

On Frames and Framing

Anti-Semitism as Free Speech: A Case Study

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This paper looks at the recent debate about resurging anti-Semitism in Europe. Using a frame analysis approach, webfori data on the debate about the so-called "Hohmann speech" are analyzed. The examined discussions refer to the ejection of a German MP from the parliamentary wing of the main conservative party because of a speech, in which he hypothetically argued that Jews might be called a "nation of perpetrators." It is shown that opponents and supporters of Mr. Hohmann drew on different frames in their mobilization efforts, effectively talking past each other. While Hohmann supporters frame their arguments in terms of free speech and citizenship rights, his opponents frame Hohmann as an ethnic chauvinist. The paper focuses on the methodological identification of frames. Initially, frames were interpretatively identified in a small number of texts with three pervasive metanarratives ("liberal individualism", "ethno-nationalism", and "harmony with nature") in mind. Keywords that flagged frames in the texts were then distilled and subsequently used to code a larger number of texts using auto coding procedures from computer-aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). In a final step the identified frames were validated using latent class analysis.

Anti-Semitism as Free Speech: A Case Study

This paper presents on the case of a recent debate about anti-Semitism in Germany, a novel and systematic methodology to identify frames and validate, compare, or falsify different framing models.

After a delineation of the theoretical approach to framing theory, the focus of the paper will be on the methodological identification of frames. Initially, frames were interpretatively identified in a small number of texts with three pervasive metanarratives ("liberal individualism," "ethno-nationalism," and "harmony with nature") in mind. Keywords that flagged frames in the texts were then distilled. These keywords were subsequently used to code further texts using auto coding procedures from computer-aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). In a final step the identified frames were validated using latent class analysis.

Framing Theory

Frame analysis is *en vogue* (Meyer 1999: 85; Reese 2001: 7; Benford and Snow 2000: 611f), although it was initially predicted to become a niche method at best. One *Contemporary Sociology* reviewer complained that *Frame Analysis* is cumbersome to read (Davis 1975: 603), the other one wondered, if an adequate systematization of frame analysis would be feasible (Gamson 1975: 605).

Probably the single most important factor for the success of Goffman's frame analysis is therefore its unorthodox application. Frame analysis is no longer *Goffman's* frame analysis, but is frequently only loosely connected to the original formulation. Notwithstanding the recurrent symbolic nods to Goffman, today's "frame analysis" spans a number of disparate approaches (D'Angelo 2002; Fisher 1997; Maher 2001: 81f; Scheufele 1999: 103, 118), some of which are even incompatible with each other (Scheufele 1999: 118). While not excluding the possibility of fruitful interaction between the heterogeneous frame analyses (D'Angelo 2002: 883), conceptual parsimony necessitates the clarification of the framing concept for present purposes.

This is not the place to overview the wide range of approaches that have been subsumed under the heading of frame analysis, a task that others (Benford and Snow 2000; D'Angelo 2002; Scheufele 1999) have already accomplished. Instead, I would like to merge at this

juncture certain brands of framing approaches to a more specific theoretical framework. In his initial and widely quoted definition, Goffman characterized frames as follows:

“I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principals of organization which govern events [...] and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify” (Goffman 1974: 10f)

In other words, frames are basic cognitive structures which guide the perception and representation of reality. On the whole, frames are not consciously manufactured but are unconsciously adopted in the course of communicative processes. On a very banal level, frames structure, which parts of reality become noticed.

Todd Gitlin has summarized these frame elements most eloquently in his widely quoted (e.g., Miller 1997: 367; Miller and Riechert 2001b: 115) elaboration of the frame concept:

"Frames are principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters." (Gitlin 1980: 6)

While it is hard to improve theoretically on this definition, the trouble starts, when it comes to the identification and measurement of frames. Precisely because frames consist of tacit rather than overt conjectures, notorious difficulties to empirically identify frames arise (Maher 2001: 84).

The difficulty of measuring latent frames could partially explain the gradual theoretical shift towards a conceptualization of frames as being more actively adopted and manufactured. Particularly in media studies, it has become commonplace to treat the choice of frames as a more or less deliberate process. Entman's famous definition of frames led the way. For Entman,

“[t]o frame is 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.” (Entman 1993: 52)

Notice the shift towards active *selection* of frames, a conception that has become dominant in media studies. While indeed not agreeing with Entman on much else, D'Angelo (2002: 873) likewise treats frames as consciously pitched powerful discursive cues. Tankard (2001: 97) moves even beyond the mere conscious *selection* of frames, suggesting that journalists at times circulate frames to *deceive* their audiences. Reese (2001: 7) goes furthest in the direction of conscious framing suggesting that framing always implies an active process. Consequently, he demands that the analysts "should ask how much 'framing' is going on" (*ibid.*, 13). In a Goffmanian framework, such a question would have been non-sensical, since

framing is an innate property of all social processes, not only those most consciously manufactured. This paper sticks more to the original approach and thus treats frames as "conceptual scaffolding" (Snow and Benford 1988: 213).

