

Nature organisations towards immigrants:

A study on the framing of immigrants by nature
organisations in the Netherlands

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Preface

This thesis is made as a completion of the master Forest and Nature Conservations at Wageningen University. From a young age, nature has always fascinated me. In my study I learned about the management of nature and the important role of nature organisations in the management. During my master I became interested in the relation between people and nature. When explaining my interest to Birgit Elands, she introduced me to the research of Marjolein Kloek. In her study about the outdoor recreation and images of nature among various ethnic groups in the Dutch society, the frames of nature organisations were yet unknown. This topic closes accordingly with my interest and focusses on the creation of public support for nature among a societal group.

In March last year I started this Master thesis, which was a memorable experience with many obstacles and challenges. Fortunately, I received a lot of help and support from different persons during these past months. First I would like to thank my supervisors Birgit Elands and Marjolein Kloek for their many helpful ideas and their constructive feedback. They helped me through the theoretical literature and gave me insights on how to conduct scientific research. I want to thank the employees of the different nature organisations who were, despite their busy work, open for receiving me and answering the interview questions. Without them I would never have come to this result. A special thank goes to my friends and study mates who made my time as a student an unforgettable period. Finally I would like to thank my family and Annekatrien for their support, not just during this thesis, but also during my whole study.

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Summary

Dutch nature organisations have the ambition to provide nature for everyone. But a large part of the Dutch population is not visiting their areas. Furthermore are immigrants relatively poorly represented among the members of these organisations. To explore how nature organisations want to involve immigrants, the following problem statement is formulated: *“How do nature organisations frame immigrants, what consist these frames of and how are immigrants represented and framed in media produced by these nature organisations?”*.

This thesis studied how immigrants are framed by nature organisations. It was aimed to understand how immigrants are considered by nature organisations and represented in the media of these organisations, by using the concept of framing.

By applying the theory of framing it was tried to explain the views and behaviour of nature organisations. In this thesis frames were considered as being constructed of several sub-frames. These sub-frames are the identity frames, the characterisation frames, the problem frames and the conflict management frames. Theoretical hypotheses for the lower involvement of immigrants were used as constituting elements within the problem frame.

To find an answer to the research question, two different methods were used. First semi-structured interviews with policy and communication employees of 5 different nature organisations are conducted. The second method is a content analysis of all the images in the promotional material of the nature organisations. The flyers, magazines and websites of the 5 interviewed nature organisations were analysed to find whether coloured people are underrepresented and how these people are portrayed.

It is found that all nature organisations use the same frame regarding the involvement of immigrants. In the results could be found some minor differences but these are considered as differences in personal opinions of the employees. The main problem frame of the nature organisations is a non-issue frame since the situation is not been problematised by the organisations. The low cultural diversity among the organisations is considered as main identity frame. The adherents are characterised as immigrants absent and the main conflict management frame is the focus on investing in the new generation. Based on these sub-frames is concluded that the overall frame of the nature organisations is a non-issue frame.

These main issues from the sub-frames are often reflected in the promotional material of the organisations. The proportion of coloured people does not differ much between the organisations. In general are immigrants often represented in a more intensively managed environment and are more often displayed while sporting. The displayed coloured people are more often female and the large majority is younger than 15.

From the displayed visitors is 2.0% coloured and from the displayed volunteers 3.0%. A coloured skin does not necessarily indicate a different origin, although these findings most likely point out that immigrants are underrepresented. Data from CBS found that 14% of the Dutch population (first and second generation) is of non-western origin.

The study was done with the intention to study the frames of nature organisations and can therefore be considered as explorative. Nature organisations have often indicated to not knowing exactly how to involve immigrants. By further study the wishes and needs of immigrants, it is possible to come up with effective solutions and investments can then be made on the right places.

Samenvatting

Natuurorganisaties in Nederland hebben de ambitie om te zorgen voor natuur voor iedereen. Echter bezoekt een groot deel van de Nederlandse bevolking bijna nooit natuurgebieden. Verder zijn allochtonen slecht vertegenwoordigd onder de leden van natuurorganisaties. Om te onderzoeken hoe natuurorganisaties allochtonen willen betrekken bij natuur is de volgende probleemstelling geformuleerd: *“Hoe worden allochtonen door natuurorganisaties geframed, waar bestaan deze frames uit en hoe worden allochtonen afgebeeld in de media van deze natuurorganisaties?”*.

Deze thesis bestudeert hoe allochtonen worden geframed door natuurorganisaties. Het doel is om te begrijpen hoe natuurorganisaties tegen allochtonen aankijken en afbeelden in hun media, door gebruik te maken van het concept ‘framing’.

Door de theorie van framing toe te passen is geprobeerd om de houding en denkbelden van deze organisaties uit te leggen. In deze thesis worden frames beschouwd als zijnde opgebouwd uit diverse sub-frames. Deze sub-frames zijn de identiteit frames, de karakterisering frames, de probleem frames en de conflict management frames. Theoretische verklaringen voor de lagere betrokkenheid van allochtonen bij natuur zijn gebruikt als vormende elementen van het probleem frame.

Om een antwoord te vinden op de onderzoeksvraag zijn 2 verschillende methoden gebruikt. Ten eerste zijn semi-gestructureerde interviews met beleids- en communicatiemedewerkers van 5 natuurorganisaties gehouden. De tweede methode is een inhoudsanalyse van alle afbeeldingen in het promotiemateriaal van deze organisaties. De flyers, magazines en websites van de geïnterviewde organisaties zijn geanalyseerd om uit te zoeken of gekleurde personen ondervertegenwoordigd zijn en hoe deze personen zijn afgebeeld.

Er is aangetoond dat alle natuurorganisaties hetzelfde frame gebruiken met betrekking tot de betrokkenheid van allochtonen. In de resultaten kunnen kleine verschillen gevonden worden tussen de organisaties, maar deze kunnen worden beschouwd als verschillen in persoonlijke meningen van de medewerkers. Het belangrijkste probleem frame van de natuurorganisaties is een non-issue frame, omdat de situatie niet wordt geproblematiseerd door de organisaties. De lage culturele diversiteit onder de medewerkers wordt beschouwd als belangrijkste identiteit frame. De achterban is gekarakteriseerd als ‘allochtoon ontbrekend’ en het belangrijkste conflict management frame is de focus op het investeren in de nieuwe generatie. Gezien deze sub-frames is er geconcludeerd dat het totale frame van de organisaties een non-issue frame is.

De belangrijkste punten van de sub-frames komen vaak terug in het promotie materiaal. Het aandeel gekleurde personen verschilt niet veel tussen de organisaties. Over het algemeen worden allochtonen vaak afgebeeld in een intensiever beheerde omgeving en worden vaker sportend afgebeeld. De afgebeelde gekleurde personen zijn vaker vrouw en de overgrote meerderheid is jonger dan 15.

Van de afgebeelde bezoekers is 2.0% gekleurd en van de afgebeelde vrijwilligers is dit 3.0%. Een gekleurde huid betekend niet automatisch dat deze persoon een allochtoon is, hoewel deze resultaten er wel op duiden dat allochtonen ondervertegenwoordigd zijn. Data van het CBS tonen namelijk aan dat 14% van de Nederlandse bevolking (eerste en tweede generatie) is van niet-westerse afkomst.

De studie is uitgevoerd met het doel de frames van natuurorganisaties te bestuderen en kan daardoor worden beschouwd als verkennend. Natuurorganisaties hebben vaak aangegeven dat ze niet precies weten hoe ze allochtonen moeten betrekken. Door verder onderzoek kunnen de behoeften en wensen van allochtonen worden bepaald, en is het mogelijk om met effectieve oplossingen te komen en kan er op de juiste plaatsen worden geïnvesteerd.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Nature organisations have the ambition to provide nature for everyone. For example Staatsbosbeheer (State Forest Service) has the mission to create *“a natural environment where people feel connected to”* (Staatsbosbeheer, n.d.). The mission of Natuurmonumenten is to *“offer people the possibility to get actively in touch with nature and landscape, and build tirelessly on public awareness and support”* (Natuurmonumenten, 2010).

But Dutch nature organisations are facing challenges in achieving these missions and in involving all societal groups in nature. This nature involvement is often divided into three different domains; the domain of the nature user, the protectionist and the decision maker (Elands & Turnhout, 2009).

The domain of the nature user includes how people participate by, for example, being a member of a nature organisation (Elands & Turnhout, 2009). In general the members of nature organisations are the higher educated, older people, mostly men; immigrants are relatively poorly represented (Vader et al., 2010).

A more active way, in which the conservation involvement can be expressed, is by doing voluntary work for protection of nature or assist in the management of nature (Vader et al., 2010). An increase in memberships and volunteers results in financial support and cost reduction of a nature organisation. The involvement of immigrants in this domain is not often studied. The total number of memberships (except for Staatsbosbeheer which does not have members) is decreasing since 2007 (Compendium voor de Leefomgeving, 2012). The membership composition does not reflect the societal composition. Research by Boer & Schulting (2002) showed that only 15% of the immigrants surveyed is member of a nature or environmental organisation, compared with 35% of the total Dutch population.

The second domain is the domain of the nature user. Again, distinction can be made between passive forms, interest in information on nature, and active forms like visiting nature areas (Elands & Turnhout, 2009). A large part of the Dutch population, is not visiting nature areas. The largest group taking part in nature recreation are the elderly people; the active seniors older than 60. Children aged between the 0 and 19 are the least active in nature related activities (Veer & Middelkoop, 2002). Immigrant people do not often use nature areas for their recreation (Somers, et al., 2004; Jókövi, 2001).

There is also a third domain, which is mainly focusing on the political participation of citizens and on influencing decisions (Bakker et al., 2007). Since this third domain seems not directly relevant for nature organisations, the second and third domain are the main focus of this thesis.

These lower involvement of immigrants can be caused by various factors. A cause for underrepresentation of immigrants could be a difference in appreciation and in the views of nature.

Immigrant respondents indicated a lower appreciation for wild natural areas and also their image of what nature consists of was different (Buijs et al., 2006; Buijs et al., 2007; Jókövi, 2001; Sollart & Niet, 2006; Somers et al., 2004).

Also unfamiliarity could play a role. In a questionnaire among Turkish and Moroccan immigrants the respondents were often not familiar with nature areas on a larger distance from their home and 50% of them was not even aware of nature areas in their surroundings (Buijs et al., 2006). When people are not aware of the locations of nature, it is likely that these areas are not visited by them.

Another cause for the underrepresentation could be in the preference for activities. A study showed a different recreational behaviour among immigrants compared to natives. The among natives popular activities cycling and hiking were less performed by immigrants. Furthermore, their recreational activities were more focused on the green areas within cities instead of on rural green (Buijs, et al., 2006). Not only in the Netherlands immigrants showed a different recreational behaviour, studies in other Western European countries found similar results (Kloek et al., 2012). Also surveys from the United States showed that white people are more frequent visitors of nature areas, compared to, for example, Africans and people from the Pacific Islands (National Park Service, 2002).

Finally, the portrayal of immigrants in the promotional material of nature organisations could have an influence on the lower involvement of immigrants. Research on the representation of ethnic minorities in outdoor recreational advertisements in the United States, showed that mainly white models are portrayed. Black models were often lacking in the images of outdoor recreational activities (Martin, 2004). A study on the ethnic representations in Canadian tourism promotion material, found a stereotypical portrayal. The ethnic minorities, the indigenous population, were mostly portrayed as locals enacting physically active entertainment roles, while the ethnic majority was portrayed in more physically passive roles (Buzinde et al., 2006).

These causes indicate the complexity of the lower involvement of immigrants. This societal group is very diverse and covers a large part of Dutch society. The number of immigrant people increased a lot in past decades to more than 20% (12% non-western) of the residents in the Netherlands (CBS, 2013a). Prognosis is that this number will further increase to more than 30% (18% non-western) of the Dutch population in 2060 (CBS, 2013b). As large part of society, nature organisations have tried to involve immigrants in the past (Somers et al., 2005).

Increasing nature involvement can be done in several ways. From simply opening up nature areas and providing recreational infrastructure, to organising excursions or lectures and involving citizens in nature management. According to Elands & Turnhout (2009) nature use can be stimulated by education and by the promotion of nature experiences. Through media, like brochures or magazines as well as new social media, these citizens can be reached. Within communication science it is widely believed that media is a powerful tool in influencing citizens (Entman, 1989; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Also nature organisations make use of media to promote varies forms of nature involvement. Images play an important role within these media. Images suggest an orientation to the world and

thereby influence meaning. Images are human made and select certain aspects of the world. Through images in promotional material the reader can be influenced. Therefore this thesis paid special attention to the images in the promotional material of nature organisations. By analysing the portrayal of immigrants in promotional material in this thesis, conclusions were drawn on the representation of immigrants.

In previous research it has been shown that nature organisations approach specific target groups in different ways. Although immigrants are often perceived as target group, there seem to be difficulties in the involvement due to unfamiliarity (Vader et al., 2010; Boer, 2007). This can be seen as a form of social exclusion, which means not providing equal opportunities to participate in outdoor recreation. Nature organisations were blamed for having too little attention for their '*interculturalisation*', the adaption of the institution to suit people from different cultures. Interculturalisation, by for example promoting nature to under-represented groups, is supposed to contribute to social inclusion (Kloek et al., 2012). Somers and colleagues (2005) argued that nature organisations should better fit with the perceptions of immigrants and advocate '*ethno marketing*'.

1.2 Immigrants in the Netherlands

The term immigrant is complex and open for diverse interpretations. Often when referring to immigrants, the country of origin plays a role. In the Netherlands immigrants are often characterised according to the definition of the Statistics Netherlands (CBS). This definition states that non-western immigrants are people born in a non-western country or (at least one of) their parents are born in a non-western country. These non-western countries are Turkey, all countries in Africa, Latin-America and Asia (excluding Japan and Indonesia). There is also made a distinction in first-generation immigrants and second-generation immigrants, of whom at least one parent is born in another country (Keij, 2000). According to the CBS definition in total 21% of the Dutch population can be indicated as immigrant, of which is 9.4% of western and 11.7% of non-western origin. Among these 11.7% is 6.5% first generation immigrant and 5.2% a second generation immigrant (CBS, 2013a). The CBS categorises people from Asian origin among the western immigrants. These people from Indonesian and Japanese origin cover respectively 2.2% and 0.05% of the Dutch population.

When looking at immigrants included in research in the Netherlands, also country of birth is a criteria. In research often ethnic minority groups from non-Western countries, such as Morocco and Turkey, are the main focus. Also immigrants from the former colonies Suriname and the Dutch Antilles are included in research (Jay, et al., 2012).

In this thesis immigrants are defined according to the definition by nature organisations. Furthermore in the analysis of the images, skin colour is used as a criteria. However, skin colour is not a condition for origin, for the reader skin colour is important criteria for the characterisation of the displayed persons.

1.3 Problem statement

To explore how nature organisations want to involve immigrants, this thesis wants to contribute to the following problem statement: *“How do nature organisations frame immigrants, what consist these frames of and how are immigrants represented and framed in media produced by these nature organisations?”*

The aim of this research is to understand how immigrants are considered by nature organisations and represented in the media of these organisations, by using the concept of framing. Framing is a theory about how people and organisations perceive and communicate about reality. The concept of framing is in depth elaborated in chapter 2.

The first objective of this study is to explore what frames nature organisations use when framing immigrants. The second objective is to analyse how immigrants are represented in the media produced by these nature organisations. Furthermore this thesis wanted to explore extend in which media reflect the main issues derived from the different frames.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 is the theoretical framework, in which the research is theoretically constructed. It describes the main theoretical concepts, resulting in a conceptual framework to show their relations and the complex context. Finally, the main research question with the sub-research questions are stated. Chapter 3 is the methodology of the research. It describes how the concepts are tested empirically, by explaining the methods and instrument for the assessment. Chapter 4 presents the results from the interviews and discusses these according to the different sub-frames. Chapter 5 presents the results from the analysis of the images and showed the differences between the organisations. Than chapter 6 gives a synthesis of chapter 4 and 5, and use this to construct the different frames. Chapter 7 presents the discussion of this thesis with a discussion of the findings, the theory and the methods. Chapter 8 answers the research questions, gives recommendations for future research and concludes on the practical application of the results.

