey and president Erdogan are not often named by the experts. The experts did not extract it from the whole theory as elements that stood out, and time unfortunately did not permit to discuss all cases in detail. For the article about the strike of bus drivers, Lara van de Wal does mention that she already expected racist comments because youth with tinted skin is mentioned. Further, Karolien Koolhof finds that the cases are recognizable as examples of norm transgressive behaviour, especially the case about the bus drivers.

5.3.4.1.3 Refugees start their own companies

Karolien Koolhof sees the case about refugees as a good example of norm transgressive behaviour. She says that posts about refugees are considered as a 'hot topic' at AD.nl, and that the comments below such posts are always kept an eye on. Further, the admin of The Hoax-index thinks that the case posted on Facebook page The Netherlands my Homeland is a 'textbook example of a totally unsophisticated image of reality'. He thinks that the commenters are people 'who believe that they will be disadvantaged by [refugees getting governmental aid], and who blame the government, immigrants, asylum seekers and Muslims etcetera for their own situation'. Lara van de Wal thinks that citizens possess just a small part of the available information. She argues that the information that they do receive is news, which is deviant per definition since only then it is newsworthy. She sees that citizens are angry about refugees getting governmental aid, while the media do not

emphasize that a large part of the governmental budget goes to expenditures for Dutch citizens themselves. Van de Wal thinks that the media plays a large part in online norm transgressive behaviour by how they frame their news. Carla de Bruyn considers the context of pages like Love of Holland and The Netherlands my Homeland to be norm transgressive in itself, and she finds them to be part of the dark grey area just before criminality. Stefan from Tolerant Netherlands also says that on those pages, behaviours as hate, racism, and discrimination are encouraged. He argues that norm transgressive behaviour is normalized because it is easier to go with it than to protest against it. Stefan expects that there are people that like the nationalistic page for figures of Dutch tulips and mills, but who get dragged into the norm transgressive behaviour that they encounter on the page.

- Unfortunately, the dominating social media platforms do not prohibit personal attacks and off-topic/insubstantial contributions in their community guidelines
- Some experts think that the four cases of comment threads show relatively mild norm transgressive behaviour, but also fear that this may be due to a process of familiarization with extremer online behaviour
- For the experts, standing out in the cases are the high amount of personal insults, as well as the framing of the articles in a sensational manner. The experts say that next to reporting news, the media also has a responsibility to keep an eye on the commotion that it triggers

b. Community guidelines of Dutch social media platforms

5.3.5 *Should community guidelines be (better) enforced?*

The community guidelines of various Dutch social media platforms were used as a framework to help determine what users can and cannot do on the Dutch domains of the internet. I have discussed these guidelines with the experts, and have sought answers about the current stringency of those guidelines, compared to the role that they could ideally fulfil in countering online norm transgressive behaviour. First, two experts explicitly mention that the community guidelines are not relevant for current online behaviour, nor for ideal online behaviour. Remco Wijn for example, thinks that the law should be used as guidance, and that this law is unrelated to ideologies of social media platforms. He stresses that those platforms also have commercial interests that influence their guidelines. Further, multiple experts such as Joke Kort and Lidwien Van de Wijngaert think that users do not read community guidelines.

Eight of the ten experts that I discussed the relevance of community guidelines with, do however call for a better enforcement of the community guidelines. Among them especially are the experts with the most pragmatic expertise in social media. The eight experts think that a better enforcement of guidelines can play a part in the diminishing of norm transgressive behaviour on social media. Aside from ameliorating existing guidelines, they think that enforcing current guidelines will help to eliminate a considerable part of the norm transgressive behaviour exhibited on the Dutch domains of social media. Stefan from Tolerant Netherlands for example, expects that if the enforcement of community guidelines is done better, that online norm transgressive behaviour will become less common. He sees that reporting norm transgressive behaviour on Facebook is not effective in 99 percent of the cases. Lara van de Wal also thinks that the enforcement of guidelines is skewed, just as Matt Westerlaken and the admin of The Hoax-index. The admin uses the example of share and win games that are not permitted on Facebook, but are rarely deleted when reported. He thinks

that the automatic system that evaluates reports is currently not a worthy alternative for manual evaluation.

Lastly, David Langley doubts the ethical desirability of commercial platforms shaping online behavioural rules by providing the online domain for so many users. He says that discussions are carried out that are not transparent, and therefore doubts that in the current situation, those commercial platforms can foster a discussion about norms. Langley thinks that undemocratic domains as Facebook have gotten way too much power, and stresses that there is a big task for researchers and universities to look into the ethical aspects of social media and platforms having such a big influence in the (digital) world.

5.3.6 *Can community guidelines guide a framework of norm transgressive behaviour?*
Based on the opinions of the experts, it has become clear that community guidelines of social media platforms are not the best guidelines for a framework of online norm transgressive behaviours. The guidelines of the smaller platforms approximate the norms of the experts regarding unacceptable behaviours a little bit better than the larger platforms. However, some of the experts consider the prohibition of illiteracy and digital shouting to be too strict. Also, the biggest elements of norm transgressive behaviour for the experts are personal attacks and unreasoned/off-topic arguments. These elements are almost never included in the guidelines of the biggest platforms of Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. They are included in some of the smaller platforms, although this does not always seem to be for moral reasons. Altogether, there is no agreement between the platforms if norm transgressive behaviour is important to combat and if so, which behaviours fall under this criterion. The bigger platforms, that for a large part dominate social media in their number of users, prohibit mostly punishable behaviours. Other than that, citizens seem to be able to write close to everything that is not punishable or is not noticed by the moderators.

What complicates the idea that acceptable behaviour can be guided by community guidelines is the issue of their enforcement. Based on the interviews, from what I have read on positivo pages and from my own experience, it can be said that reports of citizens are often not taken seriously. In countries connected to social media, articles are written about the skewed enforcement of the guidelines of platforms as Facebook and Instagram. The platforms are spoken of negatively because they delete content that citizens do not find offensive, while they leave content that is unacceptable to them untouched. Examples of deleted content on Facebook are a page about celebrations for homosexuals, and a drawing of a naked woman (Remie, 2012). Both were not offensive to a lot of Facebook users, but they were to Facebook itself. What further seems especially troubling to citizens, it that the guidelines seem to be enforced arbitrarily, and that there is no way of knowing if a contribution will be deleted (Chen, 2014; Remie, 2012; Sonnemans, 2016). It can be questioned if it is desirable to let big platforms such as Facebook govern social media; a domain which seems to have become a second reality to so many citizens. Apart from that, the practical execution of enforcing community guidelines on big social media platforms does not seem to tally with the ideal enforcement. We should want to approximate this ideal, since online behaviour that does not fare well with a lot of citizens now seems to have free reign.

> - The majority of the experts thinks that the first step to diminish norm transgressive behaviour on social media is a better enforcement of community guidelines by social media platforms
> - Existing guidelines are found not to be able to guide online behavioural norms: most do not include the biggest elements of norm transgressive behaviour, are not in agreement about the behaviours that should be prohibited, and are not sufficiently enforced
> - The experts hackle the skewed enforcement of these guidelines, in which reporting is not honoured, and in which non-offensive content is deleted while offensive content is not

5.4   [RQ IV] - The experts' assessment of the theoretical explanations proposed in this research

Below, the opinions of the experts concerning the theoretical explanations brought forward in the theory chapter will be reported. For each of the theoretical explanations, a short summary will be given of what the theory entails. Subsequently, the opinions of the experts about the plausibility of the theoretical explanations will be discussed, focusing on the consensus or disagreements among the experts. Lastly, a theoretical explanation proposed by the experts will be included and elaborated. This theoretical explanation forms a supplement of the refined theory chapter, and gives insight into other ideas that can be applicable to the subject of norm transgressive behaviour on social media.

1. Imitation

The theory about imitation is about the copying of behaviour by citizens who witness it. Imitation is easier on social media because the behaviour remains written on the internet and a lot of people can read it. It is not a theory that is often brought up by the experts, in both a negative or positive way, but it is positively discussed by five experts. Karolien Koolhof for example, thinks that imitation is definitely a good explanation for norm transgressive behaviour. She describes a situation which she also sees to be applicable to online behaviour. In her student days she was handing out flyers: when one person refused to take a flyer, others would too. Matt Westerlaken and Timara van der Meulen also think that the imitation theory may be plausible: citizens may write similar comments when they can see from first commenters that norm transgressive behaviour is tolerated, they say. Westerlaken further thinks that there is a core group of commenters who have extreme thoughts and who pave the way for others to exhibit norm transgressive behaviour.

2. Relative deprivation theory: anomie theory and different forms of adaptation by Merton

This combination of theoretical explanations is about a feeling of being disadvantaged when individuals compare themselves to others in a relative way. The state of anomie describes a feeling of hopelessness stemming from this realisation that what is desired cannot be achieved. Sociologist Merton has described five different forms of adaptation in coping with this feeling of anomie. The experts name the bundle of theoretical explanations about relative deprivation quite often, and primarily point out a bigger feeling of dissatisfaction prevailing in the Dutch society. Marc Wessels for example, values the social ladder/social deprivation theory and the rebellious behavioural alternative as plausible explanations for norm transgressive behaviour, just as Dianne van Hemert and

Stefan from Tolerant Netherlands. Stefan sees that a large part of people who comment in norm transgressive ways do not have the biggest intellect and often seem to feel victimized. Lara van de Wal also names this culture of victimization. Stefan argues that people like this are susceptible to populist statements as 'this is what the Dutch people want', while they feel less need for fact checking. Karolien Koolhof also sees that 'the commoner' is the most present on AD.nl. She thinks that this has to do with the accessibility of the website because of language use and choice of articles, which are understandable for everybody. Lidwien van de Wijngaert finds the social ladder/relative deprivation theory 'super explanatory and understandable'. She recognizes the behavioural alternative of rebellion in the commenters on the internet. What both she and Lara van de Wal say, is that the solution for norm transgressive behaviour could be to address citizen's feelings that they are worse off than others, for example by making others get down a few steps of the social ladder.

The element of feeling disadvantaged compared to others is what experts mainly find plausible about the social ladder/relative deprivation theory. Karolien Koolhof thinks that social media are especially designed in a way that can be overwhelming, and that people seem to present themselves in a more positive way than their life really is. To the people that cannot keep up with this apparent standard, social media may evoke discouragement, she argues. The admin of The Hoax-index also stresses the influence of a feeling of being disadvantaged rather than having a low social economic status per se. He thinks that people who behave norm transgressive compare themselves to people who are in a better position than them. This is a relative rather than an absolute way of comparing: they are dissatisfied that they have less than others, rather than realising that they are quite well of compared to what other people in the world have. Timara van der Meulen also sees a bigger discontent in society, and observes it for higher educated citizens as well. She explains that this dissatisfaction may have become more visible and relates this to her idea that voting for a populist political party becomes more accepted: she thinks that more people will dare to say that they are dissatisfied and that they vote for such parties.

Summarized, the social deprivation theory (previously named 'social ladder theory') is one of the most mentioned elements of the theory chapter, and it is positively discussed by ten of the eighteen experts. The experts think that the development of norm transgressive behaviour on social media may be a symptom of a bigger problem in society, in which a part of the citizens feels disadvantaged and does not feel represented by the leaders making the decisions for them. The theory of relative deprivation seems to point out a divide of Dutch citizens in dissatisfied and relatively satisfied people, in which the 'absolute' social economic status is not always the leading factor. It seems to be the relative feeling of dissatisfaction that is the most important, in which citizens compare themselves to those who seem to have more. The theory of relative deprivation laid out according to a divide in level of satisfaction may form a bigger framework in researching norm transgressive behaviour in both the physical world and on social media. It is related to the idea of a horizontal pillarization, which is included as an additional theoretical explanation below.

3. Labelling theory

The labelling theory is about the deviant norm transgressing and/or criminal career that a commenter can go through in the eyes of other users. This career is formed when others attribute negative expectations to the commenter, after which the person will behave in the way that is expected of him. This process ends with the commenter engaging in communities in which negative behaviour is the more looser norm, and the formation of communities of likeminded 'outsiders'. The experts primarily think that the labelling theory is applicable for more advanced online discussions, and for people who often comment negatively. Stefan expects that the theory only applies to a minority of people whose names are remembered, and saying the same, Matt Westerlaken names the administrator of Love of Holland (Liefde Voor Holland). He thinks that members from other pages (like his own) treat that person like he is going to write more norm transgressive comments. Koolhof recognizes labelling on social media as well: she knows of a few commenters that are known by other citizens for their negative comments. Lastly, Marc Wessels also recognizes labelling, it's corresponding social exclusion and the idea of in-group versus out-group in the online domain.

In summary, the experts that have named the labelling theory mainly find it to be applicable for a minority of people that have built up a reputation on social media of writing norm transgressive comments. The ranking of the theoretical explanation compared to the other explanations included can be found in table 5 that is included on page 75.

4. The Routine Activities Theory

In the routine activities theory, there are three elements that form the context in which norm transgressive behaviour is committed: an available target, a motivated offender, and a lack of guardians. Three of the five experts that have discussed the theory find it plausible to explain norm transgressive behaviour on social media, while two experts assess it negatively. Matt Westerlaken and Stefan primarily see the element of a lack of guardians to be fit to the online environment. Stefan argues that not all the behaviour can be monitored, let alone persecuted, because of the enormous quantity of it. He thinks that the statements that citizens make must (partly) be made the responsibility of page owners, since they provide a stage for norm transgressive comments. Westerlaken thinks that there is a lack of social control in the online domain and that people behave too individualistic, which makes that there is not enough conversation between citizens. He argues that social control can be brought back by making sure that all accounts have an identifiable user. Westerlaken agrees with my observation that people also seem to behave norm transgressive writing under their real name, and thinks it has become a more normal way of behaving. He says that people seem to have transgressed the stage of having shame in behaving in such a negative way. The admin of The Hoax-index thinks that the theory is applicable primarily to trolls. He argues that they can seek for an online community in which conflicting opinions exist, instead of physically needing to go to a group of people to be able to harass them.

In conclusion, the experts primarily name the element of a lack of guardians of the routine activities theory to be applicable to the online domain. In the context of norm transgressive behaviour on social media, the theory seems to explain how the negative behaviour comes about. It however does not seem to be the most clear explanation as to why those behaviours are exhibited. In other words, only the part 'what works' in the question 'what works for whom in which circumstances' seems to be answered with this theoretical explanation.

5.   The Broken Windows Theory

The broken windows theory is about the idea that crime and other negative behaviour is more easily exhibited when the disorder in a certain setting seems to resemble the norm that 'nobody cares'. When people pick up on this norm, they can find it more justified to behave in a worse antisocial or criminal manner. It seems to be a theory that is quite applicable to the subject of norm transgressive behaviour on social media. Kristian Helmholt, Matt Westerlaken and Stefan are three of the experts that find the broken windows theory to be very plausible. Westerlaken sees that in Facebook groups, people react to other norm transgressive comments in the same way, as if they feel it is accepted because somebody else is doing it. Helmholt and Stefan also name this same kind of mechanism. As a student of forensic criminology, Lara van de Wal finds the broken windows theory to be a surprising link to norm transgressive behaviour. She thinks that an action-reaction mechanism is in place, in which bad behaviour gives rise to more bad behaviour

Summarized, all of the six experts that I have discussed the broken windows theory with, find it very applicable to norm transgressive behaviour on social media. The rest of the experts have not named the theory out of themselves. Other than a lack of plausibility, this may have to do with a lack of time in the interviews to discuss all theoretical explanations.

6.   The Differential Association Theory

The differential association theory is about the influence of the social groups that an individual is located in on that person's inclination to commit a crime or to exhibit negative behaviour. It is said that when a group has a more favourable attitude towards norm transgressive behaviour, that the individual can adopt this attitude and will behave accordingly. Matt Westerlaken thinks that the theory can help explain norm transgressive behaviour on social media. He names the example of 'the Wave': in a group of people in a stadium, you are expected to participate when such a wave is initiated. The admin of The Hoax-index also thinks that the differential association theory is plausible and that 'a strong prepossession' is at work. He argues that people seek out the communities that preach the same beliefs as them. When they encounter conflicting information, they will dismiss it as uninformed or a conspiracy theory, he argues. Stefan finds the differential association theory to be a plausible theory as well, and he confirms that the exhibition of online norm transgressive behaviour can have to do with group pressure.

The Differential Association Theory was not one that stood out for the experts in the interviews: four experts discussed it, among which three experts discussed it in a positive way. I do think that group processes are an important factor in norm transgressive behaviour on social media. After all, social media provide a way of communication that perfectly lends itself for group interaction. However, other theoretical explanations seem to be assessed as more important by the experts, but I also learnt that in the interviews, I have not discussed the theory with the experts as often as other theoretical explanations. This had to do with the time I had to discuss the chapter of theory, and may have happened because this particular theory could not be linked to what was said that often compared to the other group theoretical explanations above.

