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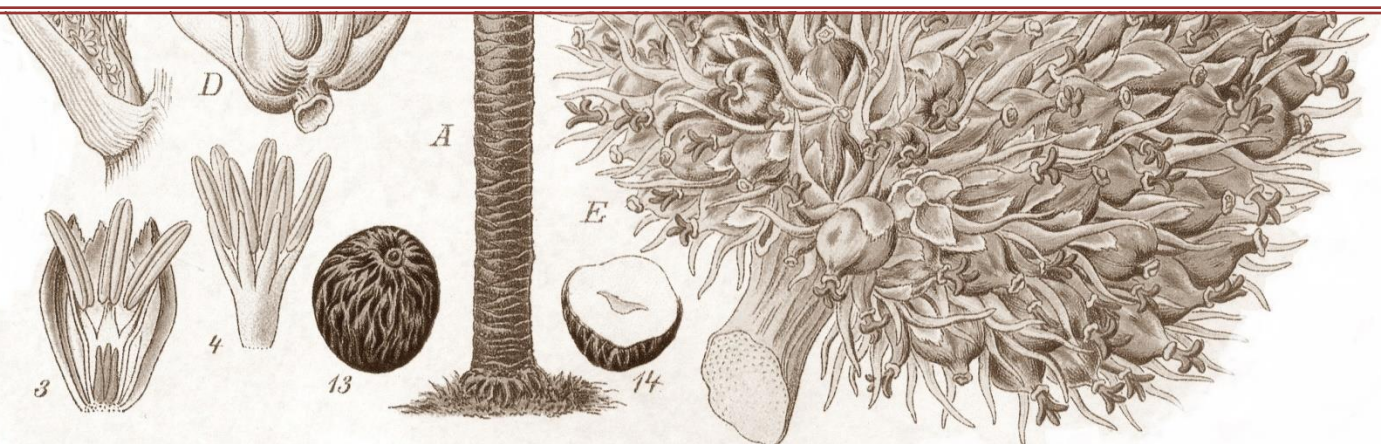
MSc thesis

There are no facts, only interpretations¹

A comparative media framing analysis on palm oil sustainability in the Netherlands and Malaysia



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Date: 16th of June, 2016
Thesis code: PAP-80333



Elaeis guineensis L.

¹ Friedrich Nietzsche, Nachlass, KSA 12: 7[60]. Original quote: *“Nein, gerade Tatsachen gibt es nicht, nur Interpretationen.”*

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Globalization has resulted in an increasingly interwoven international oriented trading regime wherein various actors and cultures are involved. This makes it complex and challenging to deal with sustainability issues in global food provision. Over the past decades, palm oil has become the largest produced and consumed vegetable oil in the world and received increasing attention regarding sustainability issues. Whilst the development of the palm oil industry is associated with economic and societal benefits to the major producing countries, a number of environmental and social sustainability challenges have been raised by NGOs and companies from European consumer countries. This thesis' primary objective is to examine the similarities and differences in the perception of palm oil sustainability in an important producing country – Malaysia – and consuming country (the Netherlands) over the past 15 years. A qualitative media framing analysis on a number of important newspapers is conducted in both countries as a means to analyse the conceptualisations of sustainability in the contrasting geographies. The analysis revealed 5 dominant frame packages for Malaysia and 4 for the Netherlands. Both countries have a very different media climate. While there is relatively little press freedom in Malaysia, journalists in the Netherlands have more space to be critical. This is reflected in the frames that are distilled from the samples. Malaysian and Dutch newspapers tend to simplify the complex case of palm oil sustainability and report a rather narrow view on the debate. National pride is very prominent in the frame packages of both countries. Other frames, however, seem to be completely absent. In Malaysian newspapers, negative imaging of the sector is hardly found. In the Dutch media, on the other hand, reference to colonial history connected to palm oil sustainability is largely lacking. Most frame packages identified are not directly on palm oil sustainability itself, but rather reflect on the socio-economic processes triggered by the concept. The conceptualisations of palm oil sustainability are in both countries interwoven in the identified frame packages. It has been found that in the Malaysian media palm oil sustainability is understood as ensuring competitiveness to protect the sector for external economic and political threats. In the Dutch newspapers, on the other hand, sustainability in the palm oil sector is characterised by means of taking responsibility for the environmental threats that are caused by producing palm oil.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive summary.....	3
Table of contents.....	4
Foreword and acknowledgements	6
1. Introduction.....	7
1.1 Problem description.....	8
1.2 Social & scientific relevance and research aim.....	9
1.3 Research question	9
2. Theoretical framework.....	10
2.1 Framing.....	10
2.1.1 Counter frames and wicked problems	10
2.2 Framing in the media	11
2.3 Media and society.....	12
3. Methods of data collection and analysis	13
3.1 Qualitative media content framing analysis.....	13
3.1.1 Newspaper selection and article sampling.....	13
3.1.2 The inductive analysis procedures	15
3.1.3 Interviews	17
3.2 Reflection on the research method and limitations	18
3.3 Summary of research methods	19
4. Media framing of palm oil sustainability in Malaysia.....	20
4.1 Media in Malaysia.....	20
4.1.1 Press freedom.....	20
4.1.2 Media landscape	20
4.1.3 Government, media and industry: power and control	20
4.1.4 An opaque situation.....	21
4.1.5 A Malaysian journalist.....	22
4.1.6 The future of Malaysian media.....	22
4.2 Frames identified over time in Malaysia.....	22
4.2.1 Frame package 1: Proud palm oil producer.....	23
4.2.2 Frame package 2: Western boycott.....	28
4.2.3 Frame package 3: Deliberative space - support or dominance?.....	31
4.2.4 Frame package 4: Securing competitiveness.....	34
4.2.5 Frame package 5: Dark side of palm oil.....	37
4.3 Malaysian meta-analysis.....	39
4.3.1 Consistency and conflicts in the Malaysian frames.....	39
4.3.2 Changes in framing over time	40

