

Climate Policies of Development Aid Agencies in the Netherlands

A study about agenda-setting and the need and benefit to work
on climate change



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Foreword

While I was an intern at Oxfam Novib last year (2008), I was working on a knowledge dossier on climate change for intern usage. At that time I found myself surprised that climate change was just being considered as an important topic to work on. This made me wonder if other development aid agencies were only just starting to realize that climate change would influence their work, or if they were picking up the climate theme because it was suddenly a trend to do so. In case of this last point the question arises how effective the work of development aid agencies is concerning climate change? The subject of this thesis was born.

It was a great opportunity to elaborate on the above questions and to design my own research topic. The opportunity to work on something that is really of your own interest probably helped a lot in doing this research, especially in terms of keeping the motivation high.

Without the help of others I would not have been able to do this research; therefore I would like to take the opportunity to thank these people.

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Overall I hope this research can be of use for the participated organizations and that it will encourage discussion on how climate change is integrated in the work of development aid agencies. I hope that it can facilitate as a starting point for reframing climate change, so that in the end more attention and means are available for acting upon climate change.

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Summary

This research had the aim to find out more about the climate policies and activities of development aid agencies in the Netherlands. It is discussed when and why development aid agencies have picked up the climate problem. Furthermore it is wondered to which extent this is done in an effective way. In other words there is looked at the need and benefit to integrate climate change into policies and projects. In order to find out about these issues, the annual reports of development aid agencies were analyzed on attention for the environment and climate change. Interviews were held with informants at development aid agencies and environmental organizations as well as experts in the field. The latter was done so that a kind of ego- alter perception was created on the need and benefit to work on climate change.

The data collected around agenda-setting were discussed by making use of the following models; Downs (1972) issue-attention cycle, Kingdon (2003) policy streams model and framing theory. It appeared that none of these models can totally explain the process of agenda-setting at the development aid agencies. There a combination of factors played a role in the agenda-setting process; the increasing knowledge about the impacts of climate change, Al Gore, experiences in their work and possibilities to receive additional resources. Overall it appeared that development aid agencies started to work on climate change from a humanitarian point of view. Climate change is and will in other cases undermine development aid. This explains the perceived need of development aid agencies to work on climate change. The way climate change is dealt with differs per organization, but in general there is worked on mitigation, CDM, adaptation awareness raising in the Netherlands, capacity building in developing countries and lobby activities. Since it appeared to be difficult to say something about the need and benefit it was chosen to describe the debates between development aid agencies and other players in the field for the above activities. It is hoped that this will facilitate discussion and learning. Overall it is believed by all respondents that development aid agencies play an important role in asking attention for the impacts of climate change in developing countries now and in the future.

Key words: *Climate Change, Development Aid, Agenda Setting, Policy, The Netherlands*

1. Introduction

Until recently have many development aid agencies considered environmental issues as a separate working field. However there were occasionally forms of cooperation and common grounds between development aid agencies and environmental organizations have developed. During the late 1980s many Dutch organizations from different fields (environmental, peace and development movement) started to cooperate concerning sustainable development (Arts, 1993). It was around this time that another link between the environmental and development aid agencies was established concerning climate change. This development will be described, as well as reasons why climate change is not only an environmental problem, but also a development problem. Finally opportunities and difficulties towards mainstreaming climate change policies in development aid will be described.

Climate change was originally the field of scientists, but developed over time, due to broad scientific consensus on the impacts, to one of the greatest environmental problems for humanity. The term 'climate change' was promoted by environmentalists and has become a very productive term, connecting all kinds of ideas and events (Brick and Mc Greggor Cawley, 2008). Climate change is presently linked with many problems in the world, from extreme weather events to drop backs in development. The link between development (aid) and climate change was established due to several factors, which will be described.

Development assistance has the formal objective of sustainable poverty reduction (Schulpen and Hoebink, 1999). In the Netherlands this holds that aid has two objectives; poverty reduction and economic self-reliance. Originally giving development aid was based on donating development funds and grants to developing countries. By the end of the 1980's this form of development assistance received a lot of criticism (Michaelowa and Michaelowa, 2007a). This has led to a feeling of 'aid fatigue' among donor agencies, donor countries, politicians and NGOs. Despite a growing criticism of society and a critical study from the Stuurgroep Impactstudie Medefinancieringsprogamma, there was a general positive attitude towards the Mede Financierings Organisaties (MFOs) in the Netherlands (Schulpen and Hoebink, 1999). Around this time international climate policy emerged on the international policy-making agenda. The Brundtland Commission (the former World Commission on Environment and Development) was concerned about the deteriorating human environment and natural resources and the possible consequences for economic and social development. This commission simultaneously addressed both development policy and environmental policy, with an emphasis on sustainable development. In 1987 the report 'Our Common Future', also known as the Brundtland report, was published. This report deals with sustainable development and the changes needed by politicians to reach this. The report lay a basis for the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio in 1992. This conference addressed development policy and environmental policy, with a particular emphasis on international climate change policy (Michaelowa & Michaelowa, 2007a). Mintzer and Leonard (1994) state that the overall message of the conference is the shared recognition that all human beings have the right of economic development. However the impacts of economic activity are currently influencing the planet in ways which may irreversibly damage it. This message shows the link between the objective of sustainable poverty reduction and the environment. Michaelowa & Michaelowa (2007a) ascribe the interest in environmental issues of

the development aid community not only to the international policies but see the criticism on development aid at the end of the 1980s as a motive for development agencies to change their agenda's and include other fields of interest like climate change. As mentioned before there was hardly a negative attitude of society towards development aid agencies in the Netherlands. This would imply that the interest in environmental issues from the Dutch development aid agencies had different motives.

Huq et al. (2006) recognize the established link between climate change and development, but state that after the Rio conference interests in climate change and development have evolved somewhat apart. A reason for this can be the fluctuation in attention given to the environment over time. Climate change became a 'hot' topic in the late 1980s and in the early 1990s due to the growing scientific consensus and international policies, but once it became clear that solving the problem is really complex, the topic lost interest from the public. However climate change was able to return to the centre of the agenda in the beginning of the 2000's. Since 2003 many development aid agencies started) to give more attention to climate change (Huq, 2006). A trigger for this was the publication of the report 'Poverty and Climate Change' written by 10 of the leading bilateral and multilateral development funding agencies. This report had the objective to contribute to a global dialogue on ways to mainstream and integrate climate adaptation into poverty reduction efforts (African Development Bank et al., 2003). The key message of this report is that climate change is happening and will increasingly affect the people living in poverty. Therefore climate adaptation is needed so that sustainable development can be ensured. It must be noted that the trend described by Huq et al. is a generalization. There were also development aid agencies that stayed focus on climate change. Overall it appears that agenda-setting is complex and that multiple motives and developments can be triggers for attention.

Since 2003 many articles on the linkages between climate change and development have been published, all underlining the following points. The impacts of climate change will likely to be the highest in developing countries. Besides the impacts are severest for sectors that are highly climate-dependent (notably agriculture). Furthermore the impacts are likely to hit the poorest part of the populations; the ones who are less able to cope or to adapt (Beg et al., 2002; Kok and Coninck, 2007). To put it more straightly, in the long run climate change is a massive threat to human development and in some places it is already undermining the international community's efforts to reduce extreme poverty (UNDP, 2007).

The described impacts underline the need for mainstreaming climate change adaptation in development planning and cooperation. This need is increasingly recognized (Kok and Coninck, 2007) and many development agencies are starting to get more involved in the whole climate change debate (personal observation at Oxfam Novib, 2008).

Kok and Coninck (2007) recognize potential benefits for mainstreaming climate change in the policy domains of poverty reduction, rural development and agriculture, disaster management, energy security, air quality and trade. Mainstreaming is needed to realize development goals and to prevent a drop back in present development standards. Further it is needed to make sure that people living in poverty are able to decrease their vulnerability and to empower themselves to cope with the impacts of climate change (Huq et al., 2006).

Klein et al. (2007) make a few recommendations on how to integrate climate change into development assistance. They suggest that portfolio screening (the systematic examination of an agency's set of policies, programs or projects, with the aim of identifying concerns about climate change, can be combined with the agency's development priorities, such as poverty reduction, institutional development and capacity building) can identify opportunities for the mainstreaming of adaptation to climate change in development aid at national, sub national and local levels. Other conditions for successful mainstreaming include the ability to utilize the vast experiences of people, communities and development agencies with past climate variability, the coordination with ongoing processes within the international climate regime and integrate medium (Klein et al., 2007), strong political will and active follow up (Kok and de Coninck 2007).

The above shows the need for mainstreaming climate change in development policies. This need is not so easy to fulfill, since there are several factors that make mainstreaming quite difficult.

First of all the great number of international treaties, which all have their own rules and regulations, are difficult to mainstream with climate change, since existing policy frameworks are often not designed for mainstreaming and organizational structures are often complicated. Second different communities have different ways of communication and speak different languages. For example climate change will have an impact on the intensity and frequency of natural disasters. This made that climate change has become of interest for the disaster risk reduction community. However this development aid based community and the climate change community speak however 'different' languages. For example the term mitigation means for the disaster risk community: *structural and non- structural measures undertaken to limit the adverse impact of natural hazards, environmental degradation and technological hazards* (ISDR). While for the climate change policy makers the term means: *a human measure to reduce the sources or enhance the sinks of greenhouse gases* (IPCC). (According to IATF/DR, 2006) These 'different' languages show that integration of climate change issues and cooperation between different fields might be difficult. Integration or mainstreaming between the two might also be hard due to different time-scales. For development aid workers climate change is often seen as a long-term problem and it does therefore not always have a priority compared with more urgent matters like food security or disasters (Huq et al., 2006). On the other hand the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were set in 2000 for 2015, so the timescale may not necessary form a problem, the geographical scale however could. Climate change is a global problem, while development aid programs mostly focus on a local or national scale.

The increasing recognition of the need to mainstream climate change in development aid has already led to several initiatives. Klein et al. (2007) have looked at six screenings of development agencies to see to which extent existing development projects already consider climate risks or address vulnerability to climate variability and change and what the opportunities are to incorporate climate change in future projects. From this study it emerged that initially climate change was almost always absent from the agencies activities. Most of the time climate change was seen as an issue of mitigation and as the domain of environment departments. Further little connection was made with the long-term impacts of climate change in areas where it already poses a risk. However since the screenings took place, the political landscape has changed and that there is an increased understanding of the need for mainstreaming. The increased

understanding might have led to mainstreaming initiatives from the development aid agencies.

Michaelowa and Michaelowa (2007a) looked at the linkages between development aid and climate change. Their study shows that when mainstreaming is taking place the development goals are not always warranted. For example using development aid for the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) often leads to a situation in which the people living in poverty are not directly reached. CDM is one of the three mechanisms that are part of the Kyoto protocol. It gives Annex 1 countries the opportunity to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions by investing in projects in developing countries as an alternative to invest in more expensive GHG reduction methods in their own country. The believe is that money spent on renewable energy and energy efficiency projects leads to higher availability of energy, technology transfer and local job creation (Michaelowa and Michaelowa, 2007b). Some NGOs support CDM and the use of forests as 'carbon sinks'. They perceive the latter as a way to conserve forest biodiversity and ecosystem integrity. Others however warn for the negative impacts of large-scale tree plantations and their possible impact on indigenous groups and rural livelihoods (Carpenter, 2001 p. 321)

Presently one post- Kyoto mechanism that brings climate change mitigation and development together is under a lot of discussion. 'Reducing emissions from deforestation in developing countries' (REDD) was introduced during the 11th Conference of the Parties (COP) held in Montreal 2005. This concept of avoided deforestation is getting popular as a climate change policy, despite its controversial points. REDD is difficult to monitor and there might be leakages. Reduced deforestation in one area might implicate deforestation in another area. Furthermore there is still a lot discussion on the way to finance this mechanism. Presently the majority of countries want to create an additional trading mechanism under the Kyoto Protocol for crediting in the post-2012 commitment period.

Michaelowa and Michaelowa (2007a) also give a few more reasons why it is difficult to mainstream development aid with climate change policy. First of all climate change is not explicitly mentioned in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which give clear goals and targets for development. Goal 7 (ensure environmental sustainability), target 1 (integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programs and reverse the loss of environmental) includes climate change activities, but cannot provide a justification for development assistance financing of climate policy activities. The reason for this is that the effect of international agreements to reduce GHG emissions is only relevant in a long term perspective and requires substantial financial investments (Michaelowa and Michaelowa, 2007, p.11). The fact that climate change is not named in the other MDGs could suggest that climate change related activities have not the greatest effect on reducing poverty. One could wonder if, in case the MDGs were developed a few years later climate change would have played a greater role, since halfway the 2000s climate change was high on the international agenda.

Second multiple complementarities, but also many multiple conflicts exist, between the objectives of climate- and development policies. For example hydropower plants can reduce emissions however they can cause resettlements, social unrest, and a loss of housing and productive resources which all could affect poverty. In the end it remains doubtful if the poorest of the poor really benefit from climate change policy options. Michaelowa and Michaelowa (2007b) state that landless laborers do often not benefit from CDM; the employment

benefits for unskilled people are extremely limited, only the higher rural social strata are expected to receive extra income.

The above shows us that there are many reasons to mainstream climate change with development aid, but it also shows that this is not easily done. The success of mainstreaming depends on many factors, and the study of Michaelowa and Michaelowa (2007a) shows that when mainstreaming is not done carefully, the level of development can even fall back. These difficulties have led to the following problem statement.

1.1 Problem Statement

At the moment there is an increase in attention and the need to mainstream climate change in development aid is acknowledged. This development came to existence once it became clear that climate change will put an extra burden on developing countries and therefore might cause a fallback in development. This growing attention has caused that many development aid agencies in the Netherlands are showing an interest in climate change. The linkages between development and climate change were already made clear around the end of the 1980s. Therefore one can wonder why climate change is only recently becoming part of the agenda of development aid agencies. This study has the aim to find out when and why climate change emerged on the agenda of development aid agencies in the Netherlands. As mentioned there are many reasons to mainstream climate change in development aid policies. Despite this it appeared that this is not always done in an effective way. This might have several causes. First of all development aid agencies have hardly ever focused on environmental problems from a historical point of view, this makes climate change a new problem for them to work on. Taking this into account one could wonder why there is suddenly attention for climate change and if this, from origin environmental problem, should be a priority for development aid agencies to work on.

In the MDGs development objectives have been clearly defined and codified. In these goals and targets climate change is not explicitly mentioned. Despite this, many impacts of climate change could however form a (in) direct threat to the realization of the MDGs. Given the history, the not mentioning of climate change in the MDGs and the fact that it seemed like a few years ago suddenly many people in society were interested in climate change, it could be wondered if climate change is not just a new popular 'trend' for development agencies, which they use to focus on other coherent developmental problems. Another factor that gives a bit of friction is that development aid agencies focus on small scale, often short-time scale, developmental aid projects. Climate change is really a global problem with a long time horizon.

Given the above contradictions it seems that climate change does not totally fit as a topic for development aid agencies to work on. This point together with the interest in climate change that only recently evolved makes one wonder what the motives for development aid agencies are to work on climate change. Do they see it as a fashionable concept or as something that they really need to work on. And even in the case of this last mentioned motive it is still questionable if development aid agencies can achieve something by working on climate change. After all the contradictions between climate change policies and development aid make it hard to combine the two. Overall it seems questionable if projects of development aid agencies around climate change can really be seen as effective.

Given the above problems it is needed to look in greater detail to the motives development aid agencies have to work on climate change. Finally since many development aid agencies are, despite the described contradictions, already working on climate change in their projects it is important that they do this in an effective way.

1.2 Research Objective

This research has the aim to uncover the agenda-setting process around climate change at development aid agencies in the Netherlands. It is the intention to understand when and why climate change became part of the agenda. Furthermore it has the aim to explore how effective the policies and projects in the field of climate change are. It is hoped that in this way some recommendations about the benefit and need for taking climate change into account can be made.

1.3 Research Questions

Main Research Questions:

When and why became climate change part of the agenda of development aid agencies in the Netherlands?

To which extent are the policies and projects of development aid agencies around climate change considered as effective?

1.4 Character of the Study

This study can be considered as qualitative in nature with descriptive, explanatory and exploratory elements. It is descriptive since it is describing the present policies and activities of development aid agencies. The study is explanatory in a sense that it is identifying the relation between climate policies with development aid. Furthermore there is examined how several models for agenda-setting relate to the agenda-setting process of development aid agencies. The study can be considered as exploratory because there is little known about the effectiveness of climate policies and activities of development aid agencies, since they just recently started to work on climate change.