Methodology

Since framing became a popular approach in the late 1980s, an extensive and disparate laundry list of frames has emerged in the literature (Benford 1997: 414). This disparity of frames leaves one wonder, whether anything can be framed as a frame. Unfortunately, many studies leave the reader in the dark about the actual process of empirical frame detection. Even otherwise exceptionally well argued studies laconically describe the frame identification process in a footnote with "[f]rames were analyzed from the actual language of the reported claim (direct and reported speech)" (Statham and Mynott 2002: 10, Fn. 6). In some cases, at least the measurement model for frames is clarified. In these cases the reader is presented with a list of more or less parsimoniously identifiable frame terms, "attributes" or "devices," which were used as manifest indicators for the identification of frames (e.g., Ferree et al. 2002; Koella 2003; Semetko and Valkenburg 2000; Ullrich 1998; Semetko and Valkenburg 2000; Ullrich 1998). By making their entire coding scheme available online, Ferree *et al.* (2002) are in this respect the trailblazers for a new kind of transparency that has been made possible by the new digital technologies.¹ While increased transparency and accountability certainly render framing research more credible, they still do not solve the problem of the missing systemization of frame construction. We thus remain heavily so dependent on the creativity of individual scholars (Maher 2001: 84), that it has been alleged that frames are merely constructed through "researcher fiat" (Tankard et al. 1991: 5; Tankard 2001: 98).

To counter these objections, the frame identification process should be made more visible and systematic. A first step towards the latter direction is the construction of a frame taxonomy, distinguishing *structural* schemes ("generic frames") from frames that focus more on *content* (Benford 1997: 413; Rogers, Hart, and Dearing 1997).

With respect to media framings, four generic frames have frequently been identified, namely

¹ <http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/abortionstudy/>, last accessed: October 6, 2003.

- conflict frame (Rogers et al. 1997; Neuman, Just, and Crigler 1992: 61f; Price, Tewksbury, and Powers 1997: 484; Semetko and Valkenburg 2000: 95),²
- human interest frame (Price et al. 1997: 484; Semetko and Valkenburg 2000: 95f),
- economic interests frame (Triandafyllidou and Fotiou 1998: 4.19; Price et al. 1997: 484; Schwenken 2003: 5),
- moralization frame (Triandafyllidou and Fotiou 1998: 4.1; Ferree et al. 2002: 107f; Neuman et al. 1992: 75; Semetko and Valkenburg 2000: 96)

Within the list of *content* frames, we can further distinguish between so-called "master frames" or "metanarratives" that

- (1) are so pervasive that they can be used in almost any situation, and
- (2) possess a superior credibility, in that it has moved beyond empirical scrutiny.

Three master frames surface repeatedly in the literature, i.e. the *ethno-nationalist* frame (Billig 1995; Brubaker and Laitin 1998: 428; Eder 1995: 4; Eder and Schmidtke 1998; Greenfeld 1999: 39; Statham and Mynott 2002: 13), the *liberal-individualist citizenship* frame (Berger 1971: 97f; Eder 1995: 4; McAdam 1996: 347; Somers 1995; Statham and Mynott 2002: 13) and the *harmony with nature* frame (Eder 1996: 191; Gamson 1992: 136).

With these clarifications and distinctions in hand, I will now propose a fairly systematic approach to identify *content* frames in *textual* data. Since the methodology rests on the selection of keywords and key phrases, it is less suited to identify structural frames such as the conflict frame, as these frames usually become manifest in the structure, and less in the wording of a speech.

Identifying Frames in Textual Data

Framing in the sense outlined above is a theoretically demanding concept, but – or, rather, as a result – it has proven elusive to measure (Maher 2001: 84). Even though on a conceptual level, frames, more often than not, are latent, read: not spelled out in their entirety, it seems reasonable to assume that *parts of* frames become manifest in speech. If, say, a speaker has adopted or keyed an ethno-nationalist frame, i.e., the conception that quasi-primordial culturally fairly homogenous groups of people can be delineated (and probably should be granted some degree of self rule), we would expect this speaker to refer some components of that frame in speech. She or he might, for instance speak about peoples, might allude to some historical continuities, might refer to specific (ethnic) nations, such as "the Dutch," etc. These

² Implicitly, the "balancing frame" (Ferree et al. 2002: 107) is part of the conflict frame.

speech figures in turn can be identified by keywords (Entman 1993: 53; Triandafyllidou and Fotiou 1998: 3.7; Miller and Riechert 2001a: 61ff), which can help to empirically identify frames in large corpora of data.

The first task in the empirical investigation of frames thus becomes the detection of these keywords. As keywords are manifest, this is a much simpler task than the identification of frames themselves. It has even been suggested to generate these keywords automatically, simply by mapping the most frequently words or strings within the data (Koella 2003: 7; Miller and Riechert 2001a: 70; Miller and Riechert 1994).

