

Being confronted with opposites

The prevalence of competing frames and their effects on emotion and attitude

MSc. Thesis

ABSTRACT

The present study aims to test whether exposure to different sets of competing frames lead to differences in attitude and emotion. The discussion about 'Black Pete', the figure that plays a vital part in the celebration of the feast day of St. Nicholas, was used as case for this study. Study 1 was a content analysis of 251 newspaper articles that revealed the prevalence of multiple frames in the news, and ultimately resulted in a distinct set of ten frames which were empirically tested. A total of 82 of the 251 articles, which served as foundation for study 2, were found to contain elements from frames that were competitive. Study 2 tested the effects of exposure to different sets competing frames that differed in perception of extremity. In total, 179 participants were randomly presented one of the three fictitious newspaper articles. Each newspaper article contained a different set of competing frames, ranging from most extreme to least extreme. Although content analysis revealed the presence of different competing frames in the news, no differences in effects to the exposure to different sets of competing frames were found.

KEYWORDS: FRAMING, COMPETING FRAMES, ATTITUDE, EMOTION

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INTRODUCTION

Sinterklaas or Sint Nicholas is a Dutch tradition that is celebrated annually on December the fifth. The *Sinterklaas* festival, which is especially a festival for children, is usually celebrated in the Netherlands, but also in Belgium, Luxemburg, Northern France and the islands Aruba, Bonaire and Curacao, which are part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Although *Sinterklaas* is already celebrated for many decades, in the last couple of years the festival became the center of discussion due to a controversial feature, namely *Zwarte Piet* (Black Peter). *Zwarte Piet* (plural *Zwarte Pieten*) is a companion of *Sinterklaas*, portrayed by a black faced person with curly hair. It is this figure that has led to a social debate and several incidents and arrests, trials, national, and even international discussions. The most important are described below. These events give an indication of the severity regarding the discussion about *Zwarte Piet* in The Netherlands.

November 12, 2011

The arrest of artist Quincy Gario and rapper Cesare Kno'ledge at the national *Sinterklaas* arrival in Dordrecht, The Netherlands, in 2011 was the beginning of the social debate about *Zwarte Piet*. At the arrival, Quincy and Cesare wore t-shirts with the text "*Zwarte Piet* is racism". According to the police this was a distortion of the social order, after which they were arrested. From this day, the criticism on the figure *Zwarte Piet* became harsher every year. In 2014, opponents of *Zwarte Piet* tried to prevent the participation of *Zwarte Piet* in the *Sinterklaas* arrival in Amsterdam, The Netherlands. The protest was encouraged by Quincy Gario, who thinks *Zwarte Piet* is racial and disrespectful to people from African origin. Leading to a trial in court, the judge accepted the argument that the negative stereotype of *Zwarte Piet* is a breach of privacy regarding black people.

November 16, 2013

Nine undercover police officers, part of a special taskforce, participated in the arrival festival dressed as *Zwarte Piet*. Armed and equipped with bulletproof vests, these officers had to ensure safety of both participants in the festival and the public in Groningen, The Netherlands. The police was afraid that the fierce discussions about *Zwarte Piet* might led to disturbances.

June 10, 2014

Initially, the government did not participate in the discussion. Prime Minister Mark Rutte said that *Zwarte Piet* is not a case for the government, but for the society. "Black Pete is black, there is little we can change about that", is what his reaction was. However, discussion in the government was inevitable. On behalf of the Dutch Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage (VIE), several political parties spoke about the future of the *Sinterklaas* Festival. After investigation of the VIE, the advice was to "modernize" the appearance of *Zwarte Piet*. However, this was just an advice and not mandatory.

July 4, 2014

'This lack of knowledge about history feeds intolerance and racism and contributes to the fact that people do not understand the feelings of those of African descent towards *Zwarte Piet*.' With this statement, social historian, expert on slavery and member of the United Nations (UN) working party, Verene Shepherd, recently gave her verdict on the discussion about *Zwarte Piet*. Due to the involvement of the United Nations, the discussion became international. On the fourth of July, 2014, provisional findings of the UN report about *Zwarte Piet* and the *Sinterklaas* festival were presented to the public through a conference in The Hague, the Netherlands. The UN believes the figure *Zwarte Piet* is of racial grounds and that this can only be changed through education. According to Shepherd, the *Sinterklaas* festival turns down to be a "return of slavery". Therefore, Shepherd stated that the best solution is abolishment of the festival in the future.

November 15, 2014

At the 2014 *Sinterklaas* arrival in Gouda, The Netherlands, tempers ran high. No less than ninety arrests were made. On forehand, The municipality of Gouda designated places where it was allowed to protest against *Zwarte Piet*. Sixty protestors did not comply to these rules and were arrested because of protesting on non-designated places. Thirty others were arrested because of "other disorders".

RESEARCH CASE

The *Sinterklaas* festival is a typical Dutch festival, which is celebrated throughout the entire country. The fact that it is celebrated on a nationwide scale, emphasizes the enormous extent and popularity of the festival. Every year around mid-November, *Sinterklaas* arrives in the Netherlands by steamboat all the way from Spain (so the story goes). After arriving, it is a tradition to have a festive parade through the town centre. Every town and village organizes their own *Sinterklaas* arrival. Of all these arrivals, the national television always broadcasts one. Most of the time these broadcastings take place in typical old, picturesque Dutch towns. *Sinterklaas*, dressed in the attire derived from a Roman Catholic bishop, does not arrive alone, but is accompanied by another imagery figure: Black Peter or '*Zwarte Piet*' – or rather: Multiple Black Peters. The figure *Zwarte Piet* was first introduced in 1850 in a picture book called *St. Nicholas and his servant (Sint Nikolaas en zijn knecht)* written by schoolteacher Jan Schenkman (1803-1863). Traditionally *Zwarte Piet* wears a brightly colored costume with tights, a frilly white collar, a curly black wig and a feathered hat. However, the most important feature of *Zwarte Piet* is his black face, from which the name Black Peter derives. According to the tradition, children are allowed to put their shoes in front of the fireplace from the moment *Sinterklaas* arrives in the Netherlands up to the fifth of December. These shoes are often filled with a present (e.g., drawings) for *Sinterklaas* and *Zwarte Piet*. It is said that, at night, *Zwarte Piet* climbs down the chimney to collect the presents and fill the shoes with gifts in return. Mostly, *Zwarte Piet* is a happy figure that dances, jokes and hands out the traditional *Sinterklaas* festival candy "*pepernoten*" (gingerbread cubes).

However, in the last couple of years, the appearance of the imagery figure *Zwarte Piet* has led to numerous discussions throughout the country, resulting in a lot of controversy. Supporters of *Zwarte Piet* consider it to be a joyful figure, and explain that the black appearance is part of the tradition and caused by the soot in the chimneys. However, opponents think the concept of *Zwarte Piet* is related to slavery, resulting in rather dissenting views.

MEDIA FRAMING

One reason why this discussion became so big is because of the media attention. There has been written and spoken a lot about the *Zwarte Piet* discussion. Media write news articles in so called “frames”. News frames are considered to be conceptual tools, that are used by media and individuals to transfer, interpret and evaluate information (Neuman et. al., 1992, p.60). News frames set parameters in which public events are discussed by citizens (Tuchman, 1978, p. 4). Because the *Zwarte Piet* discussion has both opponents and supporters, it is plausible that this discussion is approached from different angles, causing different arguments to be presented to the public (Edy & Meirick, 2007). It might therefore well be possible that this will lead to situations in which people are constantly exposed to various competing arguments (Hansen, 2007). This is also referred to as competing frames (Coombs, 2004). The aim of this study is to identify frames regarding the discussion about *Zwarte Piet*, which is the casus for this study, and subsequently test the effect of the exposure to those (competing) frames.

LITERATURE REVIEW

FRAMING

Mass media have the ability to set the agenda for public discussion, through deliberate coverage of news and/or events, thereby pressurizing policymakers to take action steps and provide satisfaction or answers (Birkland, 1997). News media often write news stories written in so called “frames”. Framing has been studied in a wide variety of issue specific topics, such as poverty (Iyengar, 1987), gay rights (Brewer, 2002), and European issues (Valkenburg, Semetko, & De Vreese, 1999). Framing is effective because it is a mental shortcut that may not always produce results that are desired. Framing is seen as a “rule of thumb”. Fiske and Taylor (1991) explain humans as being “cognitive misers” by nature, which means that they prefer to do as little thinking as possible. Frames allow people to process information in a quick and easy way. Hence, senders and framers of information have enormous power to influence how receivers will interpret messages (Entman, 1993). So is framing known to have an impact on variables such as attitude (Van Gorp, 2009; Chong & Druckman, 2013) and emotion (Nabi, 2003; Gross and D'Ambrosio, 2004).

Definitions of framing vary amongst scholars. Framing can be referred to as composing a story in such a way that audience accessibility is optimized (Valkenburg, Semetko & De Vreese, 1999). The essence of framing involves both selection and salience. Entman (1993) clarifies framing as “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described”. According to Tankard (2001), a media frame is “a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration.” Subsequently, Van Gorp (2007) defines a frame as an abstract variable that is both hard to identify and to code in content analysis. Therefore, it is often not clear what elements signify the presence of a frame in a story or article.

COMPETING FRAMES

Where earlier research designs exposed significant effects of a single frame exposure regarding a specific issue to subjects (e.g., Iyengar, 1987, 1994; Brewer, 2002; Valkenburg et al., 1999), a handful of studies explored the effects of exposure to multiple, competing frames (e.g., Andsager, 2000; Edy & Meirick, 2007; Van Gorp, 2009; Chong & Druckman, 2010). It is highly possible that subjects are exposed to multiple news frames regarding a particular problem or issue (Edy & Meirick, 2007). Consequently, this will lead to situations in where people are constantly exposed to multifarious competing arguments (Hansen, 2007). Coombs (2004) refers to this as *competing frames*.

