



Figure 1: Blokkeerfriezen waving the Frisian flag (Van den Berg, 2018)

The Frisian flag as a symbol for Frisian identity

MASTER THESIS

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Abstract

Frisians wave their flag at various occasions. This research investigates this use and looks into the meaning of the Frisian flag for Frisians. This is done with a quantitative survey measuring the extent to which Frisians associate their flag with 26 different concepts and 12 different emotions, based on Becker et al. (2017). Furthermore, the level of patriotism is measured along with the level of 'flag identity'. With a Principal Axis Factor (PAF) analysis, four factors of general concepts were unraveled. Of these factors, Frisians have the strongest associations with egalitarian related concepts, while aggression related concepts score lowest. Further, Frisians associate positive emotions with their flag with 'pride' having the highest score. Correlations between the several items were measured with a Pearson correlation test. This test showed that people with greater patriotic feelings for Fryslân have a higher level of 'flag identity' and give a higher score on positive emotions. Despite the high level of flag identity and the power of the flag, official authorities in Fryslân do not make use of the flag. It is advised to include a policy on flag use in order to strengthen 'Frisianness' in the province. Lastly, the paper introduces 'flag identity' and shows that it is a valid and effective way to measure the level of identifying to a flag.

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1. Introduction

CONTEXT DESCRIPTION

At the entry of Sinterklaas, a sort of Dutch Santa Clause, in the Frisian city of Dokkum in 2017, so-called 'blokkeerfriezen' blocked the main road to the town so anti-Black Pete protesters could not reach the city. The last years, discussion about the look and skin-color of the servants of Sinterklaas, Black Petes, has grown. Opponents claim that this is a racist phenomenon; others see it as a folklore tradition of the Netherlands that has no harm in it. While the blokkeerfriezen were blocking the road, they waved with pro black Pete banners and with Frisian flags (Van den Berg, 2018). The former is understandable, because this blockade is about a dispute about the skin colour of the servants of Sinterklaas. The latter, waving the Frisian flag, however, seems strange. Why are these people waving the flag of their province?



Figure 2: Battle at Warns remembrance (Deelstra, 2018)

Another example of the waving of the Frisian flag can be seen at the memorial of the battle at Warns. Once a year, this battle is remembered and the Frisian anthem is played followed by a horn signal. The crowd silences and in the middle of the terrain, the Frisian flag is hoisted. After that, the first song is 'het flaggeliet' (a song about the Frisian flag). Betten (2012, p.60) notes that an anti-Holland vibe is present at this memorial, which is emphasised by the fact that at the commemoration in 1992 participant from the militant extreme right surprised the organisation with their presence. They used the Battle at Warns commemoration to spread Fascist ideas. After this, there was discussion about the way of commemorating. There were voices that wanted to stop with the flag hoisting and the horn signal (De Ried, 1995, in Betten, 2013).

However, the board members did not agree with that and the remembrance remained unchanged. This emphasizes the importance of the Frisian flag. Furthermore, at the 'Fryslân 500' event, which was mainly about the promotion of the external image of Fryslân (Betten, 2013), the sale of the Frisian flag increased three times (Heite, 1998).

These examples of the use of the Frisian flag by the 'blokkeerfriezen' and at the remembrance of the Battle at Warns raise the question to investigate the use of this flag on a deeper basis. For this research, I will look into the use of flags in general throughout the years in different contexts, by whom and for what purposes they were used. Furthermore, the meaning that people assign to the Frisian flag and the extent to which people identify with it will be investigated. Besides that, I will discuss the level of patriotism of the respondents. By doing this, we can get insight in which people identify more with the Frisian flag and to what extent the flag as a symbol is representative for the inhabitants of the province of Fryslân.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

According to Hofstede's onion model of culture (Hofstede, 2001), a certain culture consists of a core with values surrounded by layers of rituals, heroes and symbols. The layers can be learned through practices, except for the core: this stand for the inner cultural values. The model assumes that symbols, such as a flag, are the most superficial ones. It can be argued whether this is correct, as national flags represent group memberships and strong emotional attachments felt for one's nation (Butz, 2009). I wonder if this is also the case for the Frisian flag, given the extensive amount of flag waving and the patriotic history of the Fryslân area. Is the flag really just a superficial symbol, or a piece of cloth, or is there more meaning to it? Besides that, some individuals may have rather positive associations with national symbols, whereas others may have negative associations with the same symbol (Butz, 2009). This leads to the following main research question:

To what extent do the inhabitants of Fryslân identify with the Frisian flag, what meaning do they attach to it and how can authorities use this in official communication messages?

The main question can be divided in the following sub-questions:

1. *What is the use of flags?*
2. *To what extent do the inhabitants of Fryslân identify with the Frisian flag?*
3. *What is the meaning of the Frisian flag for the inhabitants of Fryslân?*
4. *How can authorities in Fryslân use the Frisian flag in official communication messages?*

The research questions will be answered through desk research and an online survey among Frisians.

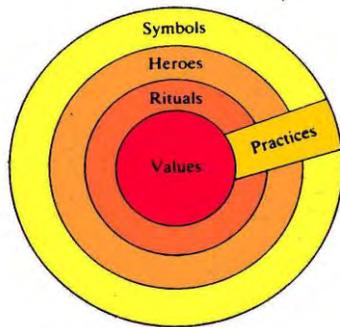


Figure 3: Onion model of culture (Hofstede, 2001)

2. Theoretical framework

THE USE OF FLAGS

According to the Cambridge dictionary (2019), a flag is ‘a piece of cloth, usually rectangular and attached to a pole at one edge, that has a pattern that shows it represents a country or a group, or has a particular meaning.’ In this section, the use of this piece of cloth through the years will be discussed with a prominent role for the last aspect of the definition: the particular meaning of the flag.

Flags have a long history and are one of the most widespread national artefacts. In ancient times, objects that would resemble flags nowadays were already in use. This goes back to the crusades, where Christian soldiers carried their cross flags with them (Jaskulowski, 2015). Elgenius (2007) noted that the first time flags were used outside of the context of religion and warfare was in early modern Europe for sailing, when trading companies such as the VOC started to use banners to identify themselves at sea. So, a secular group of people could be associated with a particular flag. This development helped to pave the way for their modern usage as national symbols. Furthermore, in this period flag design was in the process of standardization, which also helped in achieving a basis for modern national flags.

National flags are relatively modern phenomena and were introduced approximately around the French and American revolutions (Testi, 2010, in Jaskulowski, 2015). This was a special event, because for the first time in history, people associated the sovereignty of the nation with a banner instead of with a king or queen. A flag possesses the power to acquire an inclusive and egalitarian meaning to all citizens and is not just for privileged groups (Elgenius, 2007). The flag serves as a metonymy of the nation, because a nation is such an abstract concept that it can only be understood in terms of metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, in Jaskulowski, 2015). Besides that, a nation should be understood as an imagined community, which is in itself a social construct (B. Anderson, 1991).

Flags are present at national ceremonies, all kinds of events and in daily life. Further, flags are concrete, visible and easy to understand. That makes flags 'banal reminders of nationhood' for citizens (Billig, 1995). On top of that, flags seem to have a mythical origin given the amount of poems and songs about flag or the fact that the United States took their flag even into outer space (Jaskulowksi, 2015). In contrast to the American assumption that a physical flag has intrinsic value as, Jarman (2007, in Jaskulowski, 2015) noted that, in the case of Northern Ireland, flags become meaningful only in the context of some action. It is the activity that gives meaning to the flag. This is time and place dependent.

Besides the standard, often rectangular, flag, flags can also be 'defaced' by being altered in clothing or souvenirs. This "omnipresence of the flag" emphasizes its magical power, Jaskulowksi (2015) states. National symbols are conceptual representations of group membership, which is also the case for other group symbols in for example religions. A national symbol represents the nation. Besides that, it also curtails the knowledge, values, history and memories people associate with that nation (Firth, 1973, in Butz, 2009). Furthermore, it not only contains values, it evokes emotional attachment and brings both concepts and emotions associated with the nation to mind (Billig, 1995).

According to Billig (1995), nations in which there is disruption or efforts to infuse nationalistic sentiments, such as may be the case in Fryslân, are likely to experience intense 'flag-waving' by nationalists. These people may use these symbols to strengthen the sense of unity and belongingness because they feel like they are in a threat (Davies et al., 2008, in Butz, 2009). Further, they use it to increase a sense of psychological identification with the nation and to promote a sense of unity among individual members of 'their group' whereas symbols erode boundaries between personal and group identities (Butz, 2009).