1.5 Outline of the Study

This study is structured in the following way. First, in chapter 2, the theoretical framework of this study is given. In this part two aspects of the policy cycle receive attention. First attention is given to agenda-setting and second attention is given to a part of policy evaluation; policy effectiveness. For agenda-setting two well known models, Downs (1972) issue-attention cycle and Kingdon's (2003) policy streams model are described. Besides attention is given to framing theory. In chapter 3 attention is given to the methodology and the methods used. In detail the steps taken to do this research are given. Attention is given to the way the data was collected and analyzed and the overall process of doing research.

In chapter 4 the results around agenda-setting are discussed. There is looked at general and specific developments within organizations in relation with linking development and environment as well as development with climate change. In this part also the results around agenda-setting are discussed at the hand of the theoretical models.

In chapter 5 attention is given to the need and benefit of the policies and activities of development aid agencies. A description of their work is given as well as their own viewpoints on the need and benefit to work on climate change. Besides there is attention for the different points of view of development aid agencies and other organizations concerning the following subjects: mitigation, CDM, adaptation, awareness raising, capacity building and lobby activities. In this way debates around these subjects are described.

In the discussion chapter the results are discussed in relation with the theory and empirical findings of other researches.

Finally in the general conclusion is reflected upon the research objective and questions. In this part attention is given to ideas for future research as well as the policy implications of this research.

2. Theoretical Framework/Literature review

In order to understand how climate change emerged on the international agenda and the agenda of development aid agencies in the Netherlands some theory on the concept of agenda setting will be described. Next to agenda-setting theory some theory on policy effectiveness will be given. At first the policy cycle will shortly be described, since agenda setting and policy effectiveness (part of policy evaluation) are both part of it. The policy cycle can be described as "*One of the most popular means for simplifying policy studies. It simplifies the public policy-making process by disaggregating it into stages and sub-stages*" (Howlett and Ramesh, 2003 p. 11) The stages in the policy cycle are the following:

1. Agenda-Setting
2. Policy Formulation
3. Decision-Making
4. Policy Implementation
5. Policy Evaluation

An advantage of this model is that all stages of the cycle can be investigated separately or in relation with each other. In this model *agenda-setting* refers to the process by which problems come to the attention of governments. *Policy evaluation* refers to the processes by which the results of policies are monitored by both state and societal actors, the outcome of which may be a reconceptualization of policy problems and solutions. This model, which was inspired by work from Jones (1984) and Anderson (1984) (cited in Howlett and Ramesh) has however some disadvantages and has received the following critiques. First the model is quite linear which implies that solving problems would go in a quite systematic way. This is however not always the case and reactions and decisions taken with regard to problems are often taken ad-hoc. Second it remains unclear at which level and with what unit of analysis the policy cycle model should be used. Finally the model does not give any notion of causation, it gives no indicators for going from one stage to another.

When all critiques are taken into account it appears that policy-making is not a linear process. Agenda-setting can even be considered as a sort of ongoing process. This notion fits Downs (1972) Issue-Attention Cycle. At the basis of this model lies the belief that attention for a problem is always fluctuating due to several factors. In this research there is attention for mainstreaming climate change in the policies and activities of developmental aid agencies. This process includes the phase of agenda-setting, since agenda-setting is ongoing during the whole policy-making process.

2.1 Agenda-Setting Theory

In this part of the theoretical framework some of the leading theories known on agenda setting will be described. These theories include Downs (1972) 'Issue-Attention Cycle', Kingdon (2003) streams model, and framing theory. In short these models and their main characteristics will be described.

2.1.1 Downs Issue- Attention Cycle

According to Downs (1972) public attention never stays focused on one issue for a long time period. It seems like problems are suddenly at the centre of public attention and then after a short time, still largely unresolved, fade away from the

centre. Downs describes this development at the hand of the "issue-attention cycle". This cycle has five stages which are shortly described.

1. **The pre-problem stage.** In this stage a social problem exist, however this problem is not yet getting public attention, even though some experts and interest groups might be alarmed by it.
2. **Alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm stage.** In this stage the public becomes aware and alarmed about a problem. This can be through a series of (dramatic) events or other reasons. The alarmed situation goes hand in hand with euphoric enthusiasm about society's ability to solve the problem or do something effective in a relative short time.
3. **Realizing the cost of significant progress stage.** During this stage people begin to realize that the costs of solving the problem are really high -not only money-wise - also major sacrifices by large groups in society are part of the costs. Often, especially in the optimistic American tradition, technology will be pointed out as the way to solve at least part of the problem.
4. **Stage of gradual decline of intense public interest.** When people realize how complex and difficult it is to solve a problem, and especially what it will cost them, they lose interest. There are three reactions that occur most; discouragement, boredom and a feeling of being positively threatened. Usually by this time another issue is entering stage 2 which will receive the mass public attention.
5. **The post-problem stage.** In the final stage the issue has been replaced fro, the centre of public attention and moves into a prolonged limbo. However, sometimes there will be recurrences of interest.

According to Downs (1972) a problem that has gone through the cycle will always receive more attention than a problem that is still in phase 1. Not all problems will go through this cycle. Downs gives three characteristics of problems that shift quickly through the cycle; these problems do not stay in the centre of public attention for a long period. The characteristics are the following:

- the majority of persons in society are not suffering from the problem nearly as much as some minority.
- sufferings caused by the problem are generated by social arrangements that provide significant benefits to a majority of the population.
- the problem is capable of generating 'dramatic' moments, but will not have sustained periods of media attention.

Peter and Hogwood (1985, cited in Howlett and Ramesh, 2003) have discovered two patterns or cycles that work in the issue-attention cycle in addition to what Downs has described. First there are external or exogenous events that lead to crises, in these situations a problem is immediately in the centre of public attention and it will not easily disappear from there. Second there are also problems that appear immediately in the centre of public attention due to effective political leadership.

Brick and McGreggor Cawely (2008) agree with Downs on the point that the capability of generating 'dramatic' moments is needed to mobilize media and public support. This counts for NGOs as well. Carpenter (2001) ascribes the increased media and public interest in climate change to the astonishing rise in the frequency and severity of erratic weather events and catastrophic natural disasters occurring around the globe. This underlines that dramatic events are needed for a problem to appear on the agenda.

2.1.2 Kingdon's Policy Streams Model

A different way to describe agenda setting is the policy streams model of Kingdon. This model was first published in 1984 and describes the agenda setting of governmental agenda's. According to Kingdon agenda setting can be explained at the hand of three streams; problems, politics and visible participants. According to Kingdon agenda-setting is not going in phases as Downs describes, rather there are different processes going on that can be connected with each other (Gestel, 1996). The timing of this connection and making effective use of policy windows are of great importance for agenda setting. To understand this process the 3 streams require some more explanation. First, just as Downs, Kingdon (2003) states that not all problems are able to receive considerable amounts of attention from politicians and policy makers. Kingdon gives some general explanations for problems to come in the centre of public attention including indicators, focusing events and feedback messages. The indicators are effective to get a problem on the agenda, since numbers are acknowledging the seriousness of a problem. Furthermore focusing events like crises or disasters are often leading to attention from politics and policymakers. Next to these explanations feedback messages play a crucial role in making sure that problems receive attention. These messages help officials learn about the operation of existing programs. Kingdon makes a distinction between 3 kinds of feedback messages; information by policy evaluation, through informal channels, or through the ones that implement the policy.

Next to problems, politics are also a stream which can help to get issues on the agenda. Kingdon makes a distinction between 3 components in the political stream; the national mood, organized political power, politicians and the ones working at government departments. Within the national mood, elections can be effective agenda-setters.

In the last stream visible participants are considered as effective agenda setters. Kingdon (2003) defines visible participants as the ones that receive media and public attention like politicians, campaign leaders etc.

As an answer to the question which of all potential issues receives serious consideration Kingdon (2003) gives also an alternative specification. This alternative consists out of the policy stream and the involvement of relatively hidden participants. The latter can be considered as a group of specialists, which are often academics, researchers, or consultants who work for interest groups. These participants are often grouped in communities where loads of ideas come to existence. Their proposals are often tried out in a number of ways, and are sometimes successful in getting an issue on the agenda. The first explanation, the narrowing down of issues in the policy stream, can be perceived as a process of natural selection. There are loads of ideas and policies which will not all survive/ be implemented due to some selection criteria. These criteria include technical feasibility, congruence with the values of community members, anticipation of future constraints, including a budget constraints, public acceptability and politicians' receptivity.

As mentioned Kingdon underlines the importance of linking the three streams with each other and making effective use of policy windows. With making use of policy windows Kingdon means that there should be effective use of opportunities that advocate to push attention to specific problems. According to Kingdon (1984 cited in Gestel, 1996) policy windows are scarce, open irregular and never stay open for a long-time. This makes the whole timing aspect so important. The

linking of these streams at the right time is done by entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurs are people willing to invest their resources in return for future policies that they favor (Kingdom, 2003, p. 204). They are able to highlight the indicators of the problem and dramatize these. Further they create focusing events since they know this can move subjects higher on the agenda. Next to this they will give feedback on government performance by letters, complaints, visits to politicians etc. At last they can softening-up the process when it comes to new proposals, by writing papers, give testimonies, try to get press coverage, meeting people etc. This is a process which can take years. Central to the whole model is the timing and the role of the entrepreneurs to achieve effective agenda setting.

2.1.3 Framing Theory

According to Breeman and Timmermans portraying a problem stand not loose from frames. Frames are policy images that are created by the cognitive processes of information processing, which give meaning to events (Breeman and Timmermans, 2008). Framing can then be seen as the process of applying these policy images and placing problems in a storyline. Entman (1993, cited in Mccombs, 2004, p.87) gives the following definition of framing:

"To frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described."

In short framing is the process of creating an effective storyline around a problem based on a certain context. By framing a problem symbolic and rhetorical value is added which is important for agenda setting an the whole policy process (Stones, 2000 cited in Breeman and Timmermans, 2008)

Baumgartner and Jones (cited in Mccobs, 2004) found that major shifts in public opinion and public policy were frequently preceded by significant shifts in the salient aspects of these issues among the public. Brick and McGreggor Cawley describe somewhat the same, new frames emerge when existing or evolving ideas find new resonance when combined with other ideas. This happens when social reality is changing.

Breeman and Timmermans (2008) describe two different kind of frames; technical and dramatic frames. Within the technical frame the focus is on rational, instrumental, juridical and administrative dimensions of the problem as within the dramatic frame the focus is on political, emotional, and moral dimensions of the problem. It can be expected that the dramatic frame plays a more important role at development aid agencies. The call for a climate law, last summer (2008) by social organizations, can be seen as a siren call in the dramatic frame, meant to put more pressure on the policy-makers.

Another way of describing attention can be done at the hand of venues. Policy venues can be defined as '*(non)- formal platforms and arena's in which visions on problems are formulated and featured*' (Breeman and Timmermans, 2008, p.20) Baumgartner and Jones (1993, cited by Princen, 2007) argue that fundamental policy change often occurs when actors succeed in shifting debates and decision-making on a certain issue to new venues, which are susceptible to different kinds of arguments than the venue(s) originally dealt with the issue.

Within these venues technical and dramatic frames can exist. To change from one frame to another feedback signals and changes in the rhetoric in public and political arenas are needed. This can be caused by a cascade of attention and

feedback, which becomes more and more confronting for the present definition or context of the problem.

2.2 Policy Effectiveness

Policy evaluation can be seen as the policy process stage in which it is determined how a public policy has actually fared in action (Howlett and Ramesh, 2003). Or as Gertson (1997, cited by Howlett and Ramesh) describes it '*policy evaluation assesses the effectiveness of a public policy in terms of its perceived intentions and results*'. In general policy evaluation is concerned with the effectiveness, the efficiency and the appropriateness or legitimacy of a certain policy. Policy effectiveness is thus one of the three pillars of policy evaluation. In policy evaluation there is often a focus on accountability or on learning/improvement of policies.

In this research there is only looked at policy effectiveness. Policy effectiveness can be defined as achieving the objectives of a certain policy (Cracknell, 2000, p. 131). To do this it is needed to study the outcomes of a certain policy. Since in this research the climate policies and projects of development aid agencies in general stand central, a study on the effectiveness of these will be enormous. It is far beyond the scope of this research to go really into depth on this. However given the contradictions between climate change policies and development aid it is wondered how effective the policies and activities of development aid agencies are. In order to study this it was chosen to focus on a more operative definition of effectiveness; the need and benefit. In this study attention is given to the perceived need and benefit of development aid agencies to work on climate change. Attention is thus given to the motives to work on climate change; what are the factors that make it necessary to work on climate change and how beneficial is the work done. What are the results of the present activities and what should be done to reach more? It is recognized that it is hard to draw some conclusions about effectiveness by focusing on this. Therefore this study is not aiming to do what is done in a classical evaluation, namely judging the policies on if they are reaching their goals. Instead it is hoped that by discussing how development aid agencies perceive the need and benefit of their work and how other organizations in the field look at this, a debate is stimulated. It is interesting to see how other organizations, which are sometimes working for a longer time in the field of climate change, experience the way development aid agencies work on climate change. It is believed that by doing this several organizations might be able to learn from each other. To a certain extent this method of looking at effectiveness can be seen as a way to encourage learning.

Kuindersma et al. describe two ways for reporting evaluation; thin and thick descriptions. A thin description is quite shortened; matters are named and explained, but details like specific time and place indications are missing (Kuindersma et al., 2006, p.28) A thick description on the other hand gives a better picture of the complexity of experiences obtained by the evaluation. Instead of using scientific and founded reasoning the evaluation is more described as a story. The evaluator is in this case an active constructor of the text. The evaluation will be described in such a way that there is room for more interpretations and that the readers can form their own conclusions.

Given the extension of this research it can be expected that a thin description will be more appropriate. However a thick description offers more freedom for own interpretations. However in this research it was chosen that no real evaluation is

done, the results concerning the need and benefit will be given in the form of a debate.

3. Methodology

In this part the procedures and methods that were used for data collection and data analysis are discussed. Further attention is given to the process and the problems and limitations of this study.

3.1 Approach and Methods of Data Collection

This research has the aim to find out more about the climate policies of development aid agencies in the Netherlands. The goal is to find out when climate change became part of the agenda and what the underlying motives for this were. Besides there will be looked at the need and benefit of the climate policies and activities of development aid agencies. For this research it was chosen to do a qualitative study in which the climate (related) policies and activities of development aid agencies are the units of analysis.

In order to go into depth on the agenda-setting process, it was chosen to analyze annual year reports of development aid agencies from 1985 until now. The reports were analyzed on their attention given to environmental issues and in particular climate change. Furthermore there was looked at several other documents to get a better feeling of how the development aid agencies are acting on climate change. Next to this several interviews were carried out. The interviews were divided in interviews for development aid agencies and interviews for environmental organizations/ experts. The reason for this was that experts and environmental organizations, who were expected to be longer involved in climate change, could give their opinion about the way development aid agencies are working on climate change. All interviews were semi-structured. At forehand two questionnaires were designed (see annexes 2 and 3). These laid the basis for the interview, but were not really strictly followed during the interviews, so that there was room to discuss additional topics. After all if an interview is too systematic and only following the questions, one would not learn about other important aspects. The questionnaires were designed around the three topics which are part of the theoretical framework; agenda-setting, framing and the need and benefit. All interviews took around 1 hour and were recorded and later typed out. Once this was done the interviews were send back to the respondents, to check if everything was correct.

Given that one should not directly evaluate policy since there is no scientific and impartial way of evaluating policy (Cracknell 2000, p. 274) experts and environmental organizations were involved. In this way an alter-ego perception was created on the policies and activities of development aid agencies. However there was one reason which made this difficult. Experts and environmental organizations were often not that familiar with the policies and activities of development aid agencies concerning climate.

In this research it was chosen to focus on the biggest development aid agencies in the Netherlands; Oxfam Novib, ICCO, Cordaid, Hivos and Plan Nederland. As experts/ environmental organizations informants at DGIS, Both ENDS, ETC Energy, Miliedefensie, Stichting Natuur en Milieu, de Kleine Aarde, IUCN NL and the Red Cross/ Red Crescent Climate Centre were selected. The selection of informants was done by snowball sampling; you ask your informants who else would be interesting to interview. This method is mostly applied when one does not know who to contact as informant. Due to my internship at Oxfam Novib I

had a starting point for the snowball sampling. Some of the informants which were identified as experts/ environmental organizations might be expected to be classified in the field of development aid agencies as well. For example Both ENDS is working on both development and environmental issues. Because they are automatically concerned with environmental issues it was chosen to see them as an environmental organization and not as a development aid agency. Further was it chosen to see the Red Cross as an expert in the field since they have a climate centre and are not a development aid agency but a relief aid agency. ETC Energy is part of the ETC International Group which assists governments, NGOs, development agencies and the private sector in capacity building, evaluation and advice, this caused that they were seen as an expert.