4.3.3	Malaysian conceptualisation of palm oil sustainability	40
4.3.4	The role of the Malaysian media in the palm oil sustainability debate	41
5.	Media framing of palm oil in the Netherlands.....	42
5.1	Media in the Netherlands	42
5.1.1	Press freedom.....	42
5.1.2	Media landscape	42
5.1.3	Changing way of working	42
5.1.4	The Dutch journalist and palm oil: a dubious relation	43
5.2	Frames identified over time in the Netherlands.....	43
5.2.1	Frame package 1: NGOs, the benchmark for sustainability.....	44
5.2.2	Frame package 2: Proud palm oil consumer	47
5.2.3	Frame package 3: Problems originate beyond our sphere of influence.....	49
5.2.4	Frame package 4: The responsible West.....	51
5.3	Dutch meta-analysis	54
5.3.1	Consistency and conflicts in the Dutch frames	54
5.3.2	Changes in framing over time	54
5.3.3	Dutch conceptualisation of palm oil sustainability.....	55
5.3.4	The role of the Dutch media in the palm oil sustainability debate.....	55
6.	Comparison between Malaysia and the Netherlands.....	56
6.1	Results of the Malaysian and the Dutch analysis.....	56
6.2	Knowledge sources	57
6.3	Polarisations and contradictions in the sustainable palm oil debate	57
6.3.1	National pride.....	57
6.3.2	Distrust and contradictory accusations.....	58
6.3.3	Oversimplification of a complex case	60
7.	Discussion and conclusion.....	61
7.1	Recommendations for future research.....	63
Appendices		68
Appendix 1: Malaysian article sample.....		68
Appendix 2: Table of Malaysian frames (total).....		77
Appendix 3: Table of Malaysian frames (per newspaper)		79
Appendix 4: E-mail responses Dutch journalists		83
Appendix 5: Dutch article sample		86
Appendix 6: Table of Dutch frames (total)		89
Appendix 7: Table of Dutch frames (per newspaper).....		90
Appendix 8: List of original Dutch quotes.....		94

FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is written as a completion of the MSc. program Management, Economics and Consumer studies (specialisation: Economics, Environment and Governance) at Wageningen University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Public Administration and Policy group.

Several persons have helped me when writing this master thesis. I would first like to thank my supervisor Greetje Schouten for being a big support, for giving very good comments on both the content and structure of my thesis and for being a fantastic person to work with. Secondly, I want to thank Rory Padfield for his enormous help in arranging interviews and sight visits in Malaysia and for his nice company and brainstorm sessions which made us both very enthusiastic. Finally, I would like to thank all the respondents (who will remain anonymous to ensure confidentiality) for the interesting interviews in both Malaysia and the Netherlands, which made me able to look beyond my own cultural frame.

1. INTRODUCTION

Sustainability is in general a concept that everybody supports and nobody opposes. This creates an apparent consensus where everyone seems to agree on the same thing. Actors, however, can have very different explanations of sustainability and therefore also promote very different actions and visions for the future (Candel, Breeman, Stiller, & Termeer, 2014). Since its first emergence, the term sustainable development has evoked an enormous amount of political debate and different perceptions have been put forward (Olsson, Hourcade, & Köhler, 2014). When discussing the concept of sustainability, often a reference is made to the report 'Our Common Future', which is released in 1987 by the UN Brundtland Commission (WCED, 1987). The *Brundtland definition* defines sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs” (WCED, 1987 p.45). This report is an attempt to unite different opinions to be able to pursue sustainable development together.

In the past decades, issues regarding sustainability (in all its forms) have gained importance in politics, civil society and business. Different views on how to deal with sustainability issues have become even more challenging because globalization has an influence on the current systems of food provisioning. This is particularly because globalization resulted in an international oriented trading regime where various actors and cultures are involved and where people ask for more transparency along the supply chains (Choonga & McKay, 2014). In the days when there were not such strong international ties, food was seen as a national or even a local concern. Nowadays, however, the distance in space between producer and consumer has grown and food is seen as a commodity to trade and speculate with. This distance also causes the fact that risks may spread very fast and on a broad scale (Olsson et al., 2014). Long distance interactions have intensified and this has its impact on both environmental and socio-economic sustainability. Global transfers of knowledge, technology, goods and services affect issues that are of importance to the whole world such as climate change, social and political unrest, public health, food safety and land use. On the one hand, food related decisions of producers, consumers, retailers or politicians can have impacts beyond the nation state and, on the other hand, global dynamics can affect local practices (Liu et al., 2013; Oosterveer & Sonnenfeld, 2012; Zimmerer, 2007). These developments make it more relevant than ever to find common ground and mutual understanding of sustainability.

One of the commodity chains that received increasing attention concerning sustainability issues in recent times is palm oil. From the oil palm (*Elaeis Guineensis*), a vegetable oil is extracted that is used in food, cosmetics and as a biofuel (Hospes & Kentin, 2014). It is currently the most traded and consumed vegetable oil in the world because it is cheap, high yielding and easy to grow (Choonga & McKay, 2014; Hospes & Kentin, 2014). After Indonesia, Malaysia is the largest palm oil producing country in the world and the Netherlands is the biggest importer of palm oil in Europe (Europe-Economics, 2014; Koh & Wilcove, 2008). At this moment, the demand for palm oil is growing on an international scale. Especially from 1975 the demand started to increase (Wicke, Sikkema, Dornburg, & Faaij, 2011). According to Choonga & McKay (2014), the increase in welfare in developing countries as India and China is a major reason for the growing demand. Higher living standards causes consumers to buy more processed food, because they are considered luxury products (Choonga & McKay, 2014). According to the WWF, the consumption of palm oil will have doubled by 2020 in comparison to 2010 (WWF, 2015). In 2013 the total production area of palm oil in the world was more than 4 times the size of the Netherlands (Ecosystem-Alliance, 2013). This growth in demand has a two-sided effect: on the one hand it can have socio-economic benefits but on the other hand it can seriously undermine and threaten the environment and have negative social impacts (Brandi et al., 2015).