While avoiding researcher bias, this methods unfortunately creates three new problems. To begin with, it starts out with exactly a researcher *fiat*, that is in deciding *by convention* on the optimal number of eigenvectors (Miller and Riechert 2001b: 116). This decision might *sound* more "objective," as a number can be pegged onto, but that number is just as arbitrary as the decision on frames. Moreover, the procedure is deeply positivist, assuming that concepts should arise unmediated from the data. But even within a positivist logic, most statistical tests are based on *a priori* probabilities. By basing the decision in the choice of keywords on *ex post* covariances, these tests become meaningless. While this problem could be circumvented through a split sample, an even more severe problem is that empirically identified keywords clearly cannot be interpreted as indicator of meaningful frames. Miller & Riechert (1994), for instance, found besides "environmental," "any," and "major" to be identifiers of the "environmental protection" frame. It seems obvious that these are no meaningful framing terms. Indeed, Koella (2002: 8), who most closely follows Miller and Riechert, deviates in this point, wryly noting that "each set of frame terms was reviewed in context." This proceeding, of course, reintroduces research fiat through the back door.

Frequency counts might thus hint at possible keywords, but in the end an interpretative identification of relevant keywords seems to be the more appropriate and more common route (Andsager, Austin, and Pinkleton 2001: 129; Tankard 2001: 103; Tedesco 2001: 2053, more technically centered: Miller 1997: 369). Reading or listening over a reasonable amount of data, framing researcher should hermeneutically uncover frames and their corresponding keywords. The three master frames mentioned above could help the interpretation of data in this respect, as these frames are likely to surface in any communicative processes in modernity.

Once keywords have been obtained, they can then be used in conjunction with common CAQDAS (Fielding and Lee 1995)³ and word maps such as *WordNet*⁴ or *Wortschatz*⁵ to code large amounts of data in a fairly short time. Initially, all keywords should become *lemmatized*, that is all their inflections forms are to be found. Next, their *listemes*, that is those linguistic representations⁶ which correspond to the *mental lexemes* held by persons involved in the communicative practices that are researched, should be identified. Listemes are the actual conceptual categories in the minds of individuals, regardless of their linguistic representation. Typically, true synonyms represent different linguistic representations of the same listeme, so for any keyword synonyms should be retrieved from the relevant thesauri. Linguistic research has shown that the mind orders listemes in a network structure (Gallmann 1991: 274). It might thus be advisable to also group keywords with their listeme neighbors.

A serious advantage of coding through CAQDAS is the possibility to include also words that are meaningless without context, but which can reveal important tacit meanings in context, in the analysis. Typically, such words are excluded from quantitative analyses (Landmann and Züll 2004: 122; Salton 1988: 380f). However, for instance, the usage of the pronouns in first person and third person plural (we/our/us and they/them/their) might contain important cues about the collective identity a speaker might subscribe to. With the help of CAQDAS such words can be displayed in context, where a human code can usually determine in a matter of seconds their object of reference.

Validating Frames

With the quantitative codings in hand, we can test the empirical adequacy of frame models. Basically, three statistical techniques have been suggested to quantitatively measure the adequacy of frame models identified through keywords, namely cluster analysis, factor analysis, and latent class analysis.

³ Currently, *MAXqda* (<http://www.maxqda.com/maxqda-eng/start.htm>, last accessed: July 15, 2004) and *Kwalitan* (<http://www.kwalitan.net/>, last accessed: July 15, 2004) seem to be most suitable for this type of coding. see http://www.lboro.ac.uk/research/mmethods/research/case_studies/hohmann/frames_and_CAQDAS.pdf, last accessed: July 15, 2004.

⁴ <http://www.cogsci.princeton.edu/~wn/>, last accessed: November 27, 2003.

⁵ <http://wortschatz.uni-leipzig.de/>, last accessed: November 27, 2003; for a selection of more electronic word maps, cf. <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/research/mmethods/resources/analysis/linguistic.html>, last accessed: December 7, 2003.

⁶ In written text, these are words, but audio and video data they also refer to visual and audial discursive cues.

Currently, *hierarchical cluster analysis* seems to be the most popular method for statistical validation of frames. That is, if you can speak of "popular", when merely a handful of references exist (Dyer 1994; Koella 2003; Landmann and Züll 2004: 120; Miller 1997; Miller and Riechert 1994; Miller and Riechert 2001b; Miller and Riechert 2001a). The reason for its relative popularity is probably the existence of a computer program – VBPro⁷ – that is specifically written for this type of analysis. The reason for its relative unpopularity might be the very same program, that is its command line DOS interface. There are a few other problems with this methodology, though. To begin with, it requires specific chunks of data – documents with around 1,000 words – to perform best (Miller 1997: 369). While this problem could be alleviated by slicing or aggregating data appropriately, the a general problem of all cluster analyses – be it k-means or hierarchical – cannot be circumvented, namely that it does not offer any real goodness of fit tests (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984), which in turn makes it impossible to choose an optimum number of clusters on an empirical basis (Miller and Riechert 2001b: 116; Trochim and Hover 2003). That means that *any* number of frames could be posited throughout the texts, without any possibility to falsify any frame model, which, once again would return us to researcher *fiat*. On top, hierarchical cluster analysis assumes texts to belong to *either* one *or* the other frame. But it is entirely reasonable, and even likely, that speakers use any number of frames in a given text. In fact, many speakers actively engage in frame alignment processes such as frame bridging (Snow et al. 1986), which presuppose the existence of more than one frame in a text. Moreover, cluster analysis assumes a direct measuring model, but as has been discussed in the theoretical part of this paper, keywords are only indicators of latent frames. Altogether, hierarchical cluster analysis, thus, seems only ill suited for frame model validations.