Concerning the effects of competing frames, Van Gorp et al. (2009) studied the exposure of ambiguously framed media texts on subjects. In their study toward competing frames, where frames were retrieved from a study toward asylum seekers in Belgium (Van Gorp, 2005), respondents were presented either a news article written in the “victim frame”, a news article written in the “intruder frame” or a news article written in the “mixed frame”. Results showed there was no relationship

between attitude and interpretation in case a single frame was presented as compared to when a mixture of competing frames was presented. Both single frames might be considered to be opposing, because they clearly promote different interpretations of the article about asylum seekers representing opposite ends of one scale. Hence, this might cause respondents in the mixed frame to deliberately trade-off the arguments that are proposed by the opposing framing devices. Therefore it might well be possible that respondents end up with interpretations somewhere in the middle of the interpretation scale.

Supplementary to the findings by Van Gorp et. al. (2009), other studies show that exposure to multiple, competing frames tend to attenuate framing effects (Sniderman & Theriault 2004; Chong & Druckman, 2007). In his study, Druckman (2004) explains that effects of framing depend on context. Therefore, "framing effects appear to be neither robust nor particularly pervasive" (Druckman, 2004). People possess lots of considerations that they can use when deciding to support or oppose a certain course of action. The more consistent their considerations are, the more likely it is that their choice will be complementary to these considerations (Sniderman & Theriault, 2004). Therefore, as Hansen (2007) assumes in his article, it might well be that positive arguments regarding an issue will push an opinion in a positive direction compared to when no arguments are used. On the contrary, negative arguments might therefore lead opinions to a negative direction. It has been shown that dual frames have the tendency to push the opinion in the same way as groups that are not treated with any arguments, namely somewhere stuck in the middle between positive and negative. A possible explanation could be that competitive framing cause personal beliefs to play a more important role in the process, which in turn decreases the effect of the news framing (Sniderman & Theriault, 2004).

In accordance with these findings, Matthes & Schemer (2012) state that framing effects depend on opinion certainty. When individuals appear to be highly interested in an issue, opinions are formed with high certainty, causing future framing effects to have no effect on the individual's formerly established attitude. On the other hand, it might be possible that competing frames allow individuals to evaluate opposing opinions (Chong & Druckman, 2013). In their study toward counter frames regarding electoral campaigns and policy debates, Chong and Druckman (2013) argue that competing frames provide individuals with the opportunity to evaluate the strength of alternative opinions and connect policy choices to those that fit their own values and priorities best.

MULTIPLE COMPETING FRAMES

As described above, many scholars agree that exposure to competing frames causes respondents to end up with a “stuck in the middle” interpretation. Another possible explanation of this attenuation is that people adopt and combine elements from competing frames to which they are exposed to. Edy and Meirick (2007) conducted a study toward naturally occurring media frames on public support for a policy, in their case the September 11 events. They found that U.S. media framed the 9/11 events in terms of both crime and war. When confronted with both competing frames, individuals appeared to combine both frames and build stories of their own rather than adopting either a war frame or a crime frame (Edy & Meirick, 2007).

Although little is known about competing frames so far, several studies (e.g., Druckman, 2004; Sniderman & Theriault, 2004; Van Gorp, 2007) done in the past show the occurrence of similar effects. However, no study have yet explored the effects of competing frames that are perceived different by subjects in terms of argument extremism. In other words, do competing arguments that are perceived to be extreme result in different attitudes compared to competing arguments that are perceived to be less extreme? Due to the specificity of the research topic, it is important to study the prevalence of issue specific frames and identify frames that are competing through a content analytical research. This study continues to explore the simultaneous exposure of competing frames by investigating whether difference exists in regard to exposure to different sets of competing frames regarding one specific topic.

RQ1: To what extent does exposure to different sets of competing frames regarding one specific topic result in different attitudes?

Next to the effects on attitudes, it is known that emotions are considered to be an integral component of news frames (e.g., Nabi, 2003). Individuals may have specific emotions when exposed to news framing (e.g., Druckman and McDermott, 2008; Gross and D'Ambrosio, 2004). In fact, it has been empirically tested that emotional reactions are invoked when subjects are exposed to news frames that bear emotional relevance (Lecheler et. al., 2013). In their study toward discrete emotions as mediators of news framing effects, Lecheler et. al., (2013) found that emotions can lead to opinion change only when subjects felt angry or enthusiastic. Since *Zwarte Piet* is inseparably connected to the Dutch culture, it might be possible that people feel a certain level of emotional engagement when being confronted with different frames regarding the discussion about *Zwarte Piet*. Therefore, research question two is as following:

RQ2: To what extent does the framing process invoke different emotional responses regarding the discussion about Zwarte Piet?

Frames consist of several elements, whereby each element consists of several content analytical variables. When these variables are systematically grouped together, they will form a certain pattern that can be identified across several stories or texts. Those patterns are called frames (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). In the communication process, frames have at least four locations, namely the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture (Entman, 1993).

Communicator and text

Conscious or unconscious, communicators make framing judgments in deciding what to say. These judgments are guided by frames that organize the belief systems of the communicators (Entman, 1993). Frames are applied to give meaning to a wide variety of topics. Every frame refers to an alternative logical chain of *reasoning devices*: another definition, cause, responsibility and solution of the problem. The author of a message applies frames, consciously or unconsciously, by using *framing devices*: word usage, formulations, metaphors, imagery, arguments and examples, all referring to the frame as a comprising idea. This collection of framing devices forms, together with reasoning devices, a *frame package* (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). A frame can be used in different places and times, by both supporters and opponents, both for and against certain social issues (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 14-15). The above shows that the way stories and information are framed affects the way in which the public is going to understand social problems.

Receiver

Because selecting means that one leaves out certain aspects, the effects of a frame set limits to how the news is interpreted by the subject (Van Gorp et al., 2009). "The connection between framing and reasoning devices in a text on the one hand and the actual frame on the other, happens during the interpretation of the message by the journalist and the audience on the basis of a cognitive process" (Van Gorp, 2007). This cognitive process makes sure that the complexity of the event will be reduced to a frame package. Frame packages suggest definitions, explanations, problematizations and evaluations of events and will ultimately result in numeral logical conclusions – for instance, with regard to who might be responsible for a certain problem that is perceived. As such, not only information about an event is provided by the media, but also the way this information should be interpreted. Therefore, framing can be referred to as a form of metacommunication, which implies that both the meaning readers assign to a text as well as implicit information between the lines determine how a topic is understood (Gurevitch & Levy, 1986). At a cognitive level, framing devices that are embodied in a message activate a schema that is meant to corresponds with the frame intended by the author. As Entman (1993) describes; the communicator's framing intention and used frames may or may not correspond with the frames that guide the thinking of the receiver.

Culture

The culture is the inventory of frames that are commonly invoked. In fact, culture might even be defined as “the empirically demonstrable set of common frames exhibited in the discourse and thinking of most people in a social grouping” (Entman, 1993, p. 53). As explained, receivers will reduce complex events to a frame package. Frame packages recall a schema, and, on the basis of this schema, the receiver inserts other reasoning devices that are not explicitly embodied in the message (Van Gorp, 2007). Frames are connected with cultural phenomena, and because of both narrative fidelity and cultural resonances (Benford & Snow, 2000; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989), it might be expected that media content will evoke a scheme that is in accordance with the frame (Van Gorp, 2007). Cultural processes also influence the way media content is interpreted (Schoemaker & Reese, 1996). Because frames are considered to be part of culture, they cannot be seen as equal to personal mental structures. Therefore, it is assumable that individual frames do not exist (Kinder & Sanders, 1990; Scheufele, 1999, p.107). “Cultural resonances contribute to the fact that devices are often perceived as familiar, so that the frames to which they refer can remain unnoticed. These micro-macro linkages situate journalists and the members of the audience in a context in which they interact with the larger society and many frame sponsors, and it is in that dynamic social process where social reality is produced, reproduced and transformed” (Van Gorp, 2005, p.73). Although frames are explained as mental structures or cognitive mental frameworks by psychologists such as Minsky (1975), Van Gorp (2007) recommends it is better to refer to these mental structures as schemata (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Other than frames, which are part of culture, schemata are collections of knowledge that are developed gradually and become more complex. They are developed on a personal basis and consist of experiences and associated feelings (Wicks, 2001). Schemata allow individuals to cope with new information and retrieve information that is already stored in memory (Graber, 1988). Since cultural processes influence the way media content is interpreted (Schoemaker & Reese, 1996), it is expected that, in this study, framing is less effective in situations where people are strongly connected to their culture.

H1: The effects of competing frames on attitude and emotion will be dependent on the moderating role of cultural attachment

INVOLVEMENT

Next to culture, framing is also known to be moderated by issue involvement (Petty, Cacioppo, & Schuman, 1983, p. 136). High-involvement messages are considered to be of greater personal relevance as compared to low-involvement messages. High involvement will result in more rationality, causing subjects to take up a critical position toward the news. As a result, subjects tend to challenge the frame more (Druckman, 2004; Hwang et. al., (2007). This is in line with the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM), designed by Petty & Cacioppo (1986). The ELM explains that, under conditions of high involvement, subjects follow the route of “central processing”, which means that the persuasion process is largely influenced by the thoughtful examination of arguments. Under conditions of low involvement, subjects follow the route of “peripheral processing”, whereby the outcome of the

persuasion process is mainly determined by peripheral cues that elicit cognitive shortcuts that serve as decision rules. As Van Gorp (2007) explains, framing devices might be considered as peripheral cues, whereby individuals use cognitive shortcuts in situations of low elaboration regarding the message. As such, issue involvement can be considered to be of great importance in the framing process. Since high involvement will result in more rationality and challenging of the frame, it is expected that:

H2: The effects of competing frames on attitude and emotion will be dependent on the moderating role of issue involvement.