2. Theoretical framework

This chapter discusses the theoretical background of this thesis. It gives a discussion of relevant concepts and theories necessary for the achievement of the research objectives from paragraph 1.2. First section 2.1 introduces ‘framing’ and explains how it is constructed. In 2.2 the identity frame will be explained together with the constituting elements. Paragraph 2.3 focuses on the characterisation frame and also explains how this frame is constructed. Paragraph 2.4 introduces the problem frame, while section 2.5 explains the conflict management frame with its operationalization. Section 2.6 describes how media analysis could be used to analyse frames. Finally, in paragraph 2.7 the research questions are stated which form the methodological starting point.

2.1 Introduction

As explained in the introduction, the aim of this thesis is to understand how immigrants are considered by nature organisations and represented in the media of these organisations. This study wants to determine if and what strategies nature organisations use to engage immigrants, by adapting the organisations’ activities, their areas or promotional material and to determine the ideas behind these strategies. The theory of framing can be used as a theory to explain the behaviour of people and organisations. Framing is about how people and organisations perceive and communicate about reality. It reflects the way people make sense, interpret, and give meaning to what is happening in the world. It has to do with their personal sets of values, norms, objectives, interests, convictions and knowledge (Aarts & Woerkum, 2006). For this thesis framing is the most comprehensive theory and has the ability to reveal the perceptions and interpretations of nature organisations. By describing the frames of nature organisations it is possible to understand the meaning and the strategies of these organisations, which are underlying the behaviour. Before explaining the theory of framing in detail, it is important to understand the scientific roots of this thesis.

This thesis is rooted in the field of communication science and sociology. Communication science is the study that deals with human communication (Rogers, 2001). Sociology is the study of society, in which societal groups and institutions form a major component of the content (Barcan, 1993). These fields are the basis of this thesis. The relation between the nature organisations and society is studied from an sociological perspective. The visitors, members and target groups of nature organisations are all part of society, which makes sociology relevant for this thesis. Communication science is used since the communication of nature organisations towards society is studied.

Within communication science and sociology, framing theories are often used. But the application and definition of framing varies among studies (Scheufele, 1999; Gray, 2004a; Buijs, 2009; Bommel et al., 2006; Reese, 2007). Within framing roughly 2 different approaches can be distinguished. First

there are studies which use frames as cognitive representations, where the focus is on frames as knowledge constructions. In the second type of framing research, frames are approached as interactional co-constructions. This paradigm focus on how parties negotiate meaning in interaction (Dewulf, et al., 2009).

In comparing the two approaches, multiple differences between the cognitive approach and interactive frames can be found. Within the cognitive approach, frames are referred to as data structures for representing stereotypical situations. Frames then have fixed components that are applied to new situations. The approach refers to structures of expectation about people, objects, events and settings (Minsky, 1975). Framing is applied according to the cognitive approach by Goffman (1974) which defines a frame as a cognitive structure which guides the perception and representation of reality. Entman (1993, pp. 52) describes framing as “a way 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”. Framing reflects the way people make sense, interpret, and give meaning to what is happening in the world. It has to do with their personal sets of values, norms, objectives, interests, convictions and knowledge (Aarts & Woerkum, 2006).

The second approach, interactive frames, focuses on communication and how specific aspects and arrangements are defined and negotiated in interaction. It is about the process of the construction, presentation and interpretation of situations and information. Through framing individuals create and present frames. Framing is considered as a dynamic concept, it is changing and constructed again through time (Gray, 2003). The difference lies in that the cognitive approach refers to frames as representations stored in the memory, and the interactional approach considers framing as the shaping of meaning in on-going interactions. Cognitive frames locate meaning in the mind and consider meaning as dependent on private understanding. This in contrast with interactive framing, where the meaning is located in discourse and depends on reactions of others (Dewulf, et al., 2009). According to this second approach frames always establish in an interaction, and are depending on our social and cultural context (Bommel et al., 2006). Many research on framing is focused on conflicts and differences in disputants' frames about these conflicts (D' Angelo, 2002; Gray, 2003; Reese, 2007; Scheufele, 1999; Dewulf et al., 2009). But framing is not only focussed on conflicts, also in discrepancies, which are more underlying the problem of this thesis, it is often used (Quinn & Olson, 2003; Evans & Petty, 2013). By framing, the discrepancy between the current situation and the ideal situation around the nature involvement of immigrants could be understood.

In this thesis frames are considered as cognitive structures. Nature organisations have specific frames which are not direct results of interactions, but more depending on their history and identity. Furthermore, there could be distinguished some interactive elements over time. But since this thesis only studied one moment in time, the cognitive framing is more applicable. The frames of the organisations determine how they perceive, approach and interpret specific groups and people.

A frame can be considered as a very broad concept, which consists of a range of aspects that together form that frame. These aspects are often referred to as framing types. Six often used types or sub-frames are identity frames, characterisation frames, social control frames, problem frames, power frames and conflict management frames (Brummans et al., 2008). Identity frames use the identity of an organisation as underlying factor to construct a frame. Characterisation frames reveal how other persons or groups are described. Social control frames are related to the ways in which societal decisions should be made. Problem frames describe what is perceived as a problem or conflict by a person or organisation. Power frames foreground different types of control or influence derived from, for example, information or expertise. Finally, the conflict management frame describes the solutions and management of the problems and conflicts (Brummans et al., 2008). The focus of this thesis is not on decision making, so the social control frames are not used. The power frames are also not included since the discrepancy in power does not occur between the different nature organisations. The next paragraphs explain the remaining 4 sub-frames in more detail and describes which elements together make that frame. It also describes the differences between the frames and how the frames are related to each other.

2.2 Identity frame

The first way in which frames can be operationalised is through identity frames. Identity frames use identity as an underlying factor (Gray, 2004b). Also nature organisations have an identity, which are a point of view and opinion of the organisations with respect to people and situations. The concept of identity frame is a frequently used concept in framing studies. But the concept is defined in a number of ways, with different orientations. First, identity frames capture how individuals conceive themselves and their membership in social groups (Dewulf, et al., 2009). It illustrates the various ways in which people view themselves in the context of specific conflicts and respond to these conflicts (Gardner, 2003). The concept is also adopted within organisation studies as organisational identity, which is explained as the characteristic of the organisation as social actor. Organisational identity is the collective, commonly-shared understanding of the organisation's distinctive values and characteristics. It refers to what members perceive, feel and think about their organisations (Hatch & Schultz, 1997). The identity of organisations is set in the labels used by its members to express who or what they believe the organisation to be (Gioia et al., 2000).

The identity of an organisation is in this thesis operationalised by two different elements. First the identity frame consist of several stable and written aspects which are the mission of an organisation. These are negotiated within the organisation and determined for a long time (Scott & Lane, 2000). It forms the basis from which the policy and plans are developed. An organisation uses these as basic structure for their activities, planning of areas and management. Furthermore this element includes the organisational environment, which is linked to the mission. It can be seen as a comparative frame of

reference, in which the identity is related to the environment (Kirchner, 2010). This environment can be other organisations or the politics that influence the practices and decisions in one organisation. By comparing the goals, mission and vision with other organisations, one nature organisation develops its own identity (Scott & Lane, 2000). This is part of an interactive approach and is therefore not used in this thesis.

Secondly, identity of an organisation is also influenced by its cultural diversity. The diversity in organisations is composed of variations in social meaningful categorizations. When categories as race, ethnicity and nationality are involved, the concept of cultural identity can be used (Ferdman, 1995). It describes the cultural features that characterise the employees of an organisation. An organisation with more diversity among the employees, will have another identity than organisations with only native employees.

2.3 Characterisation frame

A next category is the characterisation frame. In contrast to the identity frame, characterisation frame is not the description of the organisation itself but the description of others outside the organisation by the organisation employees (Brummans, et al., 2008). In the case of nature organisations, members, volunteers and the visitors are important ‘others’ to be included in the characterisation frame. The characterisation frame can include descriptions of others or groups (Brummans et al., 2008).

The characterisation frame is operationalised in this research based on various elements. In the first place, a characterisation frame consist of the framing of characteristics of the groups directly related to organisation, like volunteers, members and visitors. These can also be described as the adherents of an organisation.

The second way in which the characterisation frame is operationalised is through the selection of the target groups. Target groups for nature organisations are the potential groups that are not the current visitors but on which the organisation put a special focus.

The characterisation of immigrants is not fixed, so while speaking about immigrants, different groups could be meant. Immigrant people are coming from all over the world and all individuals have a different background. Not only first generation immigrants but also second generation immigrants are often distinguished, who are not born in the Netherlands. In general immigrants can be defined in two ways. These are the objective definitions and a subjective definition.

First immigrants can be defined in an objective manner, based on their origin. In the Netherlands immigrants often are characterised according to the definition of the Statistics Netherlands (CBS). This definition states that non-western immigrants are people born in a non-western country or (at least one of) their parents are born in a non-western country. These non-western countries are Turkey, all countries in Africa, Latin-America and Asia (excluding Japan and Indonesia) (Keij, 2000). The government used another definition in their policies. Immigrants are not defined according to the CBS

definition, but it selected a number of ‘minorities’ who formed the target group of the minorities policy. These groups are: Moluccas, Surinamese, Antilleans, foreign workers, gypsies, caravan dwellers and refugees (Scholten, 2011). These definitions are general and however these are often used by organisations, also people not perceiving themselves as immigrant are included in this definition.

The second description is a description in a subjective manner. This description can be done by others and by the person itself through self-definition. In society people are more often classified according to their ethnicity or religion. Even people that perceive themselves as fully Dutch, e.g. as they are born in the Netherlands, lived their whole life in the Netherlands or are fully integrated, could be still seen as immigrants. For example language, religion, culture and appearance (skin colour) has also an influence on the societal perception of immigrants (Nagel, 1994). The second subjective form is defining immigrants through self-definition. This principle of self-identification is done by asking people to what ethnic group they belong. This description is used in the United Kingdom (Aspinall, 1997). The self-description does not make a distinction in generations, so also people which are already 3 or 4 generations in the Netherlands could define themselves as immigrant.

In this thesis immigrants are defined according to the definition by nature organisations. Furthermore, in the analysis of the images skin colour is used as a criteria. However skin colour is not a condition for origin, for the reader skin colour is an important criteria for the characterisation of the displayed persons. There is no data available on the percentage of coloured people within the Netherlands. The results of the CBS are not a proper estimation of the proportion, since people of Indonesian and Japanese origin are not considered as non-western immigrants. As explained before 11.7% of the Dutch population is considered as non-western immigrants and respectively 2.2% and 0.05% of the population are of Indonesian and Japanese origin. Regarding these data can be roughly estimated that 14% of the Dutch population is coloured.

2.4 Problem frame

The third category are the problem frames. Problem frames are the problematised perceptions of events, issues or situations. In this study a problem frame is applied on nature organisations to reveal whether the lack of immigrants within nature is framed as a problem and why or why not. The second element of the problem frame is what nature organisations frame as the underlying reasons for the lack of immigrants in their nature areas. In the literature often four different theoretical explanations are given for the lower involvement of immigrants in nature-based recreation (Floyd, 1999).

The first hypothesis, the assimilation hypothesis, explains the lower involvement with a lack of similarity between majority and minority groups resulting from a lower assimilation. Assimilation can be described as “the process of boundary reduction that can occur when members of two or more societies meet”. According to the hypothesis the recreational behaviour of immigrants will become

more similar to natives. This will occur when, for example, the language proficiency increases (Floyd, 2001). Another explanation, which has more support by literature, is the marginality hypothesis (Johnson et al., 1989; Washburne, 1978). This explanation is based on socioeconomic differences which could lead to less recreation, for example lower income or less transportation options (Washburne & Wall, 1980; Johnson et al., 1998).

The third hypothesis, ethnicity hypothesis (also known as subcultural hypothesis), assumes that immigrants have a different cultural value system. It assumes that preferences for outdoor recreation are associated with cultural factors. An expression of these subcultural norms and values results in recreation difference (Edwards, 1981; Washburne & Wall, 1980). Also images of nature and landscape preferences are part of this approach. Studies found that immigrants have different views on nature and also different landscape preferences (Buijs, 2009).

The final hypothesis is the discrimination hypothesis (Floyd, 1999; Weber & Sultana, 2013). This hypothesis assumes discrimination as a barrier to participation of immigrants in outdoor recreation. Discrimination can be expressed by perceptions of discrimination or by discrimination as an actual experience, caused by interpersonal interaction with other visitors or with agency personnel within recreational areas (Uchida, 2003). The hypothesis has received less attention in research before and empirical evidence for this hypothesis was lacking (Floyd, 1999). But in recent years this hypothesis became more popular and more often studied (Byrne, 2007; Weber & Sultana, 2013). The focus of that research is often limited to the discrimination at individual or interpersonal level. Floyd (2001) labelled this form with interpersonal discrimination, which is performed by members of dominant racial or ethnic groups. This form of discrimination takes mainly place in the social climate between individuals or in small-group situations and negatively affect members of minority groups.

Besides these hypothesis from the scientific literature there could be more constraints for the lower involvement of immigrants. These constraints are not limited to only immigrants but could be applied to everyone. The discussion about this constraint hypothesis will not be further described here, but it should be noted that there could be more constraints than previously mentioned in this paragraph.

2.5 Conflict management frame

The final category are conflict management frames. The conflict management frame can be considered as an answer on the interaction between the identity, characterisation and problem frame. Conflicts can be solved in various ways by, for example, fact finding, joint problem solving or appeal to political action (Gray, 2004b). These frames emphasize on preferred ways to handle a conflict. These can consist of a whole range of solutions (Brummans et al., 2008). Nature organisations also handle conflicts or problems in a specific way. They could have ideas on how to manage a problem and what actions the organisations should take to solve the conflict. A conflict management frame of nature organisations is constituted of different elements, which are in this case the ways through which an

organisation can involve more immigrants. In literature several recommendations are given for a change in policy, which should lead to more immigrants in nature. The recommendations relevant for nature organisations will be used to construct the conflict management frame. These elements are used to construct the conflict management frame theoretically, but the construction can be changed if the empirical data in this thesis reveals another element.

In the first place several studies mentioned the need to make environmental education more attractive to immigrants. Therefore the first element of the conflict management frame is education on schools and environmental education. Also organising activities for which immigrant people are invited, are mentioned as management options (Somers, et al., 2004). So as a second element the activities can be mentioned, which include excursions. Another research emphasises the need for using the multicultural aspects in the management of nature areas. Also it is recommended to use the views of the immigrants in the nature management (Witt, 2006). Another article describes that the management and the arrangement of nature areas close to cities is important for immigrants (Jókövi, 2001). So besides the management of areas also the purchasing of areas close to cities is a constituting element. The final element mentioned in literature is modifying the communication of nature organisations to a multicultural audience. Images in the communication of nature organisations fulfil an important role, so the final element in the conflict management frame is the media.

Since media are important in solving conflicts, also media can be considered within the conflict management frame (Blondel, 2004). Next paragraph further elaborates on images in media as a management option.

2.6 Images in media

Within media images have the power to create stronger emotional signals, and also have a higher attraction value than texts. But images can be misleading. They seem most of the time more natural than texts, but it can also be the case that these images are a result of ‘artificial’ constructions (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011). Images are on the one hand reproductions, but they have a second meaning as well: a mental picture of something not real or present (Scheufele, 1999).

When describing the long term effects of images in media, it can be seen how powerful it is. Within media, framing as an interactive process several phases can be distinguished. In the first place there is the framing which occurs within the (nature) organisations, the ‘frame building’, and refers to the cause and construction of frames. The second phase is ‘frame setting’, the effect of frames (Scheufele, 1999). Frame building is mainly the production and selection of the media content by which frames are constructed (Scheufele, 1999). Through the selection of specific pictures from the database or by taking pictures from specific situations, the media content is shaped. Frame building focuses on factors which can impact the framing of the media content. The content of the promotional material is influenced through various factors, which can be considered equal to influences on regular

media content. The second form of framing is the process of frame setting. Frame setting is “the interaction between media frames and audience predispositions and their prior knowledge” (Vreese, 2005). Frame setting is considered as the effect of media frames on the audience frames. By highlighting and emphasizing particular views, media frames shape the public’s interpretation of certain issues (Zhou & Moy, 2006).

The previously described process occurs over the long term. In this thesis only one point in time is studied and the media is approached as part of the conflict management frame. The long term media framing process is therefore excluded from this thesis.

2.7 Conceptual framework

This chapter gave an overview of the theories used in this thesis. The different sub-frames form an important framework for this study. Figure 1 shows that the different sub frames are related to each other and it is shown that the conflict management frame is a result of the other frames. Also the constituting elements of the various sub-frames are presented in the figure.