1.1 PROBLEM DESCRIPTION

According to Yaacob (2014), there are a few important reasons for the growth of the palm oil industry. At first there is an increased demand because palm oil has a competitive price compared to other vegetable oils. Secondly, the commodity has high productivity per unit area and lower operational costs than other oils. It is 7 times more productive than soy and 12 times more than rapeseed. Thirdly, lower usage of fertilisers and pesticides is needed in the palm oil sector compared to other vegetable oils. Finally, the growth of the industry is accompanied by support from the governments and there is also strong financial backing from international commercial banks such as the World Bank, Barclays and the Royal Bank of Scotland (Yaacob, 2014). The development of the palm oil industry is associated with economic and social benefits for producing countries, such as Malaysia and Indonesia. The increased demands around the world create large profits for the palm oil industry and are therefore an incentive to expand plantations (Wicke et al., 2011). In that way, the sector can be a good source of income and a lucrative business. According to Brandi et al. (2015) this holds for both big companies and smallholders. About 600.000 Malaysians have a job that is linked to the palm oil production, which makes the sector a major socio-economic driver (Brandi et al., 2015). The downside of the production of this edible vegetable oil seems to lie especially in environmental degradation and societal and political unrest. In 2008, Koh and Wilcove estimated that at least 50% of the growth of palm oil production between 1990 and 2005 was at the expense of rainforest and its inhabitants (Koh & Wilcove, 2008). The land use change that occurs when a rainforest is converted to cropland is often accompanied by large forest fires and haze which can cause respiratory diseases that form a threat to public health. Moreover it also causes insecure property rights and fuels human right conflicts. The rising production is likely to cause even more of these problems in the future (Hospes & Kentin, 2014; Wicke et al., 2011).

Since the first concerns regarding palm oil sustainability were raised, several certification initiatives and attempts to set sustainability standards have been developed according to Brandi et al. (2015). It appears to be hard, however, to show the consumer which sustainability issues there are regarding palm oil. An important reason for this is that palm oil is processed in all kinds of products and is therefore invisible, which is completely different than, for example, cocoa or coffee (Brandi et al., 2015). Growing threats to nature, biodiversity and human health create more and more public pressure on governments and companies to take action. This resulted in the foundation of the Roundtable of Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO) by Unilever and the WWF in 2004 (Brandi et al., 2015). The RSPO is the biggest and most influential international attempt to make the palm oil sector more sustainable. It is a multi-stakeholder initiative where parties from countries all over the world that use or produce palm oil are involved, except of national governments. The aim of the RSPO is to make sustainable palm oil the norm but the implementation of the standard is still underdeveloped. Currently, for example, only about 40% of the certified palm oil is sold as such (Choonga & McKay, 2014; Schouten, Leroy, & Glasbergen, 2012).

Several national sustainability standards have emerged in recent years. The Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO) and the Malaysian Sustainable Palm Oil (MSPO) focus more towards national and Asian competitiveness and their market position in a global economy. According to the initiators of the ISPO and the MSPO, the policies of the RSPO mostly favour Western countries (Schouten & Bitzer, 2015). Moreover, they think that their vision on sustainability is only focusing on environment and is therefore one-sided (Schouten & Bitzer, 2015). There seems to be a considerable gap between the existing initiatives to make the supply chain more sustainable and the effectiveness of the implementation. The existence and emergence of these different standard-setting bodies show the complexity of working together with different perspective on a complex issue such as the sustainability of palm oil.

1.2 SOCIAL & SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE AND RESEARCH AIM

The process of globalization has caused palm oil to become an international commodity chain, in which multiple cultures, political and economic interests are involved. To make the palm oil chain more sustainable and to increase the ability of standard-setting bodies to be more effective, there is a need to know more about differences and similarities in perceptions on this topic between producing and consuming countries. In this thesis, a media framing analysis on this issue in both Malaysia and the Netherland will be performed. This is a good way to examine which perspectives have been present in both cultures over the past years. This information is useful to see how the concept sustainability plays a role concerning palm oil over time.

This thesis aims to compare the media coverage (complemented with interviews) of sustainability of palm oil in Dutch and Malaysian newspapers over the past fifteen years to examine similarities and differences in media framing over time. This is done as a means to analyse conceptualisations of sustainable development and social-economic interests connected to it in the contrasting geographies. The results from this research can then be used as a way to increase the capabilities of initiatives that aim to impact the functioning of the supply chain to be more effective in bridging different frames.

The focus of this research is a comparison between the Netherlands and Malaysia. There are three reasons for this choice. First, tensions and differing perceptions of European and Asian cultures on the global palm oil supply chain can be visualized by comparing these two countries. An example of such a tension is represented in the debate about the western orientation of the RSPO and the response of other (national) standard-setting bodies. Second, looking at these two nations is relevant because Malaysia is the second largest palm oil producer in the world and the Netherlands the largest importer in Europe. In the research program, of which this thesis is part ([Suspense](#)), Indonesia has been the main focus, but to create a more complete image of the palm oil industry it is necessary to include Malaysia in a substantial way as well. Moreover, a media framing analysis has not been performed on this topic so this research can give original insights which can be a valuable addition to existing knowledge. Finally, this thesis can contribute to the conception of sustainable development from different cultural perspectives.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION

As follows from the introductory chapter, the main research question of this thesis is:

What do the identified frames say about the conceptualisation of palm oil sustainability in Malaysia and the Netherlands?

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 FRAMING

Every event happening in the world can be understood and identified in various ways. This has to do with the way the message is represented, but even more with the perspective with which it is approached (Dewulf & Bouwen, 2012). These perspectives on an issue can also be defined as *framing* of a problem (Rein & Schön, 1996). According to Baumgartner et al. (2008), most scholars agree that framing is a discussion or presentation of an issue from a certain standpoint, with the exclusion of other perspectives. This process of framing can occur in situations where a single argument is used, but also when various arguments across several dimensions are used (Baumgartner, De Boef, & Boydstun, 2008). The consequence of framing is that it becomes difficult to state that you talk about the same issue or that you refer to the same problem (Termeer & Koppenjan, 1997). Framing is a way for actors to structure their way of perceiving reality and how they want to show it to the outside world. By doing so, one adds value and significance to social and physical occurrences (Gray, 2007). Only a selected number of elements are highlighted in a frame and others are excluded on purpose. This creates a reality that promotes a certain interpretation and problem definition. Therefore, frames are a categorisation of our experiences where new information is weighed against previous interpretations (Candel, Breeman, Stiller, & Termeer, 2014). According to Reese (2001) “Frames are *organizing principles* that are socially *shared* and *persistent* over time, that work *symbolically* to meaningfully *structure* the social world” (Reese, 2001 p. 5). Framing fluctuates in how completely or comprehensively it *organizes* information. Furthermore, a frame needs to be based on an abstract *principle* which is gathered from the elements found in the text where the frame manifests itself. A frame also needs to be *shared* to a certain extent and *persistent* over time to ensure its relevance in the public debate. Finally, frames are expressed in a *symbolic* form (by use of for example cat phrases and metaphors) and organized by providing *structures* or patterns that are identifiable (Reese, 2001).