Flags have the power to make a distinction between in-group and out-group members. This was already the case on battlefield where people could distinguish between people on 'your side' and on 'their side' (Gesielser, 2005, in Butz, 2009). Symbols, and thus flags, are direct indicators of loyalty and play an important role in drawing boundaries between groups. Therefore, it may be interesting to look into symbols of subgroups in a nation such as the Frisian within the Netherlands. Moreover, symbols have the potential to function as symbols of dissent in conflicts. This is for example the case in the United States in the conflict over the display of the confederate flag (Bonner, 2002). Besides, people who identify more with their nation react stronger to national symbols than people who identify less with their nation (Butz, 2009) Therefore, the case of Fryslân is interesting considering that Frisians can both identify with the Netherlands and with Fryslân.

The national flag is a strong natural medium with which someone can express his views about a nation. This use leads to controversy and often to emotional reactions. It can serve as a medium of political expression or to express national pride and national identity. This can be both be done in innocuous ways, for example at sporting events, and less innocuous ways (Gelber, 2012). Furthermore, the flag is often seen as a sacred cultural object whose use may cause reactions and censure. These strong ties to national flags are visible in for example people's strong reactions to flag burning (Helwig & Prencipe, 1999, in Butz, 2009). Gelber (2012) concludes with the comment

that national flags 'assume a special symbolic importance, representing our national identity'. Therefore, it seems that flags are more than superficial symbols of culture. In the next sector, the background of the province of Fryslân is addressed in order to unravel the history and cultural identity of the province.

FRYSLÂN

To understand Fryslân and Frisian nationalism, it is necessary to look into Dutch nationalism as well, as the two are interconnected. Frisian nationalism can be seen as the opposite of Dutch nationalism. The province of Fryslân is an identifiable territory and the inhabitants of Fryslân often distinguish themselves from other citizens of the Netherlands with the use of the Frisian language. Of the two, Fryslân is the older entity as around 500 B.C. the first mounds emerged and a tribe called Frisians had contact with the Romans. Around the year 700, Fryslân was at its height as it covered the area along the coast from Flanders up to the Weser. This area was then called 'Magna Frisia'. Since then, Frisians have created a distinctive landscape within they have evolved their unique culture and a specific 'Frisian way of life' (Penrose, 1990).

The Dutch on the other hand became more powerful and achieved the status of 'world leader' in the 17th century. This Dutch Republic gained, after an 80-year struggle, independence in 1579 by breaking away from a 'larger' Netherlands ruled by Spain. The seven Northern provinces united into the Republic of the Seven United Provinces, of which Fryslân was one, and ruled the world until the end of the seventeenth century (Maddison, 2006). Subsequently, the Batavian Republic emerged in 1795 as the first centralized Dutch state. In order to do built a nation-state, they borrowed from the experiences from the French in 1789 and started to build their nation by establishing a strong national government in 1795. Thereafter, they could focus on the building of cultural unity to generate loyalty to the state. This was done by: 1. Promoting Dutch history and language. 2. Building a national army. 3. Creating national media and use it for propaganda. 4. Creating national symbols, such as a national flag. By doing so, the state evoked a sense of patriotism towards the nation within their newly created state. (Penrose, 1990). The flag of the Batavian Republic was officially adopted on February 14 in 1796 as the only national flag (Quarles, 1796).

Some Frisians resisted to this dominant power of the Dutch state. A subservience relation between the Dutch and the Frisians was created through a process of 'hegemony' (Gramsci, 1930, in Penrose, 1990). According to Gramsci, there will always be resistance to a dominant group. Therefore, the response of the Frisians made sense. Whereas Frisian nationalism was mainly based on culture and romanticism about the Frisian language, this development of hegemony lead to a change in Frisian nationalism. The Frisians claimed that they had a right to linguistic and cultural freedom and they demanded political and social autonomy and resistance to the Dutch grew. The Dutch universalization was being seen as a threat for Fryslân and Frisian nationalists started to promote Frisian as an integral part of their living culture. The Dutch state responded and in 1937 regional dialects were allowed to be taught at school (Smith, 1981 in Penrose, 1990).

However, some Frisians were still not satisfied. They felt that their fundamental rights were under threat of the Dutch. This was the basis for the establishment of the Frisian National Party in 1961. This political party presented itself as an alternative that would draw attention to the Frisian interest in Dutch politics. By doing so, the FNP gave 'Frisianness' a position of political priority by taking it out of the realm of folklore (Penrose, 1991) Nowadays, the FNP operates at a provincial level and still has a strong focus on cultural and linguistic issues. Its conception of Frisian nationalism is that Fryslân is a cultural and linguistic unit and it is based on the historic development of Fryslân. This history is "...based on self-respect, and self-awareness of the Frisian people, however that is influenced and based on indisputable rights to exist freely, to express opinion and to some form of territorial autonomy" (FNP, 1988 , in Van der Zwet, 2015). The aim of the FNP is to preserve the Frisian language and culture, to protect the Frisian countryside and to protect Frisianness. They want to do so, however, without excluding non-Frisian outsiders. FNP's view on Frisianness is not shared by all Frisians. Some are not comfortable with the focus on language and culture (Van der Zwet, 2011, in Van der Zwet, 2015). The members of the party do see the language as of great importance, alongside with the fact that people should feel Frisian. At the provincial elections in 2019, the FNP received 8% of the votes in Fryslân. Making it the fifth party of the province (Kiesraad, 2019).

Overall, the FNP has tried to counter Dutch nationalism and established to push culture into their political view where it can serve as a party that serves people with a strong Frisian identity. However, most Frisians have come to accept that the values of the more powerful Dutch are the 'natural' order and that the Dutch language and culture are in a way hegemonic to their own (Penrose, 1990). This shows the effectiveness of the Dutch attempt of nation building in which they tried to culturally homogenize the citizens (Kuzio, 2002, in Van der Zwet, 2015). The winners write the history. The dominant group does not have to defend its uniqueness, because it is seen as absolute and undisputable (Betten, 2013, p. 43). The success of the dominant power can be seen through the imposition of its ideology and dominating traces as 'common sense' on other groups (J. Anderson, 2015). The dominant group, in this case the Dutch, defines the cultural order while authorizing its own version of reality as the 'official' or 'natural' one. J. Anderson (2015) makes a distinction between several cultural traces: natural, normal or novel. Natural traces will be described by the dominating group as 'right', or 'good' or 'essential'. Normal traces are seen as 'mainstream' or 'orthodox', but are not natural yet. Lastly, novel traces are seen as 'dangerous', 'risky' or 'inappropriate' in certain places. In Fryslân, most Frisians see the use of Dutch as a natural trace. The FNP, however, tries to show that it is at best a normal trace by introducing Frisian as a novel trace.

Further, the Frisians achieved in 2005 that the Dutch government acknowledged Frisians as the only other cultural group within the state borders (Bazelmans, in Betten, 2013, p.7). Further, Germany has also recognized Frisians with a German passport as a national minority (Van Mierlo, 1995). Betten acknowledges that Frisian nationalism was not an objective activity but more of a social construct. When there was nothing suitable, they could invent traditions: a flag, an anthem and traditional costumes (Hobsbawn & Ranger, 1983, in Betten, 2013, p.67). Exemplary in this creation of Frisian identity is the concept of 'othering'; the Frisians want to

oppose themselves to the Dutch as a resistance to a dominant force (Haartsen, in Betten, 2013, p, 129). Moreover, Betten looked into criteria to identify someone as Frisian. He took the following five criteria from Gorter et al (1994, in Betten, 2013, p. 165): Speak Frisian, live in Fryslân, born in Fryslân, have parents that speak Frisian, consider yourself a Frisian. It turned out that, according to Betten (2013), the most important criterion was 'speaking Frisian', followed by 'feeling Frisian' and 'being born in Fryslân'. Further, he found that the extent to which people found the Frisian language, culture and identity of importance was larger for older people. This was also the case for thoughts on identity and ethnicity

FRISIAN FLAG

In 1956, The 'Fryske Academy' did extensive research on the origin of the Frisian flag (Fryske Akademy, 1956, in Echtfriesevlag.nl, n.d.) and they found the first reference to the flag just after the year 1085. This reference relates to the legend of the brothers Friso, Saxo and Bruno. Friso became the first king of Fryslân. On the painting, he is visible with his coat of arms: a blue shield with three silver diagonal stripes, with in between them seven red leaves of the water lily.