Factor Analysis seems to avoid all the shortcomings of cluster analysis. It knows well-established goodness of fit criteria, it assumes a measurement model that does justice to the latency of frames, and it can decide on an empirical basis, which frame model is more adequate. Yet, to date we know only of one nascent attempt to use frame analysis in framing studies (Risse and Van de Steeg 2003). While the headway made compared to cluster analysis is considerable, it seems puzzling that the authors do not even discuss the violation of the scale level assumptions of factor analysis, even though it has been shown that this violation can seriously affect the substantial results (Magidson and Vermunt 2004).

⁷ <http://mmmiller.com/vbpro/vbpro.html>, last accessed: December 15, 2003.

In contrast, *latent class analysis* exhibits all required features factor analysis offers, but at the same time does not contain the same shortcomings, making it very well-suited for the analysis of quasi-idealtypical concepts (Hagenaars and Halman 1989) such as frames. It should seem therefore straightforward to introduce it into frame analysis studies. Although the methodological principles of latent class analysis have been already developed in the fifties (Lazarsfeld 1950; Hagenaars 1993: 20), it has remained an esoteric statistical method for many social scientists (Reunanen and Suikkanen 1999: 3).⁸

In comparison to cluster analysis, latent class analysis delivers more unequivocal results, as it allows for a number of well-developed goodness of fit measures. And while it shares with factor analysis the virtue of operating with latent variables, it does not contain the caveat of requiring hard to come by interval scaled data. We therefore choose to validate our frame models with latent class analysis.

Data: The Hohmann Case

We tested the outlined methodology by identifying frames in a recent debate on the treatment of anti-Semitism in the public sphere in Germany.

In November 2003, the exclusion of a Conservative backbencher MP Martin Hohmann from the parliamentary faction of the main German conservative party, triggered a lively debate about the question on the legitimacy of his exclusion against his expressed will.

The debate was triggered by a speech Hohmann gave on the German National holiday in his electoral district. The core argument of the speech was that Germans are unduly branded as *Tätervolk*, a "people of perpetrators." Drawing on the writings of Henry Ford and a hitherto unknown historian with virtually no academic recognition, Hohmann had claimed using the standards of those, who consider Germans a *Tätervolk*, Jews could equally well be portrayed as *Tätervolk*, because the latter participated overproportionately in the Russian Revolution and the crimes of Stalinism.

Initially, the speech had no repercussions for Hohmann. The local paper did report on the speech, but omitted its anti-Semitic overtones. It took a letter from an American Jew, who

⁸ Basically, latent class analysis can be considered the equivalent of factor analysis for ordinal and nominally scaled variables (McCutcheon 1987: 7). It examines, if a set of observable indicators can meaningfully be projected onto a smaller set of latent, that is, unobservable classes. Most important theoretical concepts, among them frames, do not translate straightforwardly into easily empirically observable, that is: measurable, indicators. Latent class analysis that expressly works with latent, read: unobservable, variables (Lazarsfeld 1950: 363) is therefore in the analysis of frames superior to other log-linear models that operate exclusively with observable data.

discovered the speech manuscript in the internet, to alert the national German media. Once the case was made public to a nationwide audience, a short debate in the traditional mass media ensued, which almost unanimously branded the speech as anti-Semitic. The coverage eventually resulted in Hohmann's expulsion from the CDU ranks, first of its parliamentary section, and a few months later also from the party itself.⁹ While most journalists and nationwide known party politicians debunked the Anti-Semitism evident from the speech, lower party officials, and a number of members of the general public interviewed by the mass media denied an expressed anti-Semitic background of the speech,¹⁰ even after its main intellectual origins were discussed at length.

Although the anti-Semitic core of the speech is evident to the social scientist schooled minimally in theories of anti-Semitism, both the absence of an adequate initial reaction to the speech and the vehement denial of its existence even after a weeklong public debate, suggests that large parts of the general public have framed the debate in different terms.

We gathered data from a web forum offered by the national party organization of the CDU,¹¹ in an attempt to model effectively, how Hohmann opponents and supporters framed their arguments. Over a two-months period, 2,626 postings were collected from the forum and subsequently analyzed using the methodology outlined above.¹² As will be shown, supporters and opponents drew frequently on different frames, effectively talking past each other. While Hohmann supporters frame their arguments in terms of free speech and citizenship rights, his opponents frame Hohmann as an ethnic chauvinist.

Results

With this methodology at hand, and the three master frames in mind, we initially identified five potential substantive frames within the data.