A different kind of interview was held at the Klimaatbureau with the founder of the HIER campaign. One meeting of the working group on adaptation of the HIER campaign was visited as well. The interview and the observation were done when it appeared that for many organization the set-up of the HIER campaign played an important role in the agenda-setting process around climate change.

Most interviews were held at the offices of participating organizations, or at café's in Utrecht and in Wageningen. The interview with de Kleine Aarde was, because of the travel time to this organization, held by phone.

It should be noted that the people that were interviewed played a role as informant and respondent.

3.2 Data Analysis

Once the data was collected it was time to start analyze these. The interview recordings were all typed out and some general coding was done, in order to compare issues per subject.

The data around agenda-setting, the analysis of the annual reports and the interviews, were compared with some well-known theories of agenda-setting. The usefulness of these models in explaining the agenda-setting around climate change for development aid agencies was discussed. The analysis around the effectiveness, the need and benefit, was done at the hand of the interviews. At first the policies and activities per organization were described as well as the perceived need and benefit to work on climate change. It was thought of discussing the need and benefit by making use of alter-ego perception. However this appeared to be difficult since the 'alter' did not always knew in great detail about the policies and activities of development aid agencies. Due to this it was chosen to focus on the different viewpoints that exist between development aid agencies and the environmental organizations and experts. In this way debate on certain issues can be stimulated.

3.3 Process

In general this research was carried out as planned, however there were a few difficulties. First of all it appeared to be difficult to get in contact with the informants at different organizations. It was sometimes hard to schedule interviews, since the informants were all quite busy. The next difficulty arose with the order in which the interviews should be done. It was thought of doing an interview first at all development aid agencies, then at the other organizations and then a second interview at the development aid agencies. Because of the difficulties scheduling the interviews the interviews were not taking place in this

thought of order. This made it not possible to have all the development aid agencies reject on issues that were proposed by environmental organizations or experts. Due to time constraints it was chosen to stick to one round of interviews. Now at the end of this research I do believe that I would not have get more out of it when I would have had a second round of interviews with the development aid agencies. There are no knowledge gaps at this point. There is however a knowledge gap at the side of the environmental organization/ expert side. It appeared that they often do not know in detail what development aid agencies were working on. This made it hard to say something about the need and benefit.

Another difficulty I faced had to do with choosing the right methodology for this research. At first it was thought of doing this research based on the principles of the grounded theory which has foundations in the work of Glaser and Strauss (1967). This theory holds that one will not start a research with the aim to find out if a certain theory is true, but one has the aim to develop a theory based on the collected empirical data. For this kind of research one starts quite blank without any theory. Since I had the feeling that one should not start without knowing some theory I developed a theoretical framework. Later on I shifted again away from the principles of the grounded theory by not following the extensive coding measures to come to a storyline and eventually a theory. I used some coding to make the analysis easier, but did not come up with a storyline and theory. I believe that for building a theory more data is needed. Therefore the aim for this research was not to discover theory but to say something about the effectiveness and make some recommendations by making use of ego-alter perception. Since this idea was shifting too much away from the original principles of the grounded theory it was chosen to let go of this methodology. This change in methodology half way this research has probably not led to any shortcomings since I was not following the principles of the grounded theory strictly from the beginning.

Despite the above described problems the carrying out of this research went quite well and was a good opportunity to get better insight on how things are arranged within organizations.

4. Agenda setting

In this chapter the agenda-setting process around climate change for development aid agencies will be analyzed. For this the annual reports as well as the interviews form the basis information. These data are linked with the issue-attention cycle of Downs as well as with the streams model of Kingdon. There will be looked to an alternative way of explaining agenda-setting as well; framing theory. The applicability of the models for explaining the agenda-setting around climate change at development aid agencies will be discussed.

4.1 Linking Environment with Development

The first data around climate change date long back, despite this it took a long time before the effects of climate change became a subject for international policies and media attention. The five development aid agencies that were subject of this study were relatively late when it came to putting climate change on their agenda's. Cordaid was among the first in 2002/2003 then ICCO and Hivos followed in 2003/2004 and after that Oxfam Novib started to work on it in 2006 and Plan Nederland started only in 2008.

In order to understand this relatively 'late' interest in climate change there must be looked at several developments that played a role in the agenda-setting process.

In the past environmental issues and development issues were often considered as separate fields of interest. A change took place around the end of the 1980s when the Brundtland report was published. This report linked developmental issues with deteriorating of the environment and natural resources. Then in 1992 the Rio conference putted even a greater emphasis on linking development and environment. The development aid agencies show quite some similarities with these developments.

Annual reports from (Oxfam) Novib, ICCO and Hivos show that around the mid-1980s none of these organizations had specific policies or counterparts that were concerned with environmental issues. Instead the organizations were mainly focusing on the more 'obvious' development themes, like education, health care, agriculture and food security. ICCO however had within the sector rural development the sub-sector energy and ecology. This sub-sector was focusing on energy-planning, fuel-wood supply, forestry and alternative forms of energy. So energy was already in the 1980's a point of attention.

Around the end of the 1980s there is a change visible at the three organizations. In the annual report of Novib in 1988 it is in the introduction part underlined that poverty reduction is automatically linked with problems around peace and the environment. In the following years attention for the environment is increased and it is recognized that the environment and poverty are inextricably linked with each other. The attention for the environment shows itself mainly by attention for the conservation of tropical rainforests.

At ICCO the attention goes mostly out to ecology and the position of indigenous people in the Amazon region, because of increasing deforestation and mining. From 1991 onwards the environment is given more priority in policies. There is an increase in attention for the environment in relation with the cooperation with partners. Some examples of this are:

- projects that are beneficiary for both the environment and development

- partners who are preparing themselves for the UNCED Rio Conference in 1992
- partners who are lobbying against nuclear experiments in the pacific.

At Hivos the attention for the environment expresses itself in attention for keeping an ecological balance and a concern about tribes living in forests. Hivos published a nota on development and environment in which it is stated that Hivos would like to integrate the environment in their work. At that moment they are not blind for their own imperfection and they are aware of the need to integrate. This nota caused a change in the program and Hivos starts to 'ecologize' their programs. Point of departure for this is that degradation of the environment is a result of social economic processes which are focused on growth and capital-accumulation. Therefore it is needed to link economic growth with an ecological context. This understanding expresses itself in the following actions:

- to stimulate counterparts to adopt environmental friendly production methods.
- to stimulate awareness and lobby activities among partner organizations.
- to show active environmental oriented behavior. e.g. participate in environmental working groups, and increase cooperation with European environmental organizations.

The above shows that the organizations all recognized a link between development and environment. Hivos and ICCO put an emphasis on ecology and indigenous people. All these developments are in line with the more general developments in the world like the publication of the Brundtland report, and the UNCED meeting in Rio in 1992. These two events made the linkages between development and environmental policies clear and were responsible for getting this higher on the agenda. Besides the UNCED meeting was probably responsible for the extra emphasis on indigenous people living in forest areas.

Around the same time a nota called Environment and Development was published by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was also a call for linking these two fields. The above described events can explain the sudden interest in environmental issues from development aid agencies.

Once it appeared that environmental issues were hard to mainstream with development aid the attention given to the environment changed; we see a decline or change in the focus on environmental issues at the three organizations. In the second part of the 1990s it became clear at Novib that environmental aspects were often not that well integrated in projects and that the environment was too often perceived as an independent factor. This has led to a change in the policy; the number of environmental partners was reduced and mutual cooperation was strengthened. In 1999 was there for the last time special attention for the linkages between environment & development. Just recently the focus on environmental issues was still not integrated. Sabina Voogd, lobbyist at Oxfam Novib shows this. She cited Sylvia Borren, the former director, who said in 2006 at the party of 50 years Novib, that sustainable development was an issue for the environmental NGOs. This citation shows that the environmental concern at the head of the organization was not present a few years ago.

At ICCO there were kind of the same difficulties; they found it hard to create a general environmental policy. This had several reasons. At first the topic was considered too broad. Next the environmental situation differs greatly among places and at last there is a field of tension between the short-term planning on

poverty reduction and the longer-term planning that giving attention to the environment requires.

Due to these difficulties it was decided that partners would no longer be tested on environmental aspects as a standard procedure. From then on the attention for environmental issues remained and was often linked to trade, loans and credit opportunities.

In 1990 it is recognized at Hivos that it is not easy to integrate environmental concern in the programs. Despite this Hivos has 10 specific environmental counterparts. In 1992 Hivos examines its environmental policies carefully. The number of pure environmental counterparts has increased from 5 in 1989 to 22 in 1992. Half of all the counterparts are considered sustainable. However 40 % of all counterparts do not take the environment into account. An example of difficulties with integrating environment can be found in Africa. Often it was difficult to integrate principles of sustainable development due to a lack of capacity. As stated in the annual report of 1997 it is a search towards a win-win situation for the environment and economy. In 1999 a policy letter 'Milieu en Duurzame Ontwikkeling' is published. In this it is stated that Hivos will focus on counterparts that put ecological matters in a broader context.

At Plan Nederland the annual reports were not analyzed on attention for environmental issues, because they just started to pick up the climate theme. Climate change policies did not even have official status yet. In the past they did not have any environmental policies as well. Around the mid-nineties there was however a feeling at Plan International (the international section of which Plan Nederland is part) that it was needed to integrate environmental issues. However according to Soebroto (Plan Nederland, 2009) these plans never had a real content.

Cordaid was formed in the year 2000 out of separated organizations. The environmental attention was mainly focusing at sustainable agriculture, as part of food security, and issues in relation with disaster risk reduction.

Overall it can be concluded that from the late 1980's the concern for linking development and environment has grown. From then on Novib, Hivos and ICCO experienced some difficulties with creating environmental policies. All three organizations choose to follow different pathways. Despite this they are now all aware of the climate change problem and the implications of this for development aid. The climate change policies and activities of all organizations show some similarities but also quite some differences. What these are will not be discussed in this chapter. Instead here the focus will lie explaining the motives for putting climate change on the agenda and how these developments can be linked with the theoretical models.

4.2 Linking Climate Change with Development

Climate change was for a long time only of interest for a group of scientists. This changed in mid 50's until the mid 80's when climate change started to get attention from the environmental movement as well. During the period mid 1980s – beginning of the 1990s climate change was high on the international agenda due to several international publications and meetings like the Brundtland report in 1987 and the UNCED meeting in Rio in 1992. Around this time scientists and policy makers were increasingly concerned that climate change was a real threat, and not a distant possibility. This concern automatically developed in a consensus that a legally bounding international

agreement was needed to deal with climate change (Bodansky, 1994). During the following years attention fluctuated and was for quite some time not really high. This can probably be ascribed to the difficulties around the implementation of the Kyoto protocol.

It seemed that a few years ago climate change was suddenly back in the centre of public attention. This was largely contributed to effective agenda setting by Gore, the publication of the latest IPCC report, and the STERN review. Furthermore there became and still is an increasing number of scientific evidence available on climate change and its impacts. From then on it seemed that climate change was much more than an environmental problem. It seems to be an overarching term connecting all kinds of problems.

The described developments have played a role in the agenda-setting process of development aid agencies as well. The majority of the development aid agencies started to link environment with development during the late 1980s. This is in line with the global developments. The attention for climate change stayed behind. However it could be reasoned that development aid agencies were indirectly concerned with it. After all they were concerned about biodiversity and deforestation; these problems have a climate component. According to Wiertsema (Both Ends, 2008) there was a concern that with the disappearance of the lungs of the earth, climate change would take place in Western Europe. From the annual reports it became clear that indeed deforestation was on the agenda of the development aid agencies. So indirectly they were involved with the climate change problem.

The present attention for climate change shows more similarities with the general climate change agenda.

Gore and the IPCC have played an important role in the general agenda-setting process around climate change. To which extent they influenced development aid agencies is however hard to tell. Gore, for example does not focus much on the impacts of climate change for developing countries. Gore, the IPCC and the STERN Review have however increased the awareness within organizations as the following quotations show.

'The real consciousness at development aid agencies came when Al Gore putted climate change on the agenda. Before, it was really hard to get some attention from development aid agencies for climate change related problems. We held presentations at Novib, Hivos and also here at ICCO to explain the development dimension of climate change. It took really a long time, several years, to get development aid agencies on the right track. Then, Al Gore achieved a lot with stimulating the consciousness process also within development aid agencies' (de Gans, ICCO, 2008).

'The work of Al Gore made it easier to integrate climate change in the organization. But it had also some negative consequences. Some people might see it as a fashionable concept or as an extra topic in which they have to invest time. So it has two sides. But everybody knows now that something has to happen and for this Al Gore was helpful' (Kamil, Cordaid, 2009).

The above may indicate that by giving attention to climate change development aid agencies cater to a social trend. Despite this indication, all development aid agencies see their work as something that is needed, often from a moral point of view. They are not interested in climate change, because it is a 'hot' topic. That climate change is not picked up as a trend is shown by the following quotation.

'Social trends did not play a role, since our sponsors are not involved in climate change, or at least we only address them about the problems of children in developing countries. So they are focused on children. That does not mean that our sponsors are not climate conscious, I assume they are just as the rest of the average Dutch and that they sometimes leave the car at home and give a donation to an environmental organization. As part of our new climate policy we want to raise awareness on climate change both to our sponsors and the rest of the Netherlands' (Soebroto, Plan Nederland, 2009).

The word trend implicates that something is a fashion so it will not stay in the centre of attention. This decrease of attention is not likely to occur for climate change as the following quotations show.

'I do not expect that climate change is a subject that will disappear soon from the agenda. But you never know this for sure' (Kamil, Cordaid 2009).

'The measures taken are still too little and it will take a while before they do their work. Even if we act in an appropriate way on climate change we will still have to face the impacts this century. The global warming will still continue as well as an increase in cyclones, flooding etc. So I expect that the attention for climate change will grow as well as the money that becomes available to act on it' (Oppenoorth, Hivos 2008).

'I expect that the attention will grow further in the future, because the latest scientific publications show that the situation might be worse than was written in the latest IPCC report. Therefore I believe that climate change will stay on the agenda for the time being' (de Gans, ICCO, 2008).

These statements show that the majority of development aid agencies expect that climate change will stay high on the agenda.

Overall it seems that the increase in awareness on climate change and its impacts in developing countries were an important trigger for development aid agencies to get involved in climate change. It is therefore not surprising that all development aid agencies feel that it is very needed that they work on climate change, since climate change is already undermining their present development work.

An additional reason to get involved in climate change could have to do with emission trading, and especially money that can be generated through the CDM mechanism.

The development aid agencies that were subject of this study were not all involved in CDM practices or other ways of emission trading. At the moment only ICCO is, and Hivos wants to get involved in CDM projects that have the gold standard certification. Both organizations find the additional money that can be generated by emission-trading interesting.

'Climate change hinders development but also creates certain chances, especially the financing means that become available additional to the ODA financing' (Oppenoorth, Hivos, 2008).

A national development that had to do with generating extra income as well is the creation of the HIER campaign by the Klimaatbureau. Schöne, program director of the HIER campaign, was working at WNF for quite some time, when he realized that he was ready for a new challenge. In the process of finding out

what to do, an offer of the postcode lottery crossed his mind. The postcode lottery wanted to increase the effectiveness of NGOs by having all NGOs working on one central theme, which will also start to live among society. Schöne believed that climate change was a good theme for this, since he already heard about the changes climate change would bring from colleagues at the WNF but also from his wife, who is the head of the Red Cross/Climate Centre. This was all in 2004. At first the postcode lottery doubted about the theme, but agreed finally. Schöne visited all the NGOs and ask them to join the campaign while making them a good offer.

'We said if you cooperate you receive 400.000,- Euros' (Schöne, Klimaatbureau, 2009).

Some development aid agencies participated in the HIER campaign before they had a policy or activities in the field of climate change. One could wonder if the financial means that were given at forehand were a reason to get involved in climate change. According to Schöne, money could have played a role in the process of joining the HIER campaign.

'If you ask organizations to participate and you would not been able to offer them any money, then this works differently, we immediately say you receive 400.000 Euro's' (Schöne, Klimaatbureau, 2009).

It is also well possible that the HIER campaign was a trigger for organizations to go more into depth on the climate change problem and by doing so became more aware of the need to work on climate change. This could have been a reason to integrate climate change in their work.

Some organizations, e.g. Hivos and ICCO, had employees who were aware of climate change and tried to get this on the agenda for quite some time. They were effective key-players within the organization, which lobbied to get climate change higher on the agenda.

At Cordaid, which is focusing largely on relief aid and disasters, an increase was recognized in the number of disasters. This made them look at the causes; which led them, among other things, to climate change. Agenda setting was thus triggered by changes in the work of Cordaid, which led to an increase in awareness on climate change. The same counts for Plan Nederland.