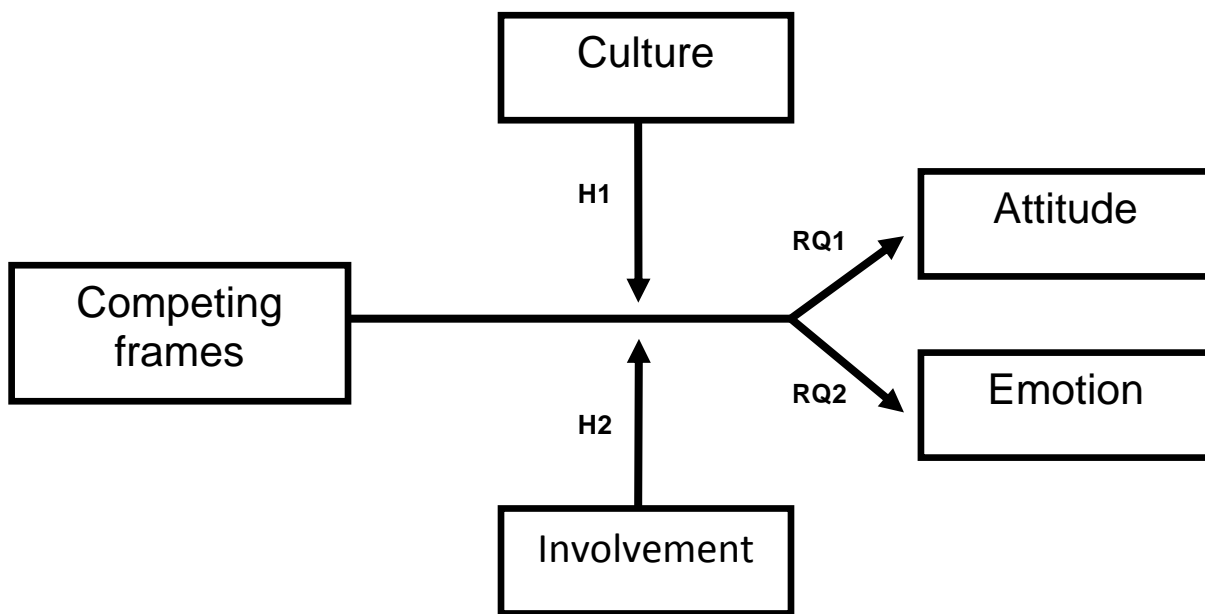


Figure 1. Research model competing frames

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to explore the effects of competing frames on individuals. In order to do so, this study consists of two parts. First, a framing analysis identified which frames are used most frequently by Dutch national newspapers regarding the *Zwarte Piet* discussion. Subsequently, after the frames were identified, it was possible to construct different newspaper articles that contained (multiple) competing frames. Ultimately, effects of exposure to those frames was tested via an experimental study

STUDY 1: CONTENT ANALYSIS

First, a framing analysis identified which frames were used most frequently by Dutch national newspapers regarding the *Zwarte Piet* discussion. Since opinions in this discussion clearly promote two opposing ends, frames can be drawn either in support of, or against *Zwarte Piet*.

CORPUS

The aim of the content analysis was to address the most dominant frames in the recent newspaper coverage about *Zwarte Piet*. Because media coverage is most intense in the period from October up to and including December, newspaper articles from this period in the year 2014 were collected. The LexisNexis database was used to select all articles from Dutch national newspapers, knowing *Het AD*, *de Volkskrant*, *NRC Handelsblad*, *de Telegraaf*, *Trouw*, *Het Parool*, *NRC NEXT*, *Nederlands Dagblad*, *Reformatorisch dagblad* and *financieel dagblad*. The search terms “*Zwarte Piet*” and “*Pietendiscussie*” resulted in an initial result of 885 articles. Only articles that presented content explicitly about *Zwarte Piet* or the discussion about *Zwarte Piet* were selected. Subsequently, articles that were not about *Zwarte Piet* were removed. For example, a lot of articles contained the phrase “He was awarded the *Zwarte Piet*”, a well-known expression in the Netherlands which means that someone is blamed for a certain act or deed. Newspapers often use this phrase, which can be applied to a wide variety of topics, in newspaper articles. Also, articles referring to the discussion about *Zwarte Piet* as an example to point out other problems were removed. For example, an article discussing about why fireworks should be prohibited started with the phrase “After *Zwarte Piet*, another December tradition is being pressurized”. Ultimately, after removing all the superfluous articles, 251 articles remained that formed the corpus of the content analytical research.

CODEBOOK

The structure of the codebook designed by Dobber (2012), that can be found in his study regarding the Dutch history of slavery, was used as a guide for designing the codebook for the content analytical research in this study (Appendix A). The relative importance that a newspaper ascribes to the discussion about *Zwarte Piet*, was based on number frames that were used. The news genre of the articles was divided in news articles, opinion articles, interviews and other. Further explanation of the codebook can be found in appendix B.

A framing analysis has been conducted on the newspaper articles. The most difficult part is determining the frames (Tankard, 2001; Van Gorp, 2005). For both quantitative and qualitative research, methods can be divided into either inductive or deductive (De Vreese, 2005; Matthes & Kohring, 2008). For research toward framing, an inductive method identifies frames after examination of the articles. This means that the researcher has a significant influence, because it is about his/her individual, subjective interpretation. Therefore, selection of frames might be biased (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). Contrary, in deductive research, frames are identified on the basis of already existing literature. The main disadvantage of the deductive method, is that new or divergent frames are quickly overlooked at. Therefore, for this research, a quantitative analysis was conducted based on both an inductive and a deductive research method. Several frames derived from existing literature about *Zwarte Piet* (Helsloot, 2012, Slagter, 2014), while others were constructed during the content analytical research. It is important that the frames are unique and distinct so that it easy to assign the available data to the correct frames during the coding process. The frames that are constructed through deductive analysis derived from literature by Stoler (2011), Helsloot (2012) and Slagter (2014).

The basis of *Zwarte Piet* discussion is the concept of aphasia (Stoler, 2011). Aphasia mainly occurs when a western civilization is related to matters that concern their colonial history. Rather than that the history is being forgotten, there is a disconnection between words and things. Aphasia is about a culture's inability to talk about things and see things as they really are. Helsloot (2012) connected aphasia to the *Sinterklaas* festival and *Zwarte Piet*. According to Helsloot (2012), *Zwarte Piet* is so embedded in the Dutch culture and folklore, that for many people questioning this figure is felt as an attack on the Dutch identity. In his study, Helsloot (2012) explains that the implicit negative impact of the word 'racism' is denied emphatically because there appears to be a misfit with emotions, inner convictions and intentions. Proceeding on the work of Helsloot (2012), Slagter (2014) operationalized the concept of Aphasia regarding the *Zwarte Piet* discussion. Derived from a content analytical research of Facebook and popular Dutch talk shows, two frames were constructed. *The Aphonic frame* is used by supporters of *Zwarte Piet*, and very closely related to the concept of Aphasia. This frame states that the discussion is useless and that the actual problem is caused by the victims themselves. Feelings of annoyance, frustration, irritation and nationalism represent this frame. The *Listen frame*, on the other hand, is used by opponents of *Zwarte Piet*. They claim that *Zwarte Piet* is inherent to racism/slavery. Feelings of anger, misunderstanding, sadness, pain and discomfort represent this frame.

This study extended the framing research by adding more specific frames regarding the *Zwarte Piet* discussion through a content analysis of newspaper articles. The two frames that were constructed by Slagter (2014), namely the aphonic- and the listen-frame, were used as a main guideline in this research. Sub frames were set up both deductively, by using information from studies done by Helsloot (2012) and Slagter (2014), and inductively, by using the grounded theory analysis (Glacier & Strauss, 1967) for open coding.

Sub frames that can be listed under the *Aphonic frame*:

Deductive analysis

- The *cultural heritage subframe* explains that the Sinterklaas festival is cultural heritage and has nothing to do with racism or slavery. Characteristics such as “*Sinterklaas* is an ancient tradition and it should be kept as it is” show the strong cultural connection to the festival.
- the *equality subframe* explains that there is no racism involved in the festival. Arguments such as “black people also celebrate *Sinterklaas*” and “the relationship of *Sint* and *Piet* is equal” are often used.

Inductive analysis

- The *child festival sub frame* explains that the children are the main victims of a discussion that is mainly held between adults.
- The *fictive character sub frame* states that the main characters of the festival represent no real persons, but are only fictive.
- The *emphatic sub frame* explains that opponents only criticize *Zwarte Piet* out of self-interest, without showing any empathy for the festival.
- Supporters of the *minority interest sub frame* claim that it is ridiculous that a small group is able to impose their ideas about *Zwarte Piet* to the majority of the Dutch society.

Sub frames that can be listed under the *Listen frame*:

Deductive analysis

- The *historical racism sub frame* puts the discussion about *Zwarte Piet* in an historical context. This frame explains that it is important to recognize, address and admit the fact that *Zwarte Piet* is of racial grounds do to colonial or historical events. Features such as “*Zwarte Piet* derives from slavery” and “the relationship between *Sint* and *Piet* is the same as one of master and slave” are possible characteristics in this frame.
- The *contemporary racism sub frame* is about the contemporary negative associations of *Zwarte Piet*. This frame states that *Zwarte Piet* is racism or has racial connotations in present tense. “*Zwarte Piet* represents the black people in society” or “The appearance and behavior of *Zwarte Piet* lead to the assumption that black people are subordinate and dumb” are possible characteristics of this frame.

Inductive analysis

- The *image sub frame* states that the whole discussion has a negative impact on the image of the Netherlands.
- The *recognition sub frame* claims that *Zwarte Piet* needs to be altered to the standards of the modern day society. It needs to be recognized that the current appearance of this figure is wrong.

Last, possible solutions for the *Zwarte Piet* discussion were framed through open coding. Newspaper articles that contained one or more of the (sub) frames, often also presented possible solutions for the problem. These solutions have been coded with one of the following options:

- *Conservation*: *Zwarte Piet* should be kept as it is
- *Abolishment*: *Zwarte Piet* should be abolished
- *Alteration*: The appearance of *Zwarte Piet* should be changed
- *Different*: Other solutions that do not fall within the above-mentioned categories.

A quick overview of the frames can be found in table 1 below. A complete explanation and overview of the frames can be found in appendix B.

ANALYSIS

A Cohen's kappa coefficient was used to determine the interrater agreement (Sim & Wright, 2005). A sample of 25 newspaper articles was double coded, which represented ten percent of the total amount of articles. The process needed three rounds of coding for the kappa's to reach significance. After the coding process of the sample, agreement between the two coders for each of the formulated frames was calculated. Cohen's kappa is known to be significant when it reaches a .75 or higher. First, the two main frames were analyzed, whereby the aphonic frame showed a Cohen's kappa of .79, and the listen frame a Cohen's kappa of .84. Concerning the opinion of *Zwarte Piet*, possible solutions for the discussion had to be coded, resulting in a Cohen's kappa of .93 for the solution frame. The kappa's for the sub frames can be found in table 1 below.

