Political conflicts in the media are a central aspect of a functioning democracy. Being exposed to different viewpoints helps citizens in forming an opinion and knowing what standpoints political parties take in political matters. The media play an important role in this process. This dissertation focusses on conflict framing in political news in the Netherlands. Different types of conflict framing are taken into account, specifically by making a distinction regarding the level of interventionism and the level of substantiveness in conflict framing. Furthermore, the whole range of the conflict framing process is considered. This includes the production, occurrence, and differential effects of different types of conflict frames on political participation.
FACES OF CONFLICT:

INTERVENTIONISM AND SUBSTANTIVENESS IN THE CONFLICT FRAMING PROCESS

Guus Bartholomé
Faces of Conflict:
Interventionism and Substantiveness in the Conflict Framing Process
ISBN: 978-94-6332-192-1

© 2017 Guus Bartholomé
Amsterdam, mei 2017

Cover design and layout: Vischvijver
Printed by: GVO drukkers & vormgevers BV

The research reported in this dissertation was conducted and financed by the Amsterdam School of Communication Research (ASCoR), University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands.
ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT
ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus
prof. dr. ir. K.I.J. Maex
ten overstaan van een door het College voor Promoties ingestelde commissie,
in het openbaar te verdedigen in de Agnietenkapel
op donderdag 22 juni 2017, te 10 uur
door August Anton Joseph Bartholomé
geboren te Amsterdam, Nederland
Promotiecommissie:

Promotor:   Prof. dr. C.H. de Vreese, Universiteit van Amsterdam
Copromotor: Prof. dr. S.K. Lecheler, Universiteit van Amsterdam

Overige leden:  Prof. dr. E. Albæk, University of Southern Denmark
                Prof. dr. P. van Aelst, Universiteit Antwerpen
                Prof. dr. R. Vliegenthart, Universiteit van Amsterdam
                Dr. A.R.T. Schuck, Universiteit van Amsterdam
                Dr. S. Kruikemeier, Universiteit van Amsterdam

Faculteit:     Faculteit der Maatschappij- en Gedragswetenschappen
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2</td>
<td>Manufacturing Conflict? How Journalists Intervene in the Conflict Frame Building Process</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3</td>
<td>Towards a Typology of Conflict Frames: Substantiveness and Interventionism in Political Conflict News</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4</td>
<td>Conflict Framing and Emotions: How Level of Substantiveness and Journalistic Intervention Affect Political Participation Through Anger and Enthusiasm</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5</td>
<td>General Conclusion and Implications</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix</td>
<td></td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Summary</td>
<td></td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Summary</td>
<td></td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authorship Contribution</td>
<td></td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td></td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>