   7.   *The lack of charismatic authority*

The theory about a lack of charismatic authority is tailored to the context of the Dutch society most specifically. It is about the idea that a part of the Dutch citizens may only ascribe authority to the leaders of our country because they have been elected. They do not seem to ascribe to them the crucial form of authority that is acquired from the possession of extraordinary leadership qualities. It seems that some groups of people in the Dutch society have lost their trust in the Dutch representatives and do not feel heard by them. Having discussed this theory with seven experts, all of them recognize a lack of charismatic authority for Dutch governmental leaders. Matt Westerlaken for example, thinks that Prime Minister Rutte is often scolded for promises that are not kept. He would like to see that citizens look at what politicians vote for to see that it is not always unwillingness, but also an impossibility for politicians to keep all their promises, considering the model of consensus in Dutch politics. Westerlaken sees that there is a gap between the government and Dutch citizens, fostered by a lack of mutual understanding. Lara van de Wal also thinks that a lack of charismatic authority certainly is in place in the development of norm transgressive behaviour. She says that it is difficult to alter people's opinion about charisma, because this opinion is very subjective. Stefan thinks that our Prime Minister could 'employ more easy language, while still remaining respectful', and that he could 'use his own words and not laugh off problems' to gain more charismatic authority. However, Karolien Koolhof and Stefan also think that that the current leaders cannot ever get any charismatic authority from a part of the citizens, since they are against authority in any case. The admin of The Hoax-index argues that this is why citizens behave more norm transgressive to current leaders than towards the opposition, who can give commentary without being held accountable. The admin thinks that the behaviour is about rebellion against current leaders and policy rather than who are the leaders.

   While seven experts think that the behaviour of our leaders causes their diminished charismatic authority in the eyes of some citizens, two other experts believe that this is purely caused by their political position in which they cannot do anything right. In both cases, it seems to happen quite often that the government is associated with and blamed for social problems. Citizens who do not naturally ascribe power to the leaders of our country may not always express this in a decent, let alone reasoned way. A lack of charismatic authority can thus be a deeper laying explanation for the occurrence of norm transgressive behaviour on social media, especially for the comments in which is written about the subjects of societal and governmental problems.

5.4.1   *Additional theoretical explanations proposed by experts*

Quite a few experts have proposed theoretical explanations that supplement the original theory of this research. With the intention of keeping this thesis readable, they are not all included here. Below, a refinement of the theory is proposed, and one of the most innovatory theoretical explanations named by the experts is included. For more information about additional theoretical explanations concerning norm transgressive behaviour, the elaboration of the interviews can be requested from the author of this thesis.

An improvement for the original theory

Remco Wijn found the theory about individual needs proposed in the case about bonuses of the police (page 28) a good one, but he thinks that it will be better grounded on the basic human needs theory by Deci & Ryan. They argue that people need the three elements of competence, autonomy, and relatedness to be

able to function in their day to day life (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Compared to the element of 'needing to belong to a group' used in the original theory, Wijn thinks that the similar element of relatedness can be used. It can provide a better argument of why an individual may be tempted to behave in a norm transgressive way, especially when the behaviour is exhibited in the group that the individual belongs to or wants to belong to.

8. *A horizontal pillarization*

An interesting theory that is brought forward in the interviews is the idea of a new horizontal pillarization that seems to develop in the Dutch society, fostered by the internet. In the last half year, this idea is named in the Dutch media as well. I find it important to include the idea in my thesis, also because I believe that it quite strikingly hits the nail on the head. The experts that have named this theory are Dianne van Hemert and Kristian Helmholt. First, Helmholt talks about the original pillarization that classified Dutch citizens through a religious divide until the second half of the sixties. Helmholt says that at that time, citizens interacted within their own social groups. He argues that in the current Dutch society a new pillarization has begun, in which thousands of pillars are formed by citizens who can interact with likeminded others on the internet. He says that citizens can now go and find confirmation of their opinion in online domains if their current social circle does not confirm it. Helmholt argues that this can result in groups belonging to different pillars battling each other, causing norm transgressive behaviour on the internet. Now, this new pillarization differs from that in earlier times in the sense that it is not one wherein the (religious) elite imposes on the citizen the group with which he can associate. The new development seems to be more of a horizontal differentiation of groups among citizens, which may work its way upwards to that elite. More pillars can also be distinguished than a few key fractions in society: because of the connectedness on the internet, citizens can found as much different 'pillars' as there are human interests or characteristics that make citizens seek likeminded others. As can be seen below, the horizontal pillarization can take place through bigger demographics. The difference with the earlier pillarization however, is that the new pillarization seems to be driven by individual choices of citizens. These choices collectively seem to make for the societal development of the gathering of different groups, instead of being a process induced by a (religious) elite. In the case of socioeconomic status for example, the position of the horizontal layers or 'pillars' do have a meaning in terms of ranking, but this may not be experienced by the citizens in those different levels themselves.

In the opinion of Dianne van Hemert, the new pillarization is based on level of education and socioeconomic status. In the magazine HP De Tijd, Bert Nijmeijer also names a new pillarization according to educational level. He writes that higher and lower educated citizens think differently about matters as migration, the European Union, and politics in general, which results in the development of "two opposed social-cultural 'families', with a big middle group" (Nijmeijer, 2016). To illustrate how the two different groups are occupied with activities in everyday life, he names a memorable example: "the higher educated enjoy karaoke, but they enjoy it with irony. The lower educated take karaoke seriously" (Nijmeijer, 2016). Another article that warns for a new pillarization is written by Frans Timmermans in De Volkskrant. The spontaneous pillarization he foresees divides citizens through the demographics of social-economic status and ethnicity (Timmermans, 2016). As a stimulatory factor he names the rise of a new culture that exists in both the physical world and in the online domain, in which citizens explain the freedom of speech as a permit to say anything, without considering restrictions such as self-

control or decency (Timmermans, 2016). Timmermans observes that 'from both sides there is much screaming, but that no one seems to listen or is trying to come to an agreement' (Timmermans, 2016).

All three ways of a horizontal pillarization mentioned above can be seen as complementary manners of describing a polarisation that the Dutch society can be said to go through. In a way consistent with all three divides, citizens can congregate in separate groups on both social media and in the physical world. For example, a distinction is often made in the media about which groups of citizens read, watch and use different newspapers, magazines and digital media. Nijmeijer for example, names SBS6 and RTL4 as TV-channels that are eminently watched by the working class (Nijmeijer, 2016). Karolien Koolhof also mentions that the medium AD mostly attracts the commoner because of its accessibility. A last example is the monthly magazine of Elsevier Juist, which has stated on his website that 'sixty-five percent of their readers is part of the highest wealth class' (*Over Elsevier Juist,* 2016). This statement seems to confirm the target audience of the magazine. Unfortunately, a downside of products, services and processes being targeted at certain demographics can be that it can foster the finding and confirming of own information by social groups. With the development of a new pillarization, different social groups may come in to contact less and less, and the in-group out-group distinction between groups in society can become greater. Paired with the dissatisfaction that some of the groups are feeling for not being well of in a relative way, a recipe for social unrest and polarisation is created. The norm transgressive behaviour that can be seen on social media may be a symptom of this bigger problem, since the online domain is one of the few places on which people from different 'pillars' do still meet. The development forms a wicked problem, with its solution not being easy nor unambiguous.

An important footnote to keep in mind when deciding how to react to different kinds of horizontal pillarizations is to not be selective about debunking lies and insubstantial contributions. In his column, financial geographer and publicist Ewald Engelen rightly reminds us of our obligation as researchers, policymakers and other parties participating in the discussion about the Dutch society, to remain critical before labelling our own 'facts' as more true than the 'facts' presented by groups of citizens that deviate from 'the status quo' (Engelen, 2016).

- Imitation: some experts confirm that citizens imitate other norm transgressive behaviour, but the theory is not the most mentioned
- Relative deprivation: is found to be most plausible by the experts and seems to point out a bigger dissatisfaction in society, in which citizens compare themselves to others in a relative manner
- Labelling: is primarily found to be applicable to citizens that have an online reputation of writing norm transgressive comments
- Routine Activities Theory: the element of a lack of guardians is found to be very applicable; it points out the responsibility of the government and other parties to enforce a greater online presence
- Differential Association Theory: is not mentioned often, but does seem to indicate a group process in which the exhibition of norm transgressive behaviour on social media is normalized
- The Lack of Charismatic Authority: is found to be very plausible and indicates that a part of the citizens has lost its trust in the government, which leads to norm transgressive statements written on social media

5.5 [RQ V] - Interventions to counter norm transgressive behaviour on social media

What is lastly reported and discussed in the chapter op results are the opinions of the experts about the interventions proposed in the theory chapter. Going through the teacher-learner cycle of realistic evaluation, the interviews form the basis of the refinements and supplements that are sought to form the improved version of the original theory. In order to keep this chapter readable, not all the contributions of the experts are included. For more ideas about interventions proposed by experts, the elaborations of the interviews can be requested from the author of this thesis.

I. Teaching a better assessment of subjective information

The first intervention that was proposed in the theory chapter is about teaching citizens how to assess online information, in order to make them more capable of valuing what is true and false. In this way, citizens will be better armed to debunk false information and hoaxes in the online domain and to counter the occurrence of this behaviour by themselves. Four of the six experts that I discussed this intervention with, find it a good idea to teach citizens to get better in assessing the subjectivity of information. According to Timara van der Meulen, there is a lack of interest in searching for the right way to assess information. She thinks that a contributing factor is the complexity of Dutch politics, which is not understandable for citizens. Matt Westerlaken also thinks that the 'inadequate understanding of information' is a factor in the development of norm transgressive behaviour on social media. He observes hate against refugees that is based on information that is not true. Further, Lara van de Wal thinks that helping citizens to assess subjective information could help, but that it is hard to motivate people to listen. Making this as easy as possible could happen by spreading the message through social media, she says. Arnold Roosendaal also thinks that awareness could be raised about how to look at news, its origin and its value. He says that in a way, this is already taught on schools, but that the government can have a responsibility in enhancing this learning process. Roosendaal argues that it would be difficult to educate adults, since they may find such attempts patronizing. He says that the best way to educate citizens is to take measures directly on social media and to take in to account that particular online context.

The experts do see some problems in a policy of education about the assessment of information. Two experts think that such a solution could work in other circumstances, but that it is hard to get citizens in the particular online context to listen. They think that the online context is especially well fit for solely seeking confirmation of own information, which can be far from the truth. Stefan from Tolerant Netherlands argues that citizens who are exhibiting norm transgressive behaviour do not want to hear the truth and that they rather see their ideas being confirmed. Karolien Koolhof also thinks that teaching about subjective information may only work for a limited group of people. She observes the same group of citizens who have no trust in conventional media and who search for their own news. Just as Carla De Bruyn, she thinks that it is the responsibility of the media to bring factual information. In addition, Koolhof says that people's visit to AD.nl comes about through Facebook in about sixty to seventy percent of the cases. Thus, their visit is part of their personalized overview of news. In this way, the distinction between 'official' and 'unofficial' news becomes blurred, she argues. Koolhof thinks that this can be worrisome, because people can believe false information on which they subsequently base their votes in elections.

Thus, multiple experts indicate that when it is chosen to educate citizens in the assessment of information, that this should be done on social media. They see a role for education and a responsibility for the media, but think that it is hard to teach adults. Problems are that some citizens do not want to learn or do not have the mental capacity to learn. In addition, this unwillingness or inability can be strengthened by the loss of trust in conventional sources, and perhaps by the convenience of not having to think for oneself. All these problems are indeed difficulties in counteracting norm transgressive behaviour on social media, just as they are for countering other social problems.

II.   *Encouraging norms to be shaped more moderately plus the use of cybervolunteers*

The second intervention that is proposed in the theory chapter is about writing reactions to posts, which can help to set a more moderate norm than negative comments would. In this way, citizens can adopt this norm, which makes that a more positive discussion will be carried out. The second element of this intervention is about the use of cybervolunteers serving law enforcement agencies (LEA's) or other organisations, who can take on the job of monitoring and reacting. All of the four experts with whom I have discussed a possible solution of the influencing of norms by reacting to posts, think that such an intervention could work. They emphasise that it is important that the person who writes reactions is not recognized as an authority. Stefan, who runs the 'positivo' Facebook page of Tolerant Netherlands, has experience with attempts to shift the norm more towards decent comments. In order to foster a good debate, he posts comments from accounts with fake names.

Of the seven experts that I discussed the idea of cybervolunteers with, four point out that enforcing an online presence should not be done by such cybervolunteers. Five of the total of nine experts that have named LEA's, think that these authorities should not be occupied with norm transgressive behaviour on social media. The reasons they give for their opinion are both ethical and practical of nature. Marc Wessels gives an ethical reason: he thinks that we should deploy people from social media itself to monitor the domain, because posts often have a certain (political) message of which the philosophy must not be taken away. Remco Wijn, David Langley, René Van Rijckevorsel and the admin of The Hoax-index think that the tasks of LEA's lie elsewhere, namely to only interfere when there is suspicion that illegal acts will be committed. Langley does however think that other parties should be occupied with online norm transgressive behaviour: researchers, journalists, civic movements and other organisations. He argues that they benefit from knowing what is happening on social media. Langley thinks that a (European) congress to discuss social manners would be helpful, which is different to him than censorship, because guidelines would be openly and transparently discussed (as an enforcement of norms in society). He is against 'thought control' of citizens by the government, but thinks that 'visibility will give a great renewal in our behaviour'. Matt Westerlaken pleads for action by other actors than are currently occupied with online behaviour as well. He argues that with budget cuts within LEA's, prioritizing an online presence would be difficult. Arnold Roosendaal also thinks that job enlargement for those agencies is neither desirable nor feasible, also because the behaviour is exhibited by such a big mass of citizens. In addition, Roosendaal thinks that it would be a good idea to set the tone with more positive comments, but fears that when citizens find out that LEA's are participating, they will carry out personal attacks on them because they feel patronized. He argues that it is best to

have a combination of monitoring, moderating, and influencing of online discussions.

III.   Shaping the interaction with the government more interactively

The third and last solution proposed in the theory chapter is about the Dutch government adopting a more interactive role when it comes to the activities of citizens on social media. It is proposed that the government could be more active in debunking false information that is shared among citizens, and should be more available for questions, especially in the online domain. Six of the seven experts with whom I have spoken about this intervention, think that this idea may work. They relate it to the feeling of some citizens that they are not represented by the government and to citizens who have lost their trust in the current leaders. The experts think that it would make a difference if the government is more reachable, and reacts to citizens in a more ad hoc manner at the moment that it is needed. Matt Westerlaken for example, thinks that the government could use social media to spread information, since citizens use this medium for all their information. Lidwien van de Wijngaert also thinks that the government can spread knowledge and facts. She advises to ask key figures on social media to help spread information. Van de Wijngaert is of the opinion that politicians should be judged on their charismatic authority, because it shows their ability to connect with citizens. Marc Wessels argues that citizens are sensitive to lies because they are dependent on media for their news. He says that they cannot find out all the information themselves, and therefore thinks that reacting to lies more interactively is a good idea.

For the ameliorated interaction of the government , the problem of 'unreachable citizens' is pointed out once more. The admin of The Hoax-index argues that campaigns do not reach the citizens who they are meant for, because those citizens do not feel spoken to. Carla de Bruyn also thinks that providing factual information will not work for the average 'Henk and Ingrid'. She argues that you need a certain intelligence to be able to interpret facts, and that some citizens rather have others thinking for them.

As a content specialist, Wessels has some practical ideas about the design of the interaction of the government with its citizens. He emphasizes that reacting to citizens is good, but that it could look like harassment when individual cases are proactively picked up. He says that content and explanations of that content should be provided on an own domain. He also thinks that texts written by the government are often not accessible in terms of readability, and that they need to be more simple and visually more attractive. Further recommendations that Wessels gives are to be more active on social media and to better explain decisions and laws, since he thinks that it is for the most part ignorance that makes people behave in an angry way. He concludes that social media give an excellent opportunity for targeted advertising, and that the government should use that opportunity.

As a journalist, Karolien Koolhof also has some ideas to help foster a better interaction between government and citizens. She argues that both the government and companies may be well advised to have more interaction with citizens, because they should want to know what citizens find important. She states that especially the government should be more available for questions if it wants to keep their citizens involved.

- Horizontal Pillarization: a theory proposed by the experts, that concerns a pillarization of Dutch citizens in numerous groups through different characteristics and interests
- Because of the aversion to other viewpoints, the horizontal pillarization may form a danger of social unrest and polarisation in the Dutch society, signalled by online norm transgressive discussions
- An important footnote is to remain critical of 'facts' used to describe differences between an in-group of intellectuals and out-groups of 'others' who exhibit online norm transgressive behaviour

5.5.1 Ideas about (the design of) interventions proposed by experts

As the last element of the results, some more ideas about interventions proposed by the experts will be included. Because of length purposes, not all the interventions that the experts have named are included and elaborated, but the best fitting and complimentary theoretical explanations will be listed below. For more ideas about interventions in norm transgressive behaviour on social media, the elaboration of the interviews can be requested.

5.5.1.1 The chances of countering norm transgressive behaviour on social media

Some of the experts have little hope that the excess of norm transgressive behaviour on social media can be reduced. René van Rijckevorsel tells that at Elsevier they tried everything to stop the 'hooligans', including blocking IP-addresses, after which people just made new ones. Stefan from Tolerant Netherlands also sees little opportunity for improvement in norm transgressive behaviour on social media. The only thing we can do is to give the good example, he says.