In the decades that followed, this image occurs at several occasions in several forms. Sometimes with more than seven lilies, sometimes with hearts instead of lilies or with three stripes instead of four. Nowadays, the official description of the Frisian flag, as proposed by the provincial executive at October 14 in 1897 is:

A flag of seven slanting strips of equal width, alternating cobalt blue and white; the centerline of the middle strip beginning at the top of the pants-side and going from corner to corner; the white strips are loaded with seven scarlet water lily leaves perpendicular to the axis of the strip and placed 2:3:2. (Echtfriesevlag.nl, n.d.)

However, it took until 1957 on July 9 until the province of Fryslân officially established the flag and until it was offered for conformation to the Queen. This was also the moment at which the form and layout of the flag with the water lily leaves was officially mathematically determined.

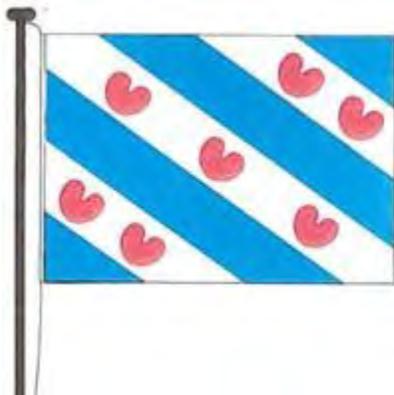


Figure 4: 'konstruksje tekening van de offisjele Fryske Flagge' (Wagemakers & Koopmans, 1954)

NATIONALISM AND PATRIOTISM

The idea of nationalism stems from the 18th century and is defined by Penrose (1990) as ‘the pursuit of the idea that political and cultural boundaries should coincide’ In doing so, it promotes states that comprise one cultural group of people as ‘the nation’. This process of creating a ‘nation-state’ is the main focus of nationalism (Penrose, 1990). According to B. Anderson (1991), nationalism is a process of inventing a nation where it does not exist and thus the community in it is invented. Van der Zwet (2015) adds to that that a person’s attachment to a nation, or national identity, is not only defined from within, through imagined communities (B. Anderson, 1991), but also from outside the group (Triandafyllidou, 1998, in Van der Zwet, 2015). As a conclusion, all concepts of national identity create boundaries between in- and out-group

In the construction of nationalism, history plays an important role (Penrose, 1990). This is also noted by Haartsen et al. (2000) for the construction of national or regional identities: “Although the past is clearly of importance in the shaping of regional identities, identity is not just the commemorating or preservation of tradition and the past. Identities are constructed in the present, and claimants of identities have goals regarding the here and now, or even the future. This means that continuities and discontinuities are present at the same time.” Nationalists have a strong national attachment, which is a feeling of close personal attachment to one’s nation or state. According to Johnson (1997, in Butz, 2009), this national attachment is a strong force that has been part of all successful societies for thousands of years.

The basis for nationalism is national pride, or patriotism, and this goes often hand-in-hand with ideas of national dominance and superiority (Schatz & Lavine, 2007, in Becker et al, 2017). Based on this, Becker et al. (2017) assumed that nationalists might associate power and dominance with their flag. For patriotists, however, more positive emotions and fewer negative associations were expected because patriotists are defined by the love for their country. They found out that the more nationalistic and patriotic people felt about their country, the more they associated egalitarianism and positive emotions with their flag. In the eyes of patriots, the flag is equal to the national identity and not just a symbol or a piece of cloth. The flag is an embodiment of the hopes of the nation (Schwarzkopf, 2008, in Jaskulowski, 2015).

As mentioned earlier, flags are strong symbols to promote nationalism. The confederate flag for example was sanctified and devotion to the confederate flag meant devotion to the nation. With this specific example, a wartime flag culture existed and the flag was associated with patriotism and battlefield valor. The fortune of the Confederacy depended on the willingness of citizens to honor the flag and, moreover, the willingness to die and kill for the flag (Bonner, 2002).

Besides that, the strong ‘flag culture’ was manifested in songs and poems. This is also the case in Fryslân, where the ‘Flaggeliet’ (or ‘flag song’) was played at the battle at Warns memorial (Betten, 2013, p.60). So flags are praised in songs, but also by heroes, which is one step closer to the center of the onion model of culture (Hofstede, 2001). In the case of the Confederate flag, war heroes that died for their flag were worshipped. In Fryslân, images of Grutte Pier, a Frisian hero, are combined with images of the Frisian flag on nationalist Facebook pages (Betten, 2013, p. 29)

PLACE IDENTITY AND FLAG IDENTITY

In order to measure the extent to which Frisians identify with their flag, I will make use of statements that were used in research on place identity (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001; Williams & Vaske, 2003). Of course, these statements will be altered to be suitable for the measurement of identifying to a flag instead of to a place.

Williams and Vaske (2003) see place identity as part of the bigger concept of place attachment, together with place dependence. They define place attachment as “a positive connection or bond between a person and a particular place”. Place identity in turn, refers to an emotional attachment. While place dependence is a measurement of functional attachment to a place (Williams & Vaske, 2003). I will only focus on the flag identity, however, as I presume that there is no such thing as flag dependence. To define flag identity, the concept of place identity has to be deliberated on first.

“Place identity is the symbolic importance of place as a repository for emotions and relations that give meaning and purpose to life” (Williams and Roggenbuck, 1989; Shamai, 1999; Giuliani and Feldman, 1993, as cited in Williams and Vaske, 2003). It is a component of self-identity, that enhances self-esteem and it increases feelings of belonging to one’s community (Proshansky et al. 1983; Korpela, 1989; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1980, in Williams & Vaske, 2003). Place identity involves in general a psychological investment with that place that develops over time (Giuliani & Feldman, 1993, in Williams & Vaske, 2003). Other scholars that did research on place identity defined it as ‘those dimensions of self that define the individual’s personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals and behavioral tendencies and skills relevant to this environment’ (Proshansky, 1978, as cited in Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001). Based on this, I define Flag identity as “the symbolic importance of a flag as repository for emotions and relations that give meaning to life and increases feelings of belonging to one’s community”.

Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) found out that place attachment, of which place identity is an element, increases with age. This might also be the case for flag identity. Consequently, it can be that the level of identifying with a flag grows with age or with years of living in the area the flag represents. Therefore, it can be useful to ask for age and years of residence in the province of Fryslân.

Table 1 show the statements from Williams and Vaske (2003) that were used in this project. In their research, ‘X’ stands for the place that is studied. Here, it stands for the Frisian flag in order to measure ‘flag identity’. One statement from Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) was used; they measured the level of identifying to a lake property. Here, ‘My lake property’ is adjusted into ‘the Frisian flag’.

Table 1: Place identity and flag identity

Place identity	Flag identity
<i>I feel "X" is a part of me.</i>	<i>I feel like the Frisian flag is a part of me.</i>
<i>"X" is very special to me.</i>	<i>The Frisian flag is very special to me.</i>
<i>I identify strongly with "X".</i>	<i>I identify strongly with the Frisian flag.</i>
<i>I am very attached to "X".</i>	<i>I am very attached to the Frisian flag.</i>
<i>"X" means a lot to me.</i>	<i>The Frisian flag means a lot me.</i>
<i>My lake property says very little about who I am.</i>	<i>The Frisian flag says very little about who I am.</i>

3. Research area description

As mentioned earlier, this research looks into the meaning Frisians attach to the Frisian flag. Therefore it makes logical sense to conduct the research among Frisians. Fryslân is a province in the north of the Netherlands with approximately 650,000 inhabitants (CBS, 2019). However, not every inhabitant of the province is necessarily a Frisian to everyone. According to Betten (2013), there is a group that sees themselves as Frisian, but that is not always acknowledged or accepted as such by other self-declared Frisians. These are for example the Dutch-speaking, the Stellingwerwers, the Leeuwarders, the Bilkerts or the Harlingers. However, every region has its oddities and it is almost impossible to come to one general image of Fryslân. Therefore, I chose to include the whole province of Fryslân in this research. Furthermore, also people who identify as Frisian but that do not live in Fryslân or that were not even born in it, were considered. This criterion of what is a Frisian was based on earlier research by Betten (2013). He found out that, along with being born in the province and speaking the language, one of the most important facets that make someone Frisian is the fact whether this person feels Frisian or not: "How do you know whether you are Frisian or not? The Sioux Indians use the following: you are one if you feel Sioux. So, you are Frisian if you feel Frisian." (Betten, 2013, p.83).