Differences in framing are most visible in situations where people need to make decisions, when change is needed or when there are interactions that possibly cause conflicts in interaction (Dewulf & Bouwen, 2012). For changing a frame, interaction is more important than for example the cognitions of individual actors. Candel et al. (2007) stress that not only cognitive, but also normative ideas about an issue are expressed in a frame. This is because frames can be seen as a ‘co-construction’ of meaning where a certain perspective is put forward, rather than a collection of individual representations of an issue (Candel et al., 2014; Gorp & Vercruysse, 2012; Vink, 2015). Frames can be dynamic and fluid; this mostly occurs in situations where there is political struggle and discussion. They can, however, also become routinized and fixed if they exist in more hegemonic, long-term and conservative structures (Hospes & Kentin, 2014).

2.1.1 COUNTER FRAMES AND WICKED PROBLEMS

As shown above, issues or events can be influenced by various (conflicting) frames at the same time. In some cases, this can result in counter-framing, which is the creation of new frames by other actors that are based on different interpretations and interests regarding the issue. These counter-frames create a rivalry that can be used to challenge frames that already exist (Candel et al., 2014; Hospes & Kentin, 2014).

Issues that are extra susceptible to the emerge of counter-frames are wicked-problems (Candel et al., 2014). According to Rittel & Webber (1973), these problems are characterized by the fact that they are very difficult (or even impossible) to solve due to the fact that they are ‘ill-defined’.

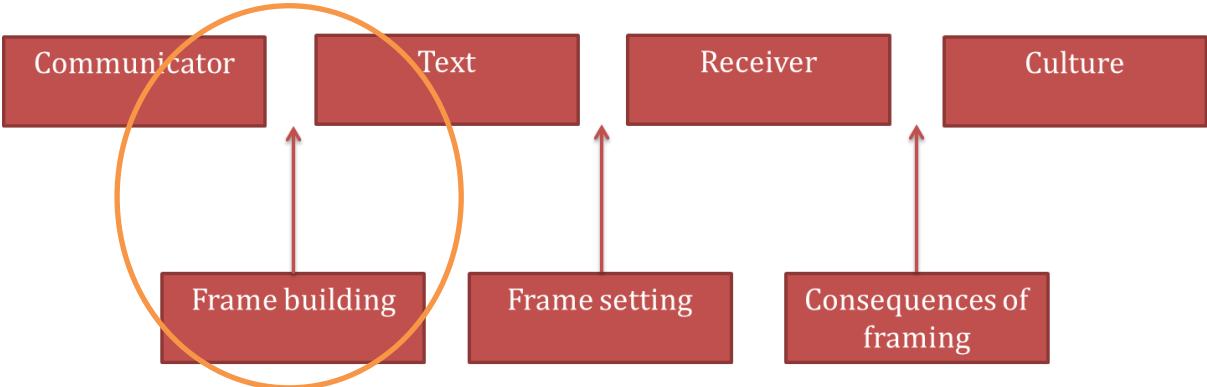
This means that there are contradictory, incomplete and changing elements around the issue which are difficult to pinpoint. Moreover, a wicked problem has no definitive formulation and there is no definite and ultimate test to a solution. It often happens that the complexity of the wicked problem results in the fact that efforts to solve the issue creates new issues (Rittel & Webber, 1973).

An example that is often referred to when discussing wicked problems is sustainability. Sustainability is in general a concept that everybody supports and nobody opposes. This creates an apparent consensus where everybody seems to agree and support the same thing. In reality, however, there are multiple different frames and counter frames associated with the concept. Moreover, because actors have diverse explanations of sustainability, they also promote very different actions and visions for the future (Candel et al., 2014).

2.2 FRAMING IN THE MEDIA

The study of Entman (1993) is seen as a standard approach with regard to framing in the media (Ciocea & Cârlan, 2014). He defines framing as “a process involving the choice of certain components of a perceived reality and then their salience, in the message communication, with the goal of advancing a specific interpretation of the particular situation under discussion” (Entman, 1993 p.52). According to Entman framing is not only limited to the territory of the text producer but can be seen as the interplay between different elements in the process of communication: the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture (Entman, 1993). Moreover, de Vreese (2005) adds to this theory by defining three stages of framing (frame building, frame setting and the consequences of framing) that show the overlap between the elements posed by Entman (De Vreese, 2005). At first frame building can be seen as the relations between how the communicator defines a frame and how it is transmitted into text. Secondly, frame setting shows an interaction between the media frames that are put forward in the text and the prior knowledge of the receiver. Finally, the consequences of framing can be seen as the effect of the media frame on society and on individual attitudes (Ciocea & Cârlan, 2014). In figure 1 the relation between the approaches is shown graphically and this research will focus on the first part of the scheme (see orange circle below).

Entman (1993): Frames operate along four nodes of a communication process



De Vreese (2005): Three stages of framing

FIGURE 1: TWO INTERRELATED MEDIA FRAMING APPROACHED, DERIVED FROM (CIOCEA & CÂRLAN, 2014)

2.3 MEDIA AND SOCIETY

According to Rimal, Chung & Dhungana (2015), media as a concept can be seen as a level playing field where different elements and actors interact. Via media information from events that appear in the outside world enter people's social and cultural environment. On its way from communicator to receiver, information is influenced by different beliefs and values, and this causes a diversification of interpretations in different environments and therefore bends in a way that fits to the place where it ends up (Rimal, Chung, & Dhungana, 2015). This fits well with the theories on media framing of Entman (1993) and de Vreese (2005) that are described above.