Other experts have more hope of combating norm transgressive behaviour on social media, and propose some ideas on how an intervention to counter the behaviour could be designed. Matt Westerlaken for example, thinks that we could filter out off-topic and insubstantial comments in order to keep comment sections clean. He argues that administrators of pages must be called out quicker, and that page's should be deleted after repeated reporting. Timara van der Meulen also thinks that we must take into consideration how often someone is exhibiting norm transgressive behaviour. She proposes that with ten complaints, a moderator could look at the context of the comment and can then decide to warn the person, or block them after repetition of the behaviour.

5.5.1.2 Stricter norms, guidelines and laws? What the government should and should not do

Just as Lidwien van de Wijngaert and Dianne van Hemert, Lara van de Wal thinks that users do not consider community guidelines. She suggests advertisements or private messages to point people to the guidelines, or a requirement to check a box for every restricted behaviour when agreeing to terms and conditions of use. Further, Iwan Verrips argues that next to moderation, reports by citizens are very important, because they point out possible norm transgressing discussions that may not have been picked up yet. Matt Westerlaken says that reporting persons who spread lies does not always help, and Timara van der Meulen also indicates that we should be able to report the spreading of lies itself. Westerlaken argues that we do not need new laws if platforms would stick to and enforce their own rules. He is of the opinion that social media platforms should do more to combat negative online

behaviour, instead of having more concern for their profits. Westerlaken thinks that commenters could be taken to court and that a few of them could serve as an example with a deterring effect for the rest, since the majority of citizens are followers of more extreme commenters. Joke Kort agrees with Westerlaken, and thinks that it will restore a more normal balance of behaviour when the government would engage in dialogues about acceptable behaviour with the citizens who are not after conflict. Kort agrees with this and argues that conversation will have an impact, since people are not used to being called upon their behaviour on the internet.

Multiple experts do think that the Dutch law is not strict enough when it comes to the online domain. Joke Kort argues that the law always falls behind with digital developments, and that it needs to be prevented that the basic need of citizens to feel safe is violated. Kristian Helmholt is of the opinion that threatening someone with the prospect of violence should be punishable. He equates it to blackmailing with physical fear, and finds such threats dangerous because citizens can become scared to speak up. Helmholt thinks that the prohibition of slander and defamation should also be better enforced on the internet. He argues that the law should adapt to people using more and more creativity in their threats. Helmholt does not think that the government reaches into the depths of the internet, such as on Twitter, which he names a sewage of opinions. He does not want law enforcement agencies to actively seek online threats with the use of algorithms, however. Instead, he thinks that citizens should be able to report online threats to the government. Helmholt pleads for more jurisprudence about the laws on the internet, but thinks that the way to behave should not become a general guideline as it is in other sectors, such as it is with environmental permits.

5.5.1.3   *Ethical aspects of intervening in norm transgressive behaviour on social media*
As a privacy expert, Arnold Roosendaal has some ideas about the design of interventions against online norm transgressive behaviour in a way that is acceptable to laws of privacy, which protect citizens from a too profound infringement by the government. He says that we should look for a way to address the development of online norm transgressive behaviour in a manner that is proportional, and that adheres to the principle of subsidiarity. First, the principle of proportionality entails that interventions must be in proportion with the intended outcome, in which the latter must outweigh the interest that is compromised (Rimen, 2011). Second, the principle of subsidiarity requires that the intervention is applied in the least profound way (Rimen, 2011). In the light of these principles, Roosendaal says that it is a consideration to follow certain persons or to designate a moderator per social media platform. He argues that we should prevent that citizens are monitored in a very targeted way, because this would be much more of an infringement of privacy than to monitor a specific discussion. Roosendaal does however think that there is a thin line between the two, and that it is a risk to run into the same person multiple times.

5.5.1.4   *The governments' trade-off in countering or keeping an eye on norm transgressive*
            behaviour
Marc Wessels has a clear idea of the role of the government in handling norm transgressive behaviour on social media. He thinks that the task of the government should lay in making sure that the behaviour does not go from norm transgressive to worse behaviour. Citizens should be allowed to have extreme ideas, but they need to formulate these ideas in a reasonable manner, he says. Wessels thinks that

we need 'social proof' that we do not accept certain behaviours, and that the opinion of all users should not become that personal insults are accepted and that we do not have to comment substantively. Wessels says that we should monitor reoccurring norm transgressive behaviour, in which a good goal should be to diminish or temper seventy-five percent of the norm transgressive behaviour exhibited in the Dutch online domain.

The goal that Wessels mentions can be set against a need that René Van Rijckevorsel rightly indicates, which is to keep an eye on the more extreme norm violators in the Dutch society. He says that it is better to have communities such as Love of Holland, where members are more extreme in their norm transgressive behaviour, out in the open. Van Rijckevorsel argues that in this way, we can monitor those citizens and they are not lost out of sight. Kristian Helmholt also argues that we do not want to lose the information citizens give online, because it shows what are citizen's fears and angers. Matt Westerlaken has said something that addresses this trade-off between the need to know what is happening in society and the need to counteract negative behaviour. He argues that social media are not the place for norm transgressive behaviour, and that it is better to have it be exhibited on relatively more closed off websites where likeminded people can gather. In this way, he thinks that norms in society will not shift. He argues that although it is not desired in separate social circles, it is the most important that norm transgressive behaviour will not trickle down to society. Westerlaken says that we cannot prevent people from thinking that norm transgressive behaviour is acceptable, but we can prevent the increase of people who think like this.

IV.   The theory of bonding and bridging

The last intervention proposed in this chapter is named by two experts, and is about bringing citizens into contact with each other as a way to temper norm transgressive behaviour on social media. Multiple experts see norm transgressive behaviour on social media as a manifestation of the development that social groups in the Dutch society have too little contact, and do not always hear or accept alternative views. Lidwien van de Wijngaert for example, argues that social media users follow other citizens out of admiration or friendship. She says that we avoid what we do not like and that this is a form of cognitive dissonance: we choose to shy away from following people who have ideas that we do not agree with. Van de Wijngaert argues that social media are designed to solely see the things that we agree with, and she sees consequences such as tunnel vision and polarization.

To promote citizens seeing alternative ideas, Van de Wijngaert says that we could think about ways to make citizens see online content that represents different ideas from their own. She talks about a concept that she uses in her own research: bridging. The idea of bridging is that people who are at the edge of their networks can be the link that makes two networks related to each other. Karolien Koolhof also names the same idea, and thinks that contact has to be designed in a way that benefits the citizens who will shy away from interventions. Van de Wijngaert thinks that encounters in community centres could work for a process of bridging, and that the government should facilitate those community centres. I asked her about citizens who need rapprochement the most, but will probably stay away from such centres. She answers that we have to take small steps, and that the people who can bridge networks can tell people from their own network about the positive features of other groups. She knows that there are experts who can guide this process, but emphasizes that the government must be willing to sincerely listen to the problems of citizens.

- Reports by citizens are important indicators of norm transgressive behaviour in the online domain, but need support of additional organisational and/or governmental action, also because reports are not sufficiently handled by social media platforms
- A dialogue has to be initiated with citizens in order to restore a more normal balance of behaviour in the online domain: we cannot prevent all citizens from thinking that norm transgressive behaviour is acceptable, but we can prevent the increase of people who think like this
- Social media are perfectly designed for citizens to only see the ideas that they agree with, which can cause alienation from other citizens and norm transgressive behaviour towards others in the online domain
- Bonding and bridging: is proposed by experts in order to foster a better mutual understanding among societal groups, and is done by connecting different networks of citizens through persons at the edges of those networks

5.5.2   *Plausibility of the theoretical explanations and interventions proposed in this research*

The two tables below are about the plausibility of the theoretical explanations and interventions proposed in this research. They show the degree to which the different theoretical explanations seem to be able to help explain norm transgressive behaviour on social media, as well as the level of plausibility of different interventions to help counter the online behaviour. The assessment of the theoretical explanations and interventions by the experts leads this plausibility.

In table 5, it can be seen for each theory and intervention how many experts have discussed the entry and how many of them found it to be plausible to help explain or counter norm transgressive behaviour on social media. It is important to mention that the limited time of the interviews unfortunately did not permit to discuss all theoretical explanations and interventions with all the eighteen experts. This is why it is stated how many experts have mentioned a certain entry. Although we cannot be entirely sure, it seems evident that the experts will have named theoretical explanations and interventions that stood out to them more often. In some cases, theoretical explanations were also brought up by the interviewer if they fit with what was being said by the interviewee. In all cases, the judgement about a theory or intervention by the expert is listed as being positive (plausible to help explain/counter norm transgressive behaviour on social media, context-dependent (plausible dependent on what context it is applied to) or negative (not plausible to help explain/counter norm transgressive behaviour on social media). Naturally, the explaining or countering power of the theoretical explanations or interventions always depends on the context in which they are supposed to work. When using an theory of intervention in policy around norm transgressive behaviour on social media, the plausibility of its working in a particular context must thus always be researched. In this thesis, the third column of context-dependability is filled in when the experts have explicitly named the context as a factor for the working of a theory or intervention. What those particular contexts are can be read in the elaborations of the interviews that are available upon request. Further, the plausibility of the proposed ideas is based on their workings in the Dutch online context and the general public that online news pages attract. For example, the non-plausibility of the labelling theory for five experts stems from their opinion that the theory is mainly applicable for a small minority of the commenters, who are known for their online reputation (such as the administrators of nationalistic Facebook pages).

	Number of times listed/discussed	Evaluated as plausible for NTB	Evaluated as plausible for NTB depending on the context	Evaluated as not plausible for NTB
Theoretical explanations				
Imitation	5	5	-	-
Relative deprivation	10	10	-	-
Labelling	7	2	-	5
Routine Activities Theory	5	3	-	2
Broken Windows Theory	6	6	-	-
Differential Association Theory	4	3	1	-
Lack of Charismatic Authority	9	7	-	2
Horizontal Pillarization*	2	2	-	-
Interventions				
Assessment of Subjective Information	6	4	2	-
Moderate Shaping of Norms	4	4	-	-
- *Cybervolunteers*	7	3	4	-
Interactive Government	7	6	1	-
Bonding and Bridging*	2	2	-	-

NTB = Norm transgressive behaviour on social media *= theory/intervention supplemented by a part of the experts **= Because of time limitations, not all theoretical explanations and interventions were discussed with all eighteen experts.

Table 5: Number of listings of theoretical explanations and interventions by the eighteen experts**

Ranking	Theoretical explanations	Ranking	Interventions
1	Relative deprivation	1	Interactive Government
2	Lack of Charismatic Authority	2	Assessment of Subjective Information
3	Broken Windows Theory	3	Moderate Shaping of Norms
4	Imitation	4	- *Cybervolunteers*
5	Labelling		
6	Routine Activities Theory		
7	Differential Association Theory		
	Horizontal Pillarization*		Bonding and Bridging*

*= theory/intervention supplemented by experts (not included in ranking, included in theory chapter because of their higher plausibility compared to other proposed theoretical explanations)

Table 6: Ranking of theoretical explanations and interventions by plausibility based on table 5

Based on table 5, the theoretical explanations and interventions proposed in this research are ranked in order of the plausibility that they can help explain or counter norm transgressive behaviour on social media. This plausibility is based on the particular Dutch online context and the more general pages on social media (such as news sites). As can be seen from table 6, the theory of relative deprivation is deemed to be the most plausible in the opinions of the experts: it got the most feedback as well as the most positive feedback among all of the theoretical explanations. It is followed by the theory about a lack of charismatic authority, although two of the nine experts believe that for a part of the Dutch citizens, our governmental leaders cannot ever do anything right. The two theoretical explanations that have the best ranking both seem to have to do with how the government handles its communication towards its citizens, which makes it seem like there is something to win in this area. The highest ranking for the interventions is a related idea about a more interactive government, in which it can do more in responding to current discontent its citizens. The second-most plausible intervention is about the role of citizens themselves, who could be helped by the government to learn to guard themselves against subjective information, which seems to be a great source of online norm transgressive behaviour.

The theory and intervention supplemented by the experts are included in the tables but not in the ranking. After all, they are added in a later stadium. Therefore, they are assessed only by the experts proposing them and by the researcher, who has ascribed the highest plausibility to these entries compared to the other theoretical explanations and interventions that were proposed by the experts. Both the theoretical explanation about a new horizontal pillarization and the intervention about bonding and bridging are about disturbed ties of citizens with other individuals and/or the government. They are related to the theory of relative deprivation and the idea of a lack of charismatic authority, and align with the idea of a more interactive government. All in all, explaining and countering norm transgressive behaviour both seem to come down to looking at the disturbed ties between different parties in the Dutch society. Of course, studying ties between individuals and groups is a main task in sociology, and the ideas proposed in this research help to solve different parts of this puzzle about how society works.

6   Conclusion and discussion

The chapter of results can be regarded as the renewed theory, which is improved and supplemented by the feedback of the experts, and which provides answers to the five research questions of this thesis. The chapter of conclusion and discussion builds on this renewed theory, and discusses the roles that different actors could or should fulfil in countering norm transgressive behaviour on social media. In addition, the idea that the behaviour is a symptom of broader societal developments in The Netherlands is discussed further. In addition, the limitations of this thesis are included. These indicate the constrains that were encountered in executing this research, and it is discussed how these points can be addressed in future inquiries into norm transgressive behaviour on social media. The chapter concludes with a recap of the contributions of this explanatory research concerning the subject of norm transgressive behaviour on social media.

6.1   The need for a reorientation of online norms

As can be read in the chapter of results, current ways of dealing with norm transgressive behaviours unfortunately do not seem to be similar nor sufficient across different platforms. Therefore, collective efforts of platforms, media, government and citizens should be made to not only earn from or be entertained by the internet, but also to harmonize ideas about how to interact in 'the second world' that this relatively new domain entails. Future research can contribute to this by discussing the subject of norm transgressive behaviour on social media not only with scientists, moderators, social media platforms and users, but also with the government and law enforcement agencies. These are the parties that may develop and enforce policy around norm transgressive behaviour on social media together with the other parties that have are present in the online domain. The call for change is made from all angles, and core experts in the field of social media and behavioural sciences confirm the need for a reorientation of norms in the online domain. In any case, there is agreement about the fact that online norm transgressive behaviour is not properly managed at this time.

In deciding how to design an impulse that influences online social norms, it is the question if we should not permit all behaviour that is not illegal: after all, social media are eminently suitable for leisure time and chatter. However, just as with many liberties, unlimited use cannot always be permitted when it is at the expense of other citizens and important values in society. A process seems to be developing in which norms for acceptable (online) behaviour become more and more blurred, which can have profound societal consequences. When it becomes acceptable for larger groups of citizens to generalise about characteristics of minorities and to insult others on the verge of being punishable, social unrest is the least we can expect. Especially with current developments in the Dutch society such as the refugee crisis, the distinction between in-groups and out-groups is already quite big. As can be seen on both the general domains and the more closed-off pages on social media, intolerant messages are spread and enforced by a concentration of likeminded citizens, who are dissatisfied with their position in society relative to 'the rich', 'the grabbers of the government', 'the higher directors in health care', or 'the foreign fortune seekers'.

> - Norm transgressive behaviour on social media should further be discussed with the government and law enforcement agencies
> - Just as in the physical world, liberties of citizens must sometimes be restricted when misuse goes at the expense of the societal interest

6.1.1   *The dissatisfied Dutch citizen: social problems in accumulation*

The pessimistic view of a part of the Dutch citizens about our society does not seem to be unfounded, either. For citizens that are not on the higher steps of the social ladder, there can be a lot to worry about, even in The Netherlands in which the population is relatively wealthy. Research shows that the most pessimistic citizens are those with a low income (Bos, 2016). Various researches show that Dutch citizens are dissatisfied with the 'state of the country' and have little trust in politics to change this (Niemantsverdriet & Kas, 2016). A key issue causing this dissatisfaction is the Dutch identity (Niemantsverdriet & Kas, 2016). For example, citizens may believe that this identity is threatened by the arrival of refugees and by an increasing Islamization; arguments that are mentioned in the discussion about 'Zwarte Piet' that has flared up again in this time of the year. Another point of dissatisfaction that can be named is the increasing globalisation (Bröer, 2016). The integration of The Netherlands in the European Union may leave citizens with an even greater idea that they are not being listened to, since more and more business is conducted on a centralized level. Third, the development of mediatisation can be named, which describes the idea that the media have an ever growing influence on the public and political debate (Vliegenthart, 2014). In comment sections, it can often be observed that citizens complain about the one-sidedness of conventional news media. As a result, online groups cite news sources that fit and confirm their own orientations. Further, one of the key issues in the vast list of social problems that can be mentioned here is the social inequality that still exists in a wealthy country as The Netherlands. This inequality can be observed in matters such as housing (social rent versus owner-occupied property) and income and assets (social welfare versus income from employment and income from capital), for example (Ongelijkheid is een feit …, 2016). Dutch children also face inequality in educational opportunities, which are fewer for children from families of a lower socioeconomic status ("*Geld voor …*", 2016). It is known that a feeling of inequality along the lines of any of the factors named above can fuel discontent among citizens and can lead to extremer choices in voting, or to discouraged citizens that will not vote ("*Ongelijkheid is een feit …*", 2016). Lastly, another source of dissatisfaction and online norm transgressive behaviour that I will include as a fifth issue here is the 'your complaint is our command-mentality' that seems to dominate today's Dutch political climate. Christian Bröer, associate professor of sociology at the University of Amsterdam, uses the concept to describe the inclination to frequently ask for the opinion of citizens in decision making, which makes that 'unrealistic expectations are raised that result in frustration' (Bröer, 2016). The process can be observed in various areas of society, and the following bottlenecks in governmental policy seem to reap the most discontent expressed on social media: budget cuts in Dutch health and elderly care, low and unstable social welfare and pensions, high taxes, and lastly, poor and expensive education. Of course, it is already difficult to manage all these sectors without giving citizens a say. Thus, it is not strange that citizens who are affected most by different measures are not satisfied with the resources allocated to them.