4. Methodology

To uncover the meaning of the Frisian flag and the level of identifying to it, I used a quantitative method. An online survey was conducted for this research, which was spread via Facebook and WhatsApp. In the message, I specifically asked for Frisians to fill it in. By doing this, the chances

that non-suitable respondents would participate would be lower. When spreading the message and the survey, I specifically asked people to send it through to other Frisians. With this method of snowball sampling (Valentine, in Clifford et al, 2010) 893 surveys were collected. This high number is due to the involvement of a local newspaper, called the Leeuwarder Courant. The paper called me and wrote an article about my thesis. In this article, they also shared the link to the survey, which led to a substantial growth in respondents.

Becker et al. (2017) examined the concepts and emotions people associate with their national flag, and how these associations are related to nationalism and patriotism. Their research was used as a starting point for this research on the Frisian flag. They measured the associations that people had with their national flag with 26 general concepts and 12 different emotions. These concepts were based on earlier work by Butz and Kunstman (2012, in Becker et al., 2017). The concepts contain one-word attributes and respondents could indicate to what extent they associated the Frisian flag with the given concept. This was measured on a 5-point Likert-scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The same method and scale was used to measure the emotions people felt when looking at the Frisian flag using the sentence: "when I look at the Frisian flag, I feel...". On top of the survey, I displayed an image of the Frisian flag.

Besides that, I also measured the level of Patriotism of the respondents. This was done by using four items (Kosterman & Fesbach, 1989, in Becker et al., 2017), such as "I love my Country". The statements were altered for this specific case study on Fryslân, so the latter statement was used in the survey as "I love Fryslân". Furthermore, the level of Patriotism was also measured for The Netherlands in order to make a comparison. So the statement above would be "I love The Netherlands". These items were also assessed on a 5-point Likert scale.

In earlier studies, the items were assessed on a 9-point Likert scale for the concepts and emotions and on a 7-point Likert-scale for patriotism. However, given the length of the survey, I chose to scale down to a 5-point scale in order to limit the frustration level of respondents and to increase the response rate (Babakus & Mangold, 1992).

In order to measure the extent to which people identify with the Frisian flag, I took five statements by Williams and Vaske (2003) and one by Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) on place identity. Of course, these statements measure the level of identifying with a place, so they had to be altered to 'flag identity statements' as, for example: "I identify strongly with the Frisian flag".

The statements, concepts and emotions were all translated to Dutch for the survey. This was also for the sake of the respondents, who were all Dutch/Frisian. However, the meaning of some words may have differed a bit from the concepts used by Becker et al. (2017) because some meanings may get lost in translation.

Furthermore, control questions have been asked about demographic data such as gender, year of birth and postal code. Besides that, respondents could also indicate the number of years they have lived in the province and whether they were born in the province of Fryslân or not. Another control question was "I feel Frisian". With this question, the respondent could indicate the extent

to which they feel Frisian on a 5-point Likert scale. These latter two questions were used to select 'Frisians' in the SPSS dataset. Apart from that, individuals can identify with several social and cultural groups or even more than one nation (Butz, 2009). Therefore, both the extent to which people identify as Frisian and as Dutch were measured. Alongside with that, the level of Patriotic feelings were both measured for Fryslân and The Netherlands.

In order to reduce the data, a Principal Axis Factor analysis with Promax rotation was conducted to detect different factor structures that reflect representations of flags in terms of salient concepts (Becker et al, 2017). This method was selected because it was also used by Becker et al. (2017) in their research on flags associations. Since I use the same concepts and emotions in the survey, the method of analysing is almost the same. Becker et al. (2017) namely use a MAP test as an extraction method, which is a variant of the Principal Axis Factor (PAF) analysis. With the PAF, different factors could be detected from the concepts and emotions.

After the PAF analysis, correlations between the several items were explored and calculated. Although the data are measured on a Likert scale, they can be analysed with a parametric test without coming to the wrong conclusion (Norman, 2010; Murray, 2013). A Pearson correlation test was therefore conducted. In doing so, correlations between for example patriotism and positive emotions could be analysed.

5. Results and analysis

In the analysis, a case was selected if the respondents feel Frisian or if they were born in Fryslân. When a case did not meet either of these criteria, the case was filtered out. This is based on the assumptions of Betten (2013). After this selection, 831 cases remained. 441 of them identified as male, 376 as female, 12 persons identified as other and 2 answers were missing. The age of the respondents varied from 11 to 90 with a mean age of 47 (SD=16.8). On average, they have lived in the province of Fryslân for 37.9 years (SD=17.8).

In the analysis, the 'no opinion' answers were added to the 'neutral' category, as no opinion can also be interpreted as a neutral opinion (Sturgis et al, 2014). The principal axis analysis suggested four different factors (explained variance: 68.3%). The strongest factor contained mostly egalitarian concepts ($\alpha=0.97$). These were the concepts of kindness, equality, strength, freedom, justice, morality, achievement, tolerance, humanity, peace, democracy, honour and tradition. The second factor contained mainly aggression related concepts ($\alpha=0.89$), namely aggression, violence, war and weakness. The third factor contains power and obedience-related concepts ($\alpha=0.80$): power, competitiveness, obedience, prestige, dominance, conformity and concern. The fourth factor consists of sports-related concepts ($\alpha=0.83$), namely sport and football. Based on the calculated means of the several concepts, tradition, freedom and honour came out to be the strongest associated with the Frisian flag. War, aggression, violence and weakness received the lowest mean scores. Besides that, the means of the four factors (egalitarianism, aggression, power-obedience and sports) could be calculated. The egalitarian factor, which has thirteen concepts in it, scored highest with a mean of 3.79 (N=724) followed by the sports factor (sports

and football), with a mean of 3.33 (N=772). The power-obedience factor, with seven concepts in it, received a mean score of 2.82 (N=731) while the aggression factor, containing four concepts, scored lowest with a mean of 1.61 (N=760).

On an emotional basis, Frisians feel pride when they look at their flag, followed by the three other positive emotions: joy, happiness and hope. All negative emotions receive low scores, with anger, guilt and disgust as the lowest scoring emotions. With a principal axis analysis with promax rotation factor analysis, a division between four positive ($\alpha=0.89$. Pride, joy, happiness and hope) and eight negative emotions ($\alpha=0.94$. Anger, guilt, disgust, shame, fear, anxiety, hate and fury) was identified. Overall, the mean of all negative emotions was 1.44 (N=773) while the four positive emotions have a mean of 3.99 (N=777).

I calculated the means based on the factors that came out of the factor analysis. Besides that, I converted the outcomes of the several flag identity statements into one variable and did the same with the outcomes of the patriotism questions for Fryslân. For the several flag identity statements, the Cronbach's alpha was 0.94. This means that the statements have a high reliability and thus one general 'flag identity' value can be calculated based on the statements. For the patriotism statements of Fryslân ($\alpha=0.89$) and The Netherlands ($\alpha=0.90$), Cronbach's alpha indicated a high reliability as well. Because of the high reliability, averages could be computed for flag identity and both patriotisms. All flag identity statements were converted into 'flag identity', which received a mean score of 3.62 (N=782). The average score for Frisian Patriotism was 4.38 (N=819), while Dutch patriotism scored slightly lower with a mean of 3.85 (N=818).

Table 2: Descriptive statistics

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Egalitarian concepts	724	3.79	1.05
Aggression concepts	760	1.61	.82
Power-obedience concepts	731	2.82	.85
Sports concepts	772	3.33	1.27
Negative emotions	773	1.44	.71
Positive emotions	777	3.99	.99
Patriotism Fryslân	819	4.38	.96
Patriotism Netherlands	818	3.85	.93
Flag identity	782	3.62	1.11

All items were measured on a 5-point Likert scale. These were ordinal variables, but for this analysis, they are treated as scale variables. This can be done "without coming to a wrong conclusion" (Norman, 2010). In doing so, the means of the several factors, flag identity statements and patriotism statements can be calculated and used for further tests.