Table 1

Interrater agreement

Aphonic sub frames		Listen sub frames		Solutions	
Cultural Heritage	.76	Contemporary racism	.75	Conservation	1.00
Equality	.77	Historical Racism	.81	Abolishment	1.00
Child Festival	.83	Recognition	.79	Alteration	.92
Fictive Character	.76	Image	1.00	Different	.83
Empathic	.77	Other frames	.83		
Minority Interest	.80				
Other frames	.84				

Note. Calculations consider exact matches between observers. Other frames consist of a total of 53 for the aphonic frame and 30 for the listen frame.

RESULTS STUDY 1

From the total of 251 articles that were used for content analytical research, it appeared that 165 contained only a single frame, meaning either the aphonic frame or the listen frame. Regarding competing frames, 82 articles contained competing elements from both the listen and the aphonic frame. Only 4 articles were found that did not contain any of the frames. Table 2 shows the number of codes that are quoted in the single frame articles.

Table 2

Number of quoted codes in articles containing only a single frame

Aphonic frames	N	Listen Frames	N	Solutions	N
Child Festival	39	Historical Racism	21	Conservation	34
Cultural Heritage	33	Contemporary Racism	32	Abolishment	16
Equality	14	Recognition	43	Alteration	47
Fictive Character	14	Image	4	Different	10
Empathic	16	Other	23		
Minority Interest	7				
Other	23				
Total	146		123		107

The main purpose of the content analysis was to identify the (multiple) competing frames within newspaper articles regarding the *Zwarte Piet* discussion. The content analysis was used as a basis for the experimental study. To see which frames mostly co-occured, a frequency table was constructed which points out the quantity of competing frames that were counted in an article. As shown in Table 3, cultural heritage vs. solidarity/empathy appeared in 23 of the 82 competing articles. Cultural heritage vs. historical racism (12), child festival vs. contemporary racism (11), child festival vs. historical racism (11) and equality vs. recognition (10) are other combinations that are frequently used.

Table 3

Co-occurrence table of sub frames within newspaper articles

	Contemporary racism	Historical racism	Recognition	Image	Other	Total
Child Festival	11	8	11	0	1	31
Cultural Heritage	9	12	23	2	5	51
Empathic	5	5	8	1	0	19
Equality	6	4	10	0	1	21
Fictive Character	3	1	4	0	0	8
Minority Interest	4	1	3	0	3	11
Other	11	8	6	0	3	28
Total	49	39	65	3	13	169

Note. Number of quotations that co-occurred in the 82 articles containing elements from both the Aphonic and Listen frame

Being confronted with opposites

Considering the division of frames per newspaper, it appeared that most newspapers presented articles that covered both the aphonic and the listen frame. Only the *Telegraaf*, with a ratio of 55 against 6, presented more articles within the aphonic frame. Figures 2 and 3 present an overview of the frames per newspaper.

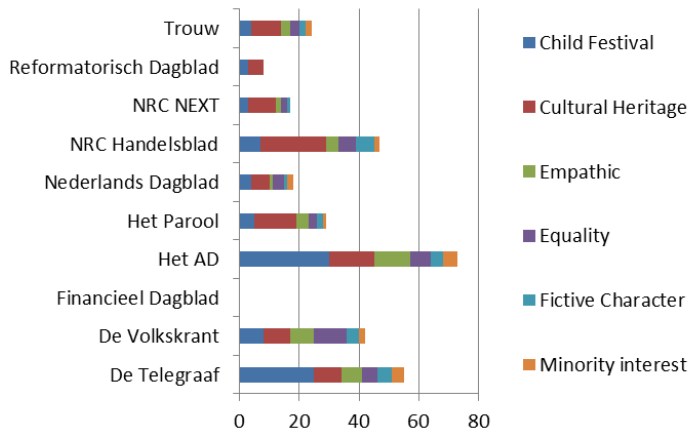


Figure 2. Division of Aphonic frames per newspaper

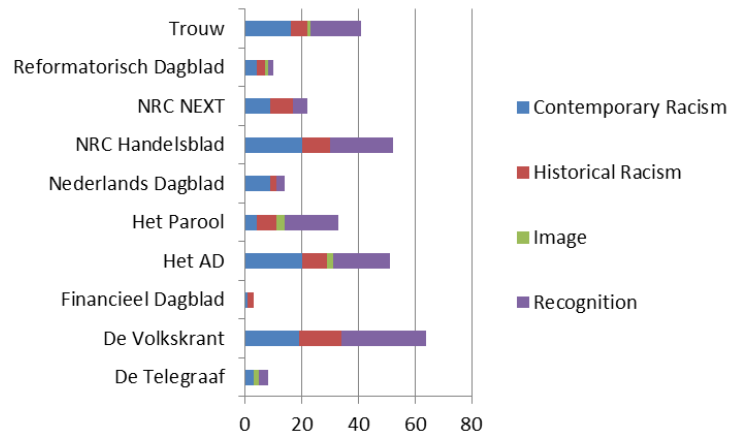


Figure 3. Division of Listen frames per newspaper

The total of 251 newspaper articles were divided in 97 opinion articles, 69 news articles, 34 interviews and 51 other articles. Newspapers that published the most articles about *Zwarte Piet* were *Het AD* (49), followed by *de Volkskrant* (43), *NRC Handelsblad* (35), *De Telegraaf* (30), *Het Parool* (30) and *Trouw* (25).

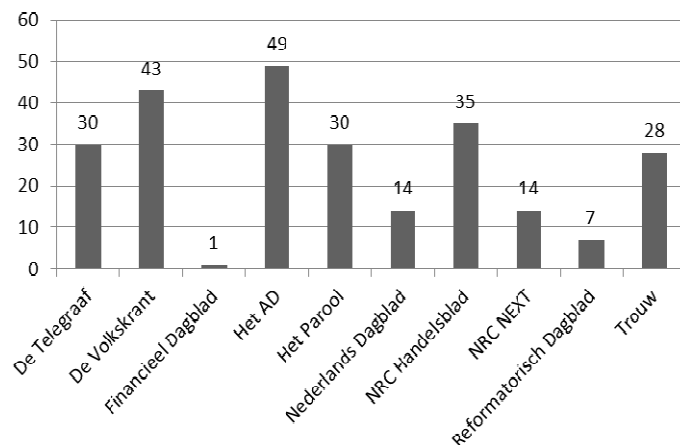


Figure 4. Number of articles per newspaper (N=251)

STUDY 2: EXPERIMENT

INTRODUCTION

The second analysis used a 3x1 between subjects factorial design. Following the study regarding the Belgian asylum seeker conducted by Van Gorp et. al., (2009), newspaper articles were designed based on study 1. First, frames were drawn up both deductively through existing literature and inductively on the basis of the content analytical research. Second, the inventory of the framing devices was used to quantitatively measure the presence of the frames in the newspaper articles. Last, a unique set of framing and reasoning devices was created, by which two frames form the central thread that represent a distinct set of sub frames in the news report about *Zwarte Piet*. As explained in the results of study 1, the co-occurrence table of sub frames (Table 3) pointed out several combinations of competing frames that are frequently used in the discussion about *Zwarte Piet*. Both based on this table, and on the perception of subjects that participated in a small pre-test (Table 4), six sub frames were selected for the experiment: the *Cultural heritage sub frame*, *Child Festival sub frame*, *Emphatic sub frame*, *Historical racism sub frame*, *Contemporary racism sub frame* and the *Recognition sub frame*.

PRETEST

To determine the degree of perceived competition between the frames, a short description of several frames was presented to a total of twenty subjects. The subjects were then asked to connect the frames that they perceive as competing, and subsequently rank them in a top 3 from most extreme frames arguments to least extreme opposing frames. Next, two quotations from each of the frames were selected from the inventory of the framing devices. To test whether the frames were distinct, it was important that the subject connected each of the quotations to the correct frame. Results showed that all of the quotations were connected to the right frame, which indicated that the frames were clear and distinct. Concerning the competition and perceived distance between the frames, respondents were unanimous in selecting frames that competed most with each other. All twenty of the respondents selected the following combinations: *Cultural Heritage vs. Historical racism*, *Child Festival vs. Contemporary Racism* and *Emphatic vs. Recognition*. The ranking of the perceived distance between the selected combination can be found in table 4. Examples of descriptions of the frames are described in table 5.

Table 4

Perceived extremity of competing frames (N=20)

Combination	1st	2nd	3rd	Total
Cultural Heritage vs Historical Racism	18	2	0	20
Child Festival vs. Contemporary Racism	2	15	3	20
Emphatic vs. Recognition	0	3	17	20

Table 5*Frame descriptions***Cultural Heritage**

It is a tradition from the past which is celebrated the same for decades. It is part of the Dutch history and culture

vs. Historical Racism

Zwarte Piet is a slave who descended from a colonial history.

Child Festival

It is a children's festival. The only thing that matters is that the children enjoy it, they don't connect *Zwarte Piet* to racism

vs. Contemporary Racism

The festival has racial connotations, whereby individuals are constantly exposed to (unintentional) racism.

Emphatic

Opponents might show a little more empathy for people that celebrate the festival traditionally, including *Zwarte Piet*.

vs. Recognition

The Netherlands is a multicultural society, in which people should respect each other's opinion, also regarding *Zwarte Piet*.

STIMULUSMATERIAL

Based on the ranking and perceived distance between the selected frames, three fictitious newspaper articles were produced. The designed newspaper articles were identical regarding formal characteristics: Length of the message, page layout, structure of the message, and complexity of sentences. All three articles covered the same news issue and intention, namely, the discussion about modifying the appearance of *Zwarte Piet* at elementary schools, whereby at one of the schools parents were interviewed and asked for their opinion. These opinions were selected from the inventory of the framing devices and were used to frame and manipulate the article. A neutral title was chosen for all of the three mixed versions. The manipulations can be found in Appendix C. Figure 4 shows an example of a manipulated article.