Considering all the reasons that citizens may have to feel dissatisfied with the Dutch society, it is no wonder that populist leaders as Geert Wilders reap quite the support among the Dutch population. In line with the idea that complaints of citizens guide the changes that politicians want to enforce, the whole idea that Wilders embodies is about revolting against the established order. In doing so, he promises an upheaval of the current policy that seems to leave an increasing part of citizens dissatisfied. This feeling of dissatisfaction influences the voting behaviour of citizens, and it is known that 'society pessimists' in Europe generally vote radical right (Bos, 2016). Now, since a pessimistic worldview seems to dominate in Dutch comment sections, the voting behaviour of citizens may become skewed towards right wing ideas. As can be read earlier in this research, online norms and opinions mostly seem to be shaped by the group of the biggest 'screamers', since the more moderate citizens seem to stay away from participating in online discussions. This group of screamers may consist of the four to eight percent of the total of sixty five percent of pessimistic Dutch citizens, and may be the part that is really angry and feels that the government and foreigners are to blame for their own position in society (Bos, 2016). Unfortunately, Dutch citizens encountering the norm transgressive behaviour exhibited by this group will probably not know that the online norms are set mostly by an overrepresented minority, and may take it for the general public opinion. In this way, the remaining group establishes acceptable ways of online behaviour that other users (including younger generations) observe and copy. Thus, when the general sphere on social media leans towards dissatisfaction with society, this results not only in norm transgressive contributions, but also in an influence on the voting behaviour of a larger part of citizens. Indeed, Kantar Nipo (one of the biggest data, insight and consultancy companies) and Amsterdam University expect that Dutch citizens will predominantly vote towards the right in the upcoming elections in March (Giebels, 2016).

- Norm transgressive behaviour may be a symptom of the dissatisfaction that citizens feel about social problems such as a changing Dutch identity, globalisation, mediatisation, social inequality and the 'your complaint is our command-mentality' prevailing in Dutch politics
- Populist parties may utilize dissatisfaction among citizens to spread their ideas
- Pessimistic citizens seem to be overrepresented in the online domain, but other users may not know that online social norms are heavily influenced by this minority. This may skew voting behaviour for larger groups of citizens towards right wing ideas

6.2   The OMOP-model: what should be done by whom

Below, it is listed how different actors should participate in the regulation of online norms and the countering of norm transgressive behaviour on social media. Of course, it can always be argued which parties have the responsibility to counter online norm transgressive behaviour, let alone if it should be countered in the first place. However, as with every research, choices must be made on how to shape recommendations for future policy. I believe that the results of this research indicate that different parties should be active in the domain of the regulation of online norms, since the current online situation seems to make for the development and reinforcement of social problems that can eventually lead to big divides of groups in our society. Therefore, I will discuss how different institutions and individuals in our society may make their contribution for a more positive online atmosphere. The redirection of social norms in the online domain may help to counteract the blurring of norms, social unrest and polarisation that seem to develop in both the physical and the digital domains of the Dutch society. The efforts that different parties should undertake are classified according to the OMOP-model, which is a description of society in four different orders (government, market, organisations, and the primary social order). This model is adopted in the sociology department of the University of Groningen and describes how our society functions and how different orders are interrelated (*Rijksuniversiteit Groningen*, n.d.).

6.2.1   *Government and Court of Justice*
The results of this thesis make it even more clear that a discussion should be initiated in the Dutch society about online social norms. Depending on one's political views about governmental intervention, the role of the government in this discussion can be shaped differently. Instating the idea of a more interactive government for example, requires municipalities and higher level authorities to direct more of their resources at finding the concerns of citizens expressed on social media. Although many municipalities are represented on Twitter and Facebook, the mere creation of such accounts is not sufficient: local governments need to be more reactive to questions of citizens, in which interactive behaviour instead of posting behaviour must be a central goal (Loeffen, Kok & De Voogd, 2016). The same recommendation is given for security regions, who must find interaction with citizens even more important since they have a special interest in diminishing social unrest in both the physical and the online world.

Of course, the government and the Court of Justice are also the parties that can foster the conversation with social media platforms about online community guidelines based on the law. The government may also take a stand in the domain of social regulation and foster the societal discussion about norms. Sociologist Christian Bröer says that politics do not only have to form the (in)direct representation of citizens. He argues that politics can also be leading in the formation of opinions and emotions; an idea that is counterpart to populist acclaims that social norms and policy will be based on the complaints of citizens (Bröer, 2016). The intervention of a more interactive government proposed in this research does not conflict with the idea that politics must follow a course dependent from (direct) wishes of citizens. It seeks to ameliorate the reaction of the government towards citizens, in order to eliminate confusion about governmental actions and societal developments. A better mutual understanding can then help to make the input from those citizens towards the government less norm transgressive.

Therefore, such an intervention does not foster the inclination to directly tailor governmental action to the input of (specific groups of) citizens.

Even for individuals that merely desire the leading institutions of our country to fulfil the role of a night-watchman state, the government must have the role of creating the preconditions in which other parties in society can cope with and/or intervene in norm transgressive behaviour on social media. At the very least, the government must keep an eye on the safety of citizens by guiding their privacy, by making sure that interventions are in proportion with the behaviour they combat, and that interventions are the smallest possible infringement on the liberties of citizens.

Lastly, the government is also the designated party that can address a bigger feeling of dissatisfaction that seems to prevail among a part of the Dutch citizens. Any change must of course have a foundation in The Dutch society, but the government can always work on problems that stem directly from governmental actions. Points of improvement especially seem to lay at the transparency of decisions towards citizens, as well as at the need for more simple and honest language in decision making. This may help to shake the image of current leaders that they are an elite that does not represent the citizens. Next to these issues in the interaction between government and citizens, our leaders can address societal problems such as the inequality discussed above. Addressing the greater feeling of dissatisfaction among Dutch citizens may be the first step in countering norm transgressive behaviour on social media, and it may be the most needed and - unfortunately - the hardest step.

> - Governmental parties should enforce a more interactive online presence in order to be able to explain ambiguities in their policy and to know the concerns of their citizens
> - Based on the law, the government and the Court of Justice can initiate conversations with social media platforms about their guidelines, but the government may as well participate in the normative regulation of online behaviour
> - At the very least, the government must create preconditions in the debate about norm transgressive behaviour, and it must guard the safety of its citizens in terms of privacy and other infringements
> - The government is also the designated party to address an overarching dissatisfaction felt by a part of the Dutch citizens. In any case, governmental leaders can work on the way they interact with citizens, in which transparency and honesty have to be key virtues

6.2.2   *The online marketplace: social media platforms*

There is a second category of parties that have more influence on online behavioural rules than both the government and its citizens: the social media platforms on which the online interaction takes place. These platforms make and enforce rules of conduct in their private domain, and thus decide what citizens can and cannot do when they are using a social medium. In this way, platforms are fulfilling the role of the online public domain. This means that when negative externalities occur, the government and the Court of Justice cannot always intervene in a sufficient way. The Dutch law does not completely extend to those private online spaces: the private platforms can enforce their own community guidelines as they please (Zenger, 2016). It does not seem desirable that users and platforms cannot be held accountable or persecuted (as easily) for their online norm transgressive or illegal actions. Within the Dutch society, we should debate whether we find it acceptable to let private parties determine the norms and values in the online public domain. We have already seen that current community guidelines are not sufficient in countering norm transgressive behaviour on social media. This gives rise to the idea that some sort of intervention by the government is desirable and should be discussed in politics. In this discussion, the words of Noah Smith can help explain intervention by the government or other institutions in relation with citizen's freedom of speech. As a Bloomberg View columnist and economic blogger, he explains that interventions such as banning users from social media are unfair but probably also inevitable: "Technologically, banning and corporate censorship seem to be the only way (so far) to create an online world where people who mainly value freedom of idea-expression can coexist with people who mainly value the freedom to yell mean things at other people" (Smith, 2016). He writes about the 'only possible long-term equilibrium': a double-layered internet, on which people play nice on the top layer, and on which the more extreme activities take place in the more 'dark' side of the internet (Smith, 2016).

Since social media platforms currently do seem to constitute the online public domain, these platforms have a great responsibility to create (better) policy about norm transgressive behaviour exhibited on their domains. After all, when the bigger social media platforms take a stance against online norm transgressive behaviour, their monopoly position makes for a good chance that the behaviour can be greatly reduced. The call for change of policy currently seems to be the loudest for Twitter. One of the key features of this social medium is that Tweets can be exchanged with others outside one's own network. However, Twitter currently does not seem to be able to counter the harassment without eliminating the positive engagement with those unknown others as well (Klonick, 2016). Eventually, I expect that market forces will determine the survival of social media platforms that will be successful in fostering online interaction that is more positive, but not completely drained of all excitement. Different players will then provide the domains for both the upper layer and the bottom layer of the internet. It is probable that both the bigger social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram as well as the smaller commercial platforms will direct their efforts to the more civilized top layer of the internet. After all, the 'dark side' of the internet will not earn them as much money, since the average social media user will not be interested in the most extreme monstrosities that lay within the capabilities of humankind. In this way, changes in policy of social media platforms may not always be made for moral reasons, but will be made nonetheless. This is why it is even more important that the social norms of the majority of Dutch citizens do not lean towards negative

online behaviours: commercial parties in the online domain will adjust their policy and content according to this majority vote.

- Within society, we must decide if we find it desirable that the domains of social media platforms constitute the online public space in which Dutch citizens interact
- It may be unfair but also inevitable to (temporary) ban the most extreme exhibiters of online norm transgressive behaviours, since it is currently one of the few possible options for countering the negative atmosphere on social media
- A double-layered internet is likely to develop, in which a top layer is more civil and a bottom layer harbours the more extreme and dark behaviour
- Social media platforms should utilize their monopoly position to reduce online norm transgressive behaviour on a large scale
- Since social media platforms will follow the majority vote out of commercial interests, it is ever more important that the more widely supported online social norms do not approve of negative online behaviours

6.2.3   Organisations

Other organisations present on social media must take their responsibility to counter norm transgressive behaviour on social media as well. This applies to media parties that earn their money by acquiring views, as well as to companies that uphold their customer relations via social media. It is too easy to point at the social media platforms as the hosts of their online presence to better enforce their community guidelines. News channels that purposefully foster a sensational discussion for example, should also take the responsibility to intervene in this discussion when it is taken too far.

In mostly being the observers of norm transgressive behaviour on social media, scientific institutions and their employees must research possibilities and ethical problems concerning intervention in norm transgressive behaviour in the online domain. In addition, the biggest need for research into online norm transgressive behaviour is to acquire more clarity about the desirability of the behaviours in the domain of social regulation. The moral issues of personal attacks and off-topic/insubstantial contributions especially need more looking into. These issues seem to form the biggest elements of online norm transgressive behaviour, and are also the most difficult to define and counter. Further, when researching the subject of norm transgressive behaviour on social media, researchers must remain critical of their own ideas. It is important to be cautious in labelling dissatisfied citizens that express their feelings on social media as the ones who do not possess the right facts.

Lastly, other (non-profit) organisations could point out the need for more moderate behaviour to Dutch citizens by the use of advertisements and campaigns. An example of an organisation that could take on this task is the Foundation for Idealistic Advertising (SIRE), which could find inspiration in its citizen-initiated counterparts such as the positivo and anti-hoax pages named in this research.

- Media parties that utilize social media channels should take their responsibility to address the negative externalities of the commotion and sensation they generate and earn from
- Research institutions must further explore the desirability of online norm transgressive behaviour, its ethical aspects, as well as more possibilities to counter it
- Involved organisations must remain critical of the value of their facts compared to those of dissatisfied citizens, in order to prevent processes such as tunnel vision from developing
- (Non profit) organisations such as the Foundation for Idealistic Advertising could appeal to citizens, taking citizen initiatives as the positivo and anti-hoax pages as examples

6.2.4 Primary social order

When it comes to the order that is about the contact between citizens, individuals in society will play different roles in the subject of online norm transgressive behaviour. Citizen initiatives such as the positivo groups will likely continue to counter norm transgressive behaviour on social media, while other groups of citizens will keep on exhibiting negative kinds of online behaviour. It is important that the balance between those who do not tolerate online norm transgressive behaviour and those that are the perpetrators of this behaviour does not tend to the latter group. To prevent this from happening, the majority of Dutch citizens must not participate in the shifting of behavioural norms to the negative side. After all, it is known that a descriptive norm (what most people do) works better to let citizens exhibit desired behaviour than to expose an injunctive norm (what people should do; Cialdini, 2003). Further, when it is deemed appropriate to instate cybervolunteers to help enforce a more positive online atmosphere, citizens are the designated persons to fulfil this role. The volunteers could be employed by different organisations, which could take as an example the experiment of the Dutch police academy to deploy youth in detecting internet criminals.

In any case, it is important that the silent majority is involved in the online world in a way that makes them want to participate in online discussions. After all, in a society in which a part of citizens has lost its trust in our representatives and in which rules of conduct set by the government are taken less seriously, it is ever more important that norms prevailing among citizens themselves are not spiralling in the direction of amorality.

> - Dutch citizens will combat or oppose norm transgressive behaviour on social media, while others will be the perpetrators of it
> - Most important is that the balance of the two groups will not lean towards the exhibitors of online norm transgressive behaviour
> - In order to restore a more civil balance of online behaviour, the silent minority should be encouraged to participate in online discussions

6.3   Addressing the trade-off between intervention and information

In the results chapter, the trade-off between countering norm transgressive behaviour and keeping an eye on the activities of citizens is discussed. Here, a further idea is presented about how this trade-off could be handled. First, we can try to prevent that the majority of citizens is 'infected' with more extreme online processes such as radicalisation in governmental hate and (more) profound xenophobia, which seem to be commonplace in the extremer online circles. The interventions in the more public and more moderate online communities can then be directed at diminishing the behaviour, instead of letting it prevail in order to know what we can expect in terms of safety. Keeping up a position of intelligence can then make for a special way of prevention and intervention in communities where the most extreme norm transgressive and punishable behaviour is the norm, in the same way as this is done with (online) communities that spiral towards terrorism.

For the most frequent and extreme exhibiters of online norm transgressive behaviour, the only possible intervention may be to (temporarily) ban them from social media. A ban may be the only way to handle individuals who really will not change their behaviour. Prisons and clinics of detention under hospital orders are examples of the way in which the Court of Justice detains citizens to protect them from themselves, and to protect the Dutch society from the least behaved individuals in society. A ban instated in the physical world to change the behaviour of citizens that are not detained nor physically ill can be found at railway operations. Based on an amendment of the Dutch Law of Passenger Transportation that was made in 2011, both the Dutch Railways and other big shareholder Arriva have introduced a travel ban for citizens that are repeated fare dodgers or who exhibit aggressive or violent behaviour (Schultz van Haegen, 2011). Of course, the deployment of a similar ban on social media should not be taken lightly. In order to protect citizens from the authorities, the same principles of proportionality and subsidiarity should be taken into account as with the measures taken in the physical world. After all, we must be careful that our authorities will not monitor its citizens in a way that comes to resemble the actions of authoritarian regimes such as the Chinese government, which uses online behaviour to score citizens in a social credit system with corresponding punishments (Denyer, 2016).

Related to the idea of a double-layered internet, an argument against changing the status quo on social media may be that online norm transgressive behaviour will never cease to exist. This is a compelling argument, but if we look at other phenomena that come with negative externalities, we see that we choose to protect vulnerable groups from controversial phenomena by limiting access to a certain public. For example, we choose to shield the activities in the sex industry from citizens that have not reached adulthood, because we believe that they can be negatively affected by it and may develop the wrong sexual norms. In the same way, not all citizens are equipped to deal with the enormous amount of negative behaviours that are exhibited on social media. Contrary to sexual activities, these behaviours can be observed all over the open online domain, and citizens cannot choose to keep away from it. Of course, it is not a good idea to have a digital world that is full only of the beautiful things in life, but the general behavioural norms in this domain should not shift to where negative behaviour takes the upper hand. A process of the blurring of norms in the direction of intolerance, incivility and even amorality is then continued in an even faster pace, which can lead to social unrest and eventually, polarisation.