According to Rimal et al. (2015) if people do not have much knowledge about a certain topic, they are more open and vulnerable towards media as a source of information. So for people that live in a social environment where they have access to a lot of knowledge sources and where they have learned how to deal with that knowledge, media is seen as an additional source of information. However, in less open and well-informed environments, the media have a more educating role and is seen as a more structural source of knowledge (Rimal et al., 2015). On the other hand, however, it can also happen that these people are not able to make sense of the wide range of different media sources that are reporting on an issue (Valenzuela, 2009).

3. METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

3.1 QUALITATIVE MEDIA CONTENT FRAMING ANALYSIS

The central issue of this research is identified because that forms the base of the further framing analysis. In this thesis, the central issue is how palm oil sustainability is portrayed in Dutch and Malaysian newspapers. The emergence and persistence of frames over time will be analysed to be able to see similarities and differences between the countries.

According to De Vreese (2005), there are generally two analytical categories in framing theory: *generic frames* and *issue-specific frames*. Generic frames “transcend thematic limitations and can be identified in relation to different topics, some even over time and in different cultural contexts” (De Vreese, 2005 p. 54). In this analytical framework theory type, framing categories are defined and operationalized prior to the research (a *deductive approach*). In this type of research quantitative content analysis is mostly used (Ciocea & Cârlan, 2014). Issue-specific frames, on the other hand, “are pertinent only to specific topics or events” (De Vreese, 2005 p. 54). In this analytical framing theory type framing categories (that are specific to a problem that is under discussion) are defined and operationalized in a qualitative way by analyzing the investigated discursive material (an *inductive approach*) (Ciocea & Cârlan, 2014).

Furthermore, mixed types of analytical categories are possible in framing theory, for example, when cultural embeddedness of the frames is an important element in the analysis. In that case, the frames extracted are seen as issue-specific, but they are part of a large societal and cultural corpus and the best way to analyse these frames requires a qualitative methodology. So there are elements of genericity as often seen in generic frames, but the proposed researched methodology is inductive as in the issue-specific analytical category (Ciocea & Cârlan, 2014). One of the most well-known studies that apply such a methodology is according to Ciocea & Cârlan (2014) the one of Gorp & Vercruyssen (2012). In this research a mainly inductive framing analysis is performed that has as main product an overview of interpretative frame packages (Gorp & Vercruyssen, 2012). The framing of palm oil sustainability in Malaysia and the Netherlands fits very well to this mixed category because it is issue-specific but also cultural embedded. Therefore, the basis of the qualitative media content framing analysis as described by Gorp & Vercruyssen (2012) is used as a tool to extract frames concerning palm oil sustainability in Dutch and Malaysian newspapers. Also, their dominance in the debate and their change over time is examined. Media coverage is used in this thesis as an indicator of the way the public debate is shaped in both cultures.

3.1.1 NEWSPAPER SELECTION AND ARTICLE SAMPLING

A representative sample of Dutch and Malaysian newspaper coverage between 2000 and 2015 is selected by using the online database [LexisNexis](#) and the online archive on the newspaper’s website. The 15 year timeframe is chosen to be able to distinguish trends and changes of perception over time. Moreover, in this 15 years a few important developments regarding palm oil sustainability have taken place (such as the foundation of the RSPO in 2004), which makes it an interesting and pertinent timeframe to investigate. A comprehensive dataset makes it possible to trace frames and the focus of attention through time.

The newspaper selection is made by use of the following selection criteria. First, as broad range of political orientations of the newspapers is chosen for both countries. For the Netherlands that means that both left and right wing oriented newspapers are included. Also, both liberal and more conservative sides are represented (see table 1). For the Malaysian media the most

important political distinction is the connection of the newspaper to the government. Both government owned, linked and independent sources are included to be able to create an as representative picture as possible. Furthermore an independent online newspaper is included in the analysis to be able to compare the difference between government controlled and independent media. This selection resulted in a list of four Dutch and three Malaysian newspapers (see table 2 below).

The second range of selection criteria is connected to the reach of the newspapers, represented in the circulation numbers. The selection is limited in the Netherlands to newspapers that have the highest circulation numbers to ensure a good reach of the country’s national population. For Malaysia the two largest English written newspapers are selected and the most read independent online source. For the Malaysian sample, only English newspapers are chosen because they are popular in urban areas, where 73% of the Malaysian population lives (WorldBank, 2014). This selection criterion will not blur the results to a high extent because English is an official language in Malaysia and compulsory in schools (Manzo & Padfield, 2016).

Newspaper selection for the Netherlands

<u>Name</u>	<u>Political orientation</u>	<u>Circulation numbers 2014</u>
De Telegraaf	Right	520000
De Volkskrant	Left	250000
NRC Handelsblad	Progressive liberal	200000
Trouw	Progressive Christian (left)	100000

TABLE 1: DUTCH NEWSPAPER SELECTION

Newspaper selection for Malaysia

<u>Name</u>	<u>Political orientation</u>	<u>Circulation numbers 2014</u>
New Straits Times	Government owned	77316
The Star	Government linked	302713
Malaysiakini	Independent	n.a.

NOTE: The archive start year of The Star and Malaysiakini are 2003 and 2005 respectively. This means that information before this date cannot be traced and analysed.

TABLE 2: MALAYSIAN NEWSPAPER SELECTION

The next step is article sampling. Questions that come up when creating the sample are: On what criteria should the samples be based? What is included and excluded? Which words for search should be used? The article sample for this research is constructed by making use of the same keywords for each newspaper in the search engine LexisNexis. Words used are the combination of ‘palm oil’ AND ‘sustainab!’ (and in Dutch ‘palmolie’ AND ‘duurza!’). The exclamation marks are a search command in LexisNexis that complements the search term. With these keywords the sample narrows down to more relevant articles and the yearly distribution of sustainability and palm oil-related articles by country over the past 15 years becomes visible. Moreover, as an extra criterion, only the articles with an occurrence of >5 times the word *palm oil* are selected by Lexis Nexis to ensure that the article is on a noticeable level about palm oil. The samples that were not available on LexisNexis (*the Star* and *Malaysiakini*) are found on the online database of

the newspapers. In those cases, the words *sustainable* and *sustainability* are used in combination with *palm oil* to search for articles in the newspaper archive. Moreover, the extra selection on articles with >5 times *palm oil* is done manually.