FRISIAN PATRIOTISM

With a Pearson correlation analysis, correlations between the several variables were explored. I did this for Frisian patriotism first and compared it with the factors and emotions that came out

of the principal axis factor analysis. The analysis showed strong to moderate positive correlations between Frisian patriotism and the egalitarian factor ($p=.000$, $r=.616$, $N=719$), the power-obedience factor ($p=.000$, $r=.302$, $N=726$) and the sports factor ($p=.000$, $r=.268$, $N=766$). Thus, the higher Frisian patriotism, the higher these factors score. On the other hand, a negative correlation exists between Frisian patriotism and the aggression factor ($p=.000$, $r=-.308$, $N=753$). A high Frisian patriotism score thus indicates a low score on the aggression factor.

Besides that, strong positive correlations exist between Frisian patriotism and Flag identity ($p=.000$, $r=.767$, $N=778$) and Frisian patriotism and positive emotions ($p=.000$, $r=.756$, $N=772$). These are visualized in figures 5 and 6. Simultaneously, the higher Frisian patriotism, the lower negative emotions score ($p=.000$, $r=-.595$, $N=766$). This is a strong negative correlation. Lastly, a weak positive correlation exists between Frisian patriotism and Dutch patriotism ($p=.001$, $r=.119$, $N=881$).

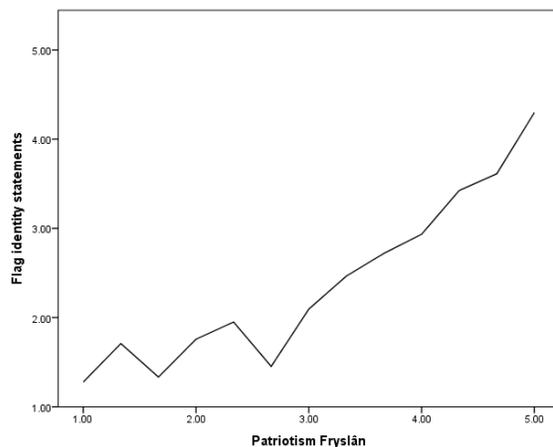


Figure 5: Flag identity and Frisian patriotism

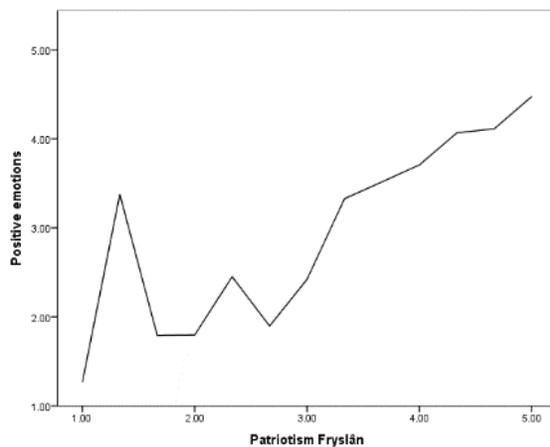


Figure 6: Positive emotions and Frisian patriotism

YEARS OF RESIDENCE

Further, Pearson correlation tests were carried out for years of residence in the province of Fryslân with the other variables. Weak positive correlations were uncovered for years of residence in Fryslân and Frisian patriotism ($p=.026$, $r=.079$, $N=805$), Flag identity ($p=.015$, $r=.087$, $N=770$), the aggression factor ($p=.000$, $r=.148$, $N=750$) and the sports factor ($p=.028$, $r=.080$, $N=761$). Thus, the longer someone has lived in the province of Fryslân, the higher their level of Frisian patriotism and their flag identity. Further, the aggression factor and sports factor receive higher scores from people that have lived longer in the province of Fryslân. However, although significant, all these correlations are weak.

EMOTIONS

Based on a Pearson correlation analysis, a high score on the positive emotions correlated positively with the egalitarian factor ($p=.000$, $r=.663$, $N=708$), the power-obedience factor ($p=.000$, $r=.383$, $N=717$) and the sports factor ($p=.000$, $r=.312$, $N=750$). These r-values indicate a

moderate positive correlation. On the other hand, a high score on positive emotions correlates moderately negative with the aggression factor ($p=.000$, $r=-.309$, $N=740$). In addition, a moderate negative correlation between positive and negative emotions exists ($p=.000$, $r=-.580$, $N=760$). A high score on positive emotions thus implies a low score on negative emotions.

High negative emotion scores correlate positively with the aggression factor ($p=.000$, $r=.538$, $N=737$). Thus, when a person rates negative emotions higher, they are likely to rate aggression concepts higher as well. Contrarily, a moderate negative correlation was found between negative emotions and the egalitarian factor ($p=.000$, $r=-.463$, $N=701$). Negative emotions and the sports factor ($p=.000$, $r=-.174$, $N=747$) correlate also negatively. However, this correlation is weak.

AGE

To unravel a correlation between age and the several factors, emotions and other scores, the variable 'year of birth' had to be interpreted carefully. A high 'year of birth-score' namely indicates a younger person than a low 'year of birth-score'. With this in mind, a Pearson correlation test could be executed. This test showed weak negative correlations between year of birth and flag identity ($p=.011$, $r=-.091$, $N=768$), the aggression factor ($p=.000$, $r=-.178$, $N=747$) and the sports factor ($p=.019$, $r=-.085$, $N=758$). Thus, the younger a person is, the lower the flag identity. Similarly, the older a person is, the higher the flag identity. Further, a younger person has lower scores on the aggression factor and sports factor. It should be noted that all correlations are weak.

GENDER

Further, a T-test for independent samples was carried out in order to explore differences between the scores of men and women. Respondents that identified as 'other' were not used for this comparison as this group was too small ($N=12$). The T-test for independent samples showed some significant differences between men and women. Men rate negative emotions significantly higher than women do ($p=.003$), while women have significantly higher patriotic feelings for the Netherlands than men do ($p=.013$). Further, men rate the aggression factor ($p=.017$) and the power-obedience factor ($p=.008$) significantly higher than women. All these differences are strongly significant.

6. Discussion

Butz (2009) noted that if there would be more flags visible for the public, the level of identification with the nation would increase on an unconscious level. Besides that, the public would orientate more with the group that the flag belongs to and the concepts that are associated with this group. Therefore, it might be beneficial for the province of Fryslân to encourage the waving of the Frisian flag, in order to strengthen the Frisian identity in the province. The latter is namely one of the main policy points of the province (Province of Fryslân, 2008). They want to enlarge the visibility

of 'The Frisian', referring to the language. However, it would be fruitful to do this with more flag waving as well. A flag is in itself a visible object that seems more suitable to visualise than the Frisian language. After a desk research on the policies of province of Fryslân, I noted that the province has no policy on the Frisian flag at this moment. My advice would be to include a part on flag waving in their policy pillar 'Culture, language and education' (Province of Fryslân, n.d.).

The FNP felt that Frisian rights were under threat, so they started to promote Frisian. According to Davies et al. (2008, In Butz) groups that are in a threat are likely to use symbols, such as flags, in order to strengthen a sense of unity and belonging. However, the FNP does not mention the Frisian flag in any of their policy statements (FNP, 2019). The notion that threatened groups use flags does not appear to be the case for the FNP. Still, the FNP could shift their focus a bit to the Frisian flag, besides the Frisian language, in order to attract Frisian voters. While political parties do not use the flag actively, Frisian citizens and companies do seem to use it to a large extent. This may be in order to oppose themselves to the Dutch as a resistance to a dominant force (Haartsen, in Betten, 2013, p, 129). We should however be careful in making conclusions out of this, because I have no concrete data on the extent of flag use. What I do have, is a research that attracted attention from the biggest regional newspaper in Fryslân and of more than 800 respondents. This interest in the subject of the Frisian flag supports the notion of Gelber (2012) that flags 'assume a special symbolic importance, representing our national identity'.

The research has shown that flags are important and that they can help in strengthening the feelings of patriotism. Frisians with stronger patriotic feelings for Fryslân associate the flag more with positive and less with negative emotions. This is in line with the findings of Becker et al (2017). In their research on flag associations in 11 countries, patriotic feelings also correlated strongly with positive emotions.

Further, this paper has effectively shown that the newly developed 'flag identity' is a valid way of measuring the level of identifying with a flag. With this, additional information, besides the concepts and emotions, could be explored and the strength of the flag identity could be compared with the other data. The results have shown that flag identity increases for people with stronger patriotic feelings. Besides that, flag identity also increases for people who have lived longer in the province and older people. These correlations are, although weak, in line with Hidalgo's and Hernandez' (2001) findings that place identity increases with age.