All in all, the restriction of liberties that citizens possess is never the most ideal solution to any social problem, but sometimes it is what is best for the societal interest. In order to provide ideas that can be deployed for the less extreme norm transgressive behaviour of a bigger group of citizens, the interventions proposed in this research would form less of an infringement of the liberties of citizens than bans would. The interventions are not directed on full elimination of norm transgressive behaviour on social media. Instead, they propose initiatives that could help to diminish the need to comment in a norm transgressive way (interactive government, bonding and bridging), to redirect the tone of online comments (more moderate norm establishment by cybervolunteers), and to equip citizens to better cope with inflammatory online content (teaching a better assessment of subjective information). In this way, all four interventions serve the same ultimate goal: preventing the blurring of social norms towards the acceptance and normalisation of behaving negatively towards others in the online domain.

- In addressing the trade-off between intervention and information, norm transgressive behaviour could be countered in the general online domains, while a position of intelligence is kept up in the more closed-off online spaces that testify of more extreme norm transgressive behaviour
- Examples of banning can already be found in the physical world. When it is instated on social media, the government must keep an eye on proportionality and subsidiarity, and citizens must be protected from a too great infringement of their rights
- In order to encourage that liberties of citizens are restricted as little as possible, the four interventions proposed in this research have the goal of redirecting online norm transgressive behaviour instead of fully eliminating it

6.4   Limitations of this research

Some limitations that were encountered in this research can be listed. First, the comment threads on which the theory is based have not been extensively discussed in the interviews. This goal was included in the interviews, but in practice time did not permit to go over specific comments in depth. This is related to another point of improvement for this thesis: a lot of different concepts were discussed in the interviews, but there was not enough time to go over all the questions with all the experts. Perhaps, it would have been wiser to focus on a part of the research questions around norm transgressive behaviour on social media. Although it would have been interesting to have more time to discuss all the elements of the research with the experts, a choice could also have been made to include fewer cases and fewer elements in the original theory, for example. On the other hand, the advantage of including more questions around this subject has been that a first explanatory basis of the subject of norm transgressive has been established.

In future research, the norm transgressive behaviours, especially those in the domain of social regulation, could be discussed more thoroughly in terms of desirability and relevance. In addition, the community guidelines that are included in the table are those of platforms that I have observed to receive the most norm transgressive comments in the Dutch online domain. It is by no means a complete list of community guidelines of Dutch social media platforms. When collective efforts would be made to set up a framework of desirable online behaviour, more social media platforms should be included.

A related limitation of this thesis is one that applies to both the norm transgressive behaviours and the theoretical explanations and interventions. It is the inability to correctly compare the opinions of the experts about these elements with each other, since not all experts have validated their contribution when it was submitted to them after the interviews. This means that we cannot know for sure for all experts if that person has given a complete overview of the behaviours that he or she finds to be norm transgressive. We know about the entries that are discussed, but we do not know if these entries resemble the complete opinion of the expert. Thus, comparing the entries of different experts has less value than considering the behaviours that are entered by the experts as a whole. In future research, it would be interesting to make sure that not only norm transgressive behaviours can be identified, but that the different parties identifying these behaviours can also be compared in their choices for those behaviours.

What has also proven to be a challenge during the conducting of this research, was the time investment that could be requested of the experts for preparing the interview. In the case that the expert did not read the theory prior to our conversation, I have been able to explain the theory and the cases during the interview itself. Luckily, most experts did prepare the interview and if they did not, they possessed enough relevant expertise to relate the cases to the theory. I expect that when the method of Realistic Evaluation becomes more known in the scientific field, the importance of forming an opinion about the theory prior to an interview will be more widely recognized within organisations.

Even with the elements of the theory not always being completely discussed with all the experts, I feel like I have been able to complete the realist evaluation cycle, and to come to a refined and supplemented version of the original theory. The research method of Realistic Evaluation is certainly a valuable one: expectations of one researcher are evaluated by more sets of eyes than in traditional research methods.

6.5   Interventions: the role of the four orders

Above, it is discussed how parties in the four orders in society should occupy different roles in countering online norm transgressive behaviour and its underlying social problems. Here, the different interventions proposed in this research are included more explicitly, and it is discussed which parties could help design and/or enforce those interventions.

The first intervention that was proposed was about assisting Dutch citizens in the assessment of the (often subjective) information that can be found on the internet. At first glance, governmental institutions are the parties to take up this teaching role. However, parties from other orders could also help citizens to acquire more digital literacy. First, scientific and journalistic contributions can be made to inform citizens of the hidden messages that online content can contain, and to address the responsibility of citizens to not misuse their freedom of speech.(Non) profit organisations can point citizens to this responsibility as well, and they can advise about more moderate ways of behaviour. Of course, social media platforms and other companies with a digital presence can inform citizens of ways to deal with subjective information. From a commercial viewpoint, it can be expected that this has the smallest probability of happening, unless governmental parties stimulate them to do so.

The commercial parties on social media can also play a part in the intervention about the establishment of more moderate online norms, primarily by actively participating in the social regulation of those norms. Reacting to and moderating comments is already done by some of those parties, but a normative rather than a commercial goal could be better taken into consideration in doing so. Further, although it can be debated if it is desirable to let the government and Law Enforcement Agencies appoint cybervolunteers, experiments are already being conducted. Therefore, a societal discussion should be held about the desirability of the presence in online comment sections as well as the role of different orders in this activity.

Third, the intervention of a more interactive government in the online domain already entails the parties which can instate it. Municipalities, provinces, the national government, and maybe even European leaders must make efforts to be more present in the online domain, because it is important that they know what is on the minds of their citizens, and that citizens know why they make certain choices in policy. By being able to explain their policy and the occurrence of social problems, governmental institutions can help to counter the incomprehension and dissatisfaction felt by Dutch citizens.

Lastly, an intervention is proposed that enforces the bonds between groups in society. The idea is to 'bridge' different networks of groups through individuals that will be most prone to consider alternative viewpoints. This intervention of bonding and bridging can be enforced by the government, which could provide the physical or online spaces in which these citizens could meet. Social media platforms can stimulate this process by making sure that citizens do not end up in a 'filter bubble' of confirming information. Further, scientific institutions could continue to research the problems that stand in the way of cohesion in the Dutch society. Media parties and other companies could make sure that input brought to citizens is less sensational and polarising. Finally, just as with all social problems, citizens themselves have a responsibility in the counteraction of online norm transgressive behaviour. They must not only consider individualistic wishes, but must also consider the societal interest in the behavioural choices that they make. To

conclude with an optimistic outlook on behavioural and societal change: it is good to believe that to a greater or less extent, all citizens have the will to contribute to a better society, but that some citizens need more encouragement than others.

6.6   Recap: the contributions of this research

In different ways, the outcomes of this research have brought us further in knowledge about the subject of norm transgressive behaviour on social media. First, we know that the subject is not one that has been extensively looked into. During the execution of this research, a lot more has been written about negative online behaviour: it has become quite the 'hot topic'. This research forms a response to the articles that wonder about the development of norm transgressive behaviour on social media. It provides an explanatory idea about a definition of the behaviour, the level in which it is worrisome, the way in which it can be recognized, as well as theoretical explanations for its occurrence and possible interventions to counter the online behaviour. The cases that are conducted and analysed in this research provide recent and real-life examples of norm transgressive behaviour on social media, and illustrate the negative atmosphere that seems to dominate the Dutch online domains. Further, the classification of online norm transgressive behaviours provides a first idea for policymakers about which behaviours could be targeted in ameliorating this negative atmosphere, as well as on which behaviours efforts should not be directed. Based on this explanatory research, policy makers must go in deliberation to decide if and how steps can be taken to intervene in the digital part of the Dutch society, that now primarily seems to be governed by big private companies. Within our society, we would also be wise to discuss which norms and values we want to carry out in the online domain. It is a matter of urgency, because we want to prevent that private parties (which do not always have the moral interest at heart) or the minority of loudest screamers (who can be taken advantage of by those who are eager of power) decide it for us.

- The outcomes of this research provide explanatory ideas about the subject of online norm transgressive behaviour and its many different facets
- The cases are real-life illustrations of the negative atmosphere that seems to dominate the Dutch domains of social media
- The classification of online norm transgressive behaviour in moral domains and moral issues provides ideas for policymakers on which behaviours to concentrate in future discussions and efforts of intervention
- Within the Dutch society, a discussion must be held about which norms and values should dominate in the digital domain, before the choice is no longer left up to us

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8   Appendix I

In the first appendix accompanying this thesis, short biographies of the experts are provided. These biographies provide a further image of what the occupations of the experts are, and/or how they can be linked to the subject of norm transgressive behaviour on social media. An explanation of why these experts are asked to be part of this research is provided in the research design.

8.1   Short biographies of the experts

8.1.1   Experts outside TNO

Lidwien van de Wijngaert is a professor in the department of Media, Communication and Organization at Twente University. Using social network analysis, she has researched disputations on the internet about refugee centres.

Hans Boutellier is the scientific director of the Verwey-Jonker Instituut and is Professor by special appointment in Security and Resilience at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. Boutellier graduated in 1980 as a social psychologist on the topic "Youth crime and re-education" and since then studies the subjects of (youth) crime, safety, morality and criminal law.

Marc Wessels has a Master of Arts in business communication. Wessels writes that communication is more than just two people who share information; it's a whole world of factors as speech, gestures and attitude. Wessel's focus as a content specialist at KommaGo and a communication specialist at communicatieuitelegd.nl is on internal and external business communication, as well as on cross-cultural communication.

8.1.2   Experts at TNO

Remco Wijn, Ph.D. is a scientific researcher at TNO. Dr. Wijn conducted research at Utrecht University on the feeling of being treated fairly or unfairly and the antecedents and consequences of these subjective feelings, resulting in the Ph.D.-thesis entitled "On the functionality of the justice judgment process and its consequences" and in the publication of several research articles in international, high impact outlets. At TNO, projects he works on revolve around explaining and understanding people's behaviours. His main research topics include suspicious behaviours, radicalization, and terrorism. Explaining behaviour and studying the psychological processes that lead to behaviours has dr. Wijn's special interest.

Dianne van Hemert is employed at TNO and conducts psychological research in the field of safety and security. She has studied ways to influence behaviour and has looked at radicalization and counter-terrorism, and at deviant behaviour in public spaces. A particular research of hers was about how the military could better communicate with citizens in other cultures. Van Hemert also specializes in the field of cybersecurity and the vulnerabilities of citizens online.

Arnold Roosendaal is an expert on privacy and digital identity. He has a legal background and wrote a PhD on digital representations of individuals. Currently, he works as a researcher and consultant at Privacy Company.
Joke Kort works at TNO as a senior researcher and has expertise in the fields of computer and society, as well as computer communications (networks), computing in Social science, and arts and humanities.

David Langley has studied the internet, innovation and strategy for 25 years. At TNO, he leads national and European research projects and advises numerous firms and the government. In addition, he is an associate research fellow at the University of Groningen and writes a column in the Dutch Financial Times (Talx, 2016).

Kristian Helmholt works at TNO as a Consultant Information Services for Monitoring & Control and is an expert in the carefully, neutrally and objective formulation of papers. In his spare time, he reads and participates on social media.

8.1.3   *Experts linked to social media platforms*

Karolien Koolhof is an all-round employee at Dutch news site AD.nl. She evaluates and writes articles and has ''social days' in which she is occupied with AD's social media channels. On the Facebook page of AD.nl, moderators do not have the time to keep an eye on all comments. They do check if no conversations get out of hand and they sometimes call for more decent behaviour of their commenters. The feedback of commenters is used as input for news articles, but this is not as an explicit goal as it is for NUjij.nl, says Koolhof.

Iwan Verrips is one of the eight moderators of the news site NUjij.nl. It is part of the Dutch news site NU.nl, the biggest news site in The Netherlands (personal communication with Iwan Verrips, 31th of May 2016). The moderators keep an eye on the comments below news articles on NUjij.nl and have a programme in which they can see the comments in all kinds of views. Comments that breach the community guidelines are deleted and commenters receive a ban when they have repeatedly misbehaved. Iwan Verrips told me that the key feature of a comment on NUjij.nl must be that it is on-topic and substantive in relation to the news article that it is about.

René Van Rijckevorsel is the editor in chief of Elsevier and the editor of Elsevier Juist, the monthly magazine next to the weekly Dutch magazine of Elsevier. He is in charge of the online channels of the magazines. Van Rijckevorsel and his team are working on new community guidelines for when the comment section on their website is reinstated.

The administrator of Facebook page The Hoax-index hosts a page that debunks hoaxes and false information on the internet. A hoax is the combination of the words 'Hocus Pocus', and is defined as 'the intentional distribution of information that looks true or fair, but is fully or partly false or wrong'. A hoax is not identified as fraud, because the spreading of a hoax entails no (direct) personal gain (*De Hoax-Wijzer huisregels,* 2016). The page of The Hoax-Index has over 80,300 members, who help to keep the internet a little cleaner by sharing the fact-based information of the platform with users who share hoaxes and false information. The administrator

has answered the interview questions via email: he requested not to have a personal interview because he wanted to remain anonymous. This is because there are threats expressed to his person because his page. In this thesis, the person behind The Hoax-index will be referred to simply as 'The admin of The Hoax-index' and 'admin'.

8.1.4   *Moderators/administrators and members of positivo pages*

Matt Westerlaken runs the Facebook page of 'A Netherlands without hate and lies', which currently has over 3570 members. He founded his page to provide a more positive counterpart to the negative pages and comments on social media.

Carla de Bruyn is a coordinator of Social Safety at the GGZ (The Dutch Mental Health Care organization) and provides training in aggression control. She is a member of Facebook page 'A Netherlands without hate and lies' and writes more positive and reasoned reactions to norm transgressive online comments.

Timara van der Meulen is a member of 'A Netherlands without hate and lies' and is one of the citizens who reacts to norm transgressive comments in the Dutch domains of the internet. Next to her job, she studies psychology.

Stefan is the founder of the Facebook page of Tolerant Netherlands, a Dutch page with the objective of counteracting hate with love (instead of with hate). Facebook users from (right wing) nationalistic pages have threatened him for countering their negative online behaviour, and for being featured in articles about norm transgressive behaviour in Dutch newspaper NRC and Flemish newspaper De Morgen. To ensure his anonymity as much as possible, I will continue to call him 'Stefan'. Stefan's way of countering hate finds supporters in the form of over 8720 members of the page, with which he is occupied on an average of four hours per day.

8.1.5   *Master student Forensic Criminology*
Lara van de Wal has completed her Bachelor Criminology at the Erasmus University Rotterdam and is currently studying Forensic Criminology at Leiden University. Next to her professional interest in antisocial and criminal behaviour, she reads comments on social media and considers the masse of online norm transgressive comments to be remarkable.

1 Appendix II – Screenshots of news articles and comment threads

1.1 Dutch police officers receive two times 500 Euros this year

Figure 1 - The article about the bonus of the police on news site AD

Figure 2 - The article about the bonus of the police on Facebook

Figure 3 – First section of comments below the post about the bonus of the police

Maar geef oom agent meteen een miljoen joh van jou salaris is prima lijkt me jij zwemt al in het geld !

Like · Reply · April 9 at 7:31am

Als je een ongeluk hebt gehad en de politie in alle ellende er als eerste bij is en EHBO verleent weet je beter dan dit.

Like · Reply · April 9 at 7:32am

Hopende voor jou dat je dit nooit mee maakt, politie doet wel iets meer dan alleen boetes uitschrijven. Simpele ziel dat je er rond loopt, wees blij dat je alleen met boetes te maken krijgt. Misschien moet je een cursus volgen voor empatisch vermogen verkrijgen.

Like · Reply · 👍 7 · April 9 at 7:33am

Nope ! Vind ik geen politie werk ! Dat is voor de ambulance die ene x wauw iedereen hier doet of we het zo vreselijk hebben in Nederland terwijl in andere landen woorden mensen voor kinderen hun ogen vermoord vinden ze kids die zijn vermoord en niet 1 x in de maand ..... nee iedere dag !!!

Like · Reply · April 9 at 7:34am

Wat heeft de politie hier in godsnaam mee te maken 😅 sta zelf op dan, door internet hooligan uit te hangen hebben die graatmagerige kindjes in afrika geen minder dorst hoor.

Like · Reply · 👍 4 · April 9 at 7:35am

Ze zijn geen superhero,s waarneer je als vrouw belt en zegt dat je geslagen word vrage ze eerst is het ernstig ????? Nou dan bn je gewoon dom en lui ! Tuurlijk is t ernstig maar ze komen niet altijd dus wat een helden zeg toppie !

Like · Reply · April 9 at 7:36am

Somewhere out there there is a tree, tirelessly producing oxygen so you can breathe.

I think you owe it an apology.

- House.

Like · Reply · 👍 5 · April 9 at 7:36am

Eindeloose discussie !

Like · Reply · April 9 at 7:37am

Wie zegt dat ze superhero's zijn. Heb je drugs op?

Like · Reply · 👍 2 · April 9 at 7:38am

Figure 4 – Second section of comments below the post about the bonus of the police

internet hooligan ?? Hahaha
dom wyf als ik iets kon doen deed ik het niet zomaar dom praten nou
! Denk je stoer te komen doen omdat ik een andere mening heb dan
de rest ! Vergeten dat Nederland land van vrije meningsuiting is
??????

Like · Reply · April 9 at 7:39am

achterlijke junkiee drugs op??? Eerste
shot nog niet gehad wyfie ?