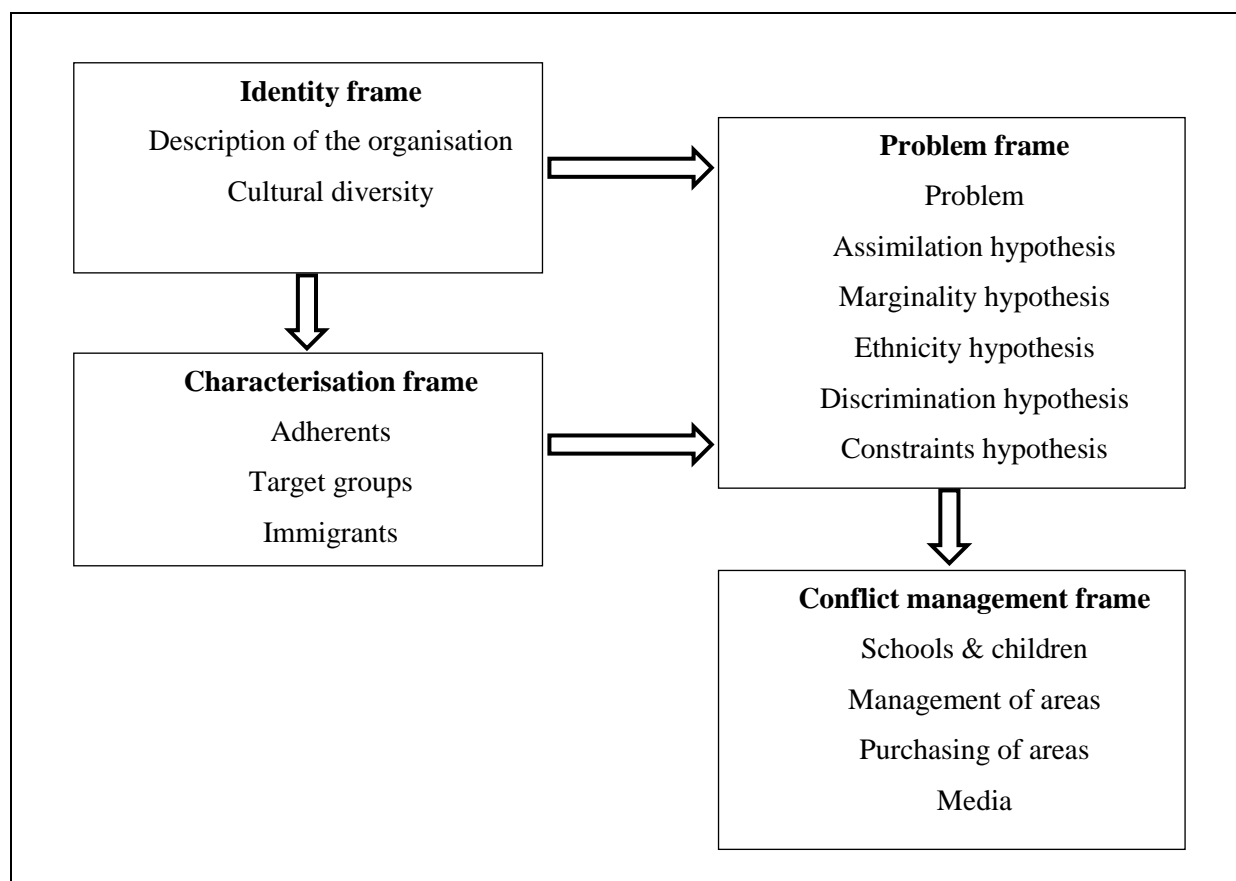


Figure 1. The conceptual framework of the thesis. The arrows show the relations between the different sub frames.

2.8 Research questions

Previous sections provided a theoretical background for this thesis. It described all the different frames and gave an operationalisation of these frames. To further shape the research and help to reach the research objective, several research questions are formulated, based on the literature study in this chapter. The research objectives from the first chapter are followed up with research questions. The research questions also function as a methodological starting point, from which the next chapter will further explain the methodology. The main research question of the thesis is:

- ***How do nature organisations frame immigrants and how are immigrants represented in media produced by these nature organisations?***

This question is addressed by answering the following sub-questions:

I. How are immigrants framed by nature organisations?

- a. *What are the main problem, identity, characterisation and conflict management frames?*
- b. *Do different nature organisations have different frames?*
- c. *What is/are the overall frame(s) of the nature organisations, based on the sub frames?*

In this question the theory of framing is applied. A frame will be approached as an scheme of interpretation. Through these questions it is aimed to find out what frames nature organisations use regarding immigrants.

II. How are immigrants represented and framed in the media produced by nature organisations?

- a. *To what extent does media, as a way to handle the low nature involvement of immigrants, reflect the main issues derived from the identity, characterisation, problem and conflict management frames?*
- b. *Do different organisations represent immigrants differently?*

For this second question the promotional material of the nature organisations is analysed on the representation of immigrants. Furthermore these findings are linked with the problem, identity, characterisation and conflict management frames resulting from the interviews.

3. Research methods

As explained earlier, the main objective of this research is to understand how immigrants are framed by nature organisations and how immigrants are represented in the media produced by these organisations. In this chapter it is explained how the objectives will be achieved empirically. While chapter 2 dealt with the concepts needed for answering the research questions, this chapter describes how these concepts are identified and assessed empirically.

To answer the research questions from chapter 2, different methods are used, both qualitative and quantitative. The qualitative research is done in the form of interviews with representatives from nature organisations. Through conversations with representatives of nature organisations it is aimed to explore which ideas exist about the nature involvement of immigrants. The quantitative part is a content analysis of promotional material from these nature organisations.

In this chapter these methods are explained in more detail. First section 3.1 described the character of the thesis work. Section 3.2 gives an explanation of the qualitative methods for the data collection: the interviews. It explains the selection of nature organisations and the interviewees. Then, it describes the interview questions, the procedure and finally, the analysis of the interviews. Section 3.3 describes the quantitative method: the content analysis. It explains the selection of the promotional material, than the operationalisation of the concepts from the theoretical framework and finally the content analysis itself is described.

3.1 Character of thesis work

This thesis can be best characterised as both fundamental research as well as practical scientific research. In the first place it wants to contribute to the knowledge and understand phenomena. In the second place it is also focused on studying real world problems and solving societal problems (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 1999).

The research question was divided in two sub-questions which help to find the answers. The first research question seeks an answer which is largely not available in documents or in papers. To answer this question it was needed to understand behaviour and perceptions of people, which is the aim in qualitative research. To understand how immigrants are framed in the promotional material another method was required. Through content analysis the promotional material is analysed in a structured manner.

Qualitative research has the aim to describe, interpret and explain the experiences and behaviour of actors, by methods that do not (or barely) influence the natural environment. Qualitative researchers want to understand the values and behaviour of people. To understand the social reality of people, it is required to understand the context in which people live (Boeije et al., 2009).

A frequently shortcoming of interviews is the focus on what people say. It does not provide access to what people do (Green & Thorogood, 2009). To get insight in the operationalisation of the involvement of immigrants, the promotional material of nature organisations is studied. To study this framing, it was chosen to do a content analysis on the visual representation of immigrants in the promotional material. Through a content analysis a lot of material can be studied in a structured manner. By creating categories, datasets can be used for a quantitative analysis in which hypotheses can be statistically tested.

3.2 Interviews

In general the methodology of qualitative research meets 4 different aspects. First it is using a natural approach, phenomena are studied in their natural environment. The second aspect is reflexivity, researchers should always be aware of their influence on the research object. This will minimize a bias for their findings. Furthermore, qualitative research is focussed on understanding. It tries to understand the world from the perspective of participant instead of from a researchers perspective. Finally, a flexible research strategy is needed. As in all research, qualitative research also needs a detailed plan, but this plan might change during the work (Green & Thorogood, 2009). In qualitative research not many units are investigated, but instead a lot of characteristics of these few units. Research units can be situations, persons or organisations (Boeije et al., 2009). The selection of these sources of information is described below.

3.2.1 Selection of nature organisations and interviewees

Before explaining the methods used for the research, the sources of data are described. One of the objectives of the thesis is to understand how nature organisations frame immigrants. Therefore, the employees of the nature organisations are considered best as data sources.

In the Netherlands there is a large variety of nature organisations, varying from large organisations, to small organisations active in a particular region. Some organisations are governmental organisations, others are private organisations. In the optimal situation it is preferred to use employees of all nature organisations as data sources. But due to the limited time available for the research, it was needed to make choices. Because the largest organisations have the largest range and impact in society, the decision was made to choose the largest organisations. Not all the organisations have members, and the organisations also differ in their themes. It was decided to choose nature organisations that are also terrain-managing organisations. The three largest terrain-managing nature organisations are Staatsbosbeheer, De Landschappen and Natuurmonumenten (Vliet et al., 2002). Since De Landschappen is a cooperative of 12 provincial nature organisations, three of these 12 organisations are chosen. The Utrechts Landschap and the Zuid-Hollands Landschap, since the percentage of

immigrants is high in these two provinces, and the Geldersch Landschap are chosen. Together with Staatsbosbeheer and Natuurmonumenten, there are in total 5 research units. To understand how these organisations differ from each other, the historical context is briefly explained.

The first organisation that was established is Staatsbosbeheer. Staatsbosbeheer was established in 1899 when the state needed an organisation to plant trees. On the one hand because the Netherlands was heavily deforested and on the other hand because the demand for timber was high (Staatsbosbeheer, n.d.). Natuurmonumenten was founded in 1905 by citizens who were concerned about the future of Dutch nature areas, to protect a lake (Naardermeer) from the new zoning as a landfill. The lake was bought by the organisation and Netherlands first nature reserve was established (Natuurmonumenten, n.d.). The 12 provincial Landschappen are founded around 1920-1930, all in a different province in the Netherlands. These organisations were founded when nature areas had to be protected from the expanding reclamations (Tooren & Lucas, 2010).

Table 1. Interviewees per organisation.

Organisation	Policy employee	Communication employee
Geldersch Landschap& Kasteelen (GLK)	Interviewee 1	-
Natuurmonumenten (NM)	Interviewee 2	-
Staatsbosbeheer (SBB)	Interviewee 3	Interviewee 4
Utrechts Landschap (UL)	Interviewee 5	Interviewee 6
Zuid-Hollands Landschap (ZHL)	Interviewee 7	-

Table 2. Date, abbreviation and type of interviews.

Interviewee number	Abbreviation	Date	Type of interview
Interviewee 1	GLK-I1	03-07-2013	Face-to-face
Interviewee 2	NM-I2	30-08-2013	Face-to-face
Interviewee 3	SBB-I3	10-07-2013	Face-to-face
Interviewee 4	SBB-I4	10-07-2013	Face-to-face
Interviewee 5	UL-I5	24-06-2013	Face-to-face
Interviewee 6	UL-I6	24-06-2013	Face-to-face
Interviewee 7	ZHL-I7	07-10-2013	Telephone

From the 5 selected organisations two persons per organisation are chosen as interviewee. It was attempted to find one employee who works on the policy level and one person that works on the communication department. It was not possible to find two employees for all organisations willing to answer the questions. For the Utrechts Landschap the two employees were interviewed together. Table 1 and Table 2 present the interviewed employees per organisation.

3.2.2 Operationalization of interview questions

The first method of data collection for this thesis are interviews. A qualitative interview is considered as “a form of conversation where the interviewer asks questions about acts, perceptions, attitudes and experiences regarding specific social phenomena, to one or more participants or interviewees, who are mainly limited to answering these questions” (Boeije et al., 2009, p. 266). Within an interview language is seen as data, but language is also a method. Through language people make sense of the world and present these understandings to other people. This is also the basic principle of interviews, in which language is the route through which it tries to understand how the respondent interpret, classify and represent the world (Green & Thorogood, 2009).

There are different forms of interviews, varying from a structured interview to a narrative interview (Green & Thorogood, 2009). The forms of interviews mainly vary in two aspects. First the degree in which the interview is pre-structured. The second is the degree to which the interview issue is open, and the freedom an interviewee is given to answer the question (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 1999). For this thesis it is chosen to perform semi-structured interviews, in a face-to-face setting. A semi-structured interview can be considered as an open interview, in which it is possible for the interviewee to give more input. The questions are partially fixed on beforehand, but it is possible to come up with new questions during the interview. When the answers are not clear, the interviewer can ask for more explanation or an deeper argumentation (Boeije et al., 2009).

The questions were formulated on the basis of the theoretical framework from chapter 2. The 4 categories of frames form the structure of the interviews, and were operationalised to several elements (Table 3). These operationalisation finally resulted in the formulation of 20 interview questions, which can be found in the Annex 1 and Annex 2. The numbers in the last 2 columns of Table 3 correspond with the numbered interview questions in Annex 1 and Annex 2.

Table 3. Operationalization of concepts in interview questions.

No	Concept	Operationalization	Questions policy employee	Questions communication employee
1.	Problem frame	Is lower involvement a problem? Reasons for lower involvement	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
2.	Identity frame	Description of the organisation, cultural diversity	7, 8	7, 8
3.	Characterisation frame	Characterisation of adherents, target groups and immigrants	9	9
4.	Conflict management frame	Description of conflict management options	10, 11, 12, 13, 14	10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16
5.	General Information	Personal characteristic of the interviewee	15, 16, 17, 18	17, 18, 19, 20

Besides being semi-structured, the interviews also have characteristics of in-depth interviews; not the amount of questions but the depth of the answers is important. Through an in-depth interview the

interviewee can develop their own account of issues important to them. In this thesis the focus is on how immigrants are framed by nature organisations and whether immigrants are considered as a target group. Through an in-depth interview these answers can be found, and the frames can be discovered.

3.2.3 Interview procedure

The interviewees were approached by email and allowed to pick a date which was suitable for them. When the potential interviewee was not able to be interviewed, there was asked for a colleague. Unfortunately there was no communication employee available for Natuurmonumenten, Geldersch Landschap and Zuid-Hollands Landschap. The questions for the policy employee of the Geldersch Landschap, Zuid-Hollands Landschap and Natuurmonumenten also included communication questions.

Often these employees were able to answer these questions as well. The location was chosen by the interviewees, which was in almost all cases the office of the nature organisations. One interview has been conducted by telephone. There was not a specific length set for the interviews, but all the interviews took 40-50 minutes to complete. On beforehand the main questions for the interviews were formulated. There were two different protocols with questions created; one protocol was made for the policy worker and the other protocol for the employee from the communication department. The questions are thus the same for the 4 different organisations, but depending on the answers there was asked for examples or a further explanation. In the interviews it was tried to avoid questions resulting in simply 'yes' or 'no' answers. Instead it was aimed to let the interviewee tell a story from which attitudes, ideas and experiences are derived. Also the use of leading questions, through which the interviewee can be steered have been avoided. Therefore the interview was not fully planned on beforehand, but a general structure was determined. The protocol stated which questions were posed, the formulation of these questions, the sequence of the questions and the answering options for the participants. Since the interview is categorized as semi-structured interview, these 4 components were dependent on the course of each interview, and were used in a flexible way (Boeije, 2010).

3.2.4 Interview analysis

The analysis of qualitative research always starts with the collected data, which functions as the basis. These data from the interviews were recorded on tape and afterwards typed out into a text. This resulted in a large transcript, ready to use for the analysis, in which the spoken meanings and interpretations retain.

The next step in the analysis of interviews is named coding. Coding is the interpretive analysis of the transcript, in which the data is separated into meaningful parts. Through coding it is possible to create order. Themes or categories in the data are distinguished and assigned with a code. This code is a label that represents the theme of a segment. Coding goes beyond the concrete statements and

observations (Boeije, 2010). For this coding the computer software ATLAS.ti 7 is used, in which the different segments of an interview easily can be labelled. There are various approaches for the analysis of qualitative data. In this research the grounded theory approach is used, which is a more systematic way of qualitative data analysis (Green & Thorogood, 2009). The analysis consisted of several different steps in the analysis. First all the collected data was divided into fragments and labelled with a code. On beforehand there was a 'coding scheme' created, which is a list of codes. It was aimed at determining which elements are dominant and which are less important and are assigned as main category or subcategory (Boeije, 2010). During the analysis sometimes new codes were created and added to the coding scheme. When having assigned all parts of the interview with a code, the interviews were ready to identify the results.