'From 2007 we were convinced that we had to take climate change seriously. This because there was increasing evidence that climate change already affects children in developing countries' (Soebroto, Plan, 2009).

At Oxfam Novib the need to work on climate change came for a large part from the other Oxfams, who made them more aware. The same counts for a lesser extent for Plan Nederland. Plan International was already working on climate change before they did.

Overall there are thus a few developments that could have played a role in the agenda-setting process;

- More knowledge became available, (IPCC, STERN and other scientific papers).
- Al Gore was able to receive great media and political attention around climate change.
- There are opportunities to generate additional resources by working on climate change.
- Climate change was already affecting development aid.

How these developments relate to the models that were described in the theoretical framework will be discussed next.

4.3 Downs Issue attention cycle

Downs issue attention cycle is characterized by several phases. Climate change can to a certain extent be linked with these phases. The pre-problem stage can be seen as the period from the mid 50's until the mid 80's when climate change was of interest for a group of scientists and started to get attention from the environmental movement. The second phase can be seen as the period from 1985-1992 when climate change was high on the international agenda (Brundtland ('87) and Rio ('92) etc.) and public and political interest grew. As mentioned by Downs this phase is known for its euphoric enthusiasm. A quote by Bush senior (1988 cited by Bodansky, 1994) underlines this; *'Those who think we're powerless to do anything about the 'greenhouse effect' are forgetting the 'white house effect'. As president I intend to do something about it'*. This optimism disappeared for a part when it became clear that it was difficult to formulate an international agreement. The present Kyoto protocol is now often seen as a failure. The public optimism to solve the 'problem' faded away when people started to realize the complexity and cost any solution would bring. Besides identifying a small number of powerful forces that can be portrayed as acting out of selfish motivation, such as large multinational firms or political corrupt administrations, is a far more successful storyline for NGO's to promote, than a 'we are all to blame' message (Gough and Shackley, 2001). With climate change is it hard to blame just a small group, since it is a global problem. From this point onwards, one could say that there was a decline of intense public interest, however around 2006 climate change was back on everyone's agenda. It seems that climate change was in phase 5, the post-problem phase, for quite some time and that it is going through a phase of recurrence of interest the last couple of years. As indicated the development aid agencies are just recently showing an interest in climate change. The present situation seems to be one that is in phase 3. Climate change is in the centre of attention and the costs to solve it or bring it to a stop are realized. Development aid agencies, politicians, organizations, scientists and the public are becoming increasingly aware of the seriousness of the climate change problem and do realize that even if we act upon climate change today we will experience the effects anyway. Following the issue-attention cycle the next phase is characterized by gradual decline of public interest. It is however not expected that attention will shift away at the development aid agencies, since they are expecting or are giving more attention to climate change in their policies. Downs originally used his issue-attention cycle for describing the concern for environment. In here he describes that the issue of environmental quality will eventually move to the fourth phase, but that this will not occur soon. Shifting through the attention cycle does thus not necessary need to happen soon. Downs described a few characteristics for issues that move fast through the cycle. These are not well applicable to climate change, which indicates that it is not likely that climate change will soon be in the fourth phase. The first characteristic holds that the majority of persons in society are not suffering as much from the problem as some minority. This characteristic is probably not applicable to climate change; climate change is global problem. It became clear that the people living in developing countries, which is the majority of all people, will be the ones that are worst affected. The way people will be able to cope or to adapt to climate change will depend on many factors. It is not the aim to go into depth on this. In fact climate change is affecting all people in some or a lesser extent. This means that the first characteristic of Downs for a problem to shift easily from the centre of public attention is not applicable for

climate change. As earlier described it seemed that climate change already went through the cycle once. This makes one wonder if around that time this characteristic was applicable. It can be reasoned that it was, since then the seriousness of the problem was often not clear or not believed. The majority of people did thus not (yet) believe that they would suffer from the impacts of climate change.

The second characteristic given by Downs, sufferings caused by the problem are generated by social arrangements that provide significant benefits to a majority of a population, is partly met. Climate change is for a large part caused by human action by adding GHG to the atmosphere. This has brought economic development for many people in the world. However welfare is not fairly distributed around the world and access to energy can often be linked with increasing welfare. The emissions of GHG has led to benefits for many people in the world, but this is for sure not the majority of people living on this world. However the minority that has benefited from the emission of GHG are the industrialized countries that can be considered as the ones that have the most influence in the world. It can be reasoned that since a 'we are to blame message' is not that attractable attention is tried to kept low. So literally this characteristic given by Downs is not applicable. However when seeing the influential part of the world as the majority this characteristic is met.

The third characteristic, the problem is capable of generating 'dramatic' moments, but not sustained periods of media attention, is partly met. Climate change is for sure able to cause dramatic moments, since it is related to an increase in the frequency and intensity of weather-related disasters. However it is more than just that, it seems that climate change has become part of the public agenda. Climate change is likely to stay in the centre of attention for a long time-period.

The characteristics of problems that shift easily through the cycle are thus not totally applicable for climate change. Therefore it is not expected that climate change will soon shift to phase 4. This makes one wonder if this eventually will happen. The overall majority of informants expect that attention for climate change will stay since it is a crisis situation.

'Mostly you see that a cycle takes place every 20 years. For example if education was on the agenda 20 years ago, it has disappeared and come back now. The same counts for energy, it is very clear here, end of the 1980's it was on the agenda and now it is back again. I am not sure if this cycle is applicable for climate change. Energy was more a theme and climate change is more a crisis, therefore the cycle might not be suitable for climate change. This cycle is called by some the policy evaporation cycle; attention for sudden themes suddenly evaporates and returns every 20 years' (Oppenoorth, Hivos, 2008).

According to Peter and Hogwood (1985 cited in Howlett and Ramesh, 2003) it can be that there are external or exogenous events that lead to crises, which place an issue immediately in the centre of public attention. If climate change is perceived as a crisis it will not follow the issue attention cycle as described by Downs. Despite the fact that Downs indicates that problems can stay for quite some while in phase 3 before attention shifts, the model is still not well applicable for climate change. Climate change is a problem that is concerned with such long-time periods that it is not likely that within a few years attention will shift away. All organizations indicate that attention is more likely to grow. This makes it hard to imagine that the attention for climate change will shift

away in the coming years. Therefore it seems that the attention for climate change cannot be described as a cycle.

4.4 Kingdon's Policy Stream Model

A different way of describing the agenda-setting process of development aid agencies can be done at the hand of the policy streams model of Kingdon. This model explains agenda-setting at the hand of problems, politics and visible participants. According to Kingdon agenda setting is not going in phases as Downs describes, rather there are different processes going on that can be connected with each other (Gestel, 1996).

For problems there are three explanations to come in the centre of public attention: indicators, focusing events and feedback messages. The first one, indicators, are numbers that show the seriousness of the problem. This can for example be the report of the IPCC. But also the STERN-review, which indicates that if there is no action now, the costs to act upon climate change will be higher. Another indicator that could have played an important role in the agenda-setting process was a report of the UN about the number of natural disasters. This report showed that the last 20 years the number of natural disasters has grown enormously and that this is partly due to climate change. Next to indicators, focusing events play an important role in getting a problem in the centre of public attention. These events can be crises or disasters. It is clear that climate change can be linked with this. The increase in the frequency and intensity of natural disasters can be partly ascribed to climate change.

The last explanation to get problems on the agenda has to do with feedback messages. This has played a role at Plan and at Cordaid. Both organizations learned about climate change, because they experienced its impacts in their work.

Another stream that is effective in agenda setting is politics. Within this stream politicians can play an important role. Gore can be an example of this. His successful agenda setting was probably also due to the fact that he is a well-known person, since he was running for the white house in 2000 and was vice-president under Clinton from 1993-2001. Furthermore the STERN-review is a publication by the British government and received therefore probably more attention.

The last stream that is important in agenda setting is that of visible participants. These are the ones that receive media and public attention. Examples of these are Gore and the HIER campaign. That the HIER campaign played an important role in the Netherlands is shown by the following quotation.

'We, with very limited people, have created the most important environmental action of the last couple of years. We have had that party with Al Gore, the live Earth Alert, the climate street party, and we introduced the concept of climate-neutrality. If you ask people what has been done on the environment the last couple of years than that are the most known things' (Schöne, Klimaatbureau, 2009).

Next to the 3 streams Kingdon 2003 gives an alternative explanation for agenda setting based on hidden participants and by alternatives that are narrowed down by the policy stream. The latter includes often specialists, researchers etc. who work in interest groups and have loads of ideas. Sometimes, mostly by lobbying, these ideas are picked up in the policy stream. Maybe this can be linked to the IPCC. The latest report seemed to get more attention from the public, politicians

and the media. However this could have to do with the increase in scientific evidence as well.

The narrowing down of issues along the policy stream can be seen as a process of natural selection. The criteria for this include technical feasibility, congruence with the values of community members, anticipation of future constraints including, budget constraints, public acceptability and politicians' receptivity. This criteria seems quite logic, only policies that are really feasible and accepted will remain high on the agenda.

According to Kingdon issues occur high on the agenda when the three streams come together. We saw this happening with climate change. Around the same time more indicators (more scientific evidence and an increase in disasters) were available, Gore started asking attention for climate change, and development aid workers started to experience the impact of climate change in their work. When the three streams come together, by the work of entrepreneurs, and there is made use of the opening of a policy window, an issue appears high on the agenda. Entrepreneurs are able to highlight the indicators of the problem and dramatize these. Why and how at a certain moment a policy window opens is not clear, but it can partly be ascribed to the fact that the US had just experienced an enormous disaster by hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, which was ascribed to climate change. Besides, according to Breeman and Timmermans (2008), environmental issues are likely to get more attention in times of economic progress, which was the case in 2006.

In contrast with Downs the model of Kingdon is not based on the idea that the attention for climate change will shift away in the future. It gives an explanation why issues appear on the agenda in more detail, while Downs's model is mainly focusing on why issues do not stay on the agenda. Kingdon's model is quite helpful in understanding the agenda setting of climate change in the last few years. The model would have been suitable to explain the agenda-setting process of development aid agencies around climate change if it was not so that some organizations were working on the subject before climate change was back in the centre of public attention, before the three streams were linked. Furthermore the additional resources that could have played a role in the agenda-setting process are hard to place in this model. An often-heard critique on the model is that Kingdon sees the 3 three streams as independent (Gestel, 1996). As shown there is sometimes an overlap between the streams. Overall the model does not help in explaining the complete picture; one cannot explain why a certain issue gets on the agenda by just these three streams. The real situation seems to be more complex.

4.5 Framing Climate Change

As described in chapter two new frames emerge when existing or evolving ideas find new resonance when combined with other ideas. This happens when social reality is changing. The concept of climate change has been reframed. Brick and McGreggor Cawley (2008) describe that climate change evolved from scientific discourses to become a key environmental frame. But next to this environmental frame, climate change has evolved to a breakthrough frame, connecting all kinds of ideas and events that previously were not understood as connected (Brick and McGreggor Cawley, 2008). It has become a really effective term or as Segal (2008, p. 307) puts it climate change has evolved on to a celebrity status. *'Discussion of the greenhouse effects and its implications were once the boutique musings of environmental policy wonks. No longer. A major motion picture, an*

Academic Award, a Nobel Prize, not to mention frequent appearances throughout popular culture, have elevated climate change to celebrity status’.

This change in how we see and perceive climate change over the years can be linked to the agenda-setting process of development aid agencies. For example it could be that the importance for development aid agencies was not or little perceived, because climate change was always seen through the environmental lens. The change from an environmental frame to a breakthrough frame implies that climate change is no longer perceived as just an environmental problem. This would mean that development aid agencies recognize the linkages between climate change and development. The following quotations show that they indeed do.

‘Climate change is for sure an environmental problem, but it has social and economic dimensions as well. It is an environmental problem in terms of a decrease in biodiversity, a series of processes that destabilize ecosystems. But it is not only an environmental problem; otherwise we would not be working on climate change within Hivos (Oppenoorth, Hivos, 2008).

‘It is for sure an environmental problem, because it has to do with all kinds of natural factors and processes on earth. But it has a development side as well. This has not been recognized by development aid agencies for a long time, also not by ICCO. But today it is evident that this developmental aspect is present. And I believe that climate and energy should be a priority for development aid agencies, especially in the future. That is my personal opinion’ (De Gans, ICCO, 2008).

‘Climate change is not just an environmental problem; it is caused by environmental and human causes. It has also many impacts in other fields. So it is a combination of a environmental and a developmental problem. In our eyes it is not pure an environmental problem’ (Kamil, Cordaid, 2009).

The above shows that climate change is indeed seen as a problem that is linking all kinds of problems. This is in line with the present dominant frame. From the analysis of the annual reports it appeared that it was often difficult to link development issues with environmental issues. This, and the previous dominant frame of perceiving climate change as an environmental problem, could mean that in the past years development aid agencies thought differently about climate change. It is likely that a change took place. For example until recently sustainable development was thought of something for the environmental organizations at Oxfam Novib. This shows that there has been a change in the last couple of years.

This change can be explained at the hand of technical and dramatic frames. At first climate change was really the field of scientist and it focused more on the rational. Now this has shifted to the feeling that there is a moral obligation to act on climate change. Pictures of melting ice caps, swimming polar bears, and disasters, like droughts, flooding etc. are all used to cater our emotions. Furthermore there is in politics an increasing attention for environmental issues, ways to decrease our CO₂ emissions and global arrangements. There is thus a growing focus on the political, emotional and moral attentions; this indicates a shift from a technical to a dramatic frame.

To change from one frame to another, feedback signals and changes in the rhetoric in public and politic arenas are needed. This can be caused by a cascade

of attention and feedback, which becomes more and more confronting for the present definition or context of the problem. The shift from one frame to another has in this case probably a lot to do with the role of science and the increasing number of reports that were published. The increasing evidence that climate change is really happening and that it will have severe impacts for many people has largely caused the shift to a more dramatic frame.

Overall it can be concluded that climate change is no longer perceived through just the environmental frame; it has become a breakthrough frame connecting all kinds of problems. This new way of framing can explain the interest of development aid agencies in climate change. It is however difficult to say if this renewed framing as such was responsible for this interest. As indicated earlier there were several developments that were responsible for putting climate change on the agenda of development aid agencies. Framing as such cannot explain all these motives. The increasing knowledge about climate change and the perceived urgency to act can be linked with framing theory. The success of Al Gore can also be linked with framing. He was one of the key-players in reframing climate change. But other motives like extra resources have nothing to do with framing. It seems like framing theory has some similarities with the policy streams model of Kingdon. The reframing of a problem resembles the opening of a policy window, since both stand at the beginning of having a new look on a certain problem. Furthermore in both models feedback messages play an important role. For framing, changes in the rhetoric in public and politic arenas are needed. This seems a bit similar to the politics stream of Kingdon in which changes in the national mood play an important role. Next to this similarities the models differ as well. Kingdon's model seems to give a more complete picture than framing, since with framing there is less attention for the process that is happening before framing. So framing offers a good opportunity for explaining the change in perceiving climate change at the development aid agencies, but fails in explaining all the motives that played a role in agenda setting.

4.6 Conclusion

When all developments around the agenda-setting of climate change at development aid agencies are taken into account it can be concluded that they were relatively late in putting climate change on the agenda. The most suitable explanation for this is that until recently they were not aware of the seriousness of the problem or believed that climate change was not part of their working field. Elements of the above described models seem to be useful in explaining the agenda setting of development aid agencies around climate change, but all fail to give the complete picture.

The model of Downs is the least applicable. This model is mainly focusing on why problems disappear from the agenda instead of focusing on how and why issues get on the agenda. All development aid agencies have the expectation that climate change will stay on the agenda for a long time. This makes it hard to see the attention for climate change as a cycle process like Downs model. However it can be expected that even when climate change is high on the agenda, attention will still be somewhat fluctuating, because there will always be concurrence from other problems.

In contrast to Downs, Kingdon does not say anything about how the amount of attention fluctuates once an issue is on the agenda. He explains how the coupling of factors together with the opening of a policy window offer the opportunity to get a certain issue high on the agenda. This explanation fits for a large part the

developments seen at the development aid agencies. The three streams, problems, politics and visible participants can all be linked with the developments at the development aid agencies. Despite this also this model can not give the complete picture; for example the motive of additional resources can not be explained by it.

The reframing of climate change has caused that it is seen as a broader problem and that the need work on it has become clearer. There is now more attention for the impacts on developing countries. This probably caused the increased attention at development aid agencies as well as the support within the organizations to work on the topic. Framing is useful in explaining the change in the way climate change was perceived by development aid agencies. However framing alone is not able to explain the agenda-setting process, since not all the motives can be linked with it.