On the structural level, the Hohmann debate is governed by the conflict frame, but the different content framings picture the conflict as one between very different protagonists: The

⁹ "Hohmann will gegen Ausschluss vorgehen," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, July 20, 2004, <http://sueddeutsche.de/deutschland/artikel/640/35605/>, last accessed: July 20, 2004.

¹⁰ "Mitleid, Bestürzung und Ratlosigkeit," *Fuldaer Zeitung*, November 15, 2003, http://www.fuldaerzeitung.de/sixcms/detail.php?template=fz_meldung&id=75456, last accessed: July 20, 2004.

¹¹ <http://www.cdu.de/forum/thema4/message.html>, last accessed December 31, 2003.

¹² We used MAXqda (<http://www.maxqda.com/>, last accessed: July 20, 2004) to code the data, and Latent GOLD (<http://www.statisticalinnovations.com/products/latentgold.html>, last accessed: July 20, 2004) to conduct the latent class analysis of the coding matrix.

political right versus the political left; anti-Semites versus anti-Fascists, or the elites versus the common citizenry.

Content Frames

Two key on the liberal-individualist master frame, claiming the violation of freedom of speech rights and/or the limitation of the discursive space by political elites. A third hypothesized frame keys on both ethno-nationalist and liberal-individualist frames, attributing the restriction of freedom of speech to an undue Jewish influence. Two further frames key on ethnonationalist themes, demanding a "normalization" of German ethnicity, the other insisting on Hohmann being an adamant anti-Semite. Table 1 displays the keywords, with which we identified the frames.

Freedom of Speech

By far the most frequent argument cited by Hohmann supporters is the idea, that, even if his speech was indefensible, his freedom of speech rights were violated by his ejection from the party faction. A typical example of this frame reads as follows:

"Das Recht der freien Meinungsäußerung läßt sich nicht nach gewünschter politischer Ausrichtung, nach parteipolitischen Strömungen, nach politischem Standort oder durch Parteipolitiker interpretieren.

Von daher ist der Ausschluß von Hohmann aus der Bundestagsfraktion der CDU/CSU sogar grundgesetzwidrig, erfolgt unter dem Bruch des Grundgesetzes."¹³

It does not matter for our purposes here that from a legal standpoint, this is of course, not the case, and, indeed, using legal arguments the *expulsion* of Hohmann could be framed as a case of freedom of speech and associational freedom. What is interesting here is, that rarely, if ever this point is made by Hohmann adversaries. Instead, persons agreeing with his expulsion usually do so on the grounds that the restriction of freedom of speech is legitimized by Hohmann's anti-Semitism.

¹³ "Freedom of speech rights cannot be interpreted according to one's desired political preferences, according to party politics, according to one's political standpoint or by party politicians. Therefore, Hohmann's expulsion from the party ranks, even breaches the Constitution."

Master Frame	Frame	Fuzzy Lexemes	Lemmata	Exclusions
Liberal Individualist Citizenship Rights	freedom of speech	freedom of speech	Andersdenkende, -n Freiheit Freiheiten Meinung, -en Meinungsfreiheit, -en Meinungsäußerung, -en Meinungsausserung, -en	Junge Freiheit
		repression of	repressiv, -e, -en, -er Repressivität unterdrücken, -t, -te, -ten Unterdrückung Maulkorb mündig Sanktionen	
		censorship	Zensur Zensor, -en, -s zensiert, -e, -er, -en zensieren	
		taboo	Tabu, -isierung, isierungen tabuisieren, -iert, -ierte	
		totalitarian	totalitär, -e, -en, -er Totalitarismus Berufsverbot	
		political correctness	Berufsbetroffene, -r, -m, -n berufsbetroffen, -e, -en, -em Gutmensch, -en berufsmäßigen Vergangenheitsbewältigern Berufsdreckschleudern PC peeße politisch, -e, -en, -er korrekt, -e, -er, -en Korrektheit political, -ly correct correctness	Berufsverbot
	rebutal of elitism	Constitution (Basic Law)	Grundgesetz Grundrecht Grundrechte Verfassung Bürgerrecht, -e, -en Artikel	
		second chance	2. Chance 2.Chance zweite Chance 2 Chancen zwei Chancen	
		witch hunt	Hexenjagd, -en Hexenverfolgung, -en Hexenverbrennung, -en Hexe, -n Inquisition	Hexentanz
		inciting	Hetzen Hetzerei, -en hetzerisch, -e, -er, -en Hatz	
		metaphor "to keep cooking"	Kochen kocht, -en hochkochen	
		Basis	Basis Parteibasis	
		we, the common citizenry	wir uns, -er, -ere, -ren, -rem	
		Christian Democrat leadership	CDU-Führung Partei-Führung Parteiführung Merkel, -s Bosbach, -s Stoiber, -s	