Egalitarian concepts turned out to be associated the strongest with the flag, while aggression concepts scored lowest. The former is in agreement with Becker et al. (2017), because they already showed that countries with high patriotic scores also score high on egalitarian concepts. The latter, however, is surprising given the fact that some anti-black-Pete demonstrators view the 'blokkeerfriezen' as aggressive and these people made use of the Frisian flag in their actions (Esajas, 2019). This action of the 'blokkeerfriezen' thus seems to have no effect on the associations of Frisians with the Frisian flag. Positive emotions are more likely to be associated with the flag than negative emotions. The people that do rate the negative emotions high, also rate aggression related concepts higher. Besides that, men tend to score significantly higher than women do on

both negative emotions and aggression related concepts. However, as the differences in gender were not discussed earlier, further research in this field would be of help.

It should be noted that results may vary in time, as the Frisian identity is the product of human social activity and their meanings are contestable (Reicher & Hopkins, 2000, in Becker et al., 2017) Thus, what the Frisian flag stands for also depends on the time and circumstances of the research. Therefore, it might be interesting to replicate this research on flag associations, in for example ten years, to explore if meanings have changed. Furthermore, the same survey can be conducted in other provinces of the Netherlands to create an extent overview of the meaning of all the provincial Flags of the Netherlands. Once again, a comparison between provinces can be made.

Lastly, due to practical constraints, this paper cannot provide a comprehensive review on different flag associations and flag identity within Fryslân. Postal codes were collected, but further research should be undertaken to explore how the associations and flag identities differ per area. After this, conclusions can be drawn from it. I did create maps on flag identity and positive emotions for the four biggest places in the province: Leeuwarden, Drachten, Heerenveen and Sneek. These maps are available in appendix 3.

7. Conclusion

This research tried to find an answer on the question: ‘To what extent do the inhabitants of Fryslân identify with the Frisian flag, what meaning do they attach to it and how can authorities use this in official communication messages?’ In order to do so, a desk research and a quantitative survey among Frisians were used. The results have shown that Frisians identify strongly with the Frisian flag and that this level increase with patriotic feelings. Further, Frisians mostly associate egalitarian concepts and positive emotions with their flag. Both the Province of Fryslân and the FNP do not make use of the power of the Frisian flag. Based on this quantitative research on flag identity, patriotism and the meaning of the flag, the findings suggest that it may be fruitful for the authorities to make use of the Frisian flag in order to strengthen Frisianness.

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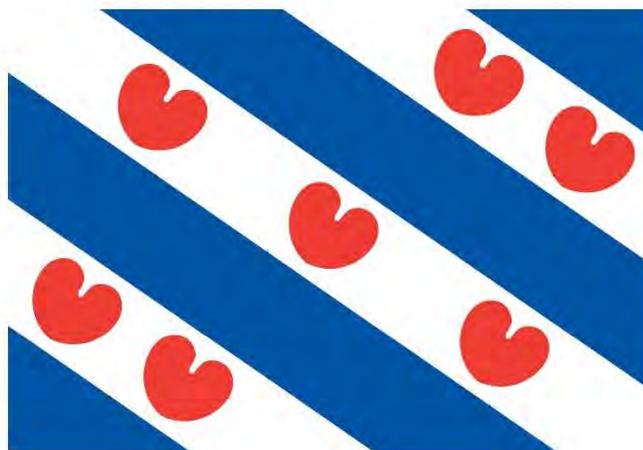
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Appendix 1: Survey

De Friese vlag en Friese identiteit

Bedankt dat u mee wilt doen aan dit onderzoek door middel van deze enquête. In dit onderzoek wordt geprobeerd de verbondenheid van de inwoners van Friesland met de Friese vlag te meten. Daarnaast wordt getracht te achterhalen wat de vlag betekent voor de inwoners van Friesland. Antwoorden op de vragen is volledig vrijwillig en dus niet verplicht. Toch wil ik u vragen de enquête zo eerlijk mogelijk in te vullen, omdat dat het onderzoek ten goede komt. De enquête is anoniem en zal niet met de media worden gedeeld.

De Friese vlag



1.

Aan welke woorden denkt u als u de Friese vlag ziet? Geef aan in hoeverre u het met de volgende woorden eens bent.

Markeer slechts één ovaal per rij.

	Helemaal mee oneens	Mee oneens	Neutraal	Mee eens	Helemaal mee eens	Geen mening
Menselijkheid	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Vriendelijkheid	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tolerantie	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Gelijkheid	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Moraliteit	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Gerechtigheid	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Vrede	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bezorgdheid	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kracht	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Vrijheid	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Democratie	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Prestige	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Prestatie	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eer	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Geweld	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Agressie	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Zwakke	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Dominantie	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Oorlog	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sport	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Voetbal	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Concurrentievermogen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Traditie	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Gehoorzaamheid	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overeenstemming	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Macht	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

2.

Geef aan in hoeverre u de volgende emoties voelt als u naar de Friese vlag kijkt. Als ik naar de Friese vlag kijk, voel ik...

Markeer slechts één ovaal per rij.

	Helemaal mee oneens	Mee oneens	Neutraal	Mee eens	Helemaal mee eens	Geen mening
Schaamte	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hoop	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Trots	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Vrees	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Boosheid	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Schuld	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Vreugde	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Angst	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Haat	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Geluk	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Woede	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Walging	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

3.

Geef u alstublieft aan in hoeverre u het met de volgende stellingen eens bent.

Markeer slechts één ovaal per rij.

	Helemaal mee oneens	Mee oneens	Neutraal	Mee eens	Helemaal mee eens	no opinion
Ik voel me Fries	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik voel me Nederlander	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik heb het gevoel dat de Friese vlag een deel van mij is	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
De Friese vlag is erg speciaal voor mij	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik identificeer mij sterk met de Friese vlag	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik ben erg gehecht aan de Friese vlag	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
De Friese vlag zegt erg weinig over wie ik ben	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
De Friese vlag betekent veel voor mij	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

4. **Geef u alstublieft aan in hoeverre u het met de volgende stellingen eens bent.**
Markeer slechts één ovaal per rij.

	Helemaal mee oneens	Mee oneens	Neutraal	Eens	Helemaal mee eens	Geen mening
Ik hou van Friesland	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik hou van Nederland	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik ben trots Fries te zijn	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik ben trots Nederlander te zijn	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Het feit dat ik Fries ben, is een belangrijk deel van mijn identiteit	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Het feit dat ik Nederlands ben, is een belangrijk deel van mijn identiteit	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

De volgende vragen zijn bedoeld als controlevragen. Deze zullen alleen gebruikt worden voor statistische doeleinden. We garanderen uw volledige anonimiteit in dit onderzoek.

5. **Wat is uw postcode?**

6. **Hoeveel jaar van uw leven heeft u in Friesland gewoond?**

7. **Bent u geboren in Friesland?**
Markeer slechts één ovaal.

Ja
 Nee

8. **Wat is uw geboortejaar?**

9.

Wat is uw geslacht?

Markeer slechts één ovaal.

- Man
- Vrouw
- Zeg ik liever niet
- Overig

10.

**Nogmaals bedankt voor uw deelname.
Als u dat wilt kunt u hier onder uw
e-mailadres invullen en krijgt u de
resultaten van het onderzoek
opgestuurd. Dit is natuurlijk volledig
vrijwillig. Email:**

Mogelijk gemaakt door
 Google Forms

Appendix 2: SPSS output

Principal axis factor analysis concepts:

Pattern Matrix^a

	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
Vrijheid	.962		-.162	
Kracht	.937			
Vriendelijkheid	.903			
Gelijkheid	.861			
Tolerantie	.836			
Eer	.821			
Gerechtigheid	.808		.131	-.104
Moraliteit	.779		.169	-.116
Vrede	.775			
Menselijkheid	.763			
Democratie	.746			
Traditie	.744		-.125	.214
Prestatie	.490		.415	
Agressie		.947		
Geweld		.929		
Oorlog		.710	.141	
Zwakte	-.131	.658		.107
Macht			.752	
Concurrentievermogen	-.124		.627	.245
Gehoorzaamheid			.512	
Prestige	.324		.496	
Dominantie		.386	.470	
Overeenstemming	.298		.426	.102
Bezorgdheid	.173	.230	.278	
Sport	.183			.765
Voetbal			.138	.759

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 7 iterations.