Like · Reply · April 9 at 7:41am

Wie begint kan het terug verwachten dushi 🙂

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 9 at 7:41am

Niemnd praat hier ovrr drugs alleen jij ga je shot fixxe

Like · Reply · April 9 at 7:41am

Begint??? Begint met wat jij bnt gek johh val je niet aan
niks hou nu maar je junkebek

Like · Reply · April 9 at 7:42am

als je ze belt kommen ze haasd niet

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 9 at 7:43am

Sera check deze grote tok eens lekker tok doen.

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 9 at 7:44am

Wauww eindelijk iemnd met het volle verstand!

Like · Reply · April 9 at 7:44am

De politie helpt altijd als het nodig is, staat altijd voor
je klaar. Zolang je zelf niks fout doet zijn het je vrienden. Als jij hard
rijdt beschermen ze andere mensen tegen jou. Door rood rijden is
ook zoiets, moet ik wekelijks op een ongeluk af als fotograaf. De
politie is meestal voor de andere hulpdiensten ter plaatse en moeten
vaak op een weg waar mensen niet opletten en hard rijden staan.
Ook zijn zij de mensen die op een schietpartij af moeten, of een
melding van een steekpartij. Daar zijn ze voor getraind en weten hoe
ze dat moeten doen. Zonder politie moet jij zelf dus de schietpartij
inlopen om hem te stoppen. De politie redt elke dag levens, daarvoor
moeten ze beter voor beloond worden.

Like · Reply · 👍 10 · April 9 at 7:45am

begin eerst maar behoorlijk Nederlands
te schrijven

Like · Reply · 👍 3 · April 9 at 7:48am

Figure 5 –   Third section of comments below the post about the bonus of the police

politie is bij mijn 2 meldingen binnen 5 minuten ter plaatse geweest. Dan komen ze haast niet?

Like · Reply · 👍 4 · April 9 at 7:50am

Ik zou eerst maar eens aan je Nederlandse taal werken voordat je hier een reactie plaatst. En een dreiging is hier heel reëel. En je vindt dat de politie er geen geld bij hoeft te krijgen? Moeten ze dan voor niks hun werk gaan doen? Ik zou me maar eerst eens verdiepen in wat hun werk nu precies inhoudt voordat je dit soort reacties hier plaatst. Je zou zelf dat eens mee moeten maken dat je onderbetaald wordt voor het werk je doet, dan praat je echt wel anders. En wat betreft de boetes, die krijg je zeker zelf teveel. Of misschien wel bekenden van je. Dan moeten die of jij zich maar aan de verkeersregels houden. Dan krijg je ook geen boetes meer. En als de politie eerder bij iemand is die hulp nodig heeft, zoals een reanimatie, dan doen ze dat. Als ze moeten wachten op de ambulance dan is het misschien al te laat! Waar zit jij met je gedachten hierover? Denk toch eens even na zeg. Als je zelf iets gebeurd dan zul je ook blij zijn als de politie er als eerste is en je kunt helpen! Of misschien niet, maar dat moet je zelf maar weten. Moge de dag komen dat je ze echt nodig hebt. Ik wil je dan wel eens horen! Bah, wat een mentaliteit heeft men tegenwoordig toch.

Like · Reply · 👍 14 · April 9 at 7:50am

ze kommen niet gauw als je belt of je moet heel lang wachten

Like · Reply · April 9 at 7:53am

http://www.anpv.nl/.../een-weekend-vol-geweld-tegen...

Een weekend vol geweld tegen collega's | ANPV

Opnieuw waren collega's afgelopen dagen genoodzaakt om, in verband met hun eigen veiligheid, hun vuurwapen te gebruiken. De geweldspiraal lijkt steeds heftiger te worden en de wijze waarop bepaalde personen menen zich te moeten gedragen tegen hulpverleners, lijkt absurde vormen aan te nemen. Wat

ANPV.NL

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 9 at 7:56am

Ik weet niet wat erger is. Jouw gebrek aan respect naar je medemens toe, je inhoudsloze getetter of je slechte grammatica.

Like · Reply · 👍 27 · April 9 at 8:01am

all of the above 😆

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 9 at 8:06am

waar basseer je dat op?

Like · Reply · April 9 at 8:07am

Figure 6 – Fourth section of comments below the post about the bonus of the police

Behind every crazy bitch, is a sweet girl who just got tired of all the bullsh*t.

Like · Reply · April 9 at 8:08am

wat een hersenloos mormel ben jij , omdat er gezinnen zijn die minder te besteden heeft mag de politie er niks bij krijgen ? je bent nog dommer dan ik dacht

Like · Reply · 👍 5 · April 9 at 8:09am

ALSJEBLIEFT!

STOP DEZE IN JE HOOFD

Like · Reply · 👍 10 · April 9 at 8:09am

mensen in waarde laten dat ken jij niet weinig opvoeding gehad verneem ik

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 9 at 8:15am

😂😂😂😂 ze bestaan, oh wat erg ze bestaan 😂😂😂😂

Like · Reply · 👍 3 · April 9 at 8:15am · Edited

http://www.rtvnh.nl/.../purmerender-34-aangehouden-voor...

Purmerender (34) aangehouden voor reeks verkrachtingen in...

RTVNH.NL | BY NH

Like · Reply · April 9 at 8:18am

Figure 7 – Fifth section of comments below the post about the bonus of the police

hersenlose mormel??hou je kk bekjoh of je zou wille dat de politie je komt helpen ! WT kom je nou stoer doen facebook gangster kom maar voor me neus kijke hoe snel politie voor je komt denkt dat ze je laten ligge op de grond wat je verdient!

Like · Reply · April 9 at 8:23am

Uit je dan op een normale manier. Zo kom je wel erg dom en extreem over. Er zijn mensen waar je op de bank kunt liggen en over je frustraties kan en mag praten. Kan goed voor je zijn. En neem een koffer mee, denk dat je lang moet blijven.

Like · Reply · 👍 8 · April 9 at 8:36am

Waar komt jou verbitterdheid vandaan?

Like · Reply · 👍 4 · April 9 at 8:37am

politie laat je sowieso op de grond liggen, als je iemand verplaatst kan je meer LETSEL veroorzaken. Daarom zorgen ze dat je niet onderkoelt raakt en proberen ze je kalm te houden tot de ambulance komt. Een andere eenheid pakt jou al binnen een kwartier op 🙂

Like · Reply · 👍 5 · April 9 at 8:40am

Heb geen verbitterheid hoor laat me niet zomaar uit schelden door iemnd die mij niet kent ik mag me mening hebben zijn jullie t er niet mee eens jullie probleem !

Like · Reply · April 9 at 8:49am

ag ag spuit elf komt ook weer hoor !

Like · Reply · April 9 at 8:49am

Waow.. Ik denk dat je nog gelijk hebt ook. Die 1000 euro kunnen ze inderdaad beter besteden aan mensen zoals jij, zodat je een nieuw stel hersens kan kopen of je te laten steriliseren.. Moet er niet aan denken dat dit zichzelf voortplant..

Like · Reply · 👍 14 · April 9 at 8:59am

En dan nog iets. Ik heb van mijn werkgever afgelopen maand ook een extra uitkering gehad. Ter compensatie van onze cao die nu eindelijk na 3 jaar vernieuwd is. Is dat dan ook niet eerlijk? Dat wij bij de sociale werkplaatsen ook eindelijk weer meer salaris krijgen? Want zo komt het wel over. Dat iedereen die wat extra's krijgt daar geen recht op zou hebben! En ons salaris is echt geen vetpot hoor. Dat scheelt maar net iets meer dan honderd euro ofzo. Daar komt ook nog bij dat wij maar 4 dagen in de week werken. Meer kan niet. En weet je hoeveel ze bij de politie verdienen? Een gewone politieagent krijgt echt niet veel hoor. Die moeten het meer van hun toeslagen hebben, zoals voor de verschillende diensten die ze moeten draaien. Jij wilt ook extra betaald krijgen als je een nachtdienst moet werken. Dat wil iedereen. Dus ook de politie. En jarenlang hetzelfde salaris verdienen zonder dat er maar iets bijkomt terwijl alles duurder wordt is ook niets. Tegenwoordig is een modaal inkomen, wat toch niet slecht is, al zowat te weinig om normaal rond te komen. Gewoon om alle kosten die er tegenwoordig zijn. Als je het iemand kwalijk wilt nemen, doe dat dan op de regering. Die zijn hier de oorzaak van. En nogmaals, leer eens wat beter je Nederlandse taal te schrijven! Dan kunnen we tenminste begrijpen wat je schrijft! Dat geldt trouwens ook voor een aantal anderen hier.

Like · Reply · 👍 4 · April 9 at 9:15am · Edited

Figure 8 – Sixth section of comments below the post about the bonus of the police

ik hoor het alweer, geen opvoeding gehad , hersenloos mormel , stoer hoor om ook het woord K te gebruiken , ik mag hopen dat ze jou levenslang opsluiten

Like · Reply · 👍 3 · April 9 at 9:05am

mensen in waarde laten ???????????????? begin bij jezelf

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 9 at 9:06am

Dan mijn andere vraag. Waar komt jou boosheid naar de politie vandaan?

Like · Reply · 👍 3 · April 9 at 9:09am

Ze laat zich niet uitschelden, maar scheldt zelf half internet uit en gooit met ziektes. De logica ontbreekt op alle vlakken...

Like · Reply · 👍 10 · April 9 at 9:10am

Afgelopen nacht kregen collega's van ons basisteam een melding in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel. Hier zou een oude dame in haar pyjama buiten lopen op haar blote voeten. Gezien het tijdstip en de temperatuur werd er ook een ambulance aangestuurd.

Eenmaal ter plaatse bleek de melder een zeer attente buurtbewoner te zijn die de dame al in huis had gehaald. Hierdoor was er geen sprake van onderkoeling en was er voor de ambulance niets te doen. Ondanks dat de dame niet meer wist waar zij woonde wist zij gelukkig wel wat haar naam was. Zo konden wij vrij gemakkelijk achterhalen waar zij thuis hoorde.

In haar nachtelijk wandeling was mevrouw echter wel vergeten de huissleutels mee te nemen. Voor zover de dame de collega's kon vertellen had niemand van de buren of directe familie een sleutel van de woning.
Daarom hebben zij via de Gemeenschappelijke Meldkamer Amsterdam een slotenmaker laten komen om de deur te openen.

Toen de slotenmaker eenmaal ter plaatse was heeft deze de deur naar de woning gelukkig zonder enige schade weten te openen waardoor de dame vrij vlot naar binnen kon. Eenmaal binnen bleek dat de dame ook nog een hondje had. Om de dame niet weer de kou in te sturen besloten de collega's de hond nog even uit te laten alvorens mevrouw een goede nachtrust toe te wensen.

Like · Reply · 👍 3 · April 9 at 9:14am

het is ach ach en geen ag ag ,

Like · Reply · 👍 4 · April 9 at 9:15am

hang maar even een kaartje om je nek waarop staat dat de 'kut' politie je niet hoeft te helpen 😊

Like · Reply · 👍 5 · April 9 at 9:32am

jij bent overigens een reden dat de politie meer van hun werk laat zien op facebook en twitter

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 9 at 9:35am

Figure 9 – Seventh section of comments below the post about the bonus of the police

Hahahahahahahahahahahahahahahaha wat een stelletje zielige mensen zijn jullie zeg bah bah kom lekker allemaal 1 op 1 dan gaan we zien wie zo stoer is nog zo te durven praten wtf boeit mij dit allemaal joh pffffff dramaa om niks met deze hersenloze met ze alle durven jullie wel hea tegen 1 stoer hoor lekker volwassen ook !

Like · Reply · April 9 at 9:53am

nou daar hoef ik geen kaartje voor om te hangen hoor laat jij je maar lekker opsluiten joh mafkees en nu je grote kut bek houwe op Facebook durf je alles hea !

Like · Reply · April 9 at 9:54am

ja wat jii kent mij toch ? Donder op johhh achterlijk wijf dus nu heb ik meteen geen opvoeding gehad..... ff om je beetje informatie te geven ... ik ben indd niet bij me ouders opgegroeid heb alles zelf moeten doen van kleins af aan! Geen papie of mamie die me alles heeft geleerd en me verwend heb gemaakt zoals jjou gelukkig niet zeg! Mens je weeet egt werkelijk niet hoe zwaar het leven van iemnd kan zijn geen opvoeding gehad of niet dat doet er niet toe! Let op je woorden voor je weer een reactie krijgt en gaat huilen !

Like · Reply · April 9 at 9:57am

jij belt vast de goedheiligman als je in een noodsituatie terecht komt?

Like · Reply · 👍 5 · April 9 at 9:58am

nee dit is volwassen wat je uitkraamt 😅😅

Like · Reply · 👍 3 · April 9 at 9:58am

oow jij moest ook weer ff wat zegge natuurlijk ..... neehoor ben niet zo.n persoon die stoer doet op facebook en in het echt een pussy is los me problemen zelf op ! Maar dat ken jij niet natuurlijk verwend kreng alles van papa en mama gekregen

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 9 at 10:00am

nog zo.n spuit elf joh aandacht trekker

Like · Reply · April 9 at 10:00am

ik durf het ook in je gezicht te zeggen, wanneer komt het uit? Ik vind het niet erg om een klap te vangen van jou, het is alleen de vraag of jij het leuk vind om taakstraf te moeten doen of misschien zelfs vast te zitten. Maarja, ik heb niks te bewijzen tegen jou. Wat vind je van de brandweer?

Like · Reply · 👍 4 · April 9 at 10:01am

ga janken, want o wat heb ik een slechte jeugd gehad! Simpele

Like · Reply · April 9 at 10:02am

Ag vent donder tog op je geilt gewoon op de sensatie nu !

Like · Reply · April 9 at 10:02am

Figure 10 – Eighth section of comments below the post about the bonus of the police

Figure 11 – Ninth section of comments below the post about the bonus of the police

Die zal ze vast meer dan 2 keer moeten lezen om uberhaupt te kunnen begrijpen hahahha

Like · Reply · 👍 4 · April 9 at 10:25am · Edited

Stelletje schapen wanneer 1 gaat gaan ze allemaaal met hun geblater!

Like · Reply · April 9 at 10:25am

laten we gewoon kappen ! Oordeeel ook niet over mij dan joh !

Like · Reply · April 9 at 10:26am

even een losse vraag.

Heb het wel een paar keer moeten overlezen voor ik het ontcijferd had.

Maar lees ik nu in de laatste zin een bedreiging? En zoja tegen wie? Niet dat ik bang ben trouwens.

Ik mis alleen hier de popcorn.

Maar hier de tekst die ik bedoel. Graag jullie interpretatie van haar laatste zin hierin.

Hoor je mij janken dan ..... neee mense segge heb geen opvoeding gehad terwijl ze weten niks niet zomaar stoer doen wyfiee me mensen zijn overal !

Like · Reply · 👍 3 · April 9 at 10:27am

s jij begon, wij volgen. Jij bent dus het eerste schaap 🙂

Like · Reply · 👍 5 · April 9 at 10:27am

Aaaaawww ga je nu naar de politie rennen kan je het niet zelf ?? ACTIE REACTIE MEVROUW

Like · Reply · April 9 at 10:28am

Maar ik ben geen mak schaap. Ik lees, observeer en vel een oordeel mbt het gene dat ik hier zie.

Like · Reply · 👍 4 · April 9 at 10:28am

Nee je bnt gewoon een dom wyf dat reageert om sensatie te creëren

Like · Reply · April 9 at 10:29am

ik ren niet. blaffende honden bijten niet jij blaft. ik niet 😊

Like · Reply · 👍 3 · April 9 at 10:29am

jij mag mij best dom vinden hoor. Gezien jou taalgebruik zie ik dat als een groot compliment.