It can be concluded that all models have interesting points, but none of them gives the complete picture. In order to explain the agenda setting around climate change of development aid agencies probably a combination of models is needed.

All development aid agencies started to work on climate change at different times and had occasionally different motives for this. In general it can be concluded that they are all working on climate change now because they realize that they have to since climate change will undermine development aid. In the end this notion is the most important factor for development aid agencies to put climate change on their agenda. All other possible motives given seem less essential.

5. The need and benefit of climate policies and projects

In this chapter attention will be given to the policies and projects of development aid agencies involving climate change. At first these policies and projects will be described at the hand of the available data; annual reports, other policy documents, and the interviews. Then it will be discussed why these policies and activities are needed and beneficial according to the development aid agencies. Next, there is looked to specific activities where development aid agencies work on, and how environmental organizations and experts perceive these; the present ongoing debates for a few topics are thus described. Since it was beyond the scope of this research to do a complete evaluation research it was chosen to focus on the need and the benefit of policies by making use of an alter-ego perception. As indicated this was difficult to do, therefore it was decided to describe the debates on certain issues. It was chosen to focus on the opinions of others since it is recognized by Cracknell (2000, p.23) that the outside evaluator is trapped in an epistemological cocoon. This holds that the vision of the researcher is blurred and bent and can by no means reflect accurately on the complex and divers realities of people and institutions.

5.1 Climate Change Policies and Projects

The five development aid agencies that are subject of this study show some similarities in the work they undertake in the field of climate change and some differences. In this part the activities per organizations are described as well as the way climate change is integrated in the organizations. Further attention is given to the way the organizations perceive their own need and benefit to work on climate change.

5.1.1 Cordaid

Cordaid has been focusing on Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) for quite some years. It is therefore not surprising that when it comes to climate change the focus lies mainly on these DRR programs. In these programs attention is given to climate adaptation. An example of this is the Drought Cycle Management Program in the Horn of Africa. In this program it is tried to integrate climate models in the present Disaster Risk Reduction work. Recently there is more attention given to DRR practices in relation with climate change in cities. Furthermore attention is given to the linkages between scarcity of food and water and climate change and how Cordaid should act upon this. Next to this, attention is given to the usage of biofuels and the deforestation problem; this can be considered as work in the field of mitigation. As an organization, Cordaid tries to become climate neutral. Cordaid does hardly receive any climate-related applications for funding from counterparts. Kamil (2009) believes that this is because people are not yet aware of the concept of climate change.

'They say for example we experience an increase in droughts and we want to act upon this, can you help us with this. Or there is a real emergency situation for which aid is needed, or people are working with biofuels' (Kamil, Cordaid, 2009).

Cordaid raises awareness among counterparts by workshops, and in the DRR training program a part on climate change is added. Next to these activities

Cordaid is part of the HIER-coalition and works together with an international catholic caritas network on a worldwide campaign for the introduction of a balanced climate policy.

Around January 2009 there still was a discussion going on whether or not climate change should be integrated at all departments. It was expected that this will not be the case yet and that it will be integrated where it is necessary. Kamil is working on a new strategic plan in which climate change will be taken into account, probably as something that needs to be integrated in the present work and not as a separate working field. Despite this effort there will probably remain departments that have less affinity with climate change.

'There are also departments that have less affinity with the subject. We try to change this, but this takes time since we are only working with a limited number of people in this field. With the coming of a new strategic plan, everybody has to think about climate change but if they will really pick it up... I am not sure. It will take time. It is one of the many themes that we have to work on; we have to do something with gender, with HIV/Aids, etc. So sometimes people are already full with the topics that they have to work on' (Kamil, Cordaid, 2009).

With the approval of projects climate change is sometimes taken into account. In the disaster risk reduction department, however, climate change is automatically taken into account. Overall it is indicated that it will take time to integrate climate change in all the departments of the organization.

According to Kamil it is needed that development aid agencies work on climate change for several reasons.

'The problems are already present and are undermining our other work. Otherwise you will experience more relief-aid situations, we have to avoid this. I do believe that structural programs are no longer effective when too many areas experience difficulties'.

The work done is considered as beneficial, however the scale of the problem is considered as a major challenge.

'I think our activities are beneficial, but if we can solve the problem is another question. I am increasingly becoming aware that the problem is so big, that I wonder if we can solve it. We are working with other groups, for example in the Horn of Africa where there are droughts, we look all the time in which phase we are concerning droughts and what we can do at that moment. Now we also try to integrate climate scenarios in this, to see what will happen in 10-20 years; will we experience migration? Is more education needed? Etc. We are researching this with the IVM and some local partners. I think this integrated approach will be more often used in the future'.

5.1.2 Plan Nederland

Plan Nederland just recently started to work on climate change. With the participation in the HIER-campaign it was tried to become climate -neutral. This led to a learning program to find out what this would mean, by then it was realized that Plan needed to do much more in the field of climate change. At the moment this research was done Plan Nederland still needed to introduce a climate policy. This policy was however designed and has the following three objectives: (1) to reduce CO2 emissions as a company, (2) to create awareness among the employees so that they can make changes in their lives and by this increase awareness among the public so that all Dutchmen will reduce their carbon footprint, and (3) to develop climate adaptation and mitigation projects in the countries where they work and create funding for these projects.

At the moment that this research was done, climate change did not have an official status (yet). However it is hoped that once the policies are official there is the opportunity to hire a climate specialist. Soebroto indicates that climate change is a topic of interest for the whole organization. During the last year he together with a group of colleagues made sure that all employees became more aware. In order to do this there was a presentation held about climate change and its impacts. In order to increase awareness further there was a climate blog in the weekly newsletter for employees.

According to Soebroto it is very much needed that Plan Nederland starts to work on climate change for the following reasons.

'We find that we have a moral obligation to repair the mess that we are creating. Secondly we focus on children in developing countries, they and adults are already victims of climate change. Besides our original program is getting under pressure due to the impacts of climate change; it undermines our other work'.

How beneficial the work is, is not indicated since officially Plan was not working on climate change at the time of this research.

5.1.3 Oxfam Novib

In 2006 Oxfam Novib started to work on climate change by joining the HIER campaign. Next to this involvement Oxfam Novib participated in designing the climate law, an initiative of Milieudefensie, to put pressure on the government to have more bounding and better regulations to reduce green house gasses. Furthermore there is worked on a great public action with other organizations that will take place around the COP in Copenhagen. Oxfam International publishes lobby papers about climate change regularly. The indication of Oxfam International that 50 billion US dollar is needed per year for adaptation measures, is often used by others. Next to this, Oxfam International is trying to participate in the Climate Action Network with the goal of getting the impacts of climate change for developing countries higher on the agenda.

Next to all these lobby activities Oxfam Novib supports counterparts that work on Disaster Risk Reduction. It is underlined that this is becoming more important because of the impacts of climate change.

Presently there is no separate department working on climate change issues. However, next to all the attention given in the lobby department the region departments are increasingly concerned about climate change as well (Voogd, Oxfam Novib, 2008). Despite the increasing attention for climate change, this theme was not chosen as a priority to work on as an organization. However priority was given at other Oxfam offices.

The need to work on climate change can be described as follows.

'There was a realization that climate change is already having a great impact on developing countries and is undermining the present work' (Voogd, Oxfam Novib, 2008).

This need translates itself in the above activities and in 'practicing what you preach'. This holds that there is an internal policy to become climate-neutral. The work done is considered as beneficial, however it is recognized that environmental issues, like climate change need better mainstreaming in the organization.

5.1.4 Hivos

Hivos started to work on climate change from the energy-side. In 2004 there was a conference with Stichting Natuur en Milieu on the linkages between energy

and development. Around the same time Hivos started to examine if they have partners that are able to make use of the official mechanism of CDM. It was found that having access to this mechanism is very complex. Besides the working scale of Hivos is not suitable for CDM. According to Oppenoorth (2008) only projects involving biomass are interesting, since they can reduce relative large emissions. Since the additionally of CDM-projects is often questionable, Hivos will only work with gold standard certification in future projects.

As described Hivos perceives climate change as a problem that offers chances as well, because of the additional financial means that becomes available. This was a reason for them to set-up a climate fund. By this fund people, businesses etc. can compensate for their CO₂ emissions. The Hivos climate fund invests in clean and sustainable energy in developing countries. By doing this people living in poverty get access to energy and have the opportunity to develop further. Next to this it is believed that these projects will prevent an increase in future CO₂ emissions. At the moment this funds is not as profitable as was hoped for (Oppenoorth, 2008).

The activities relating to climate change involve campaigning, some work on adaptation and many projects that are concerned with renewable energy. Further attention goes out to increasing the awareness of counterparts and the position of LDCs in the international climate negotiations. The LDCs have now little opportunities to benefit from the financial means available for mitigation, because they often lack capacity or have no industries to invest in. Hivos trying to change this with the support of some networks. Furthermore Hivos is taking part in the HIER-campaign.

Most attention to climate change is given in the department of sustainable economic development and the media department. In the other departments there is also attention, however climate change is not linking with all of them. For example in the human rights department the attention is quite low (Oppenoorth, Hivos, 2008). Climate change is taken into account with the approval of projects and with agricultural projects it is obligated to say something about climate change. The need to work on climate change is mainly found in the believe that energy is needed for development and that people in developing countries are vulnerable for the impacts of climate change. The work in relation to biogas installations is especially found beneficial.

'If it is possible for us to place 10.000 biogas installations, we have helped many families. You see the change. It brings many benefits to women; they do not have to search for wood, scrub their pans, and do not have to stand in the smoke all day. This is really a visible development. But also non-visible projects need support. But with these biogas installations there is no doubt of it is useful' (Oppenoorth, Hivos, 2008).

5.1.5 ICCO

ICCO perceives the climate change problem in terms of equity. This leads to the following point of view.

'We have a special point of view on climate change. We say that the earth has a own capacity to take CO₂ from the air, by trees, green vegetation, and oceans. This capacity is known. We find that this capacity belongs to all citizens of the world, and that thus every citizen should have the right to a same amount of this capacity. The earth can take up 12 billion tons of CO₂ a year, we go out from the point that 6 billion people are living on this planet, it are now already 6.5 billion, but we take 6 billion in account. This would mean that every citizen in the world has the right to have a CO₂ footprint of 2 ton CO₂. We look at the problems from

this equitable principle. We, in the Netherlands, have a footprint of 10 ton, which is 8 tons too high' (de Gans, ICCO, 2008).

This vision of equity and global sustainability has caused that ICCO is focusing on mitigation in the Netherlands and is carrying out the message that all Dutch should reduce their emissions. This last point translates itself among other things in the following activities; selling green electricity together with Greenchoice, advising churches how they can reduce emissions, and handing out timers for in the shower. These activities are done since it is difficult to see goals as development and poverty alleviation in the South separately from developments in the North (De Gans, ICCO, 2008). This notion leads to a climate program that can be divided in three levels; national, international and the South.

1. At the national level attention will be given to lobby-, communication-, and education activities and resource mobilization. At the basis of this lie the three v's; verminderen, veranderen en vergoeden. (reduce, change and compensate).
2. At the international level the main focus will be on lobby activities.
3. In the South there will be activities that focus on mitigation and projects that focus on adaptation. Mitigation projects will be done in the field of sustainable energy, efficient energy-use and projects that will aim to increase the CO₂ assimilation. In India and South Africa partners will work according to the international procedures of CDM or CER. Adaptation projects will focus on risk management, food security and access to water sources.

For the national compensation part ICCO has designed a climate fund (the FairCarbonFund). The money given for compensation is invested in sustainable energy projects in the South; because it is believed that the energy consumption there can preferably grow in a sustainable way. The increase in access to energy is likely to lead to economic development as well. The fund makes use of CDM certified projects. The viewpoint of ICCO on CDM projects is a bit double. The way CDM is arranged today is not how ICCO would like to see it. Despite this ICCO is still making use of CDM and receives carbon credits. On one side ICCO is lobbying to change the CDM system, meanwhile they make use of it. An alternative way to reach the objectives could be to make use of the voluntary market instead of carbon credits generated under CDM. However this is not done because of financial reasons.

'The carbon credits generated through CDM get a higher price. So when there is a possibility to put certain projects under CDM, we will do so. We realize that we play a double role in this. We do have a very ethical story as basis, this story we propagate constantly, but the world is not so ethically. So in reality we try to bridge the gap between ethics and policy. It is a constant consideration on how far you can go, and what you do not accept' (de Gans, ICCO, 2008).

Next to CDM projects, ICCO is involved in projects concerning avoided deforestation. According to ICCO a good regulation is needed to stop deforestation in exchange for payments. How this regulation should look like is under discussion. At the moment it is tried to work out things with counterparts so that they can directly benefit.

The work on adaptation is less than the work done on the mitigation side. In the working plan that was submitted to DGIS for financing, a few years ago, climate change was not prominent present. This is why there is now little money available for climate change and adaptation. The money that is available goes to adaptation work. The mitigation work is financed by the money that is generated through carbon credits.

Since two years ICCO has a whole department working on climate change. Before that time the attention for climate change was limited. De Gans (ICCO, 2008) indicates that climate change was not considered as a priority issue for a long time. There were after all more subjects to work on. Today this has changed and climate change is well mainstreamed in all parts of the organization. There are now three main programs and climate change is part of one, but in the next business plan climate change will be a separate program line.

By working on climate change there might be a shift in the relation between developing and industrialized countries. There can be a change in the relation between the giver and the receivers of development aid.

'Developmental aid is caritas (Latin term for charity), and the rules for this are determined by the givers. When you look at the global environmental problems, for example climate change, when the industrialized countries start to pay for what they take, this would lead to a more just relation, than what you find now in developing countries. We have calculated that when industrialized countries started to pay for their emissions, according to the CO2 footprint, to the countries that are under the sustainability norm, that this would mean, a bit depending of the price of a ton CO2, that 150-160 billion a year will flow from the industrialized countries to the developing countries. That is 2 ½ times the amount that is now available for development aid. I am a great proponent of starting to pay for what we take instead of doing caritas. That is my vision, I find it more just this way' (de Gans, ICCO, 2008).

According to de Gans the first changes in this vision of development aid are already occurring due to emission trading.

'We noticed while working with our partners in the South, that they have discovered the emission trading as a way of financing their work. This is a money flow next to the ODA money flow. For our partners in the South this is very interesting because the power relation between the giver and the receiver is changed. We notice that many of our partners are interested in this' (de Gans, ICCO, 2008).

Following ICCO the industrialized countries have a moral obligation to pay the countries that are under the sustainability norm. ICCO considers their work on climate change as beneficial and hopes that with their approach more can be achieved than with normal development aid. The following example shows how this is done.

'We are busy with setting up 18000 biogas installations in India. The local people change then from wood and kerosene to biogas, which is more sustainable. These projects are set-up so that carbon credits can be generated. This project cost 4,5 million euro, this is money that we do not have as development aid agency. What we try is to get this money from the sales of carbon credits in the coming 9 years. So, the financier is paid back in the form of carbon credits. Our estimation is that we can pay back this investment in 9 years, and that we can at least earn another 4.5 million with the selling of these carbon credits. This profit will be given to the partners in developing countries.

We are not able to finance such projects with the means we receive from the government. Today due to the carbon credits we are able to finance such a project. This makes it for us very interesting, since the project is taking place on small scale; it is about biogas installations on a household level. But the project itself is large. Another project is about 300.000 lights that work on solar energy for 60.000 households. From the regular development aid means we are not able to set-up such projects, since in that case there is too much money flowing into

one project. Therefore carbon credits are so interesting for us' (de Gans, ICCO, 2008).

5.1.6 All Organizations

The activities related to climate change can be distinguished in a few categories: adaptation (including DRR), mitigation, and lobby work. It seems that two organizations focus more on mitigation and the relation between energy and development than the others do. These two organizations, ICCO and Hivos, have both set-up a fund so that people can compensate for their emissions. Hivos does not consider the fund of ICCO as competition for their fund, since ICCO is not focusing on one to one compensation as they do. The other organizations are also working on mitigation but to a lesser extent. It might be expected that development aid agencies focus in first instance on adaptation, since the link with development aid is so clear there. It could be that the work on adaptation will grow in the future when more money becomes available. If enough money becomes available in the coming years will be doubtful.

Oxfam Novib seems to focus mainly only on lobby activities and Cordaid mostly on adaptation. The latter can be explained by the focus on DRR, which was already present for several years.

For a large part the development aid agencies have similar activities. However, they do have different priorities.

5.2 Debates on Climate Policies and Projects

In this part the present debates around the following themes are discussed: mitigation, CDM, adaptation, awareness raising, capacity building and lobby activities. This is done by analyzing the opinions of development aid agencies and the opinions of environmental organizations and other experts.