**Figure 4: Stimulusmaterial**

MEASURES

After participants were exposed to one of the three newspaper articles, they were asked to fill in a questionnaire (Appendix D), wherein several variables were measured: attitude questions, emotions, involvement and cultural orientation. For all the variables, agreement about statements was asked by using a five point semantic differential scale or five point likert-scale, varying from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”.

Attitude (Dependent)

Nine statements were designed on the basis of the solutions that were presented in the content analytical research, namely abolishment, conservation or alteration of the figure *Zwarte Piet*. Participants had to fill in their level of (dis)agreement with the statements. No significant reliability was measured for the designed scale ($\alpha=.194$). Also factor analysis did not result in a reliable construct.

Emotion (Dependent)

The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule PANAS (Watson et. al., 1988) was used to measure emotional engagement. A reliability of $\alpha=.90$ was measured. The scale comprises two mood scales containing 20 items that measure both positive and negative affect for, in this case, *Zwarte Piet*. Positive affect represents the extent to which pleasurable engagement is experienced by the individual, whereas negative attitude is represented by distress and engagement that is unpleasurable.

Involvement (Moderator)

Involvement (situational) was used to measure the relevance of *Zwarte Piet* to a person. The scale was originally referred to as Personal Involvement Inventory PII (Zaichkowsky, 1985). A Cronbach's alpha of $\alpha=.96$ was measured for the total of 17 items (e.g., unimportant-important, not necessary-necessary).

Culture (Moderator)

The extent to which one values culture and tradition was measured by using 5 items from the Personal Cultural Orientation scale (Sharma, 2010). The PCO scale conceptualizes Hofstede's (1980, 1991) five cultural dimensions, by measuring them through a 40-item scale. For the five items used in this study, a reliability of $\alpha=.86$ was measured.

PARTICIPANTS

A total of 187 participants were randomly assigned to one of the three experimental conditions. After outliers were removed, 179 completed questionnaires were used for the analysis. Of the participants 49.7 % were male and 50.3% were female. The average age was 34 years ($M = 34.67$, $SD=14.04$). Furthermore, the majority of the participants completed or followed higher education (54,2%) or university (19.0%). Background measurements did not result in any differences between the conditions regarding gender distribution ($\chi^2 (2) = 1.901$, n.s.), age ($F (2, 176) = .200$, n.s.) and education ($\chi^2 (8) = 6.512$, n.s.) over the conditions.

RESULTS STUDY 2

Effects of competing frames on emotion

A one-way ANOVA analysis was used to test the effects of competing frames on emotional responses. The PANAS scale (Watson, et. al., 1988) was divided in positive and negative emotions. The means and standard deviations are presented in Table 6. No main effects were found for both positive ($F (2, 176) = 1,208$, $p > 0.5$) and negative ($F (2, 176) = .928$, $p > 0.5$) emotions regarding the three manipulations. Thus, framing did not have an effect on emotion engagement (RQ2).

Table 6

PANAS Scale. Engagement of positive and negative emotions per manipulation

Manipulation	Positive Emotions			Negative Emotions		
	M	SD	N	M	SD	N
Cultural Heritage – Historical Racism	2.25	.80	56	2.01	.73	56
Child Festival – Contemporary Racism	2.06	.74	61	1.91	.60	61
Emphatic - Recognition	2.25	.79	62	2.08	.70	62
Total	2.18	.78	179	2.00	.68	179

Note. Likert five-point measurement: higher scores indicate stronger emotional engagement).

Involvement and Culture

To test whether involvement and culture were of influence in the framing process, a moderator analysis was conducted. Since the attitude construct turned out to be not reliable, analysis was done solely for the positive and negative emotions of the PANAS scale. For the positive emotions, no effect was found that culture ($F(1,175)=1.086$, $p>.05$) or involvement ($F(1,175)=.538$, $p>.05$) had a moderating role between the presented manipulation and emotion. Also for the negative emotions, no moderating effect was found for culture ($F(1,175)=.521$, $p>.05$) and involvement ($F(1,175)=.335$, $p>.05$). Therefore, h1 and h2 were rejected. Table 7 presents an overview of the moderator analysis.

Table 7*Moderator Analysis*

Positive emotions				
	R ² change	DF	F	P
Culture	.0066	1,175	1.086	.299
Involvement	.0059	1,175	.538	.464
Negative emotions				
	R ² change	DF	F	P
Culture	.0035	1,175	.521	.471
Involvement	.0047	1,175	.335	.563

Effects of competing frames on attitude

Since no reliable construct was created for attitude measurements, an item analysis was conducted to determine whether different competing frames resulted in differences among the attitude items. No differences were measured between the manipulated articles and attitude items.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to gain insight in the effects of exposure to different sets of competing frames. This was done by conducting a content analytical research in order to indicate the prevalence of competing frames and subsequently test the outcomes of that research in an experiment. The main finding of the content analytical research is the prevalence of competing frames in 82 articles. The most significant finding of the experiment is that different sets of competing frames do not have an effect on emotional engagement.

For the experiment, three identical looking newspaper articles were designed that were roughly the same in length and formal characteristics, but differed slightly by presenting a different set of competing frames in each of the articles. After exposure, differences in attitude and emotional engagement were measured, as well as the possible moderation effects of culture and involvement.

Extending the work of Slagter (2014), who identified the two main frames (aphonic- and listen-frame) in the discussion about *Zwarte Piet*, the content analytical research in this study of 251 newspaper articles resulted in a division of the two main frames by presenting ten sub frames which were empirically measured. New identified frames that belonged to the aphonic frames were the *cultural heritage sub frame*, the *child festival sub frame*, the *equality sub frame*, the *fictive character sub frame*, the *emphatic sub frame* and the *minority interest sub frame*. The listen frames consisted of the *historical racism sub frame*, the *contemporary racism sub frame*, the *recognition sub frame* and the *image sub frame*. Analyses revealed that newspapers varied in content that was published about *Zwarte Piet*. Some newspapers mainly published articles that fell within the Aphonic frames, while other newspapers also published articles that fell within the Listen frames. Regarding the prevalence of competing frames, analysis reported that 82 out of the 251 articles contained elements from frames that were competing.

A pretest was conducted to determine the difference in perception of extremity of the competing frames. The combination *cultural heritage vs. historical racism* was perceived to be most extreme, followed by *child festival vs. contemporary racism* and *emphatic vs. recognition*.

Subsequently, three manipulations (articles) were designed based on the pre-test. Although the pre-test indicated a difference in perceived extremity of the frames, no evidence was found to suggest that different sets of competing frames lead to different attitudes and emotional engagement. The designed attitude scale showed no significant reliability, whilst factor analysis was also unable to create a reliable construct. It might be that the designed attitude items overlapped each other, or were not distinct enough, to result in a significant scale. Hence, it was not possible to include attitude measurements into the result section.

Emotional engagement, which was measured by using the PANAS scale (Watson et. al., 1988), did not result in a main effect between the different frames that were presented and emotional reaction toward the article. In this study, different sets of competing frames did not result in different effects on emotional engagement. A possible explanation for this non-effect might be aphasia (Stoler, 2011), whereby a culture is not able to talk about things and see things as they really are. Helsoot (2012) connected aphasia to *Zwarte Piet* and described that this figure is deeply rooted into the Dutch folklore and culture, and that the negative impact of the word 'racism' does not stroke with emotions, intentions and inner convictions that people have with *Zwarte Piet*. To test whether culture or involvement might have influenced the framing process, a moderator analysis was conducted for both constructs. Different than expected, no moderation effects of culture and involvement were found between the competing frames and emotion.

It might be that competing frames cause personal beliefs to play a more important role in the framing process, eventually decreasing the effect of the frames (Sniderman & Theriault, 2004). In other words, when subjects are exposed to competing frames regarding *Zwarte Piet*, it might be that the effects of framing diminish due to the fact that personal beliefs about *Zwarte Piet* play a more important role.

Furthermore, the intensive discussion initiated in 2011 when two protestors were arrested in Dordrecht, the Netherlands. Since that year, the discussion about this figure emerged and became harsher every year. Perhaps subjects have already formed a strong opinion regarding the figure *Zwarte Piet* in the past couple of years, resulting in high opinion certainty in case of which framing has been proven not to have an effect (Matthes & Schemer, 2012).

Limitations and future research

This issue specific study was not able to investigate whether different sets of competing frames lead to different attitudes. One deficiency of this study is that it has failed to construct a reliable attitude scale. When examining an issue specific topic, it is deemed wise to pre-test personally developed scales before conducting the experimental research. Hence, it is important for future researchers to revise the method they use for data gathering. Another limitation might be the chosen topic. From their childhood, people in the Dutch society grow up with *Zwarte Piet*. Therefore, it might be that framing toward this topic is ineffective since opinions about this figure are already formed in an early stage. For future research toward different sets of competing frames it might therefore be better to focus on topics that are relatively unknown to the target group in order to prevent prior knowledge to be of influence.

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APPENDIXES**APPENDIX A: CODEBOOK (DUTCH)**

Vraag	Variabele	Omschrijving variabele	Codering
1	Artikelnummer	Toegekende nummer	n.v.t.
2	Krant		1: Het AD 2: De Volkskrant 3: NRC Handelsblad 4: De Telegraaf 5: Trouw 6: Het Parool 7: NRC NEXT 8: Nederlands Dagblad 9: Reformatorisch Dagblad 10: Financieel Dagblad
3	Publicatiedatum	DD-MM-JJJJ	n.v.t.
4	Auteur		1: Eigen redacteur 2: Persbureau 3: Non redactioneel 4: Overige
5	Tekstsoort		1: Nieuwsbericht 2: Opinie 3: Interview 4: Overige
6	Grootte bericht	Aantal woorden	1: Klein (< 350) 2: Middel (350 – 649) 3: Groot (>650)
7	Aphonic Frame	Wordt gebruikt door vertegenwoordigers van zwarte piet. De discussie is compleet zinloos. Slachtoffers creëren het probleem zelf. Gevoel van ergernis, frustratie, irritatie, nationalisme.	A: Cultural Heritage B: Equality C: Child Festival D: Fictive E: Emphatic F: Overige
8	Listen Frame	Wordt gebruikt door tegenstanders van zwarte piet. Zwarte piet is inherent aan racisme/slavernij. Gevoel van boosheid, onbegrip, verdriet, pijn en ongemak.	A: Historical racism B: Contemporary racism C: Recognition D: Image E: Overige

Being confronted with opposites

9	Solution	Oplossingen voor de discussie worden aangedragen. Vier opties, afschaffing, behoud, verandering. Altijd in combinatie met een van de twee bovenstaande frames!	A: Behoud B: Afschaffing C: Verandering D: Anders
10	No frames	Wanneer het artikel geen van de genoemde frames bevat	n.v.t.