3.3 Content analysis

Content analysis is a method in which data is generated from documents, the media and reality, often with the help of a category system. When dividing the content into closed categories, it is considered as quantitative content analysis. This type of content analysis, which is used in this research, is focused on establishing the importance of a certain subject matters based on quantitative matters concerned (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 1999).

However, mostly in content analysis the textual content is analysed, but in this research the visual content has been analysed. Visual data is the recording, analysis and communication of social life through photographs, film and video (Boeije, 2010). In this study only pictures are used as visual data.

But there is concern involved with using visuals as data. As most pictures appearing are edited and manipulated with software, there is debate on the closeness to reality of the picture. It should also be taken into account that the pictures are productions of a photographer operating a camera (Boeije, 2010). Furthermore is the promotional material composed by an editorial office and therefore not a product made by the whole organisation.

3.3.1 Selection of promotional material

However, it would be the best to analyse all the promotional material of nature organisations, it is decided to select the most recent material due to the time constraint. Promotional material is a very broad group of material aimed at promoting a good or a service. In the case of nature organisations, promotional material is mainly aimed at promoting nature involvement of the public. Promotional material consist of traditional material, like flyers, brochures, magazines, advertisements or newspaper articles. Recently new forms of promotional material had been used by nature organisations, like for example websites, social media and movies.

For this research it is chosen to study brochures, websites and magazines. This provides a variety in the focus on target groups. Brochures focus mainly on new target groups, websites on existing and new target groups and magazines only on existing target groups, namely their members.

The brochures used for this research are collected from visitor centers. For each organisation one center is visited and all the available brochures, produced by that particular organisation, are collected. There is not asked for extra flyers to the employees, since the flyers for this research need to be available for all visitors. The visited centers are Bezoekerscentrum Staverden from Geldersch Landschap, Bezoekerscentrum Tenellaplas from the Zuid-Hollands Landschap and Infocentrum de Blauwe Kamer from the Utrechts Landschap. For Staatsbosbeheer Bezoekerscentrum De Peelen is visited and for Natuurmonumenten Bezoekerscentrum Veluwezoom.

For the magazines it is chosen to analyse the last 5 volumes, from the last 5 years. This could provide an insight in the changes over the past 5 years. The magazines that will be analysed are published every quarter, and are distributed among the members. The magazines are 'Mijn Landschap' for the Utrechts Landschap, 'Mooi Gelderland' from the Geldersch Landschap and the magazine 'Zuid-Hollands Landschap' from the Zuid-Hollands Landschap. For Staatsbosbeheer the magazine 'naarbuiten' is analysed and for Natuurmonumenten the magazine 'Puur Natuur' is analysed, which was titled 'Natuurbehoud' before 2012.

3.3.2 Operationalization of concepts

When analysing the pictures in the promotional material, several aspects of the persons within the pictures were written down in a table. As explained in previous chapter, these aspects result from the theories used in this thesis.

Since the only available information on pictures are the visual characteristics, the non-visual characteristics as country of origin, religion or language of the people on pictures remain unknown. Readers of the promotional material indicate immigrants on the basis of visual characteristics, which is mainly the skin colour. To indicate whether the coloured people perform activities which the nature organisations relate to them, the activity performed by a person is written down. A study in Canada concluded that the ethnic minority is more likely to be portrayed in physically active roles and the ethnic majority in physically passive roles (Buzinde, et al., 2006). To test whether this is also the case in the promotional material of the Dutch nature organisations, the physical activity will be written down as well. The concept organisational diversity is tested by writing down the role of the people appearing on the picture, are these people recreant, volunteer, employee or another role. Literature revealed that immigrant people do not appreciate the wild and non-managed nature (Sollart & Niet, 2006). The hypothesis that immigrant people are more often displayed in a more intensively managed area, is tested by looking at the management type on the picture.

Besides these characteristics from the theory, also general characteristics are written down, as gender and the number of people on a picture. Also the age category (0-15, 15-30, 30-60, 60+), setting where picture is taken and the medium in which the picture appears are listed.

3.3.3 Data analysis

After collecting the data, as explained in previous paragraph, these data is analysed. Data analysis is the systematic processing of data into results and conclusions to answer the research questions (Boeije et al., 2009). The data collected from the content analysis is a list with all the persons appearing on the pictures in the promotional material, with the corresponding characteristics mentioned in previous paragraph. Also a list with the characteristics per image is created. The quantitative analysis consist of the analysis of the images in the promotional material of the nature organisations. For the analysis the software Microsoft Excel and SPSS are used. In the first column of the Excel file an unique number for every person on every picture was placed. In the following columns the relevant characteristics of every person were listed. These characteristics are: gender, the number of people on a picture, whether a person is white or coloured and the activity performed by the person. Also the age category (0-15, 15-30, 30-60, 60+), setting where picture is taken and the medium in which the picture appears were listed.

Besides having the characteristics per person, the table is also transformed into a table with characteristics per image. These tables are used in SPSS and statistical analysis is done to test whether the differences in the data are significant. When collecting all these data, the analysis of these data is done through descriptive and comparative statistics. The frequency of immigrants appearing on the pictures, the activities performed by immigrants compared with natives on the pictures and the location where the picture is taken were of interest in the analysis.

4. Results

This chapter presents the results from the research that has been conducted. If necessary the text is supported with supporting tables or figures. Only results which relate to the research questions are included and other less relevant results are disregarded.

This chapter shows the results from each sub-frame. First section 4.1 provides a description of the identity frame of the nature organisations. The description of an organisation and the cultural diversity of the organisations are described. Then section 4.2 provides the characterisation frames of each nature organisation, and presents this in a table. Section 4.3 reveals whether the lower nature involvement of immigrants is seen as a problem. Also the explanation for this lower involvement is presented. The final section 4.4 describes the conflict management frames of each organisation and shows these actions for the different elements of the sub-frame.

Before presenting the results from the interviews it should be noted that the interviews are conducted with the employees of nature organisations. As reflected from these interviews, organisations have not made policy around the theme of this thesis. Therefore the interviews cannot be fully considered as the views of the nature organisations but merely as a representation of the views of the employees of the nature organisations. When ‘organisation x thinks’ is written, it should be read as ‘employee of organisations x thinks’.

4.1 Identity frame

As discussed in chapter 2 an identity frame is constructed of 2 elements, which are the description of the organisation and the cultural diversity. The interviews revealed some similarities and differences between the organisations. The interviews also revealed how nature organisations differ from each other (see also Table 4).

Description of the organisation

The Geldersch Landschap and Kasteelen (GLK) places the castles as central element in their policy. Their mission is to conserve heritage, which are their buildings (castles, interior and collections) and nature areas, for the future and open these up. Furthermore the employee explained that GLK is more culturally oriented while other nature organisations put their focus on the nature side (GLK-I1, 2013).

The vision of Natuurmonumenten (NM) is being a provider of leisure space, biodiversity and ecosystem services (for example fresh air and clean water). Their mission is to work customer oriented and take the wishes of the society into account. An employee of NM also mentioned their similarities with the Landschappen, but NM at national level (NM-I2, 2013).

Staatsbosbeheer (SBB) stressed their function as terrain managing organisation but not being merely a nature manager. Their mission is to get two times as many people in their terrains as now (SBB-I4, 2013). The mission of SBB is to combine the key functions nature, production of wood, present recreational space and landscape. It uses the triangle with the 3 B's, 'beschermen', 'benutten' and 'beleven' (protect, use and experience) to describe these functions (Figure 2).

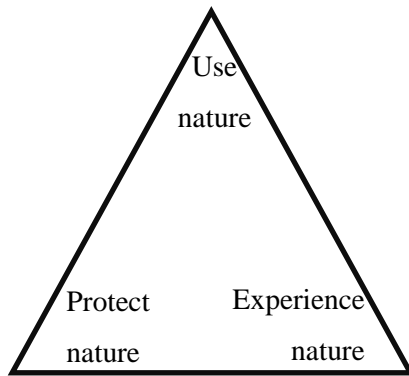


Figure 2. The triangle of the main themes of SBB.

The employee mentioned their special focus is on nature experiencing. *"I think we have a leading role with our orientation on people and society."*(SBB-I3, 2013).

Another employee of SBB confirms this orientation on the experience, especially with the recreation. But the employee also mentioned that SBB is the only organisation involved in the production of renewable sources, like wood and biomass, which is more part of the use corner in the triangle (SBB-I4, 2013).

The Utrechts Landschap (UL) has the mission to be nearby. It both want to be nearby as an organisation, but also creating nature areas nearby the residents of the province Utrecht (UL-I6, 2013). It manages mainly nature areas instead of recreational areas. The mission of the UL is to conserve and improve nature and cultural history, and increase nature involvement. The employee added that UL only manages small pieces of nature, spread over Utrecht, while SBB and NM focus on the large nature areas in Utrecht (UL-I5, 2013).

The Zuid-Hollands Landschap (ZHL) wanted to create more nature close to cities. It has the mission to engage more groups to get more support for their work (ZHL-I7, 2013).

Cultural diversity

The second element in the identity frame is the cultural diversity. The cultural diversity is determined by the amount of diversity in culture and origin among the employees. The GLK has some diversity among its employees. From the 2 immigrant employees, on a total number of around 100 employees, is one still employed (GLK-I1, 2013).

NM attempts to pay attention to diversity.

“At the Human Resources Department we want to pay more attention to diversity, but it also has to do with the male-female diversity. In general, we have more men than women and more older than younger employees. And also immigrants are part of the attention to diversity, so there are 3 groups with a special focus.”

But she thinks there is not a lot of choice in the majority of the functions, and especially not at the real nature functions (NM-I2, 2013).

SBB recognised that the few immigrant people employed by them, all work at the office. But also on the administrative level immigrants are employed, explains an employee:

“We ensure that in the advisory board, which is a representation of our users, always someone of immigrant origin is present” (SBB-I4, 2013). According to the employee of SBB, the appropriate education does not contain immigrants (SBB-I4, 2013).

Also the UL has some diversity among its employees:

“We had an Irish telephonist and an Hungarian cook, but now he is gone. We now have only one immigrant within the 50 employees” (UL-I5, 2013).

The ZHL has 2 from the 30 employees from an immigrant background. These 2 employees are also working at the office, one on finances and the other on the secretariat (ZHL-I7, 2013).

Conclusions

The table below, Table 4, summarises the information from each organisation on the different elements. The first row of the table presents the description of the originations. In the first place most nature organisations described nature protection as their most important mission. Only SBB stated that nature protection is just as important as their three other functions. The three provincial Landschappen all have a strong regional focus and attempt to create nature nearby the people. The GLK has a strong focus on cultural history, since the organisation is in cooperation with the Geldersche Kasteelen (Castles of Gelderland). SBB is most oriented towards nature experiencing and society, compared to other organisations.

Table 4. The description for each organisation per element of the identity frame.

	GLK	NM	SBB	UL	ZHL
Description of the organisation	Conserve heritage	Multi-functionality of nature	Multi-functionality of nature	Create nature nearby	Create nature nearby
Cultural diversity	Few immigrant employees	Few immigrant employees	Few immigrant employees	Few immigrant employees	Few immigrant employees

The second row presents the cultural diversity of the organisations, as appeared from the interviews. The cultural diversity is low among all organisations. The few employees working for the nature organisations are all employed at the lower positions and in the office and not at the real nature

functions or at the staff. SBB ensures to always have someone of immigrant origin in the advisory board. Both NM and SBB try to increase the cultural diversity by paying more attention to it at the Human Resources Department.

4.2 Characterisation frame

The second sub-frame applied on nature organisations is the characterisation frame. The 3 main elements are the characterisation of the current adherents, the characterisation of their target groups and the characterisation of immigrants. The current adherents can be divided in visitors, members and volunteers. For the characterisation of immigrants the focus is on the description of immigrants and the approach regarding immigrants.

Visitors

All nature organisations described their visitors as a diverse group of people. The first description given is often in terms of ‘motives’ to go into nature and the activities performed. UL categorised their visitors as ‘nature people’, ‘sportsmen’, people ‘who just want to be outside’ or people going ‘a day out with the family’ (UL-I6, 2013). Also NM used motives to describe their visitors. The 4 motives which are mentioned are relaxing, sporting, interest seeking and social contact (NM-I2, 2013). SBB used the term ‘experiencing nature’ for the activities performed by their visitors.

“The largest part are people who experience nature as green decor. They come to exhaust themselves, with their dog, their partner or their family or they come for the quietness.” (SBB-I3, 2013)

Another employee mentioned that the festival visitors also should be seen as visitors of their terrains:

“(...) we have also cultural events in our terrains. A lot of people forget that Oerol is with us, that ‘into the great wide open’ is with us and Lowlands is actually also at Staatsbosbeheer terrain.” (SBB-I4, 2013).

Both NM and SBB execute recreational research per area on the type of visitors. All organisations explain that the age is not evenly distributed. This revealed for NM that the largest group is between the 40 and 70, and the group between 12 and 25 is (largely) lacking (NM-I2, 2013).

The GLK used age and motives to describe the diversity in visitors. It has visitors aged from children to grandparents and people around 30. The motives do not differ a lot from the motives of visitors at other organisations according to the employee, only the category ‘people who like cultural history’ can be added (GLK-I1, 2013). The ZHL gave the following description of their visitors:

“The engaged nature lover, who has a larger connection with nature. Also somewhat older, sometimes described as grey pigeons, people who are at the end of their career or are already retired. They are interested in rest, space and in experiencing nature.” (ZHL-I7, 2013).

Members and volunteers

With most nature organisations it is possible to become a member. It delivers economic benefits for the nature organisations and the members receive the magazine in return and got some discounts at excursions and in shops. The members of the GLK, UL and ZHL are called ‘beschermers’ (*protectors*), while NM just call them members. SBB does not have real members since it is a semi-governmental organisation, it only has subscribers on their magazine.

UL guessed that their members consist of families, but the members are predominantly white and of an old age. They were not sure since the UL has 23.000 members and they do not know them all. But they do not expect a lot of immigrant people among their members. Also the volunteers are of old age, they contain a lot of pensioners, and are mainly white (UL-I6, 2013).

The ZHL explained the members and volunteers are similar to the visitors. The group is generally older and have a better economic welfare. The immigrant, the younger and the lower educated people are lacking among the members and volunteers (ZHL-I7, 2013).

Also SBB has old members, the average age of the subscribers is 61. An employee didn’t know whether the subscribers include many immigrant people. About immigrants participating in the voluntary work she explains:

“I think to a very limited extend. But in this respect, I think that the volunteers are, similar as Staatsbosbeheer itself, a reflection of the visitors, and not a reflection of the Dutch population.” (SBB-I4, 2013).

The GLK has done some research on their members. This revealed that it is a relative ‘grey’ group, which often go to music shows and classical concerts and the majority is white. Also their volunteers include a lot of people with an age above 65, but there are also younger people active in the voluntary work (GLK-I1, 2013).

NM also has old members.

“(…) we have a fairly old membership composition. I believe the average age is 60. Mainly highly educated, and a large part also live in cities. And the volunteers, many are retired or are with their early retirement. And they want to do something completely different after their working life. And also almost all are higher educated, both volunteers and members” (NM-I2, 2013).

Target groups

Organisations often have societal groups which receive a special focus and attention, the so called target groups. As part of the characterisation frame, the target groups of the different nature

organisations are presented. Also the argumentation whether or not immigrants are seen as target group is given.

First NM explained having 3 target groups in their recreational policy from 1999. These 3 groups are the active seniors, families with children and immigrants. But NM also mentioned that since 2003-2005 the group immigrants received less attention than before. Since then, the group immigrants is more integrated within the target group children through schools (NM-I2, 2013).

The GLK has a different way of classifying the target groups. Instead of using age or ethnicity as a condition, the target groups are based on 'experiencing'. There is a distinction made in people who like cosiness, people who like silence, people who like to do things in groups. But also grandparents with grandchildren have a focus, since then 2 groups are engaged at the same time. Immigrant people are not perceived as target group.

"We have said something about it in our recreational nota, but that is primarily on allowing picnicking on lawns on specific places. Because we know they do it more often than the autochthonous people. Or barbecuing on specific places. Though in that sense we do provide it" (GLK-I1, 2013).

For the UL are families, elderly people and their volunteers the main target groups. Immigrant people are not seen as a specific target group, but just as one of the possible user groups of a nature area (UL-I6, 2013).