5.2.1 Mitigation Projects

As indicated all development aid agencies are working or want to work on mitigation projects in the South. The need to work on this is perceived differently per organization.

For Plan it is depending on the country if it is needed to work on mitigation. According to Soebroto (Plan, 2009) most people living in developing countries are not aware of climate change, so the priority lies on raising awareness there. However in other developing countries like Indonesia, where deforestation is an immense problem it is believed that it is needed to work on mitigation. The same counts for other industrializing countries like China and India.

ICCO puts a great emphasis on mitigation projects in the Netherlands and in the South. They have quiet some projects involving sustainable energy. ICCO wants to compensate people in the South for not making fully use of their footprint. Since it is widely believed, also within ICCO, that it is not possible to just transfer money a compensation fund was designed. At ICCO it is believed that a more just situation is created when the industrialized countries start to pay for what they take instead of doing caritas. The investments in the Hivos climate fund also go to projects that have to do with renewable energy. It is believed that energy supply will encourage development, this believe explains the emphasis on sustainable energy projects. To make sure that local people really benefit from these kinds of projects certain criteria are designed. So are there for biofuels the following criteria at Hivos. At first the projects need to be on a small scale.

Furthermore it should be made sure that there is no land used which could be appropriate for food production. What is meant with small scale depend per country; in general it is from 1ha-5 ha. Next there should be no competition with other crops and water availability. Hivos mainly sees potential in degraded lands. There are pilot projects in Tanzania, Honduras, Mozambique, Uganda and Zambia.

Given the linkages between energy and development, the focus on sustainable energy production seems a logic pathway to follow for development aid agencies. The developments in this field are considered as positive by some other organizations as well. The Klimaatbureau is pleased that development aid agencies are now working on sustainable energy.

'Without energy everything ends. So I never understood why development aid agencies never looked at the energy supply for people, and thought if they have only a light in the evening then they can study' (Schöne, Klimaatbureau, 2009).

Both ENDS finds it good that there is worked on a path for development that is not depending on fossil fuels. Königel (employee at IUCN NL; speaks at personal title) sees many opportunities as well and finds that people in developing countries should be able to have sustainable energy from the beginning.

There are however also some who stand critical towards this development.

According to some it is not a priority issue to work on mitigation in developing countries, as long as there is not a greater emphasis on reducing emissions in the Netherlands itself. It is indicated by het Klimaatbureau and ETC Energy that on global level the energy use will not rise with more than 1 % when people living in poverty get access to energy. Taking this number in account it is according to ETC Energy not a priority for development aid agencies to focus on this level of energy use. Van Rijn (DGIS, 2009) has doubts about the priority as well. It is wondered if for example solar panels are a priority for people living in poverty. However the focus on sustainable energy is logic because it is following two principles that lie at the basis of development cooperation; 1) the idea that we have to send means (food, clothing etc.) and 2) that we have to transfer knowledge.

Next to the debate if focusing on the energy use is a priority issue; there are some organizations that worry about the sustainability of these projects as well. At ETC Energy there is some worries that by providing people living in poverty sustainable energy by subsidies, the development can be undermined, since there is a dependency created to the West. This stands in contrast to the viewpoint of ICCO, which is based on compensation. Following ICCO there is a situation created in which developing countries can demand compensation instead of receiving caritas.

Presently the development aid agencies are not working on REDD projects, this is considered as a shortcoming by some. Königel (employee at IUCN NL, speaks at personal title) indicates that the development aid agencies stand quite skeptical towards REDD. They are afraid that the position of the local people will not improve or that local people will no longer have access to the forest. Königel believes that REDD can bring benefits for the conservation of forests as well as for local people. The skeptical point of view of development aid agencies is however understandable, since it is recognized that in many situations land rights are complex and chaotic. Sending money to these places might even worsen the situation.

It appears that a debate is going on about mitigation in developing countries. On one hand it is believed that it is a good development to start focusing on

sustainable energy supply. On the other hand it may not be necessary to focus on that since the energy use on a global level will not rise that much once people living in poverty get access to energy. There is some discussion if it is really a priority for people living in poverty to have solar cells and other forms of sustainable energy. However having access to solar cells and other forms of sustainable energy could be seen as the start of a pathway of development. Besides Königel (employee at IUCN NL; speaks at personal title) would like to see that development aid agencies have a less skeptical opinion on REDD, however their point of view is seen as understandable as well.

5.2.2 CDM Projects

The original goals of CDM, to reduce emissions and to promote sustainable development in developing countries (Hivos & Stichting Natuur en Milieu, 2007) seem to link climate change and development. According to this it seems quite logic that development aid agencies show an interest in CDM. However most of the development aid agencies have no projects that fall under the official mechanism of CDM. Presently only ICCO has these projects and Hivos is interested in it in case that they are able to receive gold standard certification for these projects. That not many development aid agencies are working with CDM can be explained by the fact that in practice CDM is often not meeting the designed goals for sustainable development and that projects are not always additional.

Despite the critics on CDM, which are shared by ICCO, ICCO sees quite some benefits of the use of CDM as well. It is believed that by working on CDM additional money is generated, by which more can be achieved in the long run. The large-scale CDM projects of ICCO mainly take place in India where they have built up strong relations with their partners. Another critique on CDM is that it is only taking place in the industrializing developing countries and that it is especially bringing little benefits for African countries. The chairman of the African Group, Dr. Samuel Adejuwon, showed disappointment on this matter at the UNFCCC COP12. *'If we knew then what we know now, we would not have agreed on the CDM'* (cited by Hivos and Stichting Natuur en Milieu, 2007). ICCO is for this reason going to focus more on CDM projects in Africa. Some teams in the field will be formed, so that partners can be trained in working on climate change and the possibilities of CDM. Another solution for this is recommended by Königel (employee at IUCN NL; speaks at personal title) there should be a more pragmatic view on CDM and some of the high standards for developing countries should be let go.

At Hivos it is believed that access to the official mechanism of CDM is very complex. Because of the large scale required hardly any projects of Hivos would fit the CDM regulations. Furthermore there is always a question if CDM projects are really additional. According to Hivos in the case of biogas it is visible that projects are additional. At ICCO the additional aspects play an important role, since ICCO does not want to end up in a situation in which trees for travel was. This organization had troubles with showing that their reforestation projects were additional. This is why ICCO chooses to do their projects in a certain order.

'We started with sustainable energy projects which is difficult, the next step is reforestation, this is even harder, and then the last step is sustainable agriculture, for this the methodologies are not finalized. To proof that organic agriculture fix more CO₂ than other forms of agriculture is very complicated' (de Gans, ICCO, 2008).

In general quite some things are wrong with CDM, therefore it is often not reaching its goals. Milieudefensie stands quite negative towards CDM with exception of projects that have golden standard certification. Furthermore they recognize that projects organized by the free market are additional. Despite this positive point these projects are often not contributing to sustainable development. Many of these projects are related to reforestation, which is considered as a temporary storage of CO₂.

Almost all other organizations have concerns if CDM projects are additional and if they are reaching its original goals.

Overall almost all organizations stand critical towards CDM. Despite this it is recognized that there are some projects that are beneficial. After all with the original goals of CDM is nothing wrong. The organizations that are involved or want to get involved in CDM are well aware of the critics on CDM. Since their work should be accountable for their supporters it is logic that they want to have certification and that they look critical if their projects are reaching the original goals of CDM.

5.2.3 Adaptation

All development aid agencies recognize that it is needed to work on the adaptation side, since climate change is already affecting the development aid given. However there are still little activities undertaken which involve climate adaptation because of a lack of financing.

At ICCO it is believed that it is necessary to make a separation between natural factors and human induced climate change. The climate has always been changing and people adapted to this in the past as well. The human induced climate change is reason for ICCO to couple the climate story to the behavior in the North.

Development aid agencies consider the work on climate adaptation often as more of the normal development aid; more floods or droughts in an area is just more of the usual.

Hivos is not working that much on adaptation, since they are not a relief organization. They do recognize that climate adaptation needs to be mainstreamed, for example in agriculture projects, but they will not start to build dikes or start giving food aid because of the impacts of climate change.

According to Cordaid people in developing countries often have to deal with many factors that make them vulnerable, climate change is just one the many problems they have to face. This underlines that it is difficult to indicate what climate adaptation is and what 'normal' development aid is. This difficulty probably has an effect on the means that are available for climate adaptation.

By Oxfam it was indicated that globally 50 billion per year is needed for climate adaptation. This should be additional money to the 0.7% of the GNP that is needed for ODA and reaching the MDGs. Currently many countries do not reach the 0.7%. This gives little hope that that there will be enough money available for climate adaptation. At Oxfam Novib it is believed that voluntary funds for climate adaptation will not bring enough money. It is hoped by Oxfam Novib that in the coming years more money for adaptation becomes available by emission trading.

The difficulties in making a distinction between development aid and climate adaptation are recognized by ETC Energy as well. It believed that it is difficult to have a climate adaptation program and increase people's resilience towards climate change, because one has to look at other factors that make people

vulnerable as well. According to ETC Energy it is wise, since the climate has always been changing, to take the local knowledge on how to act to changes in the climate as basis for climate adaptation projects. The Red Cross/ Red Crescent Climate Centre worries that because of climate change other development problems might receive less attention. However given the close connection between climate adaptation and 'normal' development aid work, it seems not likely that this will happen.

Overall, all organizations underline the importance to work on climate adaptation, but in practice it appears to be difficult. The vague distinction between development aid and climate adaptation, and the notion that climate change is just one of the problems many people face, raises questions on how adaptation projects should look like. At Hivos it is indicated that it might be a good idea to look at the climate component in all development projects, so that the two become more integrated. However this leads to another problem. As indicated by Oxfam there needs to be an additional 50\$ billion for adaptation annually. When climate adaptation is in fact perceived as being quite similar to development aid it is not likely that more money becomes available for climate adaptation.

5.2.4 Awareness Raising

It might be expected that development aid agencies focus with their climate programs mainly on developing countries. However it appears that all organizations are working on awareness raising in the Netherlands as well. First of all, the organizations are all participating in the HIER campaign. This campaign has the goal to create projects around climate change globally but also in the Netherlands. Next to this it aims to encourage a change in the behavior of the Dutch. It seems that ICCO has really picked up this last point. At Plan the climate policy has no official status yet, but it was indicated that attention will be given to encouraging a change in behavior in the Netherlands as well. At Oxfam Novib a campaign for eating less meat started. This was mainly done in relation with the food crisis to make people aware that the production of meat costs a lot of food. This story can however also be linked with climate change and the emission of GHG. For the production of meat a lot of GHG are emitted to the atmosphere. Further awareness raising by Oxfam Novib was done by contributing to the climate concert, which took place in the summer of 2008. Hivos raises awareness among the Dutch public by campaigning and promoting their climate fund. Overall the development aid agencies see it as necessary that they raise awareness in the Netherlands, since climate change is automatically linked with our behavior.

The awareness raising of development aid agencies among the Dutch public is considered as positive by other organizations as well. According to Milieudefensie more people are reached since the organizations have different supporters. Milieudefensie indicates that the development aid agencies had a surplus value in supporting the climate law initiative. In order to change society it is really needed that everybody is aware of the impacts and consequences of climate change. ETC Energy believes that it might be helpful to do this by showing how people in developing countries are affected by climate change.

Furthermore it is recognized by Both ENDS that development aid agencies often have good campaigning strategies that can reach quite some amount of public

attention. Next to these positive points there are also some critical notes by others on the awareness raising aspect.

According to the Klimaatbureau many communication departments have a hard time when it comes to raising awareness on climate change. An example of this could be that organizations work on water facilitations from a climate change perspective. Sometimes the climate perspective is then considered as a too complicated story. Furthermore there might be a fear that people start to think that they are becoming an environmental NGO. Next to this there are a few environmental organizations that are concerned that development aid agencies have a hard time campaigning on one issue for a long time, since there are other problems that need attention too. It is indicated that while the attention on awareness raising and campaigning might decrease, the development aid agencies will keep the attention in their policies, since the impacts will be increasingly experienced.

A critique given by the Kleine Aarde is that the climate change problem is only part of the real problem. According to Juffermans (de Kleine Aarde, 2009) there is an Earth Crisis going on. Next to emitting too much GHG to the atmosphere, we use too much land for agriculture, for forestry etc. The earth is becoming too small, and therefore awareness raising in the Netherlands to encourage behavior change is needed.

Overall it seems that the development aid agencies are giving quite some attention to awareness raising on climate change in the Netherlands. Other organizations find this a good development because in this way more people can be reached. Some would like to see a greater emphasis on climate change in relation to other problems but in general this development is considered as very beneficial. The development aid agencies do find it just as other organizations necessary that the climate change problem is coupled with the situation in the Netherlands.

5.2.5 Capacity Building

Next to increasing awareness in the Netherlands, awareness is raised in developing countries. By several development aid agencies it is acknowledged that people living in poverty are often not aware of climate change. People often perceive a change in weather patterns and in the intensity and frequency of natural disasters. In order to increase adaptation, to help partners in getting a better negotiation position in climate negotiations, and to help partners in getting access to official climate mechanisms like CDM, attention is given to capacity building. All development aid agencies put a different emphasis on this.

At Plan Nederland is capacity building and increasing awareness mostly done by putting a focus on children. It is believed that in order to have a successful DRR program, in which climate is taken into account, children can more easily change the opinions of the elders and the community than an organization. At Cordaid climate is also integrated in the DRR programs. Furthermore workshops are given to increase awareness. As described earlier ICCO wants to give more attention to African countries and give trainees on how partners can make use of the CDM mechanism. Hivos is supporting some networks so that the LDCs have a stronger position during the climate negotiations and have the possibility to make use of the opportunities for financing mitigation. That the LDCs do not have a strong position in the climate negotiations also has to do with the fact that climate change is not perceived as a priority issue to work on (Oppenoorth, Hivos, 2008). For example if a country is working on irrigation and there are

suddenly more droughts, this means more of the same work. Therefore it is necessary that awareness is raised and capacity is built in developing countries. Furthermore it is needed that capacity is built so that people living in poverty can act upon climate change. All environmental organizations and experts see a role for development aid agencies in this. The work done in this field might need to increase somewhat since it was indicated by some organizations that the negotiation position of developing countries in former climate negotiations was quite weak.

5.2.6 Lobby Activities

The lobby activities of development aid agencies can be divided in activities focusing on:

- Changing the behavior of people in the Netherlands.
- Making sure that the impact of climate change for developing countries is part of the international climate agenda.
- Ensuring financial means for climate adaptation

Development aid agencies are often part of wider networks in which they lobby. They are all part of the HIER-campaign as well. Development aid agencies now often lobby together with environmental organizations. This cooperation is by all organizations considered as positive and needed. There are however some discussions on what the priority should be in lobby activities towards the government. For example, according to Oxfam Novib, it took a while before the environmental organizations were realizing that a greater emphasis on developing countries and on adaptation was needed. According to Stichting Natuur en Milieu there is indeed sometimes a discussion about the priorities. Sometimes it seems that development aid agencies just want to see that money becomes available for developing countries. While stichting Natuur en Milieu would like to see that more attention is given to the way this money is spent.

Overall the joint lobby activities have the effect that development aid agencies and environmental agencies strengthen each other's positions. Not surprisingly, it is indicated by all organizations that development aid agencies play an important role in asking attention for the position of developing countries. This is especially considered important for the next COP in Copenhagen.

Overall it seems that the environmental organizations would like to see that development aid agencies put a greater emphasis on the fact that GHG emissions need to be reduced in the Netherlands, while development aid agencies would like to see that environmental organizations give more attention to the impacts of climate change in developing countries.

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter attention was given to the ways development aid agencies have picked up climate change. It appeared that there are quite some differences in the way they give attention to climate change. Some put a greater emphasis on mitigation, others on adaptation and others more on lobby activities. Despite these differences in point of focus, all development aid agencies underline the need to work on climate change because of the impacts it will have in developing countries. The development aid agencies perceive their work as beneficial for several reasons. First of all integration of climate change in development projects can help people in adapting to climate change and reduce the impacts. Furthermore it is believed that by focusing on sustainable energy, a right step is

taken in the pathway of development. At last some indicated that with the extra income generated out of carbon credits much more could be done than with the money that is normally at forehand.

The above shows that the development aid agencies perceive their work on climate change as needed and beneficial. At some organizations it was recognized that the benefit of their projects would go up when climate change is mainstreamed in all parts of the organization. Next to this Cordaid indicates that a more integrated approach with other players (like scientists, local organizations) is likely to increase the effectiveness of their work.