APPENDIX B: GUIDELINE CODEBOOK (DUTCH)

Het coderen bestaat uit 10 vragen, waarbij vraag 1,2,3,5 en 6 geen verdere uitleg behoeven. De vragen 7, 8, 9 en 10 hebben betrekking op de frames.

Vraag 4

Wanneer het artikel is geschreven door een eigen correspondent of redacteur dient een 1 te worden gecodeerd. Dit geldt ook wanneer er gebruik is gemaakt van een gastauteur. Wanneer gebruikt is gemaakt van een persbureau wordt een 2 gecodeerd. Voorbeelden van persbureaus zijn Novum, AP, Reuters, Dow Jones, AFP, Nieuwsbank etc. Onder het kopje "byline" is vaak de auteur van het artikel te vinden. Wanneer het een opiniestuk betreft, zijn deze personen die vermeld zijn bij de "byline" vaak individuen. In dit geval dienen deze als 'non redactioneel' gecodeerd te worden. Indien de auteur niet bekend is dient 'overige' gecodeerd te worden.

Vraag 7: Het Aphonic frame

Het Aphonic frame stelt dat de discussie zinloos is. Het gaat inhoudelijk nergens over en heeft niet met racisme te maken. De slachtoffers creëren het probleem zelf. Kinderen mogen daarom ook niet de dupe worden van een discussie tussen volwassenen. Het is daarom van belang dat de traditie in stand blijft. Het sinterklaasfeest is absoluut niet racistisch van aard en zwarte piet is in het verleden al enkele malen aangepast. Ook de vergelijking met het koloniale verleden wordt naar de prullenbak verwezen. Vertegenwoordigers van het aphonic frame voelen zich aangevallen door tegenstanders van zwarte piet en brengen dit op verschillende manieren tot uiting. Kenmerkend voor dit frame zijn gevoelens van ergernis, frustratie, irritatie en nationalisme. Binnen dit frame zijn er enkele subframes waaronder argumenten kunnen vallen

A. Cultural Heritage

Argumenten met betrekking tot cultuur en traditie vallen onder deze subgroep. Sinterklaas is onderdeel van een eeuwenoude traditie en kan daarom niet zomaar worden afgeschaft of aangepast. Tot voor kort was de kleur van piet nog geen issue. Een voorbeeld hiervan is dat er vaak gezegd wordt dat er geen behoefte is aan ander gekleurde pieten. Ook stellen voorstanders van zwarte piet vaak dat wanneer naar de geschiedenis van zwarte piet gekeken wordt, men tot de conclusie zal komen dat dit helemaal niet racistisch van aard is. Codeer 7A wanneer een argument wordt aangedragen binnen deze context.

B. Equality

Argumenten die stellen dat sinterklaas voor iedereen, en daarom niet racistisch van aard is, vallen onder code B. Bijvoorbeeld het feit dat ook op de Nederlandse Antillen het feest wordt gevierd. Daarnaast vallen meningen van "buitenlanders" die geen probleem hebben met sinterklaas en zwarte piet hier onder. Ook argumenten die stellen dat de relatie tussen sinterklaas en zwarte piet van gelijke aard is behoren tot dit subframe. Kortom alles wat het feest in perspectief van gelijkheid plaatst. Codeer 7B wanneer een argument wordt aangedragen binnen deze context.

C. Child festival

Argumenten met betrekking tot kinderen vallen onder code C. Dit subframe benadrukt het feit dat Sinterklaas om de kinderen draait. "Kinderen worden de dupe van de discussie tussen volwassenen", "het feest mag niet afgepakt worden van de kinderen", "ons kinderfeest is verpest" en "hoe leg ik kinderen uit dat piet nu geel is?" zijn voorbeelden van argumenten. Codeer 7C wanneer een argument wordt aangedragen binnen deze context.

D. Fictive Character

Onder de subgroep fictie vallen argumenten die stellen dat zwarte piet of het sinterklaasfeest geen echte personen betreft, maar sprookjesfiguren of karikaturen. Het uiterlijk wordt gebagatelliseerd. Argumenten kunnen bijvoorbeeld zijn: "zwarte piet is niet letterlijk maar figuurlijk zwart, het zijn sprookjesfiguren" of "het is maar een verkleedpartij". Codeer 7D wanneer een argument wordt aangedragen binnen deze context.

E: Empathic

Onder de subgroep *emphatic* valt kritiek van voorstanders op het feit dat de tegenstanders alleen maar met zichzelf bezig zijn en geen enkele vorm van empathie tonen voor het feest. Mensen die zonder dat ze weten waar ze over praten al een mening klaar hebben. Het gaat dieper dan alleen het kleurtje van piet. Iemand die alles letterlijk neemt en op misstanden betreft toont geen empathie. Een voorbeeld kan zijn: "Ik ben zo moe van de hele zwarte pieten discussie. Het zou zinvol zijn als iedereen zich eens verdiept in de geschiedenis van zwarte piet".

F: Other

Argumenten die niet onder bovengenoemde categorieën vallen krijgen code 7F.

Minority Interest

Dit frame is het resultaat van een grounded theory analyse uit stukken tekst die zijn gecodeerd onder "Other (F)", en staat derhalve niet in het codeboek. relatief vaak komt het voor dat tegenstanders het gevoel krijgen dat de minderheid de meerderheid de wil op legt. Er wordt dan in hun ogen te vaak geluisterd naar de wensen van de kleinere groepen die een probleem aan halen, al dan niet voor eigen interesse. Zo wordt Zwarte Piet volgens sommigen als doelwit gebruikt om racisme te bespreken of om bijvoorbeeld herstelbetalingen te eisen.

Vraag 8: Het Listen frame

Het belangrijkste binnen dit frame is dat het sinterklaasfeest een racistisch karakter heeft, met als hoofdoorzaak zwarte piet. Zwarte piet is inherent aan racisme/slavernij en vertegenwoordigt de onderdrukte groep. Op dit moment is het zo dat de sinterklaasdiscussie meer verdriet dan vreugde teweeg brengt. Zwarte pieten horen gewoon niet meer thuis in de hedendaagse multiculturele samenleving. Vertegenwoordigers van het listen frame voelen zich gekwetst door het discriminerende karakter van zwarte piet of tonen begrip voor mensen die zich gekwetst voelen. De discussie zorgt ervoor dat er een scheiding tussen “wij” en “zij” wordt gemaakt. Daarnaast de manier waarop het in het buitenland naar deze discussie wordt gekeken negatief voor het imago van Nederland. Schijnbaar willen Nederlanders, en ook de politiek, niet erkennen dat racisme bestaat. Kenmerkend voor dit frame zijn gevoelens van boosheid, onbegrip, pijn, verdriet en ongemak. Codeer 8 wanneer dit frame aanwezig is in een artikel.

A. Historical racism

Zwarte piet is een negatief stereotype van de Afrikaanse slaaf, een karikatuur uit het verleden. Hij stamt af van de koloniale geschiedenis en is daarom gerelateerd aan slavernij. Daarnaast is de relatie tussen sint en piet als die van een meester en knecht. Binnen dit subframe vallen argumenten die betrekking hebben op het historische karakter van zwarte piet en/of sinterklaas. Een voorbeeld van een argument kan zijn: “Wij kunnen dit als nazaten (afstammelingen/nakomelingen) van de slaven niet meer pikken”. Codeer 8A wanneer een argument wordt aangedragen binnen deze context.

B. Contemporary racism

Zwarte piet is racisme en is gerelateerd aan hedendaagse discriminatie. Zwarte mensen worden achtergesteld in de samenleving. Het gedrag van zwarte piet, wat gekenmerkt wordt als grappig en dom, is onderdeel van een racistische generalisering ten aanzien van zwarte mensen. Argumenten die, in de tegenwoordige tijd en zonder te refereren aan het verleden, stellen dat Zwarte Piet racistisch is vallen onder dit subframe. Codeer 8B wanneer een argument binnen deze context wordt gebruikt.

C. Recognition

Zwarte piet moet aangepast worden naar de maatstaven van de hedendaagse samenleving. Kleine veranderingen houden de traditie in stand en zorgen dat andere mensen zich niet gekwetst voelen. Nederland is een multiculturele samenleving waarin verschillende etnische groepen rekening met elkaar moeten houden. Wanneer binnen het listen-frame argumenten voorkomen die betrekking hebben op kinderen, dienen deze ook onder *recognition* gecodeerd te worden. bijvoorbeeld: “Het feest is bedoeld voor de kinderen, en aangezien kinderen het niet uitmaakt wat voor kleur piet heeft kunnen we de traditie best aanpassen”. Codeer 8C wanneer een argument wordt aangedragen binnen deze context.

D. Image

Zwarte piet is slecht voor het imago van Nederland. Wanneer deze stelling wordt voorgedragen dient 8D gecodeerd te worden. Een voorbeeld een argument kan zijn dat vanuit het buitenland deze traditie niet wordt begrepen. Wij Nederlanders zien dus niet in dat dit echt niet meer kan. Daarnaast kan er worden gezegd dat andere landen door het racistische karakter nu anders naar het sinterklaasfeest kijken. Alle argumenten die stellen dat zwarte piet slecht is voor het imago van Nederland, de regering, bedrijven etc. vallen onder dit subframe, evenals argumenten die het perspectief van andere landen op het sinterklaasfeest belichten.

E. Other

Argumenten die niet onder bovengenoemde categorieën vallen krijgen code 8E.