3.1.2 THE INDUCTIVE ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

This inductive analysis consists of 3 elements which are, as far as possible, conducted in parallel. The analysis procedure goes on until a point is reached where no new frames are being detected anymore (Gorp & Vercruyssen, 2012). From the beginning the data is divided by country; Malaysia and the Netherlands will be studied separately to be able compare the differences in framing in the contrasting cultures over time.

APPLYING AN OPEN CODING SYSTEM

The application of an open coding system means that a datasheet is created where all relevant citations and illustrations that are found in the sample are noted. Therefore, the qualitative analysis tool Atlas.ti is used. All important elements in the datasheet are coded by use of key terms, metaphors and arguments and then can be seen that they all represent a certain *framing device* and a *reasoning device* (Gorp & Vercruyssen, 2012). According to Candel et al. (2014), framing devices are built up by elements in communication that can be seen as real indicators of a frame, which can be catchphrases, images or certain words. Reasoning devices on the other hand, show the causal lines of arguing of a frame. An important difference between the two is that framing devices are visible in a direct way while reasoning devices are more hidden and need to be distilled from the articles by careful reading (Candel et al., 2014). During the process of analysis various quotes form a certain sub frame As soon as such a sub frame is detected; all quotes that can be grouped under that label are given the same name. It is possible that one sub frame occurs various times in one article, but ultimately all frames count only once per article to be able to look at overall occurrence and dominance of the frame per newspaper. Attention is also given to the yearly distribution of frame packages in order to see change over time. For each newspaper (and for the total number of articles per year per country) a table as seen below is filled out. Moreover, charts are created to graphically show the distribution and dominance of each frame package per year in relation to the total number of articles.

	2000	<...>	2015	TOTAL
Frame package 1	x	x	x	X
Frame package 2	x	x	x	X
Frame package 3	x	x	x	X

TABLE 3: EXAMPLE OF A FRAME OCCURRENCE TABLE

SHARPENING OF THE CODING LIST

In this element of the analysis the codes are listed and reduced so that only the ones remain that are really dominant in the debate because they come back regularly or are mentioned with emphasis. In this process the codes are reordered and similar framing and reasoning devices are clustered. With this shorter and final list the analysis is reviewed once more to see if no important elements are missing which might not be the most visible but still essential elements of a frame (Gorp & Vercruyssen, 2012). Gorp (2007) warns however that if a researcher only takes into account the reasoning- and framing devices that are countable, the actual frame may not be determined. This is because then the subtlety of the messages can get lost in the rigid

separation of what a researcher determines as important and unimportant (Gorp, 2007). This is a bias that has to be taken into account and care is taken to avoid this as far as possible by rereading the articles and by means of only fixating the frames at the end of the analysis.

CREATING FRAME PACKAGES

A last part that is important in the inductive analysis is the creation of *frame packages*. A frame package can be described as an operationalized frame where certain signifiers suggest or confirm the presence of a frame. Each frame package consists of a core theme, which defines the package as a whole, with a logical chain of framing- and reasoning devices (clustered in *sub frames*) that are connected to it (Candel et al., 2014; Gorp & Vercruyse, 2012).

Frames change over time because new information becomes available and other priorities and societal elements become visible or turn out to be important (Candel et al., 2014). Some frames are only dominant in a very short time period, but others will be present during a longer time. All sub frames that are found in the analysis of the articles are bundled in frame packages which are, in turn, summarized in a frame analysis table by means of a number of topics (as explained in table 4 below) (Gorp & Vercruyse, 2012). This way of describing and characterizing the frames will make it possible, ultimately, to distinguish which interests and elements are important at what moment in time and what differences and similarities between the Netherlands and Malaysia there are.

Frame	The title of the frame package
Cultural theme	The overarching cultural issue where the frame refers to
Definition of the problem	The problem that is reflected in the frame package
Cause	The reason that this frame puts forward for the existing problem
Consequences	The impact of the problem according to the frame package
Moral values involved	The moral values that are the drivers of the frame package
Socio-economic interests	The socio-economic interests that are interrelated with the message of the frame package
Possible solutions/ actions	The ways put forward by the frame package that can solve the problem for the future
Non-solution	The options discussed in the frame which are not seen as way out of the problem
Metaphors/ choice of vocabulary	The way of writing used to strengthen the frame and put it into effect

TABLE 4: EXAMPLE OF A FRAME ANALYSIS TABLE AND DEFINITIONS OF THE ANALYSIS CATEGORIES. COMPILED BY USING (CANDEL ET AL., 2014; GORP & VERCRUYSE, 2012)

3.1.3 INTERVIEWS

In support of the qualitative framing analysis, interviews are conducted (mainly in Malaysia) in which the palm oil sustainability, media climate and the preliminary results of the analysis are discussed with various experts. Data collection in Malaysia was performed in cooperation with Universiti Teknologi Malaysia (UTM) in Kuala Lumpur.

According to Chong & Druckman (2007) sources can be complemented by making use of semi- or unstructured interviews to make the frames more complete, relevant and applicable to the culture. By posing the issue to a respondent one can gather the considerations that he or she will come up with (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

A semi structured approach is used for conducting the interviews in this thesis. According to Bryman (2012), these kinds of interviews are characterized by their flexible structure and fluid nature which means that there are certain topics, themes and concepts to discuss, but no strict list of questions. Prior to the interview a list of topics is composed on the basis of scientific literature, previously conducted interviews and other available information. By not using a strict, standardized set of questions and by having an open conversation with the respondents, flexibility is ensured (Bryman, 2012).

By performing an inductive framing analysis, one must take into account that one's own cultural background can colour the identification of frames. Therefore, interviews are executed mainly in Malaysia to strengthen the comparative analysis and the in-depth knowledge on societal backgrounds of the issue and the Malaysian culture. Respondents for the interviews are stakeholders in the issue, journalists, scientists, government and NGOs. The decision on the selection of respondents is made in cooperation with palm oil experts in the Netherlands and Malaysia. These interviews can offer an extra back-up to the results of the framing analysis. Furthermore it makes the researcher better able to overcome the own cultural bias by hearing other people's point of view.