Other organizations recognize the need that development aid agencies pick up climate change in their work. However there remain some debates on the ways development aid agencies picked up climate change. This is of course logic since all organizations that work on climate change have different fields of interest and points of focus. However it can be concluded that there are some points that should receive some more attention by the development aid agencies. In general the work on mitigation can be considered as positive and the focus on sustainable energy might be a good opportunity to link energy supply and climate change. However the involvement in CDM projects remains a bit dubious. It seems strange to lobby against them, and at the same time make use of them. Personally, I find this story hard to sell. Taken into account that almost all participating organizations in this research stand negative towards CDM without golden standard certification it is recommended that development aid agencies at least try to certify their CDM projects.

Furthermore it seems that the work on the adaptation side is relatively little. It can be expected that in the future, when the impacts of climate become more severe, an increase in the adaptation work is needed. Therefore it seems therefore wise that development aid agencies mainstream climate change as much as possible in existing programs and projects. By doing so the impacts of climate change on development aid can be taken into account.

Besides it remains necessary that development aid agencies lobby to get the impacts of climate change for developing countries higher on the agenda, so that in the future hopefully more financial means are available for adaptation. In this chapter it was tried to find an answer on the question; *to which extent are the policies and projects of development aid agencies around climate change considered as effective?* The above indicates that in general it is believed that the work of development aid agencies around climate change is needed and beneficial. This leads to the conclusion that the policies and projects are, despite some critical notes, considered as effective. The general feeling is that development aid agencies are well-welcomed players in the field of climate change.

6. Discussion

In this part the results in relation to the theory are discussed. It is reasoned that in order to explain the agenda-setting process around climate change for development aid agencies a combination of several models is needed. Furthermore attention is given to new theoretical ideas concerning the linkages between development aid and climate change. These theories are discussed in relation to the data and to the possible roles development aid agencies can play in the climate change debate.

6.1 Theoretical Perspectives

The results around agenda-setting show that the models discussed in the theoretical framework are only partly suitable for explaining the agenda setting of climate change at development aid agencies. A study done by Breeman and Timmermans (2008) that focused on the attention for environmental issues in the Netherlands combines the models used in this research. They found several ways in which attention shifts and transforms over time. They also found some indicators that can play a role in the attention given to environmental problems. These indicators are the following.

Environmental problems get more attention by politicians when;

- there are times of economic progress.
- there is a unique event.
- there are combinations of international and national events.
- there is a high range of involvement of the Netherlands.

And environmental problems get more attention by the media when;

- there is a new eye-catching initiative.
- there is clear leadership.
- there are events or actions which are inspired by foreign initiatives.
- there are well known persons/ objects involved.

These indicators show some similarities with the developments that played a role in the agenda-setting of climate change at development aid agencies. As indicated the three following developments there played important roles.

- More knowledge became available (IPCC, STERN and other scientific papers).
- Al Gore was able to receive great media and political attention around climate change.
- There are opportunities to generate more resources by working on climate change.

Al Gore fits a few of the indicators, his movie received much attention worldwide, but maybe it captured more attention here because the Netherlands were explicitly mentioned in the movie. Furthermore the movie can be considered as an eye-catching initiative and Gore took a clear leader position when it came to explaining climate change together with IPCC. Besides Gore was already well known. Another form of leadership that could have played a role is the creation of the HIER campaign. There was suddenly an organization that took a leading role in creating a very broad climate campaign. This could have increased the awareness among organizations. Schöne described the HIER campaign as a trigger for organizations to think about climate change and to go more into depth on this problem. The indicators given by Breeman and Timmermans are in first instance applicable for politics and the media. The agenda setting of

development aid agencies shows some similarities, however one could wonder to which extent the media and politics influence development aid agencies. For example Gore received quite some attention from the media and helped increasing awareness at development aid agencies, but was this not caused by the attention given by the media as well? Furthermore at DGIS it was wondered to which extent the politics influence NGOs and visa versa. This makes it hard to say how applicable the indicators are in the case of the development aid agencies.

The parts of the models for agenda setting that are useful in explaining the agenda setting of development aid agencies and the derived indicators of Breeman and Timmermans can be combined in a new model.

This model is then not a cycle. The attention given by development aid agencies started to grow exploitable around 2006. However it is likely that every now and then fluctuations occur. These fluctuations can be ascribed to the indicators of Breeman and Timmermans. Attention will be higher when:

- when there is a unique event.
- there are combinations of international and national events.
- there is a high range of involvement of the Netherlands.
- there is a new eye-catching initiative.
- there is clear leadership.
- there are well known persons/ objects involved.

The small fluctuations are based on Downs understanding that attention for an environmental problem can never stay long in the center of public attention. This understanding does not totally fit the attention for climate change since it is thus expected that this attention will stay. However, it is imaginable that when other crises situations occur the attention will shift a bit.

It was indicated that a shift from the technical frame to the dramatic frame took place. The technical frame period is linked with a small group of people in the organizations that were concerned about climate. Then around 2006, climate change is shifting from the scientific/environmental frame to a breakthrough frame. There is more attention for the moral, emotional and political aspects of the problem. This change in framing goes hand in hand with the opening of a policy window. As described a policy window opens by a successful combinations of problems, politics and visible participants. How these 3 streams play a role is described in chapter 4.4. To give a complete picture a fourth stream should be added; resources. It appeared that additional resources, provided by HIER-campaign and emission trading and CDM were an additional motive to show an interest in climate change. This all leads the following model, figure 1.

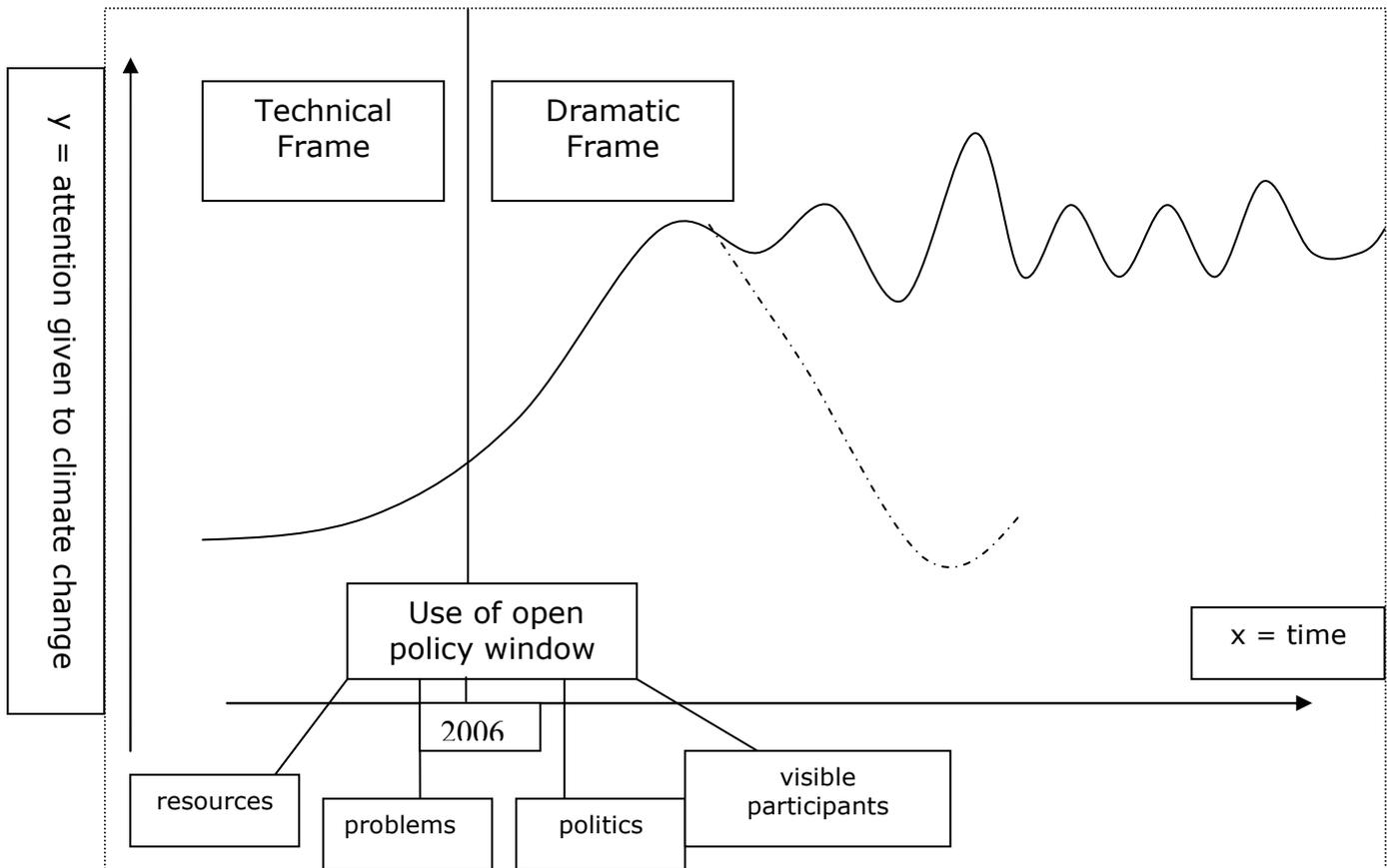


Figure 1: Agenda Setting of climate change within development aid agencies.

The model shows how the process of agenda setting around climate change took place and how the attention for climate change is likely to develop in the future. The model was designed by simple logic reasoning and is applicable for this study. However, it is imaginable that in other cases the framing and reframing of a problem can be linked to a concurrence of streams and the opening of a policy window. The added stream of resources might more often play a role in the agenda setting of NGOs, since their work depends largely on the resources they receive. More resources would mean that more goals could be achieved. It is therefore logic that an increase in resources is attractive for these organizations and that this can be a motive to put a certain issue higher on the agenda. It must be noted that this subject must be in line with the goals and values of the organization.

The dotted line in the model shows what will happen according to the issue attention cycle of Downs. It is not likely that this will occur, since climate change is really a long-term problem, with or without acting the impacts will increasingly be experienced.

It is imaginable that the making use of a policy window happens around the same time a shift from the dominant frame takes place. The opening of a policy window seems alike a shift from one frame to another. A shift in framing occurs when there are feedback signals and changes in the rhetoric in public and politic arenas. This is partly in line with the model of Kingdon in which feedback signals play an important role in the problem stream. Furthermore changes in politics like elections and the national mood play an important role in Kingdons model. This makes one wonder to which extent making use of a policy window differs from reframing a certain issue.

6.2 Other Empirical Findings

Dietz and de Haan (2001) have analyzed the Dutch development aid policies concerning the environment. They indicate that attention for environmental issues started to grow in the 1980s. It was found that attention was mainly given to the use of natural resources by people living in poverty and that for a while attention for energy and forestry was dominant. This is in line with the annual reports of the development aid agencies. Furthermore they indicate that development aid is often based on trends that occur in the industrialized countries and in organizations and thus not in developing countries self. The attention for environment and development is not based on real concerns in the developing world but by concerns about the environment in developed countries. For climate change this is probably indeed the case, since it was recognized by the development aid agencies that people living in poverty are often not aware of climate change. This is why many development aid agencies focus on awareness raising and capacity building in developing countries. The fact that environmental aid is based on trends in the industrialized countries could imply that climate change should not be a priority issue to work on. However given that climate change is not just an environmental problem and is affecting many areas it can be expected that it will increasingly become a priority issue for developing countries as well.

Hicks et al. (2008, p. 247) recognize that after the Earth summit in 1992 aid has become 'greener'. It is underlined that climate proofing of development aid should become the norm, not the exception. Without urgent action it is likely that billions of dollars of aid money are wasted and many lives are jeopardized (Hicks et al., 2008, p. 258). It is expected that environmental aid will stay focused on official assistance or will shift towards market mechanisms. These expectations are already occurring at the development aid agencies. Hivos and ICCO show an interest in the new market opportunities that relate with climate change, while other organizations are hardly focusing on these 'new' forms of development aid. From the results it became clear that this new form of aid is still under discussion, because it is not always considered as a priority issue to work on. On the other hand it is believed that this form of aid can comprehend more than normally can be done. The new forms of market mechanisms are concerned with projects in the field of mitigation. The work on adaptation can be linked with the normal development aid. As indicated, there is now relatively little done in the field of adaptation; as reasons for this the vague difference between climate adaptation and development aid and the lack of financial means are given. A solution for the lack of financing could be the reframing of climate change as an issue of human security. If climate change is perceived as an international security issue, the question will be what it will take to prevent this instead of what it will cost (Najam, 2009). There are according to Najam et al. (2007) several factors that contribute to the linkages between climate change and security. Some impacts of climate change like water scarcity, lands that become less suitable for agriculture, an increase in malaria and severe weather events, will imperil human security. These threats will affect people's livelihoods and livelihoods are an essential part of human security. Najam et al. (2007) define human security as systems that give the individual the building blocks to live with dignity. According to Najam et al. (2007) human insecurity will cause social insecurity, which can lead to violence. Najam expects that in the future climate change will lead to civil violence, since it is expected that conflicts over scarce resources will quickly become the dominant form of political violence (Najam,

according to LEAD, 2008). Barnett and Adger (2007) see two ways in which conflict is stimulated by climate change. The first way has to do with changes in the political economy of energy resources due to mitigative action to reduce emissions. The second way has to do with the line of thought Najam is supporting namely, that there are changes in social systems due to the impacts of climate change. The basis of this reasoning can be found in the environmental security school, of which the foundations lie in the work of Homer-Dixon. This 'school' is based on the notion of environmental scarcity. Degradation, increased demand, or unequal resource distribution can all contribute to civil violence through resource capture or ecological marginalization (Peluso and Watts, 2001, p. 13). Najam et al. (2007) describe that environmental degradation will lead to more competition over resources, which will lead to a situation in which the powerful will secure resources for their own use, which can lead to social unrest and worsen social relations, which can in the end lead to conflict.

Through the years this way of thought has received quite some critiques of which the most important holds that this way of causal thinking is too simple; it is failing in taking the context into account (see Gleditsch (1998), Le Billion (2001), Peluso and Watts (2001)). Much of the literature ignores political, economic and cultural variables (Gleditsch, 1998). Other critiques made by Gleditsch include the methodology; much evidence is based on case studies, there are no control groups, and future conflicts are often used to found the theory. Furthermore there is a discussion about the causality; does conflict lead to environmental degradation or does degradation lead to conflict.

Changes in social systems due to the impacts of climate change can thus be linked with the scarcity story or are based on ideas that people have to migrate, which will lead to an increase in international refugees or internally displaced persons (Nordås and Gleditsch, 2007). These causal links seem logic, however it is according to Barnett and Adger (2007) not just climate change, which will undermine human security or increase the risk of violent conflict. Other social factors are always involved. There is thus (2007) a knowledge gap in linking security issues with climate change (Barnett and Adger, 2007, and Nordås and Gleditsch, 2007). It is therefore indicated that more research is necessary to couple climate change models with conflict models. It must become clear what kind of violence can be expected from climate change. Despite that the causal linkages are not explicit it is very well possible that climate change will lead to more conflict in the future (Nordås and Gleditsch, 2007).

In order to act in a more effective way upon climate change a reframing of climate change to a problem of global security with an emphasis on sustainable development is needed for several reasons. According to Najam (2009) it might be possible to stop climate change without sustainable development, however this would lead to a situation which is not social and political desirable. It is indicated that a situation is created in which more and more people cannot develop further because there cannot be more emissions. This will lead to more inequity in the world, which can be a trigger for conflict. To stop the climate from changing in the long run there needs to be a focus on sustainable development. This sustainable development focus is thus a focus on human development and human security at the same time. When there is no focus on sustainable development there is a chance that the world will become an increasingly insecure place to live.

With the reframing of climate change to a security issue the focus will shift from reducing emissions towards building a resilient world. This could mean a shift from focusing on mitigation to adaptation. Perhaps then more financing for

adaptation becomes available. Barnett (2003 cited in Barnett and Adger, 2007, p. 649) stresses that in this case there will be more attention for border protection and defense spending rather than attention for the reduction of emissions and efforts to foster adaptation. However since climate change is today really perceived as a global problem and given that the impacts are not taking place between borders, it can be reasoned that from a security point of view, more attention is given to adaptation. When people become less vulnerable for the impacts of climate change, the security will increase. If this kind of reframing of climate change takes place, adaptation will no longer be seen as just development aid but as something that is really needed. At the basis of this reframing of climate change lies the notion that climate change is an issue of sustainable development.