The ZHL mainly focuses on target groups that are associated with them. The ambition is to make the target groups more wide, but due to the lower financial resources it is not possible to also focus on the youth and immigrant people (ZHL-I7, 2013).

SBB first explained that the youth receives a special attention. Immigrants were in the past mentioned as separate target group in the policy documents, but in practice not much was done with this group. The main 4 target groups of SBB are made on the basis of lifestyles.

"We have developed personas, which are actually target groups. We have a Wil, a Wouter, a Keven and a Mariska. And these are aggregations of 'Motivation groups', where we say the one is the sportive, challenge seeking visitor, which uses nature as a decor of their activities. Then there is the die-hard nature lover, which comes for the rest and the silence of the nature. Mariska is the ease visitor who wants for example, sit on the terrace with her children. These visitors are not always the townsmen. And finally Wil, the traditional 50+ person, who likes to cycle or walk with the children and grandchildren" (SBB-I4, 2013).

So only NM has indicated immigrants as a target group in their policy. But in practice immigrants are not used as a target group according to an employee.

Immigrants as a target group

While immigrants are not seen as target group by most nature organisations, they do indicate a lower appearance of immigrant people in their terrains. UL explained that this appearance differs among the different terrains.

“In areas closer to the city, for example a large forest here [De Bilt] nearby, are many immigrants. But in areas like the Blauwe Kamer, with wilderness nature, I don’t expect many.” (UL-I6, 2013).

Also NM and SBB think the multiculturalism is dependent on the area, but they stated that it has not been researched systematically (SBB-I4, 2013).

In the interviews is asked how the nature organisations describe immigrants. In none of the interviews the employees were able to come up with a, by the organisation formulated definition. This indicates that the organisations have not thought about a clear delineation of the group immigrants. However, the interviewees were able to come up with several characteristics of immigrants, in which elements of different definitions could be found.

NM used the country of origin as a definition. However, an employee mentioned that is not really officially defined whether an immigrant should come from a non-western country, in general they referred to non-western immigrants (NM-I2, 2013). The UL used a more narrow definition and defined people only as immigrant if they are born in a non-western country. But in addition they indicated that a second or third generation immigrant could also be defined as immigrant, depending on their nurture (UL-I6, 2013). The ZHL would describe someone as an immigrant if that person does not speak the Dutch language. A second condition, according to the ZHL, is knowing about the Dutch culture and therefore do not know about the structure and the history of the Netherlands (ZHL-I7, 2013). SBB does not have their own definition as a governmental organisation. An employee explained that the governmental definition is used (SBB-I4, 2013). GLK also explained not having a definition for immigrants as organisation. An employee explained another way to define immigrants:

“If we would make a definition for immigrants, we should do it pragmatic. In what way experience different groups in society what we manage. If you could say Muslims have a specific way of looking, than that could be a perspective to present your properties.” (GLK-I1, 2013).

The organisations referred to specific activities, when discussing the recreational behaviour of immigrants. The GLK mentioned barbecuing and picnicking as activities often performed by immigrant people (GLK-I1, 2013). The UL mentioned in the interview that immigrants often go for a picnic (UL-I5, 2013). SBB mentioned in their interview that immigrant people often have objections with unleashed dogs (SBB-I3, 2013). SBB also explained to create fire and picnic places since immigrant people appreciate this (SBB-I4, 2013).

Conclusions

Table 5 summarises the information of each organisation on the different elements. The first row of the table presents the adherents of the nature organisations. UL, NM and GLK described their visitors in terms of ‘motives’. The motives of the UL and NM are relatively similar, but the GLK used a different motive to describe the visitors, namely as a group with ‘interest in cultural history’. All nature organisations described their adherents as an old group. NM and ZHL used the words ‘higher educated’ to describe the adherents. Only GLK and UL used skin colour as a characterisation of their adherents. They were described as ‘mainly white’.

The second row of the table presents the potential target groups of the nature organisations. The target groups of the nature organisations are largely similar to their adherents. Only NM stated in their recreational policy that immigrants are among their target groups. However, this is not been realized and is only written in the documents.

The last row of the table presents how nature organisations describe immigrants. NM, SBB and the UL used a formal definition for the description of immigrants based on the country of origin. GLK and ZHL used a more subjective description in which the view on nature and the knowledge about the Dutch culture is important.

Table 5. The description for each organisation per element of the characterisation frame.

	GLK	NM	SBB	UL	ZHL
Adherents	Interest: Cultural history	Using nature as green decor for activities Different motives	Using nature as green decor for activities	Using nature as green decor for their activities Different motives	Interest: Nature lover
Target groups		Immigrants (only in policy)		Associated groups	Associated groups
Immigrants	Subjective	Objective	Objective	Objective	Subjective

4.3 Problem frame

The third sub-frame is the problem frame. This frame consist of an argumentation whether the lack of immigrants in nature is a problem and an explanation for the lack of immigrants. All nature organisations is asked whether the lack of immigrants in their terrains and as a member or volunteer is considered as a problem. It revealed that all organisations do not frame it as a problem, but more as a point of attention. The GLK find it important to have support from the entire society.

“(...) we want to be a reflection of society of course. But if for example people from immigrant groups do not show up, the question is whether we should ask these people explicitly if they could come. I think it is almost discriminating if you put too much focus on it.” (GLK-I1, 2013)

NM explained to have framed it as a problem in the past, but at the moment the discussion around immigrant involvement is disappeared. It now focuses on groups which are easy to involve (NM-I2, 2013). SBB also does not really frame it as a problem and would rather call it ‘tiresome’ that not everyone is involved in nature. Instead SBB would frame the nature deficit among children and people from the Randstad as a problem. An employee stated that the deficit of immigrant people among the employees as a larger problem.

“(...) if we would talk about a problem, than the problem is that we, together with the green education, are not able to get the interest among immigrants for green courses/education.” (SBB-I4, 2013).

The UL also would not frame it as a problem. It wants to generate involvement with everyone so also immigrants. The UL did frame it as a ‘point of attention’ (UL-I6, 2013). The ZHL does not consider it as a problem but more as a loss. It is considered as a loss both among the visitors as among the volunteers (ZHL-I7, 2013).

When asking about the causes of these lower appearance, the nature organisations came with different assumptions. These assumptions can be classified among the theoretical hypothesis explained in chapter 3.

The first hypothesis that could be recognised in the frames of nature organisations is the ethnicity hypothesis. NM assumed that the willingness to travel to a nature area is lower for immigrants (NM-I2, 2013). Another explanation came from the UL, which mentioned the different function nature has for immigrants. According to an employee, immigrant people do more picnicking or meeting each other outside, however sporting in nature is less performed by immigrants (UL-I6, 2013). The areas of UL are mainly nature areas and not really recreational areas (UL-I5, 2013). SBB mentioned the difference that immigrant people like more clean areas, with a clear overview, instead of wild areas. Also unleashed dogs may deter immigrants from visiting nature areas, according to the employee:

“I am just thinking, such an area, as a dog walking area, a lot of people come there with a dog. People do not keep them leashed, dogs show aggressive behaviour, etcetera. All kinds of things immigrant people could have objections with.”(SBB-I3, 2013).

The GLK thought personal interest is an important cause for the lower appearance (GLK-I1, 2013). All these explanations have to do with the cultural value system of immigrant people, in which immigrant people are framed as having different norms and values.

The second explanation from which some nature organisations argue is the marginality hypothesis. NM thought that the educational level has an influence on the recreational behaviour, assuming the average educational level of immigrants is lower (NM-I2, 2013). The ZHL indicated educational level and limited financial resources as constraining factors for the recreational behaviour of immigrants

(ZHL-I7, 2013). The employee of the GLK used the ‘Pyramid of Maslow’ to explain why immigrants have other interests:

“They are generally more focused on, I think, first taking care of all material things, so you can live well and have facilities. I think it also has to do with the ‘Pyramid of Maslow’. If you have arranged several basic things, than people come to their senses. I think that could play a role.” (GLK-I1, 2013).

Both these explanations are based on the socioeconomic differences between immigrants and natives.

The final hypothesis used by nature organisations is the constraint hypothesis. NM thought that the geographical location of their nature areas is the main cause of the lack of immigrants. The areas of NM are often not located near large cities, where a lot of immigrants live (NM-I2, 2013). Also the UL, GLK and SBB mentioned distance as an important cause (UL-I6, 2013; GLK-I1, 2013; SBB-I3, 2013). Travel distance is not only for immigrants a problem but all people may be deterred to visit nature areas when located on a far distance.

Conclusions

Table 6 summarized the information of each organisation on the different elements. The first row of the table presents whether nature organisations experience the lack of immigrants in their terrains and as a member or volunteer as a problem. All nature organisations did not describe it as a problem. Only NM did see it as a problem in the past. The GLK and UL would not approach immigrants as a special group. NM and ZHL find it hard to involve immigrants with their current financial resources.

The second row presents the hypothesis for the lower appearance of immigrants. GLK, NM, SBB and UL use the ethnicity hypothesis as an explanation. GLK, NM and ZHL think socio-economic aspects play a role and uses the marginality hypothesis. The GLK, NM, UL and SBB finally also use the constraint hypothesis. The other hypotheses are not used by the nature organisations.

Table 6. The description for each organisation per element of the problem frame.

	GLK	NM	SBB	UL	ZHL
Experience as a problem	No	Not anymore	No	No	No
Explanation for the lower appearance (hypothesis)	Ethnicity Marginality Constraint	Ethnicity Marginality Constraint	Ethnicity Constraint	Ethnicity Constraint	Marginality

4.4 Conflict management frame

The conflict management frame consists of the various actions nature organisations make to engage more immigrants. Literature already showed several actions nature organisations could engage to involve more immigrants: the management of areas, the purchasing of areas, organising activities, involve schools and children and finally using images and media as a tool.

The first element is making the nature areas more attractive for immigrant people. All nature organisations described this change in management as an option to engage more immigrants.

The GLK explained to provide facilities for immigrants by creating barbeque and picnic places, since these activities are more often performed by immigrants than by natives (GLK-I1, 2013). The GLK has also tried to set up a project for immigrant people. Together with Stichting wAarde the GLK created a smulbos (feast forest) in 2005, with the idea that immigrant people are used to collect food from nature in their home country.

“This was brought into the publicity, but was picked up in a negative way. Our director was actually threatened. On the one hand people said ‘we don’t like them’, and on the other hand people find it stigmatizing. In the end it was meant very well, but it did not go well. While, let’s say, the idea was really good.(...) it went wrong so we decided to stop with it.”

The GLK explained not knowing exactly what immigrants want at the moment.

“We use what we know about immigrants, collecting food in the forests and want to picnic and barbecue. So that is what we do then. But there is not a real strategy behind it” (GLK-I1, 2013).

SBB also tried to create places where immigrants feel comfortable and create facilities there. But an employee also emphasized not knowing the preferences of immigrants exactly, which restrict them in the finding of solutions. She also saw opportunities in the design of the landscape, and make the areas suitable for all people. By creating a recreational space in nature areas which is also appreciated by immigrants, immigrants could be better taken into account (SBB-I4, 2013). Natuurmonumenten shared a similar experience as the GLK. They experienced that the embracement of immigrants was in that time not very high.

“(.) there was the idea to create a playforest. That continued when the collaboration with immigrant organisations was going on in Amsterdam. Well, Kennemerland is close to Amsterdam. And that was, I would almost say, framed like it had to be an immigrant-forest. En then there came a lot of resistance. (...) there was media attention. A lot and very negative, so we had to stop that project.”(NM-I2, 2013).

The UL saw a lot of potential in edible nature. Immigrants know, for example, a lot about fruit trees, so this knowledge could be used by a nature organisation. The focus should be on vegetable garden, orchards, playgrounds and picnic areas since these are popular with immigrants. The UL added it would be best if immigrants come to nature by themselves, which is already slightly happening at the moment (UL-I6, 2013).

The second element of the conflict management frame are activities. Several organisations tried to organise activities for immigrants. The UL made plans to organise a Turkish fruit party, together with the Turkish society. But these plans were not realised since the collaboration between the Turkish foundations was difficult, the organisations had a different way of organising (UL-I5, 2013). The ZHL organised events like an 'estate picnic' and a 'dune day' to connect more people to them. It is not organised specially organised for the immigrant people, but the picnic is organised with the idea that immigrant people picnic more often. But it did not work out successfully, since it was organised on a rainy day (ZHL-I7, 2013). NM has organised excursions and a vegetable garden project for immigrant people (NM-I2, 2013).

The third element of the conflict management frame are the involvement of schools and children. NM tried to engage immigrant children through school programs.

"A lot of excursions or kind of schoolprograms in which a forester or Natuurmonumenten gets a role in. But it is funny because since last year we have a playnature on Tiendegemeten. That is a large playground made for children, where a lot of schoolclasses from Rotterdam go to. So you see if it is in classroom setting, the children come at places where they have never been before and come in touch with nature games. A playground without playground equipment but with sand, water, mud and plants." (NM-I2, 2013).

SBB thought that in the future special attention should be given to disadvantaged areas and to the setting of the recreational space. By creating youth programmes at school, for example in disadvantaged areas, it is possible to reach immigrant children. If these children get into contact with nature SBB hoped that this introduction results in more visits (SBB-I3, 2013). According to NM it would be useful to use a more integral approach and focus on youth and schools. Schools have the benefit being already in organised context, so it will cost less time and money for the nature organisations itself. This group also has the advantage of being easily accessible (NM-I2, 2013). The ZHL also tried to engage immigrants together with children, but not through schools.

"To engage children up to an age of 10 to 12, we work together with the IVN. This is to see if we could develop projects to connect children to green and there are active programs for. This goes for both native as immigrant children" (ZHL-I7, 2013).

The UL also explained to involve immigrant children through involving school classes (UL-I6, 2013).

The fourth element of the conflict management frame is the secondary school education. SBB has tried to set up a campaign together with the Bosschap 5 years ago, to interest immigrants for the green sector. Originally, it was set up as a campaign for secondary schools, but that campaign has stopped. But the material designed for the campaign is still used (SBB-I4, 2013).

The fifth element of the conflict management frame is the strategic purchasing of areas. However this element was mentioned in literature, most organisation did not mention it in the interviews. The ZHL explained that in several places in Zuid-Holland the urbanization is that high that there are no

nature areas left. And if in large cities, where the percentage of immigrants is very high, no nature is left, the inhabitants won't get connected to nature (ZHL-I7, 2013).

The final element are the media and images in promotional material. The literature already revealed that it is important to use the views of immigrants in promotional material. Several organisations agreed with this after asking about it. They stated that the use of immigrants in promotional material could result in more nature involvement of immigrants. Most nature organisations explained not using a different way of communication with immigrants than with natives. According to the UL it would make no sense to translate the promotional material, since the people visiting their areas speaks Dutch. Also in promotional material no special attention is paid to immigrants. But additionally the employee explained that on the new website it would be an option to put, for example, an image of an immigrant family on, without putting the focus on it. This could lead to recognition among the immigrants (UL-I6, 2013).

Also the GLK tried to display a reflection of society, in notes for example.

"It is more intuitive, don't let us show the stereotype volunteer. I mean, if I would make a flyer for voluntary work now, I would do something with old people because they have more time. But I would also do something which is not standard. To let people think, oh yes, it could also be like this." (GLK-I1, 2013)

The ZHL makes use of digital media to engage youth and immigrant people.

"(...) what we are working on at the moment is spreading our message through social media, as Facebook and Twitter, and reach new groups with this. And youth and immigrants are among these new groups" (ZHL-I7, 2013).

Conclusions

Table 7 (on the next page) summarises the information of each organisation on the different elements. The table presents 6 different elements of the conflict management frame. These are management of areas, purchasing of areas, activities, children, secondary school education and images/media.

All nature organisations describe a change in their areas as an option to engage more immigrants. NM, UL and ZHL organised different activities to engage more immigrants. NM, SBB, UL and ZHL want to engage immigrants by involving the children through education programs. SBB even want to engage them in secondary schools. GLK and ZHL used media and images to engage more immigrants.

Both the GLK and NM experienced resistance from society when they planned to create a 'Smulbos' and a playforest. This deterred them and other nature organisations from creating nature to attract immigrants

Table 7. The description for each organisation per element of the conflict management frame.