Principal axis factor analysis emotions:

Pattern Matrix^a

	Factor	
	1	2
Angst	,947	,217
Schuld	,910	,167
Woede	,821	
Boosheid	,797	-,129
Haat	,766	-,177
Vrees	,758	,177
Walging	,628	-,331
Schaamte	,482	-,394
Geluk	,117	,936
Vreugde		,921
Trots	-,129	,766
Hoop	,174	,753

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Descriptive emotions:

Descriptive Statistics TOTAL

	Mean	Std. Deviation	Analysis N
Schaamte	1,50	1,016	760
Hoop	3,48	1,185	760
Trots	4,37	1,145	760
Vrees	1,56	,824	760
Boosheid	1,50	,911	760
Schuld	1,38	,716	760
Vreugde	4,10	1,102	760
Angst	1,36	,691	760
Haat	1,39	,859	760
Geluk	4,04	1,129	760
Woede	1,39	,838	760
Walging	1,39	,905	760

Descriptive patriotism and flag identity

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Patriotisme Fryslân	819	4,3822	,95543
Patriotisme Nederland	818	3,8488	,93435
Flag identity statements	782	3,6164	1,11274
Valid N (listwise)	778		

Descriptive factors

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
firstfactor	724	3,7887	1,05184
secondfactor	760	1,6102	,81878
thirdfactor	731	2,8190	,85012
fourthfactor	772	3,3277	1,27461
Valid N (listwise)	664		

Pearson correlation tests patriotism

Correlations

		Patrotisme Fryslân	firstfactor	secondfactor	thirdfactor	fourthfactor
Patriotisme Fryslân	Pearson Correlation	1	.616**	-.308**	.302**	.268**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	819	719	753	726	766

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Correlations

		Patrotisme Fryslân	Flag identity statements
Patriotisme Fryslân	Pearson Correlation	1	.767**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	819	778

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Correlations

		Patrotisme Fryslân	Positieve emoties	Negatieve emoties
Patriotisme Fryslân	Pearson Correlation	1	.756**	-.595**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000
	N	819	772	766

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Pearson correlation tests years of residence in Fryslân

		JarenGewoond
JarenGewoond	Pearson Correlation	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	
	N	817
Positieve emoties	Pearson Correlation	-.007
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.839
	N	766
Negatieve emoties	Pearson Correlation	.063
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.083
	N	762
Flag identity statements	Pearson Correlation	.087*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.015
	N	770
firstfactor	Pearson Correlation	.022
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.550
	N	715
secondfactor	Pearson Correlation	.148**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	750
thirdfactor	Pearson Correlation	.023
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.533
	N	723
fourthfactor	Pearson Correlation	.080*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.028
	N	761

Correlations

		JarenGewoond	Patrotisme Fryslân	Patriotisme Nederland
JarenGewoond	Pearson Correlation	1	.079*	-.011
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.026	.750
	N	817	805	806
Patriotisme Fryslân	Pearson Correlation	.079*	1	.119**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.026		.001
	N	805	819	811
Patriotisme Nederland	Pearson Correlation	-.011	.119**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.750	.001	
	N	806	811	818

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Pearson correlation tests emotions * factors

		Positieve emoties	Negatieve emoties	firstfactor	secondfactor	thirdfactor	fourthfactor
Positieve emoties	Pearson Correlation	1	-.580**	.663**	-.309**	.383**	.312**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	777	760	708	740	717	750
Negatieve emoties	Pearson Correlation	-.580**	1	-.463**	.538**	-.067	-.174**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000	.074	.000
	N	760	773	701	737	712	747
firstfactor	Pearson Correlation	.663**	-.463**	1	-.296**	.609**	.538**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.000	.000	.000
	N	708	701	724	710	684	716
secondfactor	Pearson Correlation	-.309**	.538**	-.296**	1	.167**	-.010
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000		.000	.779
	N	740	737	710	760	717	749
thirdfactor	Pearson Correlation	.383**	-.067	.609**	.167**	1	.536**

	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.074	.000	.000		.000
	N	717	712	684	717	731	723
fourthfactor	Pearson Correlation	.312**	-.174**	.538**	-.010	.536**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.779	.000	
	N	750	747	716	749	723	772

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Pearson correlation tests age*flag identity, patriotism

Correlations

		Jaar	Flag identity statements	Patriotisme Fryslân
Jaar	Pearson Correlation	1	-.091*	-.007
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.011	.833
	N	817	768	805
Flag identity statements	Pearson Correlation	-.091*	1	.767**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.011		.000
	N	768	782	778
Patriotisme Fryslân	Pearson Correlation	-.007	.767**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.833	.000	
	N	805	778	819