Dus bij deze meisje; dank je 😘

Like · Reply · 👍 5 · April 9 at 10:31am

En ze gaaat maar doooor en doooor en dooooorrrrr

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 9 at 10:31am

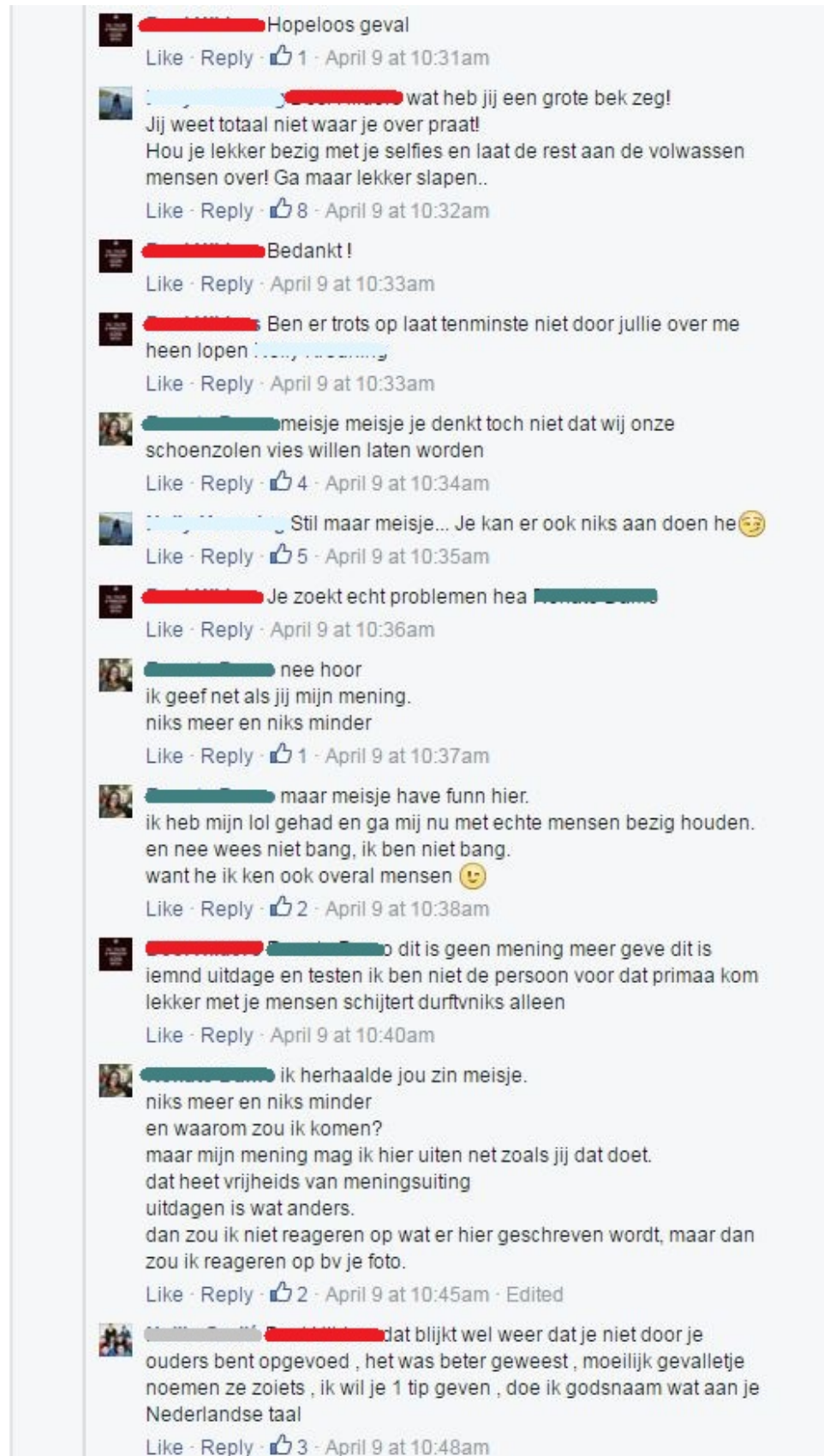Figure 12 – Tenth section of comments below the post about the bonus of the police

Hopeloos geval

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 9 at 10:31am

wat heb jij een grote bek zeg!
Jij weet totaal niet waar je over praat!
Hou je lekker bezig met je selfies en laat de rest aan de volwassen
mensen over! Ga maar lekker slapen..

Like · Reply · 👍 8 · April 9 at 10:32am

Bedankt !

Like · Reply · April 9 at 10:33am

Ben er trots op laat tenminste niet door jullie over me
heen lopen

Like · Reply · April 9 at 10:33am

meisje meisje je denkt toch niet dat wij onze
schoenzolen vies willen laten worden

Like · Reply · 👍 4 · April 9 at 10:34am

Stil maar meisje... Je kan er ook niks aan doen he 😌

Like · Reply · 👍 5 · April 9 at 10:35am

Je zoekt echt problemen hea

Like · Reply · April 9 at 10:36am

nee hoor
ik geef net als jij mijn mening.
niks meer en niks minder

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 9 at 10:37am

maar meisje have funn hier.
ik heb mijn lol gehad en ga mij nu met echte mensen bezig houden.
en nee wees niet bang, ik ben niet bang.
want he ik ken ook overal mensen 🙂

Like · Reply · 👍 2 · April 9 at 10:38am

o dit is geen mening meer geve dit is
iemnd uitdage en testen ik ben niet de persoon voor dat primaa kom
lekker met je mensen schijtert durftvniks alleen

Like · Reply · April 9 at 10:40am

ik herhaalde jou zin meisje.
niks meer en niks minder
en waarom zou ik komen?
maar mijn mening mag ik hier uiten net zoals jij dat doet.
dat heet vrijheids van meningsuiting
uitdagen is wat anders.
dan zou ik niet reageren op wat er hier geschreven wordt, maar dan
zou ik reageren op bv je foto.

Like · Reply · 👍 2 · April 9 at 10:45am · Edited

dat blijkt wel weer dat je niet door je
ouders bent opgevoed , het was beter geweest , moeilijk gevalletje
noemen ze zoiets , ik wil je 1 tip geven , doe ik godsnaam wat aan je
Nederlandse taal

Like · Reply · 👍 3 · April 9 at 10:48am

Figure 13 – Eleventh section of comments below the post about the bonus of the
police

Voor ▓▓▓ Ik zal het even voor je vertalen; "het leven is moeilijk/hard. Het is nog moeilijker/harder als je dom bent." Sterkte, dom wicht. 😂😂😂

Like · Reply · 👍 5 · April 9 at 10:56am

▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓ en der kop. En der instelling. En der karakter. Ik durf te wedden dat ze paar keer van de commode is gedonderd. of navelstreng zat om der nekkie
Like · Reply · 👍 2 · April 9 at 10:57am

▓▓▓▓ Dat ▓▓ niet opgevoed is door haar ouders vind ik triest, maar dat geeft haar niet het recht om zo te reageren.. Meisje meisje toch, dit brengt jou echt niet wat we uiteindelijk allemaal willen in het leven, liefde en respect
Like · Reply · 👍 4 · April 9 at 11:17am · Edited

▓▓▓▓▓ Nog steeds praat je
Like · Reply · April 9 at 12:01pm

▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓ dus jij mag zeggen wat je wilt en ik niet .... wie is hier nou dom pfff kap gewoon met reageren want je voelt jezelf helemaal gangster achter je computertje kijk naar je kop joh lelijkerd
Like · Reply · April 9 at 12:03pm

▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓ s nee jou kop trekt volle zalen !
Like · Reply · April 9 at 12:05pm

▓▓▓▓▓▓ Ja een bonus voor sommige agent voor het mishandelen van mensen ze kunnen niet eens met mensen omgaan ze kunnen voor die 1000 euro beter een oplijding voor ze betalen voor omgaan met mensen ze willen respect maar zelf weten ze niet eens wat respect geven is bahh bahhh
Like · Reply · April 9 at 1:40pm

▓▓▓▓▓▓ Opleiding"
Like · Reply · 👍 3 · April 9 at 4:15pm

▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓ gaat niet om kop. Gaat om wat erin zit. Bij jou bar weinig
Like · Reply · April 10 at 12:27am

▓▓▓▓▓ En aangezien ik niet zo met mezelf ben ingenomen zoals jij. Kan je mijn kop niet eens zien. Ik doe namelijk niet aan selfie's met duck face bekken. Dat doen alleen mensen die vol zijn van zich zelf. En als ik je pagina zo eens bekijk,voldoe je aan dat waanbeeld, Spook dat je der bent
Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 10 at 12:30am

▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓ kom je weer met je kk opmerkingen kom ff voor me dan kijke of je zo stoer bent joh wous
Like · Reply · April 10 at 12:32am

▓▓▓▓ Ach moppie ik zie net dat je me een prive heb gestuurd, lukt me niet om het te openen, dus als je het hier wilt herhalen graag 😊😘
Like · Reply · April 10 at 12:18pm

▓▓▓▓▓▓ Jahooorr of je zo vriendelijk wilt zijn gewoon je bek te houwee
Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 10 at 12:23pm

Figure 14 – Twelfth section of comments below the post about the bonus of the police

1.2   Why are the busdrivers in Almere on a strike?
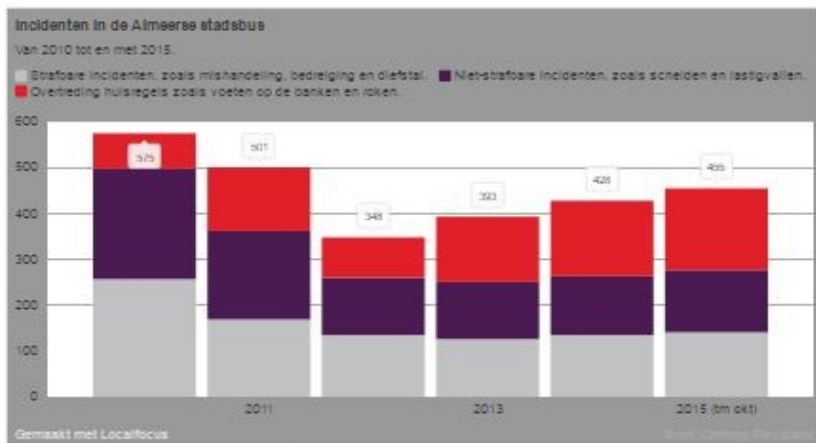
Incidenten in de Almeerse stadsbus (bron: Omroep Flevoland)

29-04-'15 Almere - mishandeling buschauffeur

Mishandeling buschauffeur in tv-programma Bureau Flevoland

Twee maanden later was het raak in een bus in de Kruidenwijk. 's Avonds laat stopte een chauffeur met een verder lege bus bij een halte waar een jongeman nerveus heen en weer liep. Op het moment dat hij de deur opende, dook er een tweede man op die met iets dreigde dat op een vuurwapen leek.

De chauffeur moest zijn kasgeld afstaan, waarna het tweetal wegvluchtte.

20-05-'15 Almere - buschauffeur overvallen

Verdachte 2

• slank postuur
• 1.75-1.85m
• grijze jas met capuchon

Buschauffeur overvallen in Almere

Gemiddeld twee keer per jaar wordt volgens Jan Heilig van FNV Bondgenoten een Almeerse buschauffeur overvallen. Dat is relatief veel. De gemeente Almere maakte onlangs bekend dat er in heel 2015 achttien overvallen plaatsvonden, twee meer dan in 2014.

BEKIJK OOK

Bussen Almere rijden weer na werkonderbreking

Figure 15 - The article about the striking bus drivers on news site NOS

Figure 16 - The article about the striking bus drivers on Facebook

Figure 17 – First section of comments below the post about the striking bus drivers

ze staken om de zelfde reden waarom het GVB Amsterdam om de haverklap naar binnen rijd.
Like · Reply · April 5 at 3:47pm

Gewoon een agent met een tazer in elke bus. Maargoed,aan de andere kant gaan we dan af op een politiestaat..Gewoon lekker op de grond laten bibberen,zulke schoften.. 😸😸
Like · Reply · April 5 at 9:51am

Gewoon achter een glazen wand zetten opgelost zie je in andere landen ook waarom hier niet !!!
Like · Reply · April 6 at 5:53pm

Ik weet nu eindelijk waar die mosilms ons mee verrijken! Wij hadden geen geweld in onze samenleving. Dus ja dat moeten zij natuurlijk aanvullen.
Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 5 at 5:29pm

U maakt een grapje? Geen geweld in deze samenleving? Man man man, als er één samenleving is die in de geschiedenisboeken bekend staat als uitzonderlijk gewelddadig dan is het wel de Europese.
Like · Reply · 👍 2 · April 5 at 6:09pm

(Mag ik u er bijvoorbeeld even aan herinneren dat de twee meest dodelijke en destructieve oorlogen in de recente, al dan niet gehele, geschiedenis zich plaatsvonden in deze samenleving; VOOR de immigratiestromen richting Europa begonnen?)
Like · Reply · April 5 at 6:19pm

Lekker oprotten naar je eigen cultuurland mister white
Like · Reply · April 5 at 6:51pm

Natuurlijk is dat niet serieus. Knuppel. Maar ik raad je wel aan de Koran te lezen. Dan weet je waarom die moslims hier niet thuis horen.
Like · Reply · April 5 at 7:04pm

heb jij hem gelezen dan wil je zeggen?
Like · Reply · April 5 at 9:02pm

zwijg maar jij gewoon zwijge praat niet over iets waar je de kennis niet over hebt gwn shhtt
Like · Reply · April 5 at 11:19pm

ah jij bent er weer zo een. Gewoon kei hard liegen. Of jij hebt niet de Koran gelezen met de Hadiths of je liegt dat je barst. Aan alle Nederlanders, lees de Koran en je zal zien wie er gelijk heeft. Je hoeft niet eens verder dan 2 Sunah's te lezen dan weet je al genoeg waarschijnlijk. Maar vertel eens, wat weet ik niet? Kom eens met argumenten? Kan je niet he? Net als de meeste van jou soort.
Like · Reply · April 5 at 11:21pm

Zal ik dan even reageren? Overigens.... reageer even rustig. Zo schieten we met z'n allen niks mee op. In de Koran staan geen Hadiths. Dat laatste zijn overleveringen uit de leven van onze profeet. Ten tweede predikt de Koran geen geweld. Eerste hoofdstukken behandelen oa de rechten van de vrouw! Kijk.... dan komen we bij hoe het dan kan dat men negatief over de Islam denkt. Antwoord is vrij simpel. We zijn mensen. Wij doen elkaar dingen aan die dieren niet eens zouden doen. We martelen, verduisteren geld, prediken haat, enz. (Overigens doen we ook superveel goede dingen hoor, dus verlies de hoop niet 🙂) Dus men hoeft maar iets te lezen wat geweld lijkt goed te keuren en dit stuk wordt misbruikt om eigen acties te 'rechtvaardigen'. Ik heb meerdere religies bestudeerd en ieder van hun zegt: Heb uw naasten lief. Nou.... in praktijk zie ik daar soms niks van terug. En die jongens die chauffeurs aanvallen? Oppakken en ergens in een isoleercel stoppen. Dan piepen ze wel anders.
Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 6 at 3:22am

Figure 18 – Second section of comments below the post about the striking bus drivers

Figure 19 – Third section of comments below the post about the striking bus drivers

Voorzien van peperspray en een vlindermes.
Like · Reply · April 5 at 12:55pm

Vlindermes?? Je wilt dat een buschauffeur een messengevecht aangaat met een doorgewinterde overvaller? Mijn geld zet ik in op de laatste, dat weet ik wel...
Like · Reply · April 5 at 6:15pm

Write a reply...

krijg je ook kickboksles?
Like · Reply · April 5 at 10:48am

Sterkte voor de Buschauffeurs
Like · Reply · April 5 at 11:50am

je buurt is gevaarlijk!
Like · Reply · April 5 at 10:38am

te gek voor woorden dit.
Like · Reply · April 5 at 4:09pm

hooligan, houd je gemak eens.
Like · Reply · April 5 at 11:44am

Ik zou met mijn beste wil mijn weg nog niet kunnen vinden met de bus in Almere, zo weinig heb ik van die dienst gebruik gemaakt...
Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 5 at 12:03pm

Maar die ene keer dat je erin zit is het gelijk weer raak? Man man man
Like · Reply · April 5 at 12:37pm

Write a reply...

de dood straf moet terug ,daarna als wordt veilig !!
Like · Reply · April 5 at 12:08pm

Doodstraf is ook moord.
Like · Reply · April 5 at 12:39pm

Moeten ze misschien normaal doen dan gebeurd dat ook niet
Like · Reply · April 5 at 1:41pm

Write a reply...

Alle chauffeurs bewapenen met "stroomstootwapen "
Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 5 at 1:59pm

Riotgun.
Like · Reply · April 5 at 6:40pm

Bomgordel.
Like · Reply · April 5 at 7:03pm

Figure 20 – Fourth section of comments below the post about the striking bus drivers

Figure 21 – Fifth section of comments below the post about the striking bus drivers

Figure 22 – Sixth section of comments below the post about the striking bus drivers

1.3   Turkey: report Dutch citizens that insult us and President Erdogan

Figure 23 - The article about the call by President Erdogan on news site RTL Nieuws

Figure 24 - The article about the call by President Erdogan on Facebook

Figure 25 – First section of comments below the post about the call by President Erdogan

Like · Reply · Yesterday at 1:51pm

Like · Reply · Yesterday at 1:51pm

████████ ████████, Pieterbaan is nog te bereiken vandaag. Verder nog iets inhoudelijks te melden ? Ik wel zal het toelichten want je snapt het knippen al niet. Erdogan heeft door zich met de interne aangelegenheden van Syrië te bemoeien en Islamitische doodseskaders op te tuigen en te faciliteren een burgeroorlog uitgelokt waardoor >250.000 doden zijn gevallen en het halve M-O op drift heeft gebracht. Verder lopen er meer dan 1800 onderzoeken en politieke porcessen tegen mensen die het gewaagd hebben deze Islamo-fascistische misdadiger te bekritiseren Daarbij vergeleken is dat geitenneuken maar een onschuldige hobby.

Like · Reply · 👍 4 · April 21 at 1:51pm

████████ ████████ heb ook last van reetketelsteen. 😊

Like · Reply · Yesterday at 1:51pm

████████ ████, Niet zo aardig als mijn landgenoot. Heel erg jammer dat jij zulke beledigingen en scheldwoorden gebruikt, maar het zal wel liggen aan jou zelfrespect en manieren.

Ik zal me als Nederlander absoluut niet zo gedragen. Heb Turkse en Marokkaanse buurman/buurvrouw. Omdat mijn man overleden is. Komen deze lieve mensen mij ondersteunen en ze brengen vaker Turkse en Marokkaanse gerechten.