	GLK	NM	SBB	UL	ZHL
Management of areas	Edible nature	Playforest	Create comfortable places	Edible nature	
Purchasing of areas					Nature areas close to cities
Activities		Food related		Food related	Food related
Children		School programs	School programs	School programs	School programs
(Secondary) education			Campaign for green studies		
Images/media	Images				Digital media

5. Images

The previous chapter dealt with the question how immigrants are framed by nature organisations. This chapter studies how immigrants are framed in the media produced by nature organisations. The extent in which media reflects the main issues derived from the identity, characterisation, problem and conflict management frames. The promotional material is studied and revealed how many immigrants appear on images in the promotional material and how these immigrants are represented. This chapter presents the results from the quantitative research that has been conducted.

5.1 Picture level

In total 2773 pictures were analysed, of which the largest amount is derived from the magazines (1888), a smaller amount from the websites (786) and the least from the flyers (99). On these pictures appeared a total of 6933 people, varying from 910 in the pictures of UL to 1948 on the pictures of SBB. The analysed pictures are only pictures that contain humans, pictures without (identifiable) persons are disregarded. To show the proportion of pictures with humans, all the pictures in one edition of the magazines from 4 different organisations is counted. This reveals that 36.6%-47.4% of the pictures show people, so the majority of the pictures does not contain humans. The number of pictures analysed, the total number of persons analysed, the amount of pictures containing humans and the magazine circulation appear below in Table 8. GLK, UL and ZHL do have less pictures than NM and SBB, in the magazines, due to their smaller size. GLK and ZHL also have much less pictures on their websites than NM, SBB and UL. UL and ZHL have the least pictures in the flyers. The amount of pictures with humans is relatively similar at all organisations.

Table 8. General findings per organisation for all analysed media and for one issue of the magazines.

	GLK	NM	SBB	UL	ZHL	Total
General (2008-2013)						
Number of pictures on websites	16	277	291	136	66	786
Number of pictures in flyers	32	21	27	8	11	99
Number of pictures in magazines	298	577	523	164	326	1888
Total number of pictures	346	875	841	308	403	2773
Total number of people on pictures	1046	1948	1810	910	1219	6933
Magazine (issue 2, 2013)						
Number of pages ^a	28	56	60	-	16	-
Number of pictures containing humans ^a	37	48	57	-	18	-
Percentage of pictures containing humans ^a	40.7%	36.6%	41.3%	-	47.4%	-
Magazine circulation	32.000	750.000	55.000	25.000	45.000	907.000

^aThe number of pages, the number of pictures containing humans and the percentage of pictures containing humans is analysed for one edition of the magazines of 4 organisations. It concerns the second edition released in 2013.

The majority of the analysed pictures do not show coloured people and only 3.4% of the pictures present at least one coloured person. From these pictures does 28.4% display only coloured people, while 71.6% of the pictures both show coloured and non-coloured people.

The number of people displayed on the pictures not containing coloured persons is much lower than for the pictures with at least one coloured person. This comparison is presented in Table 9.

The difference in number of people on the pictures is huge. This means that immigrants are more often displayed in larger groups than natives, which are often displayed individual. The interviews revealed that immigrants, according to nature organisations, participate more often in group activities in nature, like picnicking and barbequing. Natives are more in favour of activities performed in smaller groups, like cycling and walking in nature, as literature revealed.

Table 9. Average number of people on one picture.

	At least one coloured person (n=95)	No coloured persons (n=2670)
Average number of people on the picture	5.27	2.39
Standard deviation	7.226	2.386
F=104.548, p<0.001		

The environment in which the pictures are taken, was analysed for both groups of pictures. Literature already revealed that immigrant people are not in favour of nature types as heathlands, meadows and wild nature. Parks and urban landscapes are more often used for recreation. To test whether nature organisations display immigrant people in a different environment than native people, an analysis on the landscape type is set up. For this analysis 10 frequently seen landscapes were compared for pictures containing no coloured people and pictures containing at least one coloured person. Tests were performed to explore whether the environment in which the picture is taken, differed between pictures with no coloured people and pictures containing at least one coloured person. The results of the tests are presented in Table 10.

Table 10. Depicted environment on the pictures, distinguished for presence coloured people (%).

Environment	At least one coloured person (n=95)	No coloured persons (n=2670)	General (n=2765)
Buildings	1.1	1.2	1.2
Dunes	3.2	1.4	1.5
Forest	13.7	19.0	18.9
Grassland	14.7	12.3	12.4
Half-open landscape	11.6	10.8	10.9
Heathland	0	2.6	2.5
Inside	17.9	12.3	12.4
Outside (not recognizable)	18.9	20.5	20.4
Water	10.5	9.8	9.8
Other	8.4	10.0	10.0
Cramer's V=0.057, p>0.05			

This revealed that there is no significant difference in environment between the two groups, as the environment on the pictures with no coloured people does not differ from the environment of pictures containing at least one coloured person. However, it is hard to draw conclusions on the environment since the number of pictures per environment is low. But still there can be seen a difference in presence of coloured people in images taken in dunes, forest, heathland and inside. There are less pictures with coloured people containing forest or heathland, and more pictures with immigrants are taken in the dunes or inside.

Besides categorising the environment type, the environment could also be categorised in management type. Literature and the interviews revealed that immigrant people prefer a more intensive managed environment. The hypothesis is that nature organisations show coloured people more often in a more intensive managed environment. To test this hypothesis, 5 different types are distinguished. Figures 3 to 7 show examples of the different environment types. The first type are images taken inside. The second is an urban environment or an environment with buildings. The next is an environment categorised as intensively managed, with elements as mown grass. The next environment is categorised as managed and these are the regular managed areas. The final environment is not managed/wild and consist of a environments like heather or swamps.



Figure 3. An image taken inside (Natuurmonumenten, n.d.).



Figure 4. An image taken in an urban environment (Zuid-Hollands Landschap, 2012).



Figure 5. An image taken in an environment categorised as 'intensively managed' (Staatsbosbeheer, 2013).



Figure 6. An image taken in an environment categorised as 'managed' (Staatsbosbeheer, 2008).



Figure 7. An image taken in an environment categorised as 'not managed/wild' (Staatsbosbeheer, n.d.).

Table 11. Management type on images (%).

Management type	At least one coloured person (n=95)	No coloured persons (n=2670)
Not-managed (wild)	4.9	11.3
Managed	39.0	50.4
Intensively managed	23.2	17.7
Urban	12.2	4.4
Inside	20.7	16.2
Cramer's V=0.088, $p<0.01$		

It is explored whether the environment on the pictures with at least one coloured person is more intensively managed than the environment on pictures with no coloured people (Table 11). The examination of the differences in management type between the two categories of pictures yielded significant variations. When looking at the percentage of pictures shot in an environment with a certain management type, a few differences can be noted.

Pictures with no coloured persons are more often made in a not-managed or regular managed environment than pictures with at least one coloured person. Pictures with at least one coloured person are more often made in an intensively managed or urban environment than pictures with no coloured persons.

5.2 Person level

Previous analysis were done on the picture level. These analysis provide insight in the general image characteristics. But these analyses do not provide information on differences between displayed coloured people and displayed white people. Following analyses aim to study the differences on person level, for example on age, gender and activity. Instead of comparing pictures containing at least one coloured person with pictures containing no coloured persons, now the coloured people on the pictures will be compared with the non-coloured people. The majority of the persons appearing on the pictures (97.4%) is not coloured and 2.6% of the persons is coloured.

Cross-tabulations yielded a significant difference in sex distribution of coloured people compared with non-coloured people. Among the coloured people the majority is female while the majority among the non-coloured people is male. Table 12 presents the gender distribution of the coloured and non-coloured people.

Table 12. Gender distribution of portrayed people (%).

Sex	Coloured (n=178)	Not coloured (n=6726)
Female	55.1	42.1
Male	44.9	57.9
Cramer's V=0.042, $p<0.005$		

Examination of the age classes and skin colour shows strong significant differences between coloured and non-coloured people. The large majority of the coloured people (75.8%) does have an age between 0-15, while there are not many coloured people in an age between 30 and 60 (19.1%) and above 60 (1.1%) displayed. The non-coloured people do most often have an age between 30 and 60 (48.6%), and proportion of people with an age above 60 is also higher than among the coloured people (14.5%). Both the coloured and the non-coloured people do not often have an age between the 15 and 30 (respectively 3.9% and 3.2%). The age distribution of both groups is presented in Table 13.

Table 13. Age distribution of portrayed people (%).

Age class	Coloured (n=178)	Not coloured (n=6731)
0-15	75.8	33.7
15-30	3.9	3.2
30-60	19.1	48.6
60+	1.1	14.5
Cramer's $V=0.144$, $p<0.001$		

Another interesting personal characteristic is the activity performed by a person. The interviews revealed that nature organisations describe immigrants being more often involved in barbequing or picnicking than in other nature related activities. Following analysis will test whether the images give a similar view on activities performed by immigrants. The activities performed by the people on the pictures were divided into 9 different categories, which are explained in chapter 3. When comparing the activities performed by coloured people with activities performed by non-coloured people, a strong significant difference between the two groups can be found. The results, which are presented in Table 14, show that coloured people on the pictures are more often sporting, compared to non-coloured people. On the other hand non-coloured people are more often walking than coloured people. None of the coloured people on the pictures is observing or camping.

Table 14. Activities performed by the portrayed people in (%).

Activity	Coloured (n=178)	Not coloured (n=6755)
Walking	5.1	14.7
Sporting	16.9	5.8
Working outdoor	2.2	2.6
Camping	0.0	0.2
Communicating	0.6	0.7
Eating/cooking	0.6	0.6
Observing	0.0	2.3
Standing	61.2	53.2
Other passive activities	13.5	20.0
Cramer's $V=0.091$, $p<0.001$		

Research on the portrayal of ethnic groups in Canada found that the ethnic minority is more often portrayed in physically active roles. The ethnic majority is more often displayed in physically passive

roles. It is tested whether this is also the case in the images of Dutch nature organisations. For that analysis 3 different types of physical roles were distinguished: active, passive and posing. The result is that coloured people and non-coloured people do not differ significantly in the physical activity on the pictures. The two variables do not have an association with each other (Cramer's $V=0.007$, $p>0.05$). There are no significant differences in the percentage of people displayed physical active, passive or posing, as presented in Table 15.

Table 15. Physical activity of the portrayed people (%).

Physical activity	Coloured (n=178)	Not coloured (n=6755)
Active	22.5	22.5
Passive (not posing)	57.9	59.4
Posing	19.7	18.1
Cramer's $V=0.007$, $p>0.05$		

In the interviews nature organisations explained having only a few immigrant people among their employees and volunteers. Literature argued not many immigrant people recreate in nature areas and nature organisations confirmed it. To test whether the roles on the images correspond with these previous findings, the roles of coloured people are compared with the roles of the non-coloured people. For the comparison, 4 different roles are distinguished: Recreationist, employee, volunteer and the others. Volunteers are distinguished from recreationists by their activities. Volunteers are involved in activities as guiding, pruning or pulling of small trees. Others are people who cannot be placed among the other categories, who are not involved in recreational activities. In comparing the roles, there can be found significant differences. Non-coloured people are more often displayed as a recreationist than coloured people. Furthermore 11.6% of the non-coloured people is displayed as an employee, while no coloured people are displayed as employee. Remarkable is the high percentage of volunteers among the coloured people (Table 16).

Table 16. The role of the portrayed people (%).

Role	Coloured (n=178)	Not coloured (n=6755)
Recreationist	46.1	60.8
Employee	0.0	11.6
Volunteer	15.2	12.1
Other	38.8	15.6
Cramer's $V=0.111$, $p<0.001$		

5.3 Differences between media

Previous paragraph presented the results of all the promotional material of all the 5 organisations. The studied promotional material of the nature organisations consists of flyers, magazines and websites. The number of coloured and non-coloured people portrayed in these different media is presented in

Table 17. This shows that the proportion coloured people is relatively similar in the magazines and websites. The flyers deviate from these proportions and do not show any coloured people.

Table 17. Percentage of coloured and non-coloured people per medium (%).

Medium	Coloured	Not coloured
Flyer (n=295)	0.0	100.0
Magazine (n=4475)	2.6	97.4
Website (n=2163)	2.8	97.2

When examining the pictures with at least one coloured person and the pictures without coloured persons, the results are different. The magazines showed at least one coloured person in 3.3% of the pictures, while the websites showed at least one coloured person on 4.2% of the pictures (Table 18).

Table 18. Percentage of images with at least one coloured person and without coloured people per medium (%).

Medium	At least one coloured person	No coloured persons
Flyer (n=99)	0.0	100.0
Magazine (n=1887)	3.3	96.7
Website (n=779)	4.2	95.8

The websites are analysed on one moment, so no analysis over time can be done. The collected flyers are also produced recently or a date is lacking. The data on the magazines is derived from all published magazines in 5 years' time, with 4 magazines a year. This allows to draw analysis through time on the magazines. For each year the proportion of coloured people was calculated. Table 19 presents the amount of coloured and non-coloured people is displayed in the magazines per year. In general the proportion of coloured people per year does fluctuate from year to year, no trend can be found. The highest proportion of displayed coloured people was in 2010, the lowest in 2011 and 2013.

Table 19. Percentage of coloured and non coloured people per year in the magazines (%).

Year	Coloured	Not coloured
2008 (n=500)	4.0	96.0
2009 (n=854)	2.0	98.0
2010 (n=939)	4.4	95.6
2011 (n=902)	1.2	98.8
2012 (n=792)	2.9	97.1
2013 (n=488)	1.2	98.8

5.4 Differences between organisations

The results of the content analysis could also be split up on organisational level. This shows the number of coloured and non-coloured people in promotional material per organisation (Table 20). The proportion of displayed coloured people do differ between the organisations. In the promotional

material of the UL is 1 percent of the people coloured, while in the material of ZHL this proportion is almost 4 times higher. The proportion coloured people in promotional material of the other organisations is between these two extremes.

Table 20. Percentage of coloured and non-coloured people in promotional material per organisation (%).

Organisation	Coloured	Not coloured
GLK (n=1046)	1.8	98.2
NM (n=1948)	3.1	96.9
SBB (n=1810)	2.4	97.6
UL (n=910)	1.0	99.0
ZHL (n=1219)	3.9	96.1

When analysing these organisational differences on picture level, the proportions are different. The percentage of pictures containing at least one coloured person is among all organisations relatively similar. There is only 0.8% difference in amount of pictures with coloured people between the organisations (Table 21). Again the UL has the lowest proportion pictures with coloured people, but the GLK has now the highest proportion.

Table 21. Percentage of pictures with at least one coloured person and pictures without coloured people in promotional material per organisation (%).

Organisation	At least one coloured person	No coloured persons
GLK (n=346)	3.8	96.2
NM (n=875)	3.4	96.6
SBB (n=836)	3.3	96.7
UL (n=305)	3.0	97.0
ZHL (n=403)	3.7	96.3

6.Synthesis

Previous chapters showed the results from the interviews with nature organisations and the analysis of the promotional material. Chapter 4 discussed the results from the interviews by discussing the different sub-frames of the organisations. Chapter 5 presented the results of the media analysis. First the results on the picture level were presented and then the results on the person level were discussed.

Finally the differences between media types and between organisations were mentioned.

This chapter synthesises chapter 5 and 6 to place the different nature organisations among a frame. First in paragraph 6.1 to 6.4 the 4 different sub-frames (problem, identity, characterisation, and conflict management) are used to discuss the differences and similarities between the organisations. The final paragraph concluded on the overall frame(s) of the nature organisations, based on the sub-frames.

6.1 Problem frame

All nature organisations did not describe the lack of immigrants in nature as a problem. All organisations indicate that it is a loss that not all groups are involved with nature. Only NM has considered it as a problem in the past.

In explanations for the lower involvement of immigrants only small differences were found between the different organisations. However, it should be mentioned that the interviews are conducted with employees of the nature organisations. Since within the organisations no policy is made around immigrants, these explanations could be seen as personal explanations of the employees. In general three different hypotheses are used: the ethnicity hypothesis, the constraint hypothesis and the marginality hypothesis. The ethnicity and constraint hypothesis are used by all organisations, except ZHL. The marginality hypothesis is used by NM, GLK and ZHL.

However NM used a different frame in the past, the interviews indicated that currently all organisations use a similar problem frame. A central element within this sub-frame is the framing of the lack of immigrant involvement in nature as a non-issue.

6.2 Identity frame

Since the lack of immigrants in nature is not framed as a problem, it can be concluded that providing nature for everyone is not the most important purpose of the nature organisations. When describing their own organisation, the UL and ZHL want to create nature nearby. For SBB and NM is the multi-functionality of nature the most important goal while GLK wants to conserve heritage.