In Malaysia, 12 interviews with various actors, 2 seminar visits and 1 plantation visit are performed. In the Netherlands, interviews were mostly used to get more insight on the topic of palm oil in the media and the Dutch media climate. Only one interview is conducted because journalists were not eager to talk about the topic for various reasons (see Appendix 1). To ensure the confidentiality of the respondents, they are categorized in the results by actor group. A journalist will consequently for example be named *journalist#1* in the text. The list of respondents can be requested and will be made available in some cases.

Actor group/ # respondents per country	Malaysia	Netherlands
Journalists	2	-
Former journalists	1	1
Research consultants	2	-
Researchers (university)	3	-
Counsellor	1	-
Industry	1	-
Smallholder organizations	1	-
Plantation managers	1	-

TABLE 5: NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS PER ACTOR GROUP

3.2 REFLECTION ON THE RESEARCH METHOD AND LIMITATIONS

In the Malaysian article sample, only English written newspapers are included. It might however be the case that the newspapers in Bahasa Malaysia have a different tone or a different focus. Furthermore, there is a big difference between the size of the Malaysian and the Dutch sample. This has to do with the selection criteria and the fact that there is less media attention for palm oil in general in the Netherlands. But although the reasons are clear, it was harder to distinguish clear trends in the frames in the Dutch articles than in the Malaysian sample. This might, however, also be partly due to the fact that in Malaysian media there is a more one-sided and consistent line of arguing in general.

In this thesis, a qualitative framing analysis method is used to identify frame packages. This is a mainly inductive method and the frames are therefore interpretative. Although the samples are read repeatedly and thoroughly, there will always be a small part where personal interpretation and cultural bias are given the space. In this research is tried to avoid this by doing fieldwork in Malaysia, by referring to scientific articles and by interviewing people besides the analysis of newspaper articles.

Various changes over time can be observed by use of this qualitative media framing analysis. An over-time analysis, however, could be more precise and significant when a quantitative method, like the one Baumgartner et al. (2008) suggests, is used. For such an analysis to run smoothly, a sample is required where you have data for each year of the chosen timeframe. In this thesis, a number of years were missing in the archives of Malaysian newspapers, so there would be a large bias in the results using the method of Baumgartner et al. (2008).

3.3 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH METHODS

		RESEARCH STEPS			
		<i>Data collection</i>	<i>Type of data</i>	<i>Data processing</i>	<i>Data analysis</i>
RESEARCH METHOD	Media content framing analysis Newspaper selection and sample	Create a newspaper selection based on several criteria	Dutch and Malaysian newspapers	Downloads data per newspaper from LexisNexis and/or newspaper database	Developing search queries on LexisNexis on the selected list of newspapers with selected keywords
	Media content framing analysis Inductive analysis procedures	Creating an open coding system Sharpening of the coding list Creating frame packages Frame verification by qualitative coding	Reasoning devices, framing devices that form frame packages in articles	Use Atlas.ti. Read articles and code relevant parts as a sub frame when a pattern is identified. Sub frames will then be clustered in frame packages	Qualitative analysis of the article sample Fill out frame analysis tables per frame package Also look at distribution per year
	Strengthening of the comparison and in-depth cultural knowledge through interviews	Interviews with stakeholders in journalism, politics, NGOs, research and industry (mainly in Malaysia)	Notes	Analysing the notes of the interviews Extracting relevant information that can be used to complement the frame analysis and to overcome the cultural bias of the researcher	Qualitative analysis of the interviews

TABLE 6: SUMMARY OF RESEARCH METHODS

4. MEDIA FRAMING OF PALM OIL SUSTAINABILITY IN MALAYSIA

This chapter consists of an analysis of the media climate in Malaysia (chapter 4.1) followed by an analysis of the frame packages that are identified in the Malaysian article sample (chapter 4.2). Finally, a meta-analysis (chapter 4.3) concludes the Malaysian analysis with pointing at the most remarkable elements of the analysis, the consistency of the frames, the changes over time and the differences and similarities between newspapers in the sample

4.1 MEDIA IN MALAYSIA

In this part, the Malaysian media climate is studied by use of interviews with (former) journalists and a literature study. The results of this analysis will give a better understanding of Malaysian frames in their broader societal context. Moreover, it will make it easier to highlight differences and similarities with the Netherlands in the comparative chapter of this thesis.

4.1.1 PRESS FREEDOM

Malaysia ranks 147th out of 180 in the 2015 World Press Freedom Index. This means that there is, according to this list, almost no press freedom and that there is a danger in not respecting the strict rules that surround journalism (Reporters-Without-Borders, 2015). Taman & Abdullah (2015) explain how Malaysia is a country where multiple cultures live together. Since independence in 1957, important national and economic developments have taken place, and also the media and the political landscape of the country have changed. However, there is currently a growing concern regarding the role of media in the country because the government has a major influence on it. Therefore, Malaysia can these days be seen as pseudo-democratic country according to Tamam & Abdullah (2015).

4.1.2 MEDIA LANDSCAPE

George (2007) explains that the media landscape in Malaysia exists of a spectrum with extremes on both sides. On the one side there is the Radio Television Malaysia (RTM) and the Bernama national news agency, which are both government-owned. On the other side there are the independent internet fora, websites and platforms created by civil society groups, businesses or individuals. Most newspapers fall in between those two extremes; most of them are government-owned or government-linked. This means that they are technically seen as private companies, but in reality they are suspected of strict governmental supervision (George, 2007).

4.1.3 GOVERNMENT, MEDIA AND INDUSTRY: POWER AND CONTROL

According to *journalist#1*, there is no such thing as press freedom in Malaysia. Printed newspapers have a license which is issued by the ministry which can be withdrawn at any time. Government agencies are of the opinion that all media should be positive about them to ensure political stability and national development. This self-censorship is manifested by making use of control mechanisms such as this permit; it ensures that the media can be seen as a 'reliable partner' (Tamam & Abdullah, 2015).

Last year, for example, the office of the newspaper The Edge was closed for three months because they were not seen as a reliable partner anymore and lost their permit. *Journalist#1* suggests that it is a way to create fear and to prevent journalists to be critical in their articles. This experience is backed by *former journalist#1*, by pointing out that you always have to be

careful where you write about as a journalist. By being too critical, your new license might be rejected. A consequence of this media structure is that there are, according to *former journalist#1*, journalists that don't want to write about palm oil.