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Appendix 3: Maps

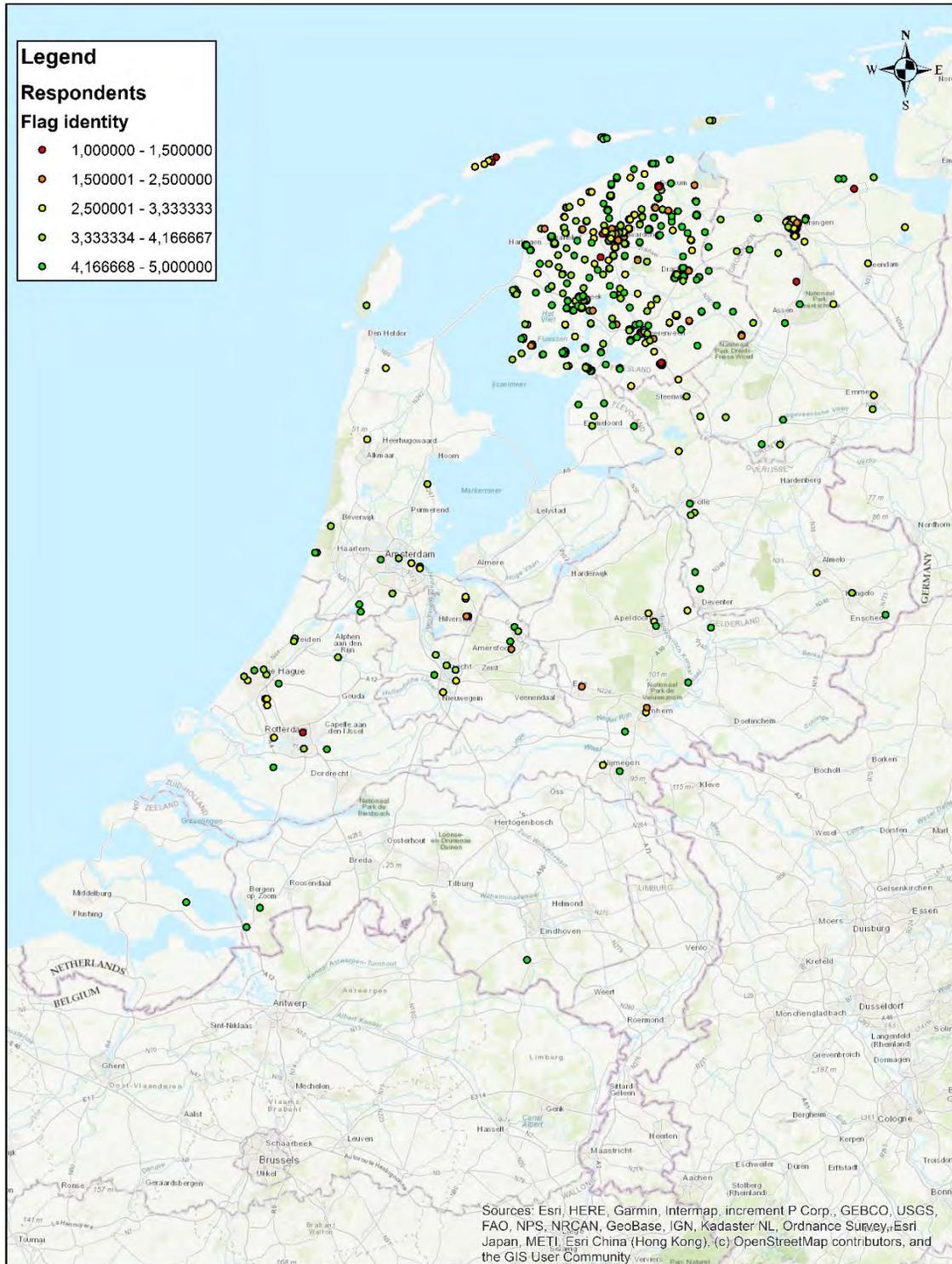


Figure 5: All flag identity scores

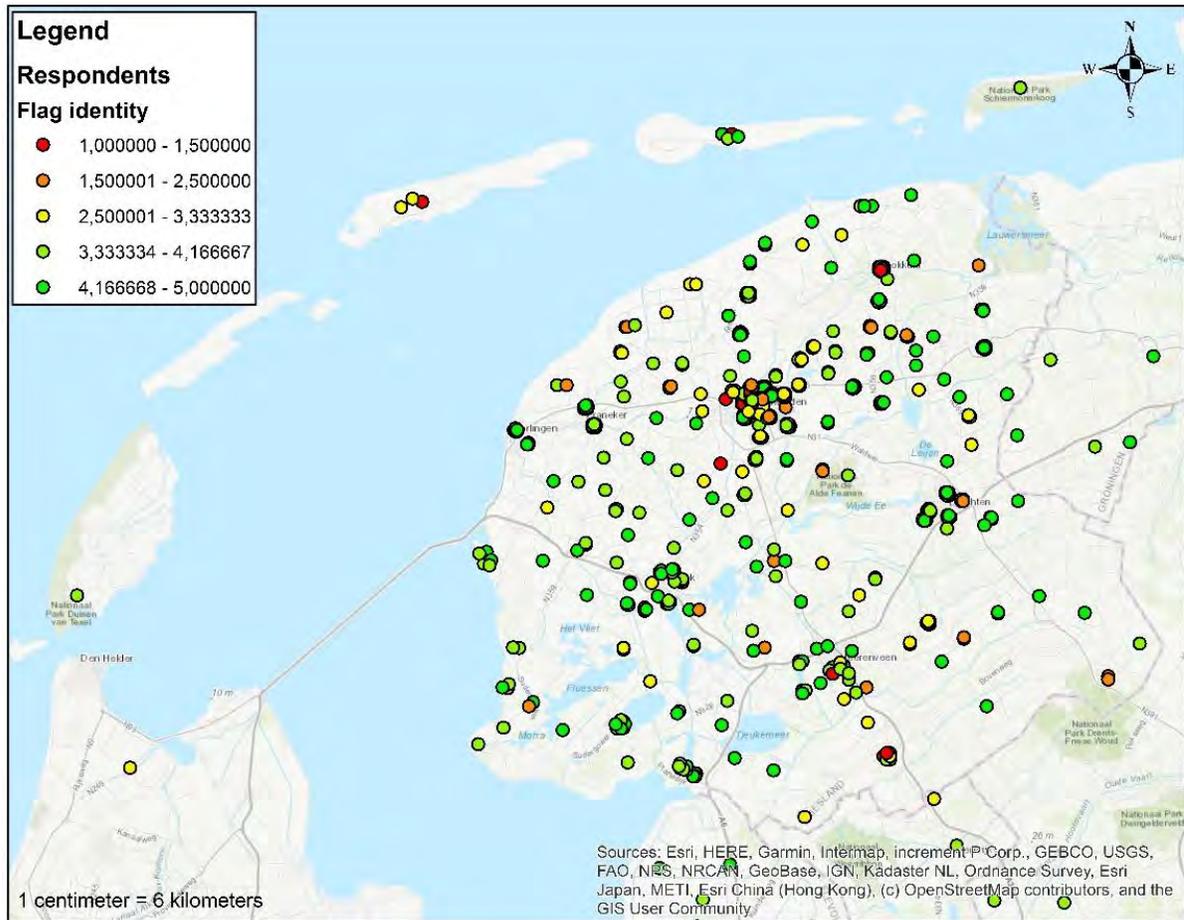
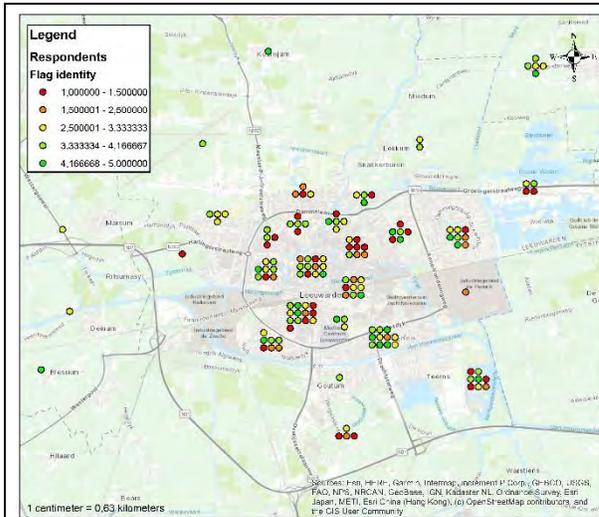
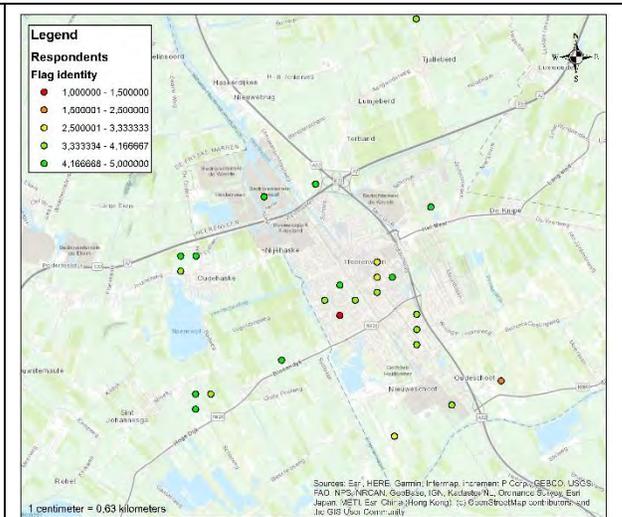


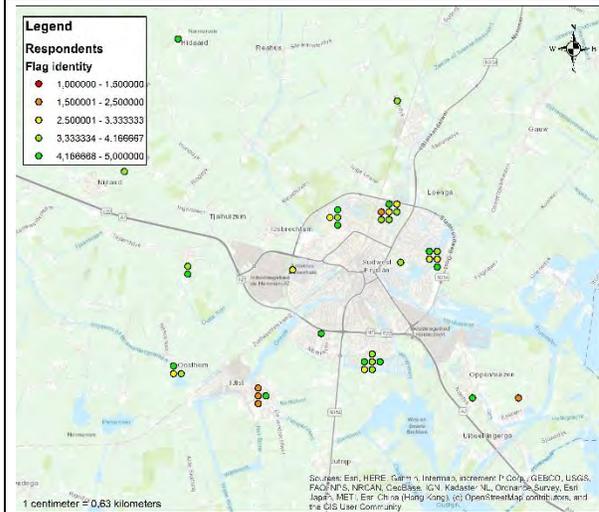
Figure 6: Frisian flag identity scores



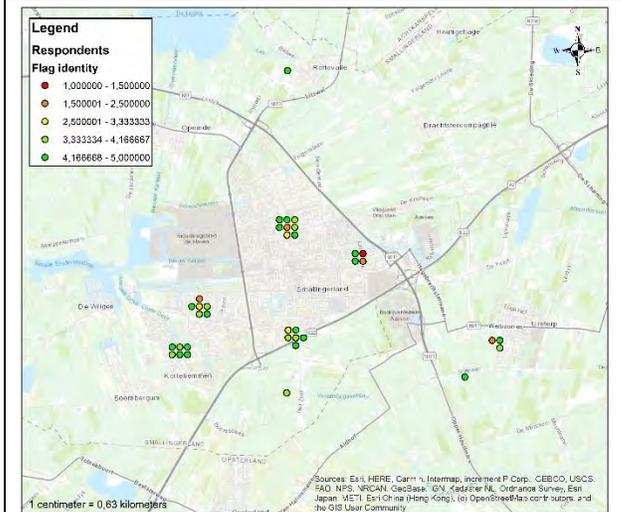
Leuwarden



Heerenveen



Sneek



Drachten

Figure 7: Flag identity scores in the four biggest places of Fryslân