The organisations are relatively similar in their amount of immigrant employees. All organisations have between 1 and 3 employees of immigrant origin. But none of the organisations displayed

coloured employees in their promotional material. This could be explained by the type of functions of the immigrants. In the interviews is stated by the employees that the immigrants are mainly employed at the office. In the promotional material only employees in the real nature functions, like foresters, are displayed.

Again, in the identity sub-frame can be found some small differences in the focus of the nature organisations. But generally all the organisations have a relatively similar identity, which indicates that all organisations use the same identity frame. The identity of the nature organisations is framed as being a non-diverse organisation.

6.3 Characterisation frame

The framing of the adherents of nature organisations can be divided into the characterisation of the 3 different adherent types; the visitors, the members and the volunteers.

When describing the motives for the visitors to come to their areas, all organizations use the same categories. There are only small differences in the motives, which are the result of the organisational identity. Also the description of the demographics of the visitors is similar. The visitors are diverse in age, but the group between the 12 and 25 is lacking. The volunteers and members are often an old group. All the adherents are characterised as mainly ‘white’.

The above mentioned characteristics are also reflected in the promotional material by the nature organisations. The displayed adherents are generally older of age and people aged between the 15 and 30 are not often displayed. Among the displayed recreationists in the pictures is only 2% white. For the volunteers this proportion is slightly higher with 3%. However, it is hard to assess whether this is underrepresented, since there is no available data on the percentage of coloured people in the Netherlands. In the second chapter of this thesis is explained that 14% of the Dutch population is originating from a non-western country (including Indonesia and Japan). Regarding these data can be roughly judged that immigrants are underrepresented in the promotional material of nature organisations.

Immigrants are only for NM officially a target group. But this is limited to their policy since in practice not much attention is paid to this group. Other organisations often tried to engage immigrant children within the target group ‘children’. This is reflected in the media where the amount of pictures with coloured people is relatively similar for all organisations. For all nature organisations the proportion of pictures with at least one coloured person is between the 3.0 and 4.0%.

Also within the characterisation frame no major differences between the organisations can be found. Since NM also stopped framing immigrants as a target group, all organisations could be categorised within the same sub-frame. The adherents are characterised as a white group and immigrants are underrepresented. Therefore central within the characterisation frame is the underrepresentation of immigrants.

6.4 Conflict management frame

However the nature organisations do not perceive immigrants as a target group, they do have ideas on how to engage more immigrants. Some of these ideas, or conflict management options, have already been carried out by the nature organisations in the past.

Four of the organisations explained to have gained bad experience when organising activities or projects for immigrants, for various reasons. These projects and activities were often related to food, by for example the creation of edible nature. Another often mentioned option to engage immigrants is by school programs. Young people often have a special attention of nature organisations. By engaging children it is also tried to engage more immigrant children. Finally, after asking about it, GLK and ZHL mentioned that it is tried to display a reflection of society in the media and digital media is used to engage more immigrant people.

Some of these issues are reflected by the promotional material of the nature organisations. Although the employees in the interviews seemed to be confident that immigrants are more often involved in food related activities, this is not reflected in their promotional material. The proportion of people displayed while eating or cooking is equal for coloured and non-coloured people. On the other hand, the strong focus on children by the nature organisations is reflected in the images. One-third of the displayed non-coloured people is younger than 15 and from the coloured people is even more than 75% younger than 15.

Also within the conflict management frame no major changes can be found between the organisations, and can be concluded that all the organisations belong to the same frame. Central within this frame is the focus on children and the use of education to increase nature involvement.

6.5 Conclusions

After discussing the separate sub-frames and the synthesis on the basis of the results, the overall frame could be described. As mentioned before the total frame is constructed by the 4 different sub-frames. However, in these sub-frames could some differences be found between the organisations, in general these organisations are largely similar.

None of the nature organisations considered the lack of immigrants in nature as a problem and framed it as a non-issue. However the organisations have differences in their focus, in their 'white' identity they are all similar. While the adherents of the nature organisations are also characterised as 'white', the organisations do not frame immigrants as their target group. Education to children is framed as main conflict management option.

The overall frame of all nature organisations can therefore be described as 'non-issue' frame.

7. Discussion

This chapter discusses the findings, the theory and the methods. Paragraph 7.1 links the findings from the previous chapters with those of others. In paragraph 7.2 the findings are discussed in the background of the theoretical framework and the used theories are evaluated. Finally in 7.3 is reflected on the used methods and on the extent in which the findings might have been influenced by the chosen methods.

7.1 Results linked with other research

Previous studies have shown the differences between natives and immigrants in nature related activities. When using the different domains from chapter 1, most research is done in the domain of nature users, and less research in the domain of the nature protector. Since this research is not focused on the behaviour of immigrants regarding nature use or nature protection, these studies can be compared with the frames nature organisations use to characterise immigrants.

In the domain of the nature protector is found that 15% of the surveyed immigrants is a member of a nature organisation, compared to the 30% of the total Dutch population (Boer & Schulting, 2002). In our research it is found that nature organisations use an immigrant absence frame, to characterise their adherents. Also the lack of immigrants among their members and volunteers is mentioned by the nature organisations. In the domain of the nature user is found that immigrant people visit nature areas less frequent than natives (Buijs, et al., 2007). These results are in agreement with the immigrant absence frame of the nature organisations, as found in this research. Another study also showed that immigrants have a different recreational behaviour compared to natives. The among natives popular activities as cycling and hiking are less performed by immigrants. This study also showed that immigrants are more often focussed on the urban green. Nature areas which are located on a larger distance to their homes are often not known. Nature in their surroundings is not known by 50% of the immigrants (Buijs, et al., 2006). These findings are similar to some of the hypotheses nature organisations gave for the lower involvement of immigrants. This may indicate that they are familiar with those research results.

This research concluded that nature organisations have a low cultural diversity. Nature organisations only have a few immigrant employees in their entire organisation. Also in literature nature organisations are blamed for having too little attention for their interculturalisation; the adaption of the institution to suit people from different cultures (Kloek, et al., 2012).

Regarding the conflict management, studies emphasize the need to engage children. According to Elands & Turnhout (2009) the nature use can be stimulated by education and by the promotion of

nature experiences. These conflict management options are also mentioned in the interviews, in which the organisations frame nature education as important.

A study by Somers and colleagues (2005) suggested ethno marketing by nature organisations. This ethno marketing is also in line with the conflict management frame. In this research is found that the two organisations consider media as a conflict management option and want to use digital media to engage more immigrants and try to display a reflection of society in their images.

The research by Vader and colleagues (2010) showed that a few nature organisations consider immigrants as a target group. This is in contrast to this research which found that none of the organisations perceive immigrants as a target group.

Our study found that on average 2.6% of the displayed people in the images of the promotional material of nature organisations is coloured. There is no other study done on the portrayal of immigrants in outdoor media in the Netherlands. Research in the United States found that Black models are often lacking in images of outdoor recreational activities (Martin, 2004). Buzinde and colleagues (2006) showed that the portrayed ethnic minorities enacting physically active roles, while the ethnic majority was portrayed in more physically passive roles. This is in contrast with this study, in which the coloured and the non-coloured people do not differ significantly in the physical activity on the pictures. However, the first research concerned the indigenous population portrayed in physically active entertainment roles, which is another kind of ethnic minority then in this research.

7.2 Reflection on the theory

In this research the theory of framing is used to understand the meaning and strategies of the nature organisations. Frames in this thesis were used as cognitive representations. The frames of nature organisations were considered being constructed of several sub frames, introduced by Gray (2004b). These sub frames were adapted, supplemented with other concepts and applied in this research. First the used theories are summarised, then it is argued whether these theories were useful and finally is discussed whether things were lacking in the theoretical framework.

In the first place frames are considered as being cognitive structures which guides perception and cognitive representations of reality. Frames are a result of the personal sets of values, norms, objectives, interests, convictions and knowledge (Aarts & Woerkum, 2006). In this thesis the conceptualization by Gray (2004b) is applied, in which a frame consists of several sub frames. Six often used types of sub frames are: identity frames, characterisation frames, social control frames, problem frames, power frames and conflict management frames. The power and the social control sub-frames were not used in the study on the framing by nature organisations. The amount of power people have on the nature organisations is expected to be not a result of origin. Societal control frames are also not involved in the framing since the decision making is located within the nature organisations instead of in society.

The cognitive frames function as mental structures that help interpreting incoming perceptual information, by fitting it into already learned frames about reality (Dewulf, et al., 2009). When applying this on the sub-frames in this research, this theoretically would mean that one sub-frame would affect the others. So the first sub-frame, the identity frame, uses the identity of an organisation as underlying factor to construct a frame. From the results can be seen that the different sub-frames are often consistent and that these are related with each other.

The identity frame is often used as a reference in the construction of the problem frame. The UL has the identity of managing nature areas, not recreational areas. This is also used as reason in the problem frame for the lower involvement of immigrants, in which the social function nature has to immigrants is used as explanation. The ZHL has the identity to create nature nearby cities. This is consistent with their problem frame in which distance to nature is also mentioned. The limited resources of immigrants, which limits them to reach nature areas, are used as hypothesis. Also the problem frames of GLK and SBB are related to other sub-frames. The GLK characterised immigrants as a group of people with a different view on nature. In their problem frame the different personal interest of immigrants is seen as a hypothesis for the lower involvement of immigrants with nature. SBB used the explanation that immigrant people like more clean areas as a reason for the lower involvement of immigrants. As a consequence their conflict management option is to create places where immigrants feel comfortable. NM is consistent in their identity and conflict management frame. The employee identified their organisation with providing leisure space and as a conflict management option the creation of a play forest is mentioned.

The sub-frames are not always consistent and sometimes even contradictory. The UL does not use their identity frame as a reference for the conflict management. It frames their identity as not managing recreational areas, but nature areas. But as conflict management options recreational options, as creating edible nature, are mentioned. This could be explained with the difference in personal opinions and organisational frames. For issues which are not often discussed within an organisation the employees gave their own opinion instead of the organisational frame. This is further discussed in paragraph 7.3.

However, the conceptualisation of frames in this thesis is largely adopted from Gray (2004b), but the theory is also extended. The different hypotheses for lower involvement of immigrants in nature based recreation from Floyd (1999) are connected with the problem frame. In this thesis these hypotheses function as constituting elements of the problem frame.

The position of media within the framing of immigrants is not sharp. In literature media is considered as a part of the conflict management frame (Blondel, 2004). However, only 2 organisations considered displaying immigrants in their media as a management option, their images did not show more coloured people than in media of other organisations. However, it does provide information on the behaviour of the organisations.

Other research, in which frames are more approached as interactional co-constructions, considers the media frames as a continuous process. This process goes from the audience frames, via the effects of this framing on the behaviour of audiences, to the organisational attitude and experiences which build the media frames (Scheufele, 1999). This theory considers media frames as a result of intrinsic factors of the organisation, explained with frame building. In our research media is only analysed on one point in time, which made the interactional approach not appropriate.

The proportion of displayed coloured people did not differ much between the organisations. Furthermore, the activities that organisations related to immigrants, are not performed more often by coloured people in the images. Coloured people are displayed just often as non-coloured people while involved in food related activities. Sporting is even performed almost 3 times more often by coloured people than by non-coloured people. This could indicate again that many opinions are not shared across the whole organisation. Since no policy is developed on immigrants, employees could have different opinions.

7.3 Limitations of the research

This study has some limitations as a result of the research design and methods. The methods that might have had an influence on the results are briefly discussed. First the limitations during the interviews, then the limitations during the data collection from the images and finally the limitations during the analysis are discussed.

Interviews

The interviews in this research were used for obtaining information on the framing by nature organisations in the Netherlands. However, there are more than 14 organisations managing nature areas, and due to the limited time it would not be possible to interview them all. Only the 5 largest and most relevant organisations were interviewed. This research should therefore not be generalised to all nature organisations in the Netherlands, but it does give an idea on the framing of immigrants by nature organisations.

Secondly, there are only one or two employees per organisation interviewed. This gave a limited view on the frames present in these organisations. These employees were employed as policy or communication employee and mainly involved in the policy making. It would have been better to have also interviewed people on other levels of the organisation, for example also managers or foresters. That would give a more complete frame of the organisation.

The interviewees had no difficulty in answering the questions. But the problem occurred that it was not clear when the employee mentioned the organisational view or its personal opinion. Especially on topics which are not defined in policy, it is probable that employees argued according to

their own view. In the further interpretation of the interview it is tried to take this into account. It was then important to consider the interview as an interview with employees of the organisation instead of with the organisation it selves.

Finally, the mentioned conflict management options were often only ideas at the policy department of the nature organisations. There is not a sharp division made between performed actions and ideas about the involvement of immigrants. This could have been solved by analysing the policy documents and recreation notes.

Data collection

When studying the images, the limitation in distinguishing immigrants occurred. In this research only a distinction was made on the basis of skin colour, while this does not have to be a condition whether someone is actually an immigrant. However, for the reader of the promotional material this is an important characteristic associated with immigrants. The readers only get visual information of the people on the image. An high amount of people having characteristics associated with immigrant people, leads to the thought among the audience that many immigrants are displayed. But in this thesis only skin colour is used as characteristic, while there are more characteristics related to immigrants. It would have been better to also take these other characteristics, like cultural clothing or religious attributes, into account.

In labelling the pictures several difficulties occurred. The characteristics of the people on the pictures or the environment on the pictures was not always clear. Sometimes it was hard to recognise the skin colour, the age or the gender of the displayed people. In these cases a label which matches most is chosen. When characteristics were not visible it was chosen for 'unknown' and then these persons are not used in the further analysis.

Finally, it was not easy to distinguish the employees, visitors and volunteers. A person dressed in organisational clothes could be a volunteer or an employee, and a volunteer or employee does not necessarily have to wear clothes related to the organisation. Also in these cases the labelling occurred through the eyes of a potential reader.

Content analysis

After collected all the data it was tried to link the interviews with the data from the content analysis. In this it was hard to find the different sub-frames in the data from the content analysis. On beforehand it was tried to use labels related to the different frames, but not many could be found. It would have been better to use labels resulted from the different frames emerged from the interviews. But since the interviews and content analysis were carried out at the same time, this was not possible.

Furthermore it was not possible to analyse the activities and environment on images with immigrants per organisation due to the small amount of images with coloured people. It would have been better to use a higher amount of images.

Finally only for the magazines images of different points in time were analysed. This resulted in a limited amount of pictures and no real trend could be found. When the amount of pictures through time would have been higher, there could more reliable conclusions made on any possible trends.

8. Conclusions

In this chapter the conclusions of the study are discussed on the basis of the research questions from chapter 2. Section 8.1 discusses the first research question by answering the 3 sub-questions in different paragraphs. Then section 8.2 answers the second research question. In paragraph 8.3 recommendations for future research are given and finally 8.4 concludes on the practical application of the results.

8.1 How are immigrants framed by nature organisations?

The main sub-frames

The frames of the nature organisations are constructed of 4 different sub-frames. The main problem, identity, characterisation and conflict management frames of the nature organisations are discussed briefly.

None of the organisations described the lack of immigrants in nature as a problem. All organisations indicated the lower nature involvement of immigrants as a loss or as a point of attention. The reasons for the lack of immigrants in nature seems to be more a personal explanation by the employee than a discussed consensus within a nature organisation. The main problem frame is a non-issue frame since the situation is not been problematized by the organisations.

The organisations used different descriptions for describing their own identity. The involvement of societal groups is not perceived as an important characteristic by the employees. There are only a few immigrants employed with the nature organisations, so the cultural diversity is low. These few immigrants are employed at the office and not at the real nature functions. The low cultural diversity can be considered as main identity frame.

The visitors, members and volunteers of the nature organisations are characterised as mainly 'white'. However, the organisations have not done research about the origin of their adherents, it is expected there are not many immigrants among them. In practice, for none of the organisations immigrants are a target group. The adherents are characterised as a white group and immigrants are absent. Therefore the immigrant absence can be seen as a main characterisation frame.

Nature organisations mentioned various actions to involve more immigrants with nature. Most of the organisations have done activities and projects in the past to increase this involvement. Nowadays no projects are conducted but the employees did came up with conflict management options. These options were often focussed on food and on the involvement of children through educational programs. It can be concluded that the main conflict management frame is investing in the new generation.