			Koch, -s	
		Media	Medien Presse Spiegel Stern Journalist, -en	
		Social Sciences	Soziologie Soziologen Benz	Mercedes-Benz Daimler-Benz
Ethno-Nationalism	undue Jewish influence	<i>Zentralrat der Juden</i>	Zentralrat ZdJ Friedman, -s Spiegel, -s Berufsjuden	Der Spiegel Im Spiegel Spiegel Artikel
		American Jews	amerikanische Jüdin	
		"Holocaust Industry"	Holocaust-Industrie Holocaustindustrie Finkelstein, -s	
	normalization of German ethnicity	Germanness	Deutschland deutsch, -e, -er, -es, -en Deutsche, -er, -es, -en andere Länder anderen Ländern	
		we, the ethnic Germans	wir uns, -er, -ere, -ren, -rem	
		patriotism	Patriot, -en Patriotismus patriotisch, -er, -em, -en	
		collective guilt	Kollektivschuld kollektiv schuld, -ig	
		repentance	Büßer	
		constant reminder	permanent, -e, -en, -er ewig, -e, -er, -en Erinnerung erinnern	
		German	Deutschland deutsch, -e, -er, -es, -en Deutsche, -er, -es, -en	
		guilt	Schuld schuldig, -e, -er, -en Schuldige, -er, -en	
		normal	normal, -e, -er Normales Normalisierung	
		pride	stolz, -e, -er Stolz, -es Nationalstolz, -es	
	Anti-Semitism	anti-Semitism	Antisemit Anti-Semit Antisemit, -en Anti-Semiten Möller, -s Karsli, -s Walser, -s Jenninger, -s	
		Jews/Jewish/Jewry	Jude, -n jüdisch, -e, -er	
		religion	Religion	
		Nazis	braun Nazi, -s NSDAP Nationalsozialist, -en nationalsozialistische, -r, -n, -m	

Table 1 Framing Devices (search terms set in boldface, homonyms in orange, conditional searches in olive, interpretative codings in purple)

Elitism

A second frame that is closely related and thus co-occurs frequently with the freedom of speech frame is the idea that political speech is directed and curtailed by the "elites," namely politicians, intellectuals, and the press. Frequently, Hohmann's expulsion is considered as an act of "political correctness," brought about by an elite out of touch with the common citizenry:

"Stattdessen wird alles mögliche [in die Rede] hineininterpretiert und zwar von Meinungsmachern, die daran ein Interesse haben, dass so ein Käse dem Volk als hochwichtig vorgegaukelt wird"¹⁴

People, who dispute this framing, are frequently derided as *Gutmenschen* – do-gooders – who support authoritarianism, which limit the debate, effectively itself an attempt to limit the debate by tabooing any reference to everyday anti-Semitism (Johnson and Suhr 2003).

Jewish Conspiracy

A special case of the elitism frame evokes anti-Semitic conspiracy theories. In this scenario, the driving force behind the presumed restriction of the discursive space is driven by Jewish organizations:

"Fakt ist, dass der ZDJ die moralisch (und somit politisch) die höchste Macht im Land ist."¹⁵

This frame combines ethno-nationalist elements (considering Jews a primordial ethnicity with a common interest and distinct from the German nation) with the liberal idea that Jews with their superior power obliterate the equality of citizens. Besides the German Jewish Council, American Jewish diaspora organizations and the state of Israel and its representatives are considered the major adversaries in this frame.

All three frames, which posit a politically forged limitation of the public discourse, co-occur with each other.

"Wenn man in diesem Land nicht die Wahrheit sagen darf, diktiert von einer Minderheit (Medien, Zentralrat und linke Gutmenschen), dann gibt es keinen Grund, sich für diesen Staat/dieses System zu engagieren."¹⁶

¹⁴ "Instead, all sorts of things are interpreted [into the Speech] and it is done so by opinion leaders, who have a vested interest to sell such crap to the people."

¹⁵ "It's a fact that the German Jewish Council is morally and therefore politically the highest power in the country."

¹⁶ "If you cannot tell the truth in this country, [as] dictated by a minority (media, German Jewish Association, and leftist do-gooders), then there is no reason to become involved in this state/system."

Normalization of German Ethnicity

Hohmann supporters that do not necessarily adopt an elitist stance, attribute the expulsion of Hohmann to a "pathology" in German ethnicity. This frame posits that due the Holocaust, Germans for long have had problems to come to terms with their ethnicity:

"Das Juden im 3. Reich umgebracht wurden ist als äußerst tragisch zu bewerten und wird wohl auch von keinem vernünftigen Menschen bestritten. Es stellt sich aber die Frage, warum soll nach nun 50 Jahren kein normales Verhältnis zu den Menschen jüdischen Glaubens entstehen?"¹⁷

Anti-Semitism

Those persons, who agree with Hohmann's expulsion, usually only contend with the latter framing, but ignore freedom of speech and elitism arguments, as they focus on Hohmann's anti-Semitism, which overrides any freedom-of-speech concerns. In some respect, this is the counter frame to the normalization framing, as it rejects any kind of normalization of German ethnicity along the lines of its disconnection from the Holocaust.