Vraag 9: Solutions

Waar argumenten zijn voor of tegen het behoud van zwarte piet wordt meestal ook een oplossing aangedragen. Er zijn een viertal oplossingen die kunnen gelden in het geval van zwarte piet.

A. Conservation: Het festival dient te blijven zoals het is. In dit geval dient 9A gecodeerd te worden

B. Abolishment: Het festival dient te worden afgeschaft. In dit geval dient 9B gecodeerd te worden

C. Alteration: De traditie moet worden aangepast. In dit geval dient 9C gecodeerd te worden.

D. Other: Indien andere oplossingen worden aangedragen dient 9D gecodeerd te worden

Oplossingen worden vaak aangedragen voor of na een argument. Mocht dit het geval zijn dat dient er een zogenaamde “dubbelcodering” te worden gemaakt. Twee voorbeelden:

- “Ik ben die discussie over Zwarte Piet zo langzamerhand spuugzat. Al die commotie verpest het feest voor de kinderen. Wie zich niet wil aanpassen moet maar wegwezen.” In dit geval dient 7C + 9B gecodeerd te worden, omdat er irritatie is richting de discussie (frame 7) met als argument dat het kinderfeest verpest wordt (frame 7C). Tegenstanders van zwarte piet moeten zich maar gewoon aanpassen (Code 9B).
- “Zwarte piet is een stereotype van de vroegere koloniale slaaf. Het is belachelijk dat dat niet wordt ingezien. Zelfs in het buitenland verklaren ze ons voor gek. Het wordt tijd dat we het uiterlijk van piet drastisch gaan veranderen”. In dit geval dient 8AD+9C gecodeerd te worden. Er wordt namelijk gezegd dat zwarte piet afstamt van slavernij (8A) en dat het buitenland ons voor gek verklaart (8D). We moeten zwarte piet dus aanpassen (Code 9C).

Codeer alleen de oplossingen indien het artikel een van de twee frames bevat!

Vraag 10: No frames

Codeer de gehele tekst als 10 wanneer er geen van de bovenstaande frames in de tekst voorkomt.

APPENDIX C: STIMULUS MATERIAL (DUTCH)

Article 1: Cultural heritage frame - Historical racism frame

AD 4 | in het nieuws

WOC

Verscheidenheid in sinterklaasvieringen

Niet alle scholen zijn eruit: wordt piet zwart of niet?

DEN HOORN | De meerderheid van de Nederlandse basisscholen wil wachten op het jaarlijks terugkerende 'Sinterklaasjournaal' voor ze een standpunt inneemt in de zwartepietendiscussie. De beeldvorming van veel kinderen over sinterklaas is sterk gebaseerd op dit journaal en directies willen geen verwarring zaaien. Echter, er zijn ook scholen die zelf initiatief nemen en hun eigen plan trekken.

VAN ONZE VERSLAGGEVER

Laten we geen standpunt innemen, laten we afwachten hoe het maatschappelijk debat afloopt. Dat is de houding van veel scholen in het zwartepietendebat. Vaak verwijzen ze naar het 'Sinterklaasjournaal' van omroep NTR: die moet maar laten zien hoe het moet.

OBS Het Galjoen in Den Hoorn heeft een speciale sinterklaascommissie aangesteld. Angelique ten Brink, lerares en lid van de medezeggenschapsraad: "Zwarte Pieten die van een stoomboot afkomen is geen toeval. Het heeft enkel te maken met kolonialisme. Het komt uit een tijd waarin zwarte mensen minderwaardig waren aan witte mensen. We hebben vorig jaar dezelfde discussie gehad en je moet als school een aanpak proberen te vinden waar alle betrokkenen zich in kunnen vinden. Dat is knap lastig. In die zin snap ik dat veel scholen in Nederland het Sinterklaasjournaal volgen als leidraad."



Traditioneel

Andere scholen willen bij voorbaat al niets veranderen aan het Sinterklaasfeest. Jan-Peter Sanders, directeur van de Angelaschool in het Limburgse Echt, vindt de ophef veel te ver gaan en zegt het feest 'gewoon' te vieren zoals ze het altijd gevierd hebben: met een Sinterklaas en twee Zwarte Pieten. "Zwarte Piet is onderdeel van een eeuwenoude traditie die bij onze cultuur hoort. In Nederland staan moskeeën en wordt ook het Suikerfeest gevierd. Dat is prima, maar dan moet men ook van onze tradities afblijven."

Ook de Oranje Nassauschool uit Culemborg sluit zich hierbij aan. "Het is een moeilijke discussie die heftige emoties oproept. Ik begrijp dat iedereen een mening heeft, maar Zwarte Piet is onderdeel van onze cultuur. Elke cultuur in de wereld heeft wel een eigenaardigheid die vreemd gevonden wordt. Cultuur heb je soms gewoon te accepteren", laat de directeur van de school in Zuid-Holland weten.

Draagvlak

Er zijn ook scholen die het anders aanpakken en ouders betrekken in de discussie. Zo hield de A. Bekemaschool in Duivendrecht een enquête onder ouders. Naar aanleiding van de resultaten heeft de school besloten om concessies te doen. Uitkomsten wezen uit dat er veel draagvlak voor verandering van de figuur Zwarte Piet is. "Hoewel Zwarte Piet is afgestemd op de simpele waarheden van de kindertijd, is het vooral een uitdrukking van het verleden van volwassenen. Het is gekenmerkt door wat de koloniale geschiedenis van Nederland heeft veroorzaakt", was het commentaar dat door één van de ouders werd vermeld in de enquête.

Wat het Sinterklaasjournaal, dat wordt uitgezonden door de NTR, het komende jaar gaat doen blijft nog even onbekend.

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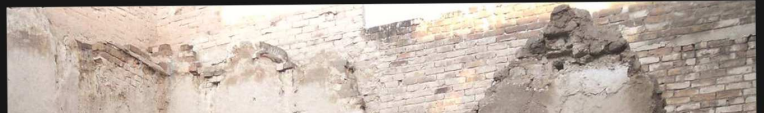
TALLAHASSEE berenjacht staat Florid zo'n succes dagen afge in de Suns afgelopen waarop de sloot. Van sproken da zwarte ber doodgesch niet nog ee gen en het over die li gaan," zei van het wi lokale kra

Opgep
drugs

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Article 2: Child festival frame – Contemporary racism frame

AD 4 | in het nieuws

WOL

Verscheidenheid in sinterklaasvieringen

Niet alle scholen zijn eruit: wordt piet zwart of niet?

DEN HOORN | De meerderheid van de Nederlandse basisscholen wil wachten op het jaarlijks terugkerende 'Sinterklaasjournaal' voor ze een standpunt inneemt in de zwartepietendiscussie. De beeldvorming van veel kinderen over sinterklaas is sterk gebaseerd op dit journaal en directies willen geen verwarring zaaien. Echter, er zijn ook scholen die zelf initiatief nemen en hun eigen plan trekken.

VAN ONZE VERSLAGGEVER

Laten we geen standpunt innemen, laten we afwachten hoe het maatschappelijk debat afloopt. Dat is de houding van veel scholen in het zwartepietendebat. Vaak verwijzen ze naar het 'Sinterklaasjournaal' van omroep NTR; die moet maar laten zien hoe het moet.

OBS Het Galjoen in Den Hoorn heeft een speciale sinterklaascommissie aangesteld. Angelique ten Brink, lerares en lid van de medezeggenschapsraad: "Zolang Zwarte Piet op scholen nog steeds een dommig figuur is die op het schoolbord zogenaamd grappige spellfouten maakt, draagt hij bij aan een negatief stereotype van donkere mensen. Die stereotypen spelen door in het dagelijks leven. We hebben vorig jaar dezelfde discussie gehad en je moet als school een aanpak proberen te vinden waar alle betrokkenen zich in kunnen vinden. Dat is knap lastig.



In die zin snap ik dat veel scholen in Nederland het Sinterklaasjournaal volgen als leidraad voor hun sinterklaasviering."

Traditioneel

Andere scholen willen bij voorbaat al niets veranderen aan het Sinterklaasfeest. Jan-Peter Sanders, directeur van de Angelaschool in het Limburgse Echt, vindt de ophef veel te ver gaan en zegt het feest 'gewoon' te vieren zoals ze het altijd gevierd hebben: met een Sinterklaas en twee Zwarte Pieten. "Zonder het te beseffen, verpesten de inmiddels al

twee jaar durende discussies over racisme en slavernij, een eeuwenoud feest voor de kinderen. Daar doen wij niet aan mee."

Ook de Oranje Nassauschool uit Culemborg sluit zich hierbij aan. "Het is een moeilijke discussie die heftige emoties oproept. Kinderen ervaren het als een mooi feest.

Het zijn kinderen van drie tot zes jaar en die verwachten van Sinterklaas en Zwarte Piet een pakje. Zolang de beleving bij de kinderen maar goed is hebben wij geen reden om Zwarte Piet aan te passen", laat de directeur van de school in Zuid-Holland weten.

Draagvlak

Er zijn ook scholen die het anders aanpakken en ouders betrekken in de discussie. Zo hield de A. Bekemaschool in Duivendrecht een enquête onder ouders. Naar aanleiding van de resultaten heeft de school besloten om concessies te doen. Uitkomsten wezen uit dat er veel draagvlak voor verandering van de figuur Zwarte Piet is. "Een kind ziet geen kleuren, maar met een figuur als Zwarte Piet ziet het ineens dat er ook donkere kinderen in de klas zitten. Dat is waar racisme kan beginnen", was het commentaar dat door één van de ouders werd vermeld in de enquête.

Wat het Sinterklaasjournaal, dat wordt uitgezonden door de NTR, het komende jaar gaat doen blijft nog even onbekend.

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TALLAHASSEE bereijnt de staat Florida zo'n succesdagen afge in de Suns afgelopen waarop de sloot. Van sproken da zwarte ber doodgesch niet nog ee gen en het over die lii gaan," zei van het wi lokale kra

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Article 3: Emphatic frame – Recognition frame

AD 4 | in het nieuws

WOC

Verscheidenheid in sinterklaasvieringen

Niet alle scholen zijn eruit: wordt piet zwart of niet?