Like · Reply · 👍 12 · Yesterday at 1:53pm

████████ En niet lullen over vrouwenonderdrukking, de regering in Turkije heeft meer vrouwen daar zitten dan het senaat in Amerika en de regering in NL om maar een voorbeeld te geven.

Like · Reply · 👍 12 · Yesterday at 1:54pm

████████ ████████ oma's, geniet lekker van je oude dag okee😃

Like · Reply · Yesterday at 1:55pm

████████ Ja jonge dat word dalyk 86 jaar waarvan 55 jaar voorwaardelijk, en je straf mag je alleen uitzitten in Turkaie

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · Yesterday at 1:59pm

████████ Jij weet echt niet waar je het over hebt ga eerst onderzoek doen voordat je gaat praten je wil alleen even aandacht van je vrienden

Like · Reply · Yesterday at 2:00pm

Figure 26 – Second section of comments below the post about the call by President Erdogan

kun je doen, maar het verschil is dat wij ons niet snel beledigt voelen. Dus vraag me af wat je er mee probeert te bereiken.

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · Yesterday at 2:00pm

je bent volledig vrij om te gaan naar een land wat jou meer bevalt om in te wonen. Ik ben persoonlijk ook niet overal blij mee, maar vergeleken met andere landen blij dat ik hier, met uitroepteken, mag wonen. Belasting betalen hoort erbij en wij hebben een hoge belasting druk, maar ook gemiddeld hogere salarissen en een sociaal stelsel.

Like · Reply · 👍 7 · Yesterday at 2:00pm

Jullie geloven de media te veel ze vertellen dingen die jullie willen horen gebruik je hersens

Like · Reply · Yesterday at 2:01pm

LOI cursus Nederlands nodig?

Like · Reply · Yesterday at 2:01pm

Genoeg nederlanders gaan wel lekker op vakantie naar turkije daar hebben jullie eigelijk geen eens meer recht op

Like · Reply · 👍 2 · Yesterday at 2:02pm

Denk je nou echt dat Turkije IS steunt ? Van welke andere terroristische groep komen al die aanslagen in Ankara en Istanbul ?

Like · Reply · 👍 3 · Yesterday at 2:03pm

Sandra van der Geld Amen

Like · Reply · Yesterday at 2:03pm

Boek van een pedo ? Christendom en Islam is hetzelfde alleen wij getuigen dat Jezus geen zoon van God (in ons geval Allah) is en dat hij ook een profeet is net als Mohammed.
En als je het zo bekijkt je hebt genoeg pedofielen in Nederland.. Dus ik noem jou ook geen pedofiel.

Like · Reply · 👍 2 · Yesterday at 2:04pm

maar een geloof er bij betrekken is wel heel normaal ?

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · Yesterday at 2:05pm

En nee ben geen voorstander van Erdogan.. Ik bescherm hem niet maar mijn land TurkiyeTR

Like · Reply · 👍 2 · Yesterday at 2:07pm

Ik bescherm hem ook niet wel mijn land zeker met zulke uitspraken "De moskeeën zijn onze kazernes, de koepels zijn onze helmen, de minaretten onze bajonetten en de gelovigen onze soldaten... Er bestaat geen gematigde of niet-gematigde islam. Islam is islam en dat is het." (Recep Tayyip Erdoğan).

Figuere 27 – Third section of comments below the post about the call by President Erdogan

gematigde islam. islam is islam en dat is het. (Recep Tayyip Erdoğan).

Islam als een veroveringsideologie is verworden tot de belangrijkste bedreiging voor de geciviliseerde wereld. Overal waar de islam werd verspreid, werden de andere toen bestaande godsdiensten vrijwel volledig uitgeroeid. Vandaag de dag heeft de islam met z'n universele Jihad over meer dan 50 landen in de wereld de controle gekregen. De islam is weer in opmars in Europa. Nederland islamiseert in rap tempo. Moskeeën, hoofddoekjes en minaretten domineren in steeds meer wijken het straatbeeld.

Like · Reply · 👍 8 · Yesterday at 2:13pm · Edited

p wen dr maar vast aan 👍
Like · Reply · 👍 1 · Yesterday at 2:22pm

Groot gelijk. De mensen die nu niet eens zijn gaan schelden en je moeder erbij halen omdat ze niet kunnen winnen. Triest he
Like · Reply · Yesterday at 2:24pm

Hoezo geen recht op, verklaar.
Like · Reply · Yesterday at 2:25pm

Hoe wil je dat beschermen dan.
Like · Reply · Yesterday at 2:30pm

kijk maar goed naar Turkije.. Er zijn genoeg kerken en synagoge's. Wat erdogan zegt boeit me niet. Dat betekent niet gelijk dat hij heel wereld gaat veroveren en een Islamitische land van gaat maken
Like · Reply · Yesterday at 2:30pm

Pol Vogel Dus je geeft het toe?
Like · Reply · Yesterday at 2:31pm

zoals ik ons Nederland ook bescherm.. De waarheid laten zien aan mensen zonder gescheld 😊
Like · Reply · Yesterday at 2:32pm

Erdogan 1#
Like · Reply · Yesterday at 2:36pm

Laat die man toch lekker... Kan me er niet bepaald druk om maken. Ik vraag me wel af hoeveel hypocriete zeurders hier deze zomer met Cor en Don weer lekker all inclusive voor 3 knaken aan de Turkse kust zitten...
Like · Reply · 👍 12 · Yesterday at 2:39pm

i ken genoeg christen Turken die gevlucht. Omdat ze beschermd werden? Ga fietsen.
Like · Reply · 👍 2 · Yesterday at 2:40pm

Figure 28 - Fourth section of comments below the post about the call by President Erdogan

Figure 29 – Fifth section of comments below the post about the call by President Erdogan

ben ik maar lekker een vuile land verrader ik heb teminste respect voor andere geloof of andere cultuur

Like · Reply · 👍 2 · Yesterday at 3:15pm

hij gebruikt ook zijn vrijheid mening bullshit. Tegen die duitster dus sukkel jullie schuilen altijd met dat meningen uiten dat heeft ook een limit sukkel

Like · Reply · Yesterday at 3:16pm

Mensen ik weet niet of jullie hierover op de hoogte zijn, maar er is een Turkse meldpunt opgericht op Facebook. Volgens mijn worden Turken in Nederland beschermt en verdedigt door deze Turkse meldpunt. In ieder geval ik ga deze Facebookpagina volgen. Zou graag willen weten waarvoor deze meldpunt is opgericht en de doel hiervan.

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · Yesterday at 3:17pm

Heb je bewijs was je der bij ????

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · Yesterday at 3:22pm

Hee de homo type dat je bent ben je jaloers dat turkije goeie vooruitgang heeft ..geite n.. En jij dan hoere n... Ker kijk is naar die vieze wijf op je profiel kots ervan gewoon pedofiel dat je bent

Like · Reply · Yesterday at 3:26pm

Ja hiel de geiten vast😂😂😂😂

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · Yesterday at 3:26pm

Erdogan de geitenneuker! Kan zo nog wel even doorgaan, iemand het email adres van Geitenneuker Erdogan toevallig??

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · Yesterday at 3:27pm

eventjes een melding over jou maken. Dan zal de meldpunt Turkse Nederlanders even jou aanpakken.

Like · Reply · 👍 2 · Yesterday at 3:31pm

wat ben jij kinderachtig zeg

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · Yesterday at 3:34pm

Dat zou ik zeker doen . Wat brutaal en kinderachtig van om zo te beledigen, maar nogmaals neem hem niks kwalijk.

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · Yesterday at 3:47pm

Ik ga ook een melding maken bij dat Turkse meldpunt. Kunnen ze eventjes aanpakken. Vind het zo erg dat mensen elkaar bijna nooit accepteren, respecteren.

Like · Reply · 👍 3 · Yesterday at 3:48pm

Ik neem zoals u merkt. Internet helden nooit serieus, maar ja die beledigingen zijn wel hard.

Like · Reply · 👍 2 · Yesterday at 3:49pm

Figure 30 – Sixth section of comments below the post about the call by President Erdogan

1.4 Refugees start their own companies

NU.nl > NUregio > Amsterdam (Regiopartner)

Vluchtelingen starten eigen bedrijf

Gepubliceerd: 04 april 2016 15:24
Laatste update: 04 april 2016 15:24

Vluchtelingen uit Syrië, Irak en Palestina beginnen maandag onder begeleiding een eigen bedrijf.

Door: AT5

De 25 statushouders beginnen onder begeleiding van 'start-upschool' THNK een eigen onderneming.

De vluchtelingen krijgen een programma van zeven weken begeleiding. Tijdens het programma kunnen ze hun eigen ondernemersplannen uitwerken en 'hun leven weer opbouwen', schrijft wethouder Kajsa Olongren aan de gemeenteraad.

Ook wordt er een proef gestart om vluchtelingen snel in contact te brengen met werkgevers om ze op die manier aan een baan te helpen.

De eerste dertig mensen wordt van de eerste dertig mensen gevraagd welke opleiding en ervaring ze hebben. Vervolgens is de bedoeling dat ze snel aan het werk kunnen of een opleiding kunnen volgen.

Containerwoningen

In juni gaan de dertig wonen in een nieuw complex containerwoningen in Riekerhaven. Vervolgens volgt er een tweede proef met nog een groep vluchtelingen, schrijft *Het Parool*. Dit zal na de zomer zijn.

Voor dit project werkt de gemeente samen met verschillende opleidingen en bedrijven. Hier vallen onder andere de UvA, HvA en VU onder, en bedrijven als Randstad, Manpower en VNO-NCW.

Als de proef bevalt wil de gemeente de programma's de komende jaren gaan uitbreiden. Er is 10 miljoen euro vrijgemaakt om vluchtelingen sneller aan het werk of een opleiding te krijgen.

Door: AT5

0	0	0	-	-
Reageer	Share	Tweet	+1	E-mail

Figure 31 - The article about refugees on news site NU

Figure 32 - The article about refugees on Facebook

Ze willen 10 miljoen vrijmaken voor opleidingen voor vluchtelingen. Maar onze kinderen moeten lenen als ouders het niet kunnen betalen en beginnen hun toekomst al gelijk met een schuld. En dat vind ik ronduit walgelijk

Like · Reply · 👍 407 · April 4 at 9:10pm

∧ Hide 53 Replies

Te triest voor woorden

Like · Reply · 👍 9 · April 4 at 9:17pm

We zinken steeds dieper door dat zooitje in den haag wat er nu zit kots er echt op

Like · Reply · 👍 17 · April 4 at 9:19pm

Vergeet niet dat onze onderwijsinstellingen allemaal rood gekleurd zijn en zich uiteraard het vuur uit de sloffen lopen tgv van alles wat niet autochtoon is. Schande!

Like · Reply · 👍 10 · April 4 at 9:27pm

je hebt gelijk zo gaat dat tegenwoordig in nederland

Like · Reply · 👍 4 · April 4 at 9:28pm

En straks allemaal weer op de gevestigde orde stemmen !

Like · Reply · 👍 6 · April 4 at 9:28pm

Ik ben 't helemaal met   eens.. Helaas..

Like · Reply · 👍 3 · April 4 at 9:29pm

Schaamteloos land.........wat zijn we door de linkse kliek afgegleden......

Like · Reply · 👍 7 · April 4 at 9:30pm

ik heb niet op dit zooitje gestemd en zal ik ook nooit doen ook. Maar goed we zitten er wel mee. En wil uiteraard de mensen die hierop gestemd hebben dan ook erg bedanken 😠😠😠

Like · Reply · 👍 10 · April 4 at 9:30pm

Helemaal mee eens! kotsmisselijk word je ervan....

Like · Reply · 👍 7 · April 4 at 9:31pm

Wat hebben we eraan om te stemmen Als er toch niet naar onze stem geluisterd wordt..

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 4 at 9:41pm

Mensen vooral op de VVD en de PVDA stemmen dan gaan we nog dieper de afgrond in.

Like · Reply · 👍 8 · April 4 at 9:42pm

helemaal mee eens!

Like · Reply · 👍 3 · April 4 at 9:47pm

helemaal mee eens.

Like · Reply · 👍 2 · April 4 at 9:51pm

Figure 33 – First section of comments below the post about refugees

En zo is het!
Like · Reply · 👍 2 · April 4 at 10:13pm

Nee onze kinderen kijken liever naar tv hele dag op de bank en kattekwaad uithalen en ze willen niet leren.
Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 4 at 10:14pm

Dat ligt dan aan jou als ouder. 😌
Like · Reply · 👍 17 · April 4 at 10:17pm

, ze willen heus wel leren hoor maar als je hier iemand gratis een vak leert lopen ze na 3 jaar weer de deur uit....Daar hebben de MKB ers in mijn tak geen zin meer in...
Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 4 at 10:24pm

en stemmen we op de anderen geloof me word het nog slechter!
Like · Reply · April 4 at 10:36pm

Nee, die marokkaantjes enzo doen het beter, tot laat in de nacht buiten de boel op stelten zetten.
Like · Reply · 👍 12 · April 4 at 10:48pm

Dankzij de wegkijkers en de goedpraters.. 😅😅😅
Like · Reply · 👍 6 · April 4 at 10:49pm

Normaal dat je moet lenen het is ook goed voor je het is een extra motivatie
Like · Reply · 👍 2 · April 4 at 10:51pm

Ik ben ook aan het studeren en ik klaag er ook niet over
Like · Reply · 👍 3 · April 4 at 10:52pm

En NIEMAND die actie onderneemt. ...
Like · Reply · 👍 4 · April 4 at 11:24pm · Edited

het is ook belachelijk dat jij moet lenen. Er is niks slechter dan je aan je toekomst te beginnen met een dikke schuld
Like · Reply · 👍 4 · April 4 at 11:19pm

ik wil best op het binnenhof gaan staan maar in me eentje maak ik weinig indruk
Like · Reply · 👍 3 · April 4 at 11:19pm

Ja . zo denk ik er dus ook over......Hoop gezeik via sociaal media maar actief in actie komen is er niet bij. ...waar zijn die studenten van vroeger? ??!!!
Like · Reply · 👍 2 · April 4 at 11:25pm · Edited

Ja ik vind ook we moeten de straat op
Like · Reply · 👍 2 · April 4 at 11:26pm

Verschrikkelijk. Snap t allemaal niet meer. Wij rasechte Nederlanders worden verkwanseld aan het islamitische gepeupel. Verschrikkelijk voor onze kleinkinderen. Erg,erg
Like · Reply · 👍 8 · April 4 at 11:31pm

Figure 34 – Second section of comments below the post about refugees

vroeger ginge de arbeiders ook de straat op maar iedereen is tegenwoordig bang ofzo maar dit kan nooit goed gaan word steeds erger en erger

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 4 at 11:33pm · Edited

Ja daar heb je een punt Er is geen Nederlander die actie onderneemt. Het is tegenwoordig God voor ons allen en ikke ikke ikke. De Nederlandse mentaliteit is flink aan het inboeten.

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 4 at 11:37pm

Ja als ik zie hoe het nu is met kinderen niemand kan meer iets hebben sociale controle kennen ze niet meer niks. Ik maak elk jaar bij de seniorenwoningen stoep en tuinpaadje sneeuwvrij als er sneeuw ligt heb ik zo geleerd van mijn ouders maar zo normaal is het allemaal niet meer. We gaan naar de klote en goed ook

Like · Reply · April 4 at 11:39pm

De mentaliteit is gewoon enorm veranderd idd en dat word als maar erger 😟

Like · Reply · April 4 at 11:47pm

Tja helemaal waar.

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 4 at 11:56pm

Amen!

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · April 5 at 12:10am

En dan schrikken ze dat de PVV aan stemmen wint

Like · Reply · 👍 4 · April 5 at 5:42am

die opmerking slaat nergens op, ik heb vier kinderen, 3 in een prachtig beroep en de jongste is nog volop en serieus aan het leren maar idd door zichzelf tot over zijn nek in de schuld te steken. Het is gewoon oneerlijk en als je dat niet ziet zegt dat meer over jou dan over onze kinderen

Like · Reply · 👍 4 · April 5 at 8:19am

Klopt echt helemaal 😢 daardoor zit ik in de schoonmaak 😢 kan geen opleiding volgen heb ook mijn vaste lasten. Ben van school af gepest ben nu ouder wil heel graag terug naar school wordt er gewoon gezegd dat ik niet fucked up genoeg ben om het van de overheid te krijgen. Mensen met een uitkering kwamen er wel voor in aanmerking. Moet maar gaan lenen en bij lenen om ook mijn woning te kunnen betalen 😠 Ook heb ik vrienden/ vriendinnen die hoog in de schuld zitten nu ze de opleiding afgerond hebben en met hun diploma nergens aangenomen worden dan wordt er weer ervaring geëist 😠 en dan vinden mensen het raar dat je racistisch over komt het is gewoon zo die buitenlanders krijgen echt alles voor elkaar 😠

Like · Reply · 👍 9 · April 5 at 9:01am

OPSTAAN!!!!

Like · Reply · 👍 3 · April 5 at 9:09am

Figure 35 - Third section of comments below the post about refugees

Figure 36 - Fourth section of comments below the post about refugees

Figure 37 - Fifth section of comments below the post about refugees