"Die 'Argumentation' von Hohmann basiert unverzichtbar auf Antisemitismus und einer Verharmlosung des Holocausts."¹⁸

What is interesting in this type of framing, is that it frequently denounces the association of Jews with the word *Tätervolk*, but it hardly ever spells out the historical misconstructions and inaccuracies that run through Hohmann's argument. Instead, in this framing, anti-Semitism is deliberately put forward by decided anti-Semites, who have a close affiliation with Nazism, glossing over both hegemonic elements of anti-Semitism and the implicit racist notion of considering Jews as a *Volk* distinct from Germans.

How many frames?

From our interpretation, we thus found five frames in the data. But, if our operationalization was correct, do the data support our model? Table 2 shows that they do so with a twist. After validating the one-dimensionality of each of the five frame cluster with latent class analysis,¹⁹ a latent class analysis of those texts, which contained at least two of our keywords shows that

¹⁷ "That Jews have been killed in the Third Reich is to be appraised as a tragedy and it will not be disputed by rational persons. But the question becomes, why after 50 years a normal relationship with people of Jewish creed can evolve."

¹⁸ "Hohmann's 'argument' basis inherently in anti-Semitism and a belittling of the Holocaust."

¹⁹ All keyword groups yielded the lowest BIC in two-cluster models, which reflects the idea, that a frame was either present or not.

these cluster fit best in a 3-cluster model, while the four-cluster model comes in a close second, yielding a Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) that is worse only by 6.

	Δ BIC to model with one cluster less	Classification Errors
1-Cluster	n/a	0
2-Cluster	-274.4	0.027
3-Cluster	-83.6	0.050
4-Cluster	6.0	0.136
5-Cluster	162.9	0.172
6-Cluster	188.9	0.174

Table 2 Model Fit with respect to Number of Frames

Figure 1 shows that the conflict between presumed elites and the common citizenry is by far the most dominant theme, receiving almost three times as much attention than the two frames, which are not concerned with elite issues.

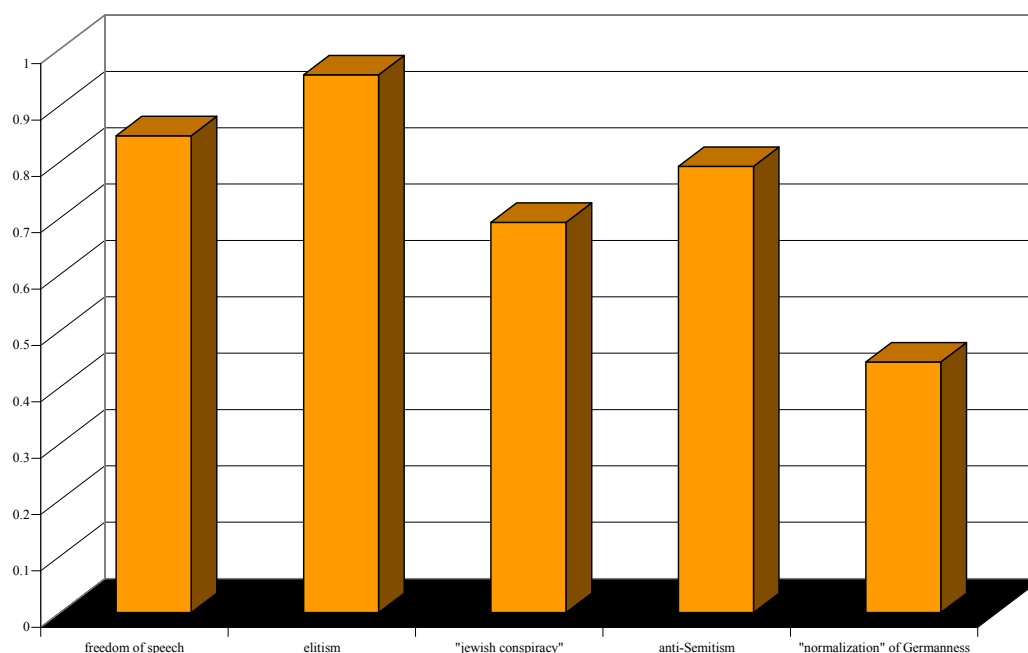


Figure 1 Mean Frequency of keyword terms per posting

On inspection of the keyword probabilities in the clusters of the three-class model, we found that most postings (75%) would fairly evenly refer all frames, but there are two fairly well-defined clusters. Looking at Table 3, which displays the standardized relative class probabilities, i.e. the cluster probability divided by the average probability a term would show up in the data, we find that Cluster 2 is characterized by an above average of freedom of speech figures, followed by an about average of freedom of speech figures. That means that a substantial minority (15%) of speakers framed the conflict almost purely in terms of freedom of speech rights, which they saw endangered by the actions of a political elite. These speakers

were unfazed by allegations of anti-Semitism and rarely demanded the "normalization" of German ethnicity. They also were not being denounced of anti-Semitism themselves, nor was there any other substantial challenge to their framing, which effectively had no counter framing.