Differences

Several differences can be found between the frames of the different nature organisations. When describing the reasons for the lower involvement in nature, in total 3 different hypotheses are used, but these differ between the organisations. When identifying their own organisation, the employees differed in their focus on how to conserve nature. These differences are reflected by the description of their adherents. An organisation with a focus on the multifunctionality of nature, described their visitors as people using nature as a green decor for their activities. Only NM officially perceives immigrants as their target group, but this is limited to policy reports only. By describing the conflict management options, one organisation mentioned the strategic buying of nature areas. After asking about the role of images, two organisations mention media and images as a tool to attract more immigrants. Besides these differences, the conflict management frames are focused on food and on children.

The differences between the organisations indicate that there are differences in the views of the employees. But in general these difference occur on topics on which has not been formed an agreed view within the organisations. Therefore it can be concluded that all organisations use the same frame regarding the involvement of immigrants.

Overall frame

The total frame of nature organisations towards immigrants is constructed of the different sub-frames. From the conclusion can be seen that the sub-frames are not independent but a result of the other sub-frames. These other sub-frames are used as a reference when interpreting new events.

Providing nature for everyone is not part of the identity frame of the nature organisations. Instead the organisations are framed as having a low cultural diversity. Also their adherents are not diverse in culture and are characterised as mainly 'white'. Although this is admitted by all organisations, none of them described it as a problem. This is confirmed by the conflict management frame, which entails that no longer activities or projects to involve immigrants with nature are carried out.

All the sub-frames reflect the element from the problem frame that the low involvement of immigrants with nature is not an issue. Based on the sub-frames therefore can be concluded that the overall frame of the nature organisations is a non-issue frame.

8.2 How are immigrants represented and framed in the media produced by nature organisations?

Reflection in the media

Besides the interviews with the employees also the images in the promotional material provide information on how immigrants are framed. Although only 2 organisations described media as a way

to handle the low nature involvement of immigrants, it still provides data on how nature organisations act.

Within the identity frame the low cultural diversity of the nature organisations is the main issue. This is reflected by the promotional material in which no coloured employees are displayed. The visitors, volunteers and members of the nature organisations are framed as mainly 'white'. This is similar to how adherents are displayed in the promotional material. Only 2% of the visitors is coloured and among the volunteers is 3% coloured. The lower involvement of immigrants is framed as a non-issue, which is reflected by the images. Only 3.4% of the pictures displayed coloured people, which indicate that it is not tried to show diversity among the adherents in the media. Within the conflict management frame is media mentioned as a management option by some organisations, but this is not reflected since the proportion of pictures with coloured people does not differ much between the organisations.

Representation

The proportion of displayed coloured people differs little between the organisations. The UL displayed the lowest and the ZHL the highest proportion of immigrants, but with no organisation the proportion of coloured people is higher than 4%.

Due to the low amount of coloured people it is not possible to formulate conclusions on the representation of immigrants per organisation. However, in general can be concluded that the represented immigrants are mostly female, very often aged below 15 and more often displayed in a more intensively managed environment. Also are immigrants proportionally more often displayed as a volunteer and very often while sporting.

Although it is not possible to draw conclusions on the exact differences between the organisations, there can be made some assumptions. The mentioned differences in portrayal between coloured people and non-coloured people are, despite the low amount of coloured people, clearly demonstrated. Since these differences were not mentioned by the employees, it is likely that the organisations do not differ substantially in the portrayal.

8.3 Hints for future research

This research presented an insight in the framing of immigrants by nature organisations. However, this research only focuses on 5 organisations, this research could still be considered as representative. The differences between the organisations were not very large. Therefore is not necessary to study more nature organisations. But it would be interesting to do some more research on the different levels in a nature organisation. In this study only the frames of the policy and communication department are studied, but it would be interesting to find out how the managers or foresters frame immigrants.

Furthermore it would be interesting to further study the differences between the representation of coloured people in the promotional material and the actual presence of coloured people in nature areas. Finally it is recommended to study the needs of immigrants and find out how nature organisations could better involve immigrants with nature.

8.4 Practical application of the research

This research was conducted to understand how immigrants are considered by nature organisations and represented in the media of these organisations, by using the concept of framing. The research can be considered as explorative, but still the results can be applied in practice.

The thesis does not present a solution to increase the involvement of immigrants in nature, but it does provide information on the current situation. This insight on the frames, used by the different nature organisations, could be used as information when developing a strategy for increasing the involvement of immigrants.

It is concluded that all nature organisations use a non-issue frame, and do not invest a lot of energy on involving immigrants. Various reasons were given for this low priority on this group. Some organisations gained negative experiences in the past, when organising projects or activities for immigrants alone. This deters them from organising such things again. Other organisations considered having a lack of finances and do not have enough resources to put much effort on this group. It also is found that the organisations often do not have exact knowledge on the wishes and needs of immigrants.

All nature organisations recognised that immigrants are less frequent visitors of nature areas. It is quite likely that this situation does not change, as long as this large societal group is not taken into account. Also by displaying a low amount of coloured people in the promotional material, the audience will regard nature as a 'white' domain.

Since most of the nature areas are managed by the nature organisations and the activities are often organised by these organisations, it makes them as appropriate party. Furthermore an increase in the involvement of immigrants, as a large societal group, will lead to a larger support for nature management in the future.

First, it is important that nature organisations change their non-issue frame, and think about ways to involve immigrants. Since nature organisations mentioned having not many resources available, it could be also be done in easy ways, by for example displaying more immigrant people. Also a collaboration with other organisations, like IVN or with schools, can be a solution for the lower financial resources. The current focus on involving immigrant children trough school programs, together with other children, is an appropriate solution. Then organisations do not only focus on immigrants and a collaboration is established.

Finally, it is needed to further study the wishes and preferences of immigrants. Only by understanding these it is possible to come up with effective solutions and investments can be made on the right places.

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Annex 1: Interview protocol policy

Introductie

Mijn naam is Roel van Cauwenberghe en ik studeer bos- en natuurbeheer aan Wageningen Universiteit. Ik zit nu in het laatste jaar van mijn studie en werk momenteel aan mijn master scriptie. Deze heeft tot doel inzicht te geven in de benadering van allochtonen door natuurorganisaties. De interview die ik afneem met een aantal organisaties spelen hierin een belangrijke rol. Het interview zal ongeveer 45 minuten in beslag nemen. Het interview zal worden opgenomen, en tijdens het interview zal ik ook af en toe wat noteren. De informatie uit dit interview zal alleen worden gebruikt voor de thesis.

Zijn er nog vragen naar aanleiding van mijn inleiding?

Eerst zou ik het met u willen hebben over de natuurbetrokkenheid in recreatie en vrijwilligerswerk.

1. Hoe zou u de bezoekers van uw terreinen omschrijven?
 - a. Ontbreken er bepaalde groepen in de recreatie in uw terreinen?
 - b. Wordt dit als een probleem gezien door uw organisatie?
2. Hoe zou u de leden en vrijwilligers van uw organisatie omschrijven?
 - a. Ontbreken er bepaalde groepen in het vrijwilligerswerk van uw organisatie?
 - b. Wordt dit als een probleem gezien?
3. Worden er binnen uw organisatie specifieke doelgroepen onderscheiden?
 - i. *Als 'Ja'*: Welke groepen dan?
 - a. Worden allochtonen als doelgroep gezien?
4. Wat is de etnische afkomst van de bezoekers van uw natuurterreinen?
 - i. *Als 'weet niet'*: Wat denkt u?
 - a. Wordt het ontbreken van allochtonen als een probleem gezien door de organisatie?
5. Wat is de etnische afkomst van uw leden?
 - a. *Als 'weet niet'*: Wat denkt u?
 - b. Weet u of er veel allochtonen lid zijn van uw organisatie?
 - i. *Als weet niet*: Wat denkt u?
 - c. Zijn er allochtonen betrokken in het uitvoeren van vrijwilligerswerk?
 - i. *Als 'weet niet'*: Wat denkt u?
 - ii. *Als 'ja'*: Zijn dit er veel?
 - d. Wordt het ontbreken van allochtonen als lid en/of vrijwilliger als een probleem gezien door de organisatie?
6. Wat ziet u als voornaamste oorzaak voor het ontbreken van allochtonen in uw natuurgebieden?
 - i. *Als 'weet niet'*: Wat denkt u?

Het volgend deel van de vragen gaan over uw organisatie en hoe de organisatie zich onderscheid van andere organisaties. Ook zal ik ingaan op uw rol ten aanzien van allochtonen.

7. Hoe zou u uw organisatie beschrijven, als het gaat om de rol in de maatschappij?
 - a. Waarin onderscheid uw organisatie zich van andere natuurorganisaties?
 - b. In hoeverre vindt u dat de huidige handelingen bij het historische karakter van de organisatie passen?
 - c. Kunt u me iets vertellen over de culturele diversiteit binnen de organisatie?
8. Vind u het de taak van uw organisatie om de natuurbetrokkenheid van allochtonen te vergroten?

Tot zover de vragen over uw organisatie. Nu komen de doelgroepen van uw organisatie en allochtonen aan bod.

9. Als u iemand anders zou moeten uitleggen wat een allochtoon is, hoe zou uw organisatie een allochtoon omschrijven?

U heeft al uitgelegd dat allochtonen wel/niet als doelgroep worden gezien.

10. Is er specifiek beleid gemaakt voor allochtonen?
 - i. *Als 'ja'*: Welk beleid?
 - ii. *Als 'nee'*: Is er specifiek beleid gemaakt voor andere groepen?
 - iii. *Als 'ja'*: Welk beleid?

In het begin hebben we het al gehad over de lagere natuurbetrokkenheid van allochtonen. Ik zou nu nog graag een aantal vragen willen stellen over het vergroten van de betrokkenheid van allochtonen bij natuur.

11. Wat heeft uw organisatie in de afgelopen jaren gedaan om meer allochtonen recreanten te ontvangen?
12. Heeft uw organisatie zich in de afgelopen jaren ingezet om meer allochtone leden te krijgen?
 - i. *Als 'ja'*: Hoe dan?
 - a. En voor meer allochtone vrijwilligers?
13. Welke handelingen of projecten vinden er op dit moment plaats om meer allochtonen te betrekken bij natuur?
14. Welke ideeën heeft uw organisatie om meer allochtonen te betrekken bij natuur?
 - a. Ideeën voor betrekken als recreant?
 - b. Ideeën voor betrekken als lid en vrijwilliger?
 - c. Heeft uzelf hier nog ideeën voor?

Het interview zit er bijna op. Nu zou ik nog graag een paar vragen willen stellen over uw achtergrond.

15. Wat is uw functie binnen uw natuurorganisatie?
16. Hoe bent u betrokken met allochtonen binnen uw functie?

17. Hoe lang bent u al werkzaam voor deze organisatie?

18. Zijn er dingen die u nog graag toe wil voegen aan dit interview?

Dit waren alle vragen voor dit interview. Ik wil u graag hartelijk danken voor uw tijd.

Annex 2: Interview protocol communication

Introductie

Mijn naam is Roel van Cauwenberghe en ik studeer bos- en natuurbeheer aan Wageningen Universiteit. Ik zit nu in het laatste jaar van mijn studie en werk momenteel aan mijn master scriptie. Deze heeft tot doel inzicht te geven in de benadering van allochtonen door natuurorganisaties. De interview die ik afneem met een aantal organisaties spelen hierin een belangrijke rol. Het interview zal ongeveer 45 minuten in beslag nemen. Het interview zal worden opgenomen, en tijdens het interview zal ik ook af en toe wat noteren. De informatie uit dit interview zal alleen worden gebruikt voor de thesis.

Zijn er nog vragen naar aanleiding van mijn inleiding?

Eerst zou ik het met u willen hebben over de natuurbetrokkenheid in recreatie en vrijwilligerswerk.

1. Hoe zou u de bezoekers van uw terreinen omschrijven?
 - a. Ontbreken er bepaalde groepen in de recreatie in uw terreinen?
 - b. Wordt dit als een probleem gezien door uw organisatie?
2. Hoe zou u de leden en vrijwilligers van uw organisatie omschrijven?
 - a. Ontbreken er bepaalde groepen in het vrijwilligerswerk van uw organisatie?
 - b. Wordt dit als een probleem gezien?
3. Worden er binnen uw organisatie specifieke doelgroepen onderscheiden?
 - i. *Als 'Ja'*: Welke groepen dan?
 - b. Worden allochtonen als doelgroep gezien?
4. Wat is de etnische afkomst van de bezoekers van uw natuurterreinen?
 - i. *Als 'weet niet'*: Wat denkt u?
 - b. Wordt het ontbreken van allochtonen als een probleem gezien door de organisatie?
5. Wat is de etnische afkomst van uw leden?
 - a. *Als 'weet niet'*: Wat denkt u?
 - b. Weet u of er veel allochtonen lid zijn van uw organisatie?
 - i. *Als weet niet*: Wat denkt u?
 - c. Zijn er allochtonen betrokken in het uitvoeren van vrijwilligerswerk?
 - i. *Als 'weet niet'*: Wat denkt u?
 - ii. *Als 'ja'*: Zijn dit er veel?
 - d. Wordt het ontbreken van allochtonen als lid en/of vrijwilliger als een probleem gezien door de organisatie?
6. Wat ziet u als voornaamste oorzaak voor het ontbreken van allochtonen in uw natuurgebieden?
 - i. *Als 'weet niet'*: Wat denkt u?

Het volgend deel van de vragen gaan over uw organisatie en hoe de organisatie zich onderscheidt van andere organisaties. Ook zal ik ingaan op uw rol ten aanzien van allochtonen.

7. Hoe zou u uw organisatie beschrijven, als het gaat om de rol in de maatschappij?
 - a. Waarin onderscheidt uw organisatie zich van andere natuurorganisaties?
 - b. In hoeverre vindt u dat de huidige handelingen bij het historische karakter van de organisatie passen?
 - c. Kunt u me iets vertellen over de culturele diversiteit binnen de organisatie?
8. Vindt u het de taak van uw organisatie om de natuurbetrokkenheid van allochtonen te vergroten?

Tot zover de vragen over uw organisatie. Nu komen de doelgroepen van uw organisatie en allochtonen aan bod.

9. Als u iemand anders zou moeten uitleggen wat een allochtoon is, hoe zou uw organisatie een allochtoon omschrijven?
10. Op welke manieren wordt er gecommuniceerd naar allochtonen?
 - a. Op een andere manier dan naar autochtonen?
11. Vindt u dat er voldoende communicatie plaatsvindt richting allochtonen?
 - i. *Als 'ja'*: Is deze communicatie effectief?
 - ii. *Als 'nee'*: Hoe zou het beter kunnen?
12. Hoe wordt er aandacht besteed aan allochtonen in promotiemateriaal als flyers of magazines en via de website?
 - a. Hoe wordt het samengesteld?
 - b. En hoe worden de afbeeldingen gekozen?

In het begin hebben we het al gehad over de lagere natuurbetrokkenheid van allochtonen. Ik zou nu nog graag een aantal vragen willen stellen over het vergroten van de betrokkenheid van allochtonen bij natuur.

13. Wat heeft uw organisatie in de afgelopen jaren gedaan om meer allochtonen recreanten te ontvangen?
 - a. Op het gebied van communicatie?
14. Heeft uw organisatie zich in de afgelopen jaren ingezet om meer allochtone leden te krijgen?
 - i. *Als 'ja'*: Hoe dan?
 - b. En voor meer allochtone vrijwilligers?
 - c. Op het gebied van communicatie?
15. Welke handelingen of projecten vinden er op dit moment plaats om meer allochtonen te betrekken bij natuur?
 - a. Op het gebied van communicatie?
16. Welke ideeën heeft uw organisatie om meer allochtonen te betrekken bij natuur?

- a. Ideeën voor betrekken als recreant?
- b. Ideeën voor betrekken als lid en vrijwilliger?
- c. Heeft uzelf hier nog ideeën voor?

Het interview zit er bijna op. Nu zou ik nog graag een paar vragen willen stellen over uw achtergrond.

- 17. Wat is uw functie binnen uw natuurorganisatie?
- 18. Hoe bent u betrokken met allochtonen binnen uw functie?
- 19. Hoe lang bent u al werkzaam voor deze organisatie?
- 20. Zijn er dingen die u nog graag toe wil voegen aan dit interview?

Dit waren alle vragen voor dit interview. Ik wil u graag hartelijk danken voor uw tijd.