DEN HOORN | De meerderheid van de Nederlandse basisscholen wil wachten op het jaarlijks terugkerende 'Sinterklaasjournaal' voor ze een standpunt inneemt in de zwartepietendiscussie. De beeldvorming van veel kinderen over sinterklaas is sterk gebaseerd op dit journaal en directies willen geen verwarring zaaien. Echter, er zijn ook scholen die zelf initiatief nemen en hun eigen plan trekken.

VAN ONZE VERSLAGGEVER

Laten we geen standpunt innemen, laten we afwachten hoe het maatschappelijk debat afloopt. Dat is de houding van veel scholen in het zwartepietendebat. Vaak verwijzen ze naar het 'Sinterklaasjournaal' van omroep NTR: die moet maar laten zien hoe het moet.

OBS Het Galjoen in Den Hoorn heeft een speciale sinterklaascommissie aangesteld. Angelique ten Brink, lerares en lid van de medezeggenschapsraad: "Zwarte Piet is op dit moment een omstreden figuur. Wat hij in het verleden was is niet relevant. We moeten leren omgaan met de multiculturele samenleving en ook de mensen tegemoet komen die problemen hebben met Zwarte Piet. We hebben vorig jaar dezelfde discussie gehad en je moet als school een aanpak proberen te vinden waar alle betrokkenen zich in kunnen vinden. Dat is knap lastig. In die zin snap ik dat veel scholen in Nederland



het Sinterklaasjournaal volgen als leidraad voor hun sinterklaasviering."

Traditioneel

Andere scholen willen bij voorbaat al niets veranderen aan het Sinterklaasfeest. Jan-Peter Sanders, directeur van de Angelaschool in het Limburgse Echt, vindt de ophef veel te ver gaan en zegt het feest 'gewoon' te vieren zoals ze het altijd gevierd hebben: met een Sinterklaas en twee Zwarte Pieten. "Mogen we niet van alle Nederlanders tolerantie verlangen, zodat iedereen zijn of haar culturele vrijheden kan behouden?"

Gekwetste tegenstanders zouden zich ook iets meer kunnen inleven in wat Zwarte Piet betekent voor mensen die het Sinterklaasfeest op de traditionele wijze vieren."

Ook de Oranje Nassauschool uit Culemborg sluit zich hierbij aan. "Het is een moeilijke discussie die heftige emoties oproept. Natuurlijk is racisme verschrikkelijk, maar Zwarte Piet is een verkeerd gekozen aanvalsobject om dit punt bespreekbaar te maken. Wellicht zouden tegenstanders iets meer inschikkelijkheid voor Zwarte Piet kunnen tonen", laat de directeur van de school in Zuid-Holland weten.

Draagvlak

Er zijn ook scholen die het anders aanpakken en ouders betrekken in de discussie. Zo hield de A. Bekemaschool in Duivendrecht een enquête onder ouders. Naar aanleiding van de resultaten heeft de school besloten om concessies te doen. Uitkomsten wezen uit dat er veel draagvlak voor verandering van de figuur Zwarte Piet is. "Inmiddels wonen in totaal 1,8 miljoen migranten (inclusief nazaten) in Nederland. Zij vormen onderdeel van de Nederlandse multiculturele samenleving. Het is van belang dat we ook rekening met hen houden", was het commentaar dat door één van de ouders werd vermeld in de enquête.

Wat het Sinterklaasjournaal, dat wordt uitgezonden door de NTR, het komende jaar gaat doen blijft nog even onbekend.

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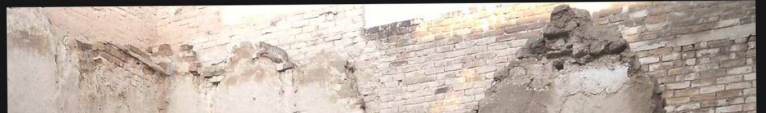
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APPENDIX D: QUESTIONNAIRE (DUTCH)

Geslacht

Man 0
Vrouw 0

Leeftijd .. Jaar

Hoogst genoten opleiding

Geen	0
Basisonderwijs	0
MAVO / VMBO	0
Middelbaar Beroeps Onderwijs (MBO)	0
HAVO/VWO	0
Hoger Beroepsonderwijs (HBO)	0
Universitair / wetenschappelijk onderwijs	0

De volgende stellingen hebben betrekken op het artikel dat u zojuist hebt gelezen. Geef aan in hoeverre u het eens bent met de stellingen.

1. Scholen doen er goed aan om het sinterklaasfeest voor iedereen toegankelijk te maken.

Geheel mee oneens 0 0 0 0 0 Geheel mee eens

2. Scholen moeten gewoon het sinterklaasfeest op de traditionele manier vieren.

Geheel mee oneens 0 0 0 0 0 Geheel mee eens

3. Gezien de emotie die het sinterklaasfeest teweegbrengt is het beter voor scholen om pieten (in welke vorm dan ook) niet te betrekken in de sinterklaasviering.

Geheel mee oneens 0 0 0 0 0 Geheel mee eens

4. Zwarte piet moet meegroeien met de multiculturele samenleving

Geheel mee oneens 0 0 0 0 0 Geheel mee eens

5. Zwarte piet is het grappige hulpje van sinterklaas en dat moet zo blijven

Geheel mee oneens 0 0 0 0 0 Geheel mee eens

6. Het feest wordt pas weer gezellig als de figuur zwarte piet verdwijnt

Geheel mee oneens 0 0 0 0 0 Geheel mee eens

7. Een piet met alleen roetvegen van de schoorsteen op het gezicht is een goed alternatief voor zwarte piet

Geheel mee oneens 0 0 0 0 0 Geheel mee eens

8. Het is goed dat er een wetsvoorstel komt waarin het uiterlijk van de traditionele zwarte piet wordt vastgelegd

Geheel mee oneens 0 0 0 0 0 Geheel mee eens

9. Mochten we er met de pietendiscussie er niet uit komen, dan kan sinterklaas het ook best alleen

Geheel mee oneens 0 0 0 0 0 Geheel mee eens

De volgende woorden hebben betrekking op gevoelens en emotie. Geef per woord aan in hoeverre dat gevoel op u van toepassing is na het lezen van het artikel.

	Zeer licht of niet	een beetje	matig	best wel	heel erg
1. Geïnteresseerd	o	o	o	o	o
2. bedroefd	o	o	o	o	o
3. opgewonden	o	o	o	o	o
4. boos	o	o	o	o	o
5. sterk	o	o	o	o	o
6. Schuldig	o	o	o	o	o
7. Bang	o	o	o	o	o
8. Gevaarlijk	o	o	o	o	o
9. Enthousiast	o	o	o	o	o
10. Trots	o	o	o	o	o
11. Geïrriteerd	o	o	o	o	o
12. Alert	o	o	o	o	o
13. Beschaamd	o	o	o	o	o
14. Geïnspireerd	o	o	o	o	o
15. Nerveus	o	o	o	o	o
16. Vastberaden	o	o	o	o	o
17. Aandachtig	o	o	o	o	o
18. zenuwachtig	o	o	o	o	o
19. Actief	o	o	o	o	o
20. Bevreesd	o	o	o	o	o

De volgende stellingen hebben betrekking op uw eigen mening met betrekking tot zwarte piet.

Vul in wat voor u van toepassing is.

Zwarte Piet (is)...

1. onbelangrijk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>belangrijk</i>
2. van geen belang voor mij	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>van belang</i>
3. irrelevant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>relevant</i>
4. betekent niets voor mij	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>betekent veel voor mij</i>
5. waardeloos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>waardevol</i>
6. niet bevorderlijk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>bevorderlijk</i>
7. onbelangrijk voor mij	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>belangrijk voor mij</i>
8. saai	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>interessant</i>
9. niet opwindend	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>opwindend</i>
10. onaantrekkelijk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>aantrekkelijk</i>
11. niet essentieel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>essentieel</i>
12. niet significant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>significant</i>
13. niet wenselijk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>wenselijk</i>
14. niet fascinerend	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>fascinerend</i>
15. niet betrokken	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>betrokken</i>
16. niet nodig	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>nodig</i>
17. nutteloos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>nuttig</i>

Geef aan in hoeverre u het eens bent met de volgende 5 stellingen over traditie, cultuur en familie

1. Ik ben trots op mijn cultuur

Oneens 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 Eens

2. Respect voor traditie(s) is belangrijk voor mij

Oneens 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 Eens

3. Ik hecht veel waarde aan mijn verleden

Oneens 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 Eens

4. Traditionele waarden zijn belangrijk voor mij

Oneens 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 *Eens*

5. Ik hecht veel waarde aan mijn afkomst

Oneens 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 *Eens*

Tot slot nog een zestal algemene vragen over het artikel

In het artikel werd gesproken over het koloniale verleden van Nederland

<i>Geheel mee oneens</i>	<i>oneens</i>	<i>geen idee</i>	<i>eens</i>	<i>Helemaal eens</i>
0	0	0	0	0

in het artikel werd het gedrag van Zwarte Piet als kinderachtig omschreven

<i>Geheel mee oneens</i>	<i>oneens</i>	<i>geen idee</i>	<i>eens</i>	<i>Helemaal eens</i>
0	0	0	0	0

In het artikel werd gesproken over migranten en nazaten

<i>Geheel mee oneens</i>	<i>oneens</i>	<i>geen idee</i>	<i>eens</i>	<i>Helemaal eens</i>
0	0	0	0	0

In het artikel werden andere tradities aangehaald zoals het Suikerfeest

<i>Geheel mee oneens</i>	<i>oneens</i>	<i>geen idee</i>	<i>eens</i>	<i>Helemaal eens</i>
0	0	0	0	0

in het artikel werd gesteld dat de scholen niets wou aanpassen omdat de kinderen het als een mooi feest ervaren

<i>Geheel mee oneens</i>	<i>oneens</i>	<i>geen idee</i>	<i>eens</i>	<i>Helemaal eens</i>
0	0	0	0	0

in het artikel werd gesteld dat Zwarte Piet een verkeerd aanvalsobject is

<i>Geheel mee oneens</i>	<i>oneens</i>	<i>geen idee</i>	<i>eens</i>	<i>Helemaal eens</i>
0	0	0	0	0