The third cluster an smallest cluster represents the conflict between the openly anti-Semitic frames and the anti-Fascist, who debunk them. Persons, who make no bones about their anti-Semitic ideas also support a "normalization" of Germanness and unsurprisingly become debunked because of their open anti-Semitism.

Cluster Size	0.75	0.15	0.11
<i>Freedom of Speech</i>			
repression	0.90	1.44	0.66
brainwashing	0.42	2.58	0.00
totalitarianism	0.82	1.45	0.73
GDR	0.92	1.49	0.59
taboo	1.17	1.07	0.76
censorship	0.76	1.52	0.72
mobbing	3.00	0.00	0.00
freedom of speech	0.05	2.44	0.51
opinion	1.09	1.20	0.71
Basic Law (constitution)	0.72	1.64	0.65
dissenters	0.73	1.86	0.42
<i>Elitism</i>			
feigning (<i>heucheln</i>)	1.69	0.00	1.31
p.c.	1.09	1.04	0.86
second chance	1.27	0.92	0.81
badgering (<i>hetzen</i>)	1.01	0.84	1.15
the media	1.35	0.87	0.79
foreign countries (<i>das Ausland</i>)	1.56	0.00	1.43
the Left	1.31	0.76	0.93
opportunism	0.85	1.19	0.96
basis	1.36	1.10	0.54
CDU leadership	1.18	1.20	0.62
(social) sciences	1.17	0.65	1.18
elites	1.19	1.36	0.45
<i>"Jewish Conspiracy"</i>			
Holocaust monument	1.74	0.38	0.87
<i>the Jews</i>	1.41	0.24	1.34
Israel	1.10	0.40	1.50
Sharon	1.27	0.37	1.36
Americans	1.14	0.00	1.86
reparations	1.45	0.00	1.54
American Jews	1.21	0.55	1.23
<i>Zentralrat der Juden Deutschlands</i>	1.33	0.40	1.28
<i>"Normalization" of Germanness</i>			
other peoples/nations	0.83	0.00	2.17
collective guilt	1.23	0.01	1.76
Germany	0.97	0.15	1.88
permanent	1.03	0.44	1.54
patriotism	1.28	0.80	0.91
<i>the Germans</i>	1.23	0.01	1.75
pride	0.99	0.30	1.70
<i>Anti-Semitism</i>			
right extremism	0.97	0.57	1.46
die-hard reactionaries (<i>Ewiggestrige</i>)	1.16	0.50	1.34
historical fabrication (<i>Geschichtsklitterung</i>)	1.22	0.74	1.05
<i>Judentum</i>	1.39	0.00	1.60
Nazi	1.25	0.51	1.24
anti-Semitism	1.47	0.56	0.97

Table 3 Standardized Cluster Probabilities (strongly overrepresented terms in red, underrepresented faded)

Discussion

This paper shows the potentialities of the use of CAQDAS in combination with latent class analysis to elaborate and to some extent validate frames that are suspected to underlie textual data. It shows that with the help of interpretatively identified keywords, frames can be detected fairly swiftly throughout a large body of data. It also shows that further analysis of the frames can reveal patterns of their usage.

Several problems should be noted: First of all, with very few exceptions, keywords do not distinguish between a frame and its counter frame. The third cluster shows this very well: Both vocal anti-Semites and those who debunk them use, of course, the same words for their arguments, as the latter quote the most openly anti-Semitic speech figures in their effort to debunk anti-Semitism. A distinction between these frames would require considerable effort, as each keyword would need to be inspected for its direction by a coder. Even in our relatively small sample, these exceed 9,000 codes.

Second, like any quantitative analysis, such analysis relies on the selection of appropriate keywords, thus introduces researcher fiat to some extent. If the analyst does not select the appropriate most frequent keywords, frequency counts have little or no meaning.

Third, there is a problem with respect to very small texts, which may not contain any of the keywords, and very large texts, which may contain keywords from all groups. We circumvented these problems to some extent by filtering those texts, which did not contain more than one keyword, and by the fact that all but five texts contained less than 10,000 characters. If larger texts are used, one would probably have to use frequency counts instead of binary absence/presence variables for codes, which would introduce further tenuous assumptions.²⁰

Finally, no coding can adequately capture the importance text passages, which might carry more significance than the remainder of the text (Kracauer 1952). If such passages surface in the sample, a separate interpretative analysis would be called for.

On the substantial level, our analysis reveals two things: For one, only a small minority of framings drew on the classical anti-Semitism versus anti-Fascism conflict. A larger minority of postings was solely concerned with the conflict between elites and the common citizenry. These frames were not effectively rebutted, as the main frame for Hohmann opponents targets the anti-Semitism/anti-fascism conflict line, while Hohmann supporters ignored this

²⁰ We did perform all analysis also using frequency counts; the substantial results remained the same.

conflict in favor of the elites/citizenry conflict. It is, however, notable that the bulk of the postings contained an eclectic mix of frames, which did include many references to anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, even though the debate focused on the elites versus common citizenry frames. We can safely assume that much of that debate is also informed by a latent anti-Semitism.

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