With the reframing of climate change from an issue of interest for scientists and environmentalist about emissions towards an overarching problem affecting all people, there were several factors that played a role in fueling this change. At the time the dominant frame changed there was an opening of a policy window, which was stimulated by the linking of resources, visible participants, indicators and politics by policy entrepreneurs. In order to shift from the present dominant frame towards a frame of human security it might be necessary that these streams be linked again by entrepreneurs, which then make efficient use of the opening of a policy window. Development aid agencies could play an important role in this. If they integrate climate change as a risk factor in their projects, they are forced to think about climate change as a factor influencing human security. Furthermore they could ask attention for climate change by linking vulnerability for climate change with insecurity. In this way they could be the ones that link the stream of problems with visible participants, since, as organizations, they could become well known in relation with this new frame. However, there is more needed to cause this reframing. There should be a new visible participant/ politic oriented person who has a successful campaign to communicate this message. Besides it is believed that once people really feel that climate change is affecting them, they will act. Unfortunately it can be expected that climate change will affect the people living in poverty mostly and that the ones who need to change their perception on climate change are the industrialized parts of the world. It is therefore of great importance that development aid agencies focus on awareness and capacity building in developing countries as well. If this increases these countries could have a better negotiating position in the international climate negotiations and plead for agreements more based on human rights. In general if in the industrialized countries climate change is perceived as an issue influencing human security, the need for mitigation measures becomes clearer as well as the need to focus more on adaptation in developing countries. A dramatic frame characterizes the present dominant frame. In case a re-framing of climate changes takes place in the direction of human insecurity, it is likely that a shift towards a more technical frame takes place. From a rational point of view it would be wise to focus more on sustainable development. The juridical component plays a role as well, since there is a link between human rights and human security.

It could be that in the future reframing of climate change takes place and that the linkages between climate change and development, and the need to act, become clearer. Development aid agencies might be important players in this process. It must be noted the way of thinking here is based on the idea that climate change will cause a world, which is increasingly becoming insecure. It is believed that climate change alone is not causing insecurity, but that people's

vulnerability is a result of many factors. However it can be expected that climate change will increasingly affect people's livelihoods, and is thereby affecting human security. Taken this into account 'reframing' of climate change is interesting, and deserves further research.

Conclusion and Reflection

All development aid agencies that were part of this study started to show an interest in climate change during the last couple of years. However the first linkages between development and climate policies became clear around the end 1980s. At that time these linkages were not picked up by the development aid agencies in the Netherlands. This can be explained as follows. In the past it was sometimes difficult to integrate environmental subjects in projects and activities at development aid agencies. This led in some cases to a decrease in focus on environmental aspects or to a focus on more specific themes. Furthermore the urgency to act on climate change was not that clear until recently. Today all development aid agencies find it necessary to work on climate change. This indicates that there has been a change in the way development aid agencies perceive climate change. Climate change evolved from being a problem of interest for environmentalist and scientist about emissions to a problem that was connecting all kinds of development problems. There were several triggers for this reframing, which can also be linked with the streams in the model of Kingdon. The most important triggers were the increasing knowledge and important reports that became available on climate change. These triggers are part of the problem and politic stream. Next to this the success of Gore played an important role. This can be linked with the politic and visible participant stream. Other important triggers were the direct experience of impacts of climate change in development aid, which can be linked with the problem stream, and the creation of the HIER campaign. These streams were brought together and a policy window opened by which climate change appeared high on the agenda. Meanwhile the issue was reframed. A factor that can not be explained by the agenda-setting theories is the consideration that climate change offers some interesting opportunities. The participation in the HIER-campaign was accompanied by financial resources to work on climate change and it is possible to have access to additional resources by several mitigation projects. These developments are indicated to be not the main reason for development aid agencies to be involved in climate change. However, some organizations follow developments in the field of mitigation with great interest. It is believed that with the additional resources more can be done than what normal development aid comprehends. However the most important motive to work on climate change is the believe that it is needed. Development aid agencies are already experiencing the impacts of climate in their work.

The perceived need translates itself in several activities. Development aid agencies are involved in mitigation projects, including energy and development projects and CDM, adaptation activities, lobby activities and capacity building and awareness raising. It was aimed to discuss the effectiveness of all these activities by looking at the need and benefit. It appeared that development aid agencies see their work as beneficial. It is recognized that climate change is a complex problem and that therefore it is wise to integrate the problem in all departments of an organization. Furthermore mainstreaming with other local NGOs, scientists, and other organizations can lead to a more integrated approach of acting on climate change as well. The environmental organizations/ experts were in general considering the climate policies and activities of development aid agencies as positive, since there are so many linkages with development. Besides it had brought some positive developments. The attention given to the impacts of climate change in developing countries increased, and a greater group

of people can be made aware of climate change since the supporters of organizations differ. Next to this, environmental organizations and development aid agencies can support each other and cooperate in lobby activities. Despite these positive developments there are some points that environmental organizations/experts would like to see different at development aid agencies. These points mainly have to do with questions on where the focus should be. There are organizations who believe that energy projects for people living in poverty should not be a priority issue. Other organizations would like to see more attention for measures to reduce emissions in the Netherlands as well or would like to see that there is a greater focus on human rights in relation with our global footprint. Overall it is believed that these kind of differences between organizations will always occur, after all organizations have different visions and objectives. However it is believed that there are some points that should deserve extra attention from the development aid agencies. The points include the involvement in CDM, the relatively little attention for adaptation and efforts to mainstream climate change in all activities.

Overall it can be concluded that development aid agencies have played a beneficial role in increasing the attention that is given to climate change in developing countries and that they have to keep on asking attention for this. This is also necessary with the eye on reaching the Millennium Development Goals. Given this, the work of development aid agencies on climate change can be considered as effective.

Ideas for Future Research

The discussion and conclusions around agenda-setting show that the theoretical models that were used to explain the agenda-setting had all some interesting points, but that none of these models totally fitted the findings. This finally led to a combination of the streams model of Kingdon and framing theory. If more often combinations of these two models are occurring, needs further research.

The created model to explain the agenda-setting was designed for this research, however it might be interesting to see if generating extra resources also plays a role in the agenda-setting process of other cases. It might be that this is the case in the NGO world, when the conditions of generating additional resources are in line with the norms and values of the organization. After all, the work that can be done depends largely on the financial support organizations get.

The idea of reframing climate change as an issue concerning security and conflict was discussed. The causal links between climate change and conflict are not always clear. However, the perceiving of climate change as a security issue could cause that there is a greater focus on sustainability and adaptation. This line of thought is therefore of interest for development aid agencies and deserves further research.

Practical Implication

It was the aim to make some recommendations for development aid agencies on how they can increase the need and benefit of their work. Since it was difficult to make explicit conclusions about this, the recommendations are quite basic.

First of all, since it is recognized by development aid agencies that climate change is a very broad problem affecting many fields, it is recommended that

climate change is further mainstreamed within the organizations. Climate change is influencing people's vulnerability and is already undermining development aid projects, therefore it seems wise that in case a risk assessment for the approval of projects or fund-application is done, climate change is taken into account. In this way development aid agencies are forced to think and learn about the impacts of climate change. As earlier discussed, this way of thinking about climate change, as a factor which makes humans vulnerable, might help in reframing climate change as an issue of human security. Najam (cited in LEAD, 2008) indicates there are already conflicts which are partly triggered by climate change. Taken this into account it is well possible that in the future development aid agencies can bring indicators forward of this from direct experience. It might be the start of reframing climate change and might encourage the feeling that acting on climate change is really necessary.

Next to internal integration it might be a good development that development aid agencies have integrated activities with other actors in the field as well. A problem that is affecting so many areas, calls for an integrated and mainstreamed approach with more stakeholders to increase the effectiveness.

Reflection

The first objective of this research was to find out more about the agenda setting process around climate change at development aid agencies. It was aimed to find out how and why climate change became part of the agenda. This objective was reached by studying the annual reports, which made it clear how attention for environmental issues and climate change had fluctuated during the years, and by doing the interviews which gave more insight in the motives to work on climate change.

The other objective of this research was to study the climate policies on effectiveness so that some recommendations could be formulated on the benefit and need of the development sector to involve climate change in their policies. This objective is partly met. It became clear through the interviews why development aid agencies find it necessary to work on climate change. Furthermore they described how beneficial they considered their work. It was chosen to focus on the opinions of other organizations as well. Hereby, the distinctions between development aid agencies and environmental organizations/experts were shown. The present debates on certain activities were described at the hand of these different opinions. It is realized that this does not necessarily say something about the effectiveness of the climate policies. The results are thus not totally helpful in reaching the objective. Despite that the results made it hard to make some recommendations it is hoped that by analyzing different opinions on certain issues, debate between different players in the field is stimulated.

As indicated it was difficult to study the effectiveness of climate policies of development aid agencies. Since at forehand it was believed that this would be difficult it was chosen to do an alter-ego perception on this. During the interviews it quite often appeared that my informants (the alter) did not really knew what was exactly going on at the development aid agencies. This made it hard to go really into depth on the policies and projects of development aid agencies. This is considered to be the greatest shortcoming of this research.

However, the methods used to find out more about the agenda-setting process have however led to the right data.

Overall this research was a good learning experience and gave quite some insight on how to set-up and carry out a research. In general this process went alright, however there are always points for improvement. In a future research I will pay some extra attention to the methodology since I had to change this during this research.

Furthermore I would start somewhat earlier with looking for respondents, since experience learned that getting in contact and schedule an appointment can take quite a while.

Whenever interviews will be a method used in the future I will pay some more attention to the following of the interview structure, since this will make the analysis process go easier. Furthermore I should be alert on whether the data is matching my research objective and questions, during the process of data collection. As indicated, it appeared that it was difficult to get an alter perception on the need and benefit to work on climate change. Perhaps it would have been better if I had changed the interview questions or the set-up of this research half-way.

Besides I found it sometimes hard to keep the overview and the structure in my report. Next time I will make an outline of the chapters before writing, since this will be beneficial for the structure and the readability for others.

The above shows that there were quite some difficulties during this research. It is believed that this is probably normal, since after all a master-thesis is the first relatively small research you carry out by yourself. So, mistakes and difficulties are part of the process. Overall the most important thing I learned about doing research is that one has to keep a clear picture in mind of what you really want to know.

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Annex I: List of Interview Respondents

Duijsens R., Senior Program Manager at Red Cross/ Red Crescent Climate Centre, Den Hague, interview held on 14-01-2009 in Utrecht

Gans de, G, Specialist Climate Change and Sustainable Development at ICCO, Utrecht, interview held on 12-12-2008 in Utrecht

Hirsch D., Director at Both ENDS, Amsterdam, interview held on 5-12-2008 in Amsterdam

Honig E., Policy Advisor at Stichting Natuur en Milieu at Utrecht, interview held on 08-01-2009 in Utrecht

Ijmker L., Climate Campaigner at Milieudefensie, Amsterdam, interview held on 09-01-2009 in Wageningen

Juffermans J., Policy Employee Global Sustainability at de Kleine Aarde, Boxtel, interview held per telephone on 20-01-2009

Kamil S. Teamleader Emergency Aid and Reconstruction, Department East and Southern Africa and Climate Coordinator at Cordaid, Den Hague, interview held on 13-01-2009 in Utrecht

Königel C., Programme Officer – Climate Change & Ecological Footprint at IUCN NL, Amsterdam, interview held on 25-03-2009 in Amsterdam

Oppenoorth H., Climate Specialist at Hivos, Den Hague, interview held on 16-12-2008 in Den Hague

Rijn van, J., Climate Specialist at DGIS, Den Hague, interview held on 14-01-2009 in Den Hague

Schöne S., Program Director at Klimaatbureau, Utrecht, interview held on 18-03-2009

Soebroto C., Program Information Coordinator at Plan Nederland, Amsterdam, interview held on 15-01-2009 in Amsterdam

Tellam I., Senior Consultant at ETC Energy, Leusden, interview held on 11-03-2009 in Haarlem

Voogd S., Lobbyist at Oxfam Novib, Den Hague, interview held on 11-12-2008 in Den Hague

Wiertsema W., Senior Policy Advisor at Both Ends, Amsterdam, interview held on 5-12-2008 in Amsterdam

Annex II: Interview met Experts/ Milieu Organisaties

Vragen:

Framing

1. In welke mate zou u klimaatsverandering als een milieuprobleem classificeren?
2. In hoeverre heeft u door de jaren heen een verandering m.b.t. het classificeren van klimaatsverandering gemerkt?
3. In hoeverre zijn ontwikkelingsorganisaties zich gaan interesseren voor van oorsprong als milieuprobleem geclassificeerde problemen? Bijv. klimaatsverandering?
4. In welke mate ervaart u dat milieuorganisaties en ontwikkelingsorganisaties naar elkaar toe opschuiven?
5. Hoe ervaart u dit?

Agenda Setting

6. Wanneer kreeg u de impressie dat ontwikkelingsorganisaties zich voor klimaatverandering begonnen te interesseren?
7. In welke mate heeft u gemerkt dat aandacht voor milieuproblematiek en klimaatverandering van ontwikkelingsorganisaties door de jaren heen heeft gefluctueerd?
8. Wat denkt u dat de trigger voor agenda-setting is geweest? (welke maatschappelijke gebeurtenissen, spelen een rol, heeft u zelf ene rol gespeeld?)
9. In hoeverre heeft u de impressie dat ontwikkelingsorganisaties met hun aandacht voor klimaatproblematiek inspelen op een maatschappelijke trend?
10. Hoe zijn uw verwachtingen omtrent de aandacht die ontwikkelingsorganisaties nu aan klimaatsverandering geven?
11. In hoeverre verwacht u dat de aandacht voor klimaat zal aan blijven wanneer er andere crisis situaties zich voordoen?

Nut & Noodzaak

12. Wat vindt u van het feit dat ontwikkelingsorganisaties zich met klimaatsverandering bezig houden?
13. In welke mate verschilt het klimaatbeleid van ontwikkelingsorganisaties met dat van milieu organisaties?
14. Hoe worden deze verschillen dan wel overeenkomsten veroorzaakt? (richt de milieusector zich meer op mitigatie en de ontwikkelingssector zich meer op adaptatie?)
15. Hoe nuttig vindt u het klimaatbeleid van ontwikkelingsorganisaties in vergelijking met uw eigen/milieuorganisaties?
16. Tot in welke mate vindt het noodzakelijk dat ontwikkelingsorganisaties zich bezig houden met klimaatproblematiek?
17. Wat ziet als eventuele knelpunten/ wat zou u veranderen in het beleid van ontwikkelingsorganisaties?

Annex III : Interview met ontwikkelingsorganisaties

Vragen:

Framing

1. In welke mate zou u klimaatsverandering als een milieuprobleem classificeren?
2. In hoeverre kun je zeggen dat iets per definitie een milieu- dan wel een ontwikkelingsprobleem is?
3. In hoeverre is, door de jaren heen, de visie (classificatie van problemen) van uw organisatie t.o.v. milieuproblemen bijv. klimaatsverandering veranderd?
4. In welke mate ervaart u dat ontwikkelingsorganisaties and milieuorganisaties naar elkaar opschuiven?
5. Hoe ervaart u deze ontwikkeling?

Agenda Setting

6. Wanneer is uw organisatie zich gaan interesseren voor klimaatsverandering?
Check of dit overeen komt met jaarverslagen
7. Wat waren de belangrijkste redenen om juist toen interesse te gaan tonen in klimaatsverandering?
8. In hoeverre hebben maatschappelijke trends hierin een rol in gespeeld?
vergroting van het draagvlak?
9. De globale wereldmarkt voor emissie handel is momenteel al vele malen groter dan die van ontwikkelingshulp. Daarnaast komt er steeds meer druk op ontwikkelingsorganisaties te staan in hoeverre speelt dit en de financiële markten een rol in het agenda setting proces?
10. Wat zijn uw verwachtingen omtrent de aandacht voor klimaatsverandering die binnen uw organisatie wordt gegeven?
11. In hoeverre verwacht u dat de aandacht voor klimaat zal aan blijven wanneer er andere crisis situaties zich voordoen?
In hoeverre is het mogelijk om lange tijd campagne te voeren voor hetzelfde?

Nut & Noodzaak

12. Op welke wijze uit de aandacht voor klimaatsverandering in het beleid van uw organisatie?
Welke activiteiten worden er ondernomen?
13. In welke mate heeft u het idee dat klimaatsverandering door anderen binnen u organisatie is opgepakt?
Zijn er mensen aangesteld die zich puur met klimaatsverandering bezig houden/ bureaus gekomen die zich alleen met milieu-issues bezighouden etc.?
14. In hoeverre leeft het concept klimaatsverandering bij jullie counterparts?
Zijn er activiteiten gericht op bewustwording/ leren?
15. In welke mate ondervind u moeilijkheden m.b.t. het integreren van klimaat in uw huidige beleid?
16. Hoe ervaart het nut van al uw activiteiten op het gebied van klimaatsverandering?
17. Waarom is het volgens uw organisatie noodzakelijk dat ontwikkelingsorganisaties als uw organisaties aandacht vragen op het gebied van klimaatsverandering?