"By being critical you are risking your job" confirms *journalist#2*, who has 30 years of experience as a journalists for various Malaysian newspapers. According to her, every article is published or rejected with a reason. "When you are for example critical but you don't name names (or when it is about a small company) it can sometimes get through without any problems because it doesn't really endanger the sector" she stresses.

Former journalist#1 points out that all mainstream printed media are controlled. This is, according to her, because they are all owned by the government and business men (for example owners of plantations). "Everything that for example a minister, the Malaysian Palm Oil Council (MPOC) or key players in the palm oil industry want to have printed is printed" she says. Moreover, *journalist#1* stresses that journalists of *the Star* and the *New Straits Times* switch position between government agencies and the newspapers every two years, which shows the direct link between the government and the media. Very well-linked people own the shares of the newspapers according to *journalists#1*. Also *researcher#1* notes that the ownership of assets is very vague in both the media and the palm oil sector; according to her you never know who owns what and they all interlink with each other.

The knowledge sources that are used for newspaper articles are, according to *former journalist#1*, always neutral or positive and government agencies such as the MPOC are seen as the primary knowledge source. Therefore, he stresses, information in articles comes mainly down to basic (technical) and positive and facts. *Journalist#1* thereby explains that there are bloggers in Malaysia who are paid by the government with public money to write pro-government and pro-palm oil articles. And because, as he suggests, Malays tend to listen to all people with more authority or knowledge (or who act like they have that); these bloggers have quite some influence in the public debate and on public opinion.

4.1.4 AN OPAQUE SITUATION

In Malaysian media it is all about gaps, according to *researcher#1*. There are very big parts missing in the stories that are published in printed media. In an indirect way the big palm oil companies have an influence on the media. All parties are interconnected but nobody knows exactly in what way. "I'd rather be constructive in my blogs", *researcher#1* continues, "and tell the more precarious things I know to some other people that have more possibilities to bring it into the world (e.g. via international research)". If you want to be critical you need to be it in a constructive way, according to *researcher#1*, otherwise you are no longer taken seriously. People are very self-censuring according to her, "it is a battle of information and it is all about information control." "In general", she continues, "in the media the positive is too positive and the negative too negative". Furthermore, she stresses that the Malaysian Palm Oil Board (MPOB) doesn't provide sufficient information; "they only give out what they want the public to read, they are not transparent at all". Actually it is a shame, according to *researcher#1*, because they could use being more transparent in a way that it would also benefit them ultimately. "The MPOB seems to be so proud of the sector that they are afraid that critiques will cause damage to the industry."

There are two important reasons why this situation is so opaque and why it stays that way. Firstly, *journalist#1*, *former journalist#1*, as well as *researcher#1* confirm that there is advertising money from big palm oil companies in Malaysian newspapers. *Former journalist#1* even points out that this is a big source of income for some newspapers and that it is one of the

reasons that they are so pro palm oil in their news coverage. This underlying funding from big companies in the media sector undermines being critical. And secondly, not only the big companies and the government, but also the journalists have in the back of their mind that they would ruin their own industry (and therefore their economy and level of welfare) if they would be very negative about palm oil.

4.1.5 A MALAYSIAN JOURNALIST

“I prefer to work for Mc.Donalds over working at the *New Straits Times*, and you can quote me on that” says *journalist#1* firmly when we talk about various kinds of newspapers in Malaysia. With this statement he wants to point out that most journalists in his country work for government linked media where they have no decision power in what they publish. Journalists are afraid, he stresses, and therefore they just remain in the grid.

“Ultimately, everyone (critical or not) wants his company to make money” according to *journalist#1*. This means, he stresses, that you back off sometimes as a journalist and make the story more subtle. Moreover, he explains that he also always asks his bosses for approval before he publishes something. And if very valuable information about a sensitive topic would be at hand, it would be tried to get it out there. “But you have to be careful, do your own extra research and discuss it with your bosses”, says *journalist#1*. “Sometimes you are not allowed to write about something because it is too sensitive”, he continues, “and that is something most journalists understand.”

An important element that most Malaysian journalists haven’t developed in their work is the ability to connect different aspects. According to *journalist#1* and *journalist#2* most journalists are not able to research overarching elements between for example economy, environment and politics. “Often they are only interested in business, not in sustainability”, says *journalist#2*. Also they have not enough expertise, skill and good editors according to her; people are often stuck in a frame and so are journalists. But according to *journalist#1* balancing jour articles and using a lot of background material to create possibilities to step away from these strict patterns.

4.1.6 THE FUTURE OF MALAYSIAN MEDIA

According to *former journalist#1*, nothing has really changed in the media culture in the past 15 years. However, *journalist#2* mentions that journalists have a little more freedom nowadays, especially due to the rise of social media and online platforms. Furthermore, in 2008 a new government was elected where the long held big national coalition party lost its majority. This caused a shift in the socio-political landscape. Although the media are still restricted in what they publish public awareness and dissatisfaction grows. A growing number of voices are calling for democracy and criticise the current role of the media in the Malaysian society (Tamam & Abdullah, 2015).

4.2 FRAMES IDENTIFIED OVER TIME IN MALAYSIA

In this section, the frames that are found in the media framing analysis are explained and illustrated. For the Malaysian part of the media framing analysis, 329 articles of 3 different newspapers (published between 2000 and 2015) are analysed. The vast majority of the articles (266) are found in the government owned newspaper the *New Straits Times*, which is 80,9% of

the total sample. In the independent *Malaysiakini* 42 articles (12,8%) matched the selection criteria and from the government linked newspaper *the Star*, 21 articles (6,4%) are selected.

In the Malaysian article sample (see Appendix 1) 5 frame packages, existing of 13 sub-frames in total, are identified (see Appendix 2). The analysis is performed over all 15 years of the research scope which makes the occurrence and dominance of frames over time visible. The frame packages and the sub frames are described below and are presented in order of significance (from highest occurrence to least occurrence in absolute sense). Citations from the articles are used to illustrate the most significant elements of each frame. Moreover, data from interviews with various actors are used to complement and strengthen parts of the analysis.

The Malaysian sample consists of 329 articles in total. In the graph below the number of articles about palm oil and sustainability per year is shown. In general, one can see that from 2007 there is a big rise in articles about this topic and there seems to be a slight downward trend again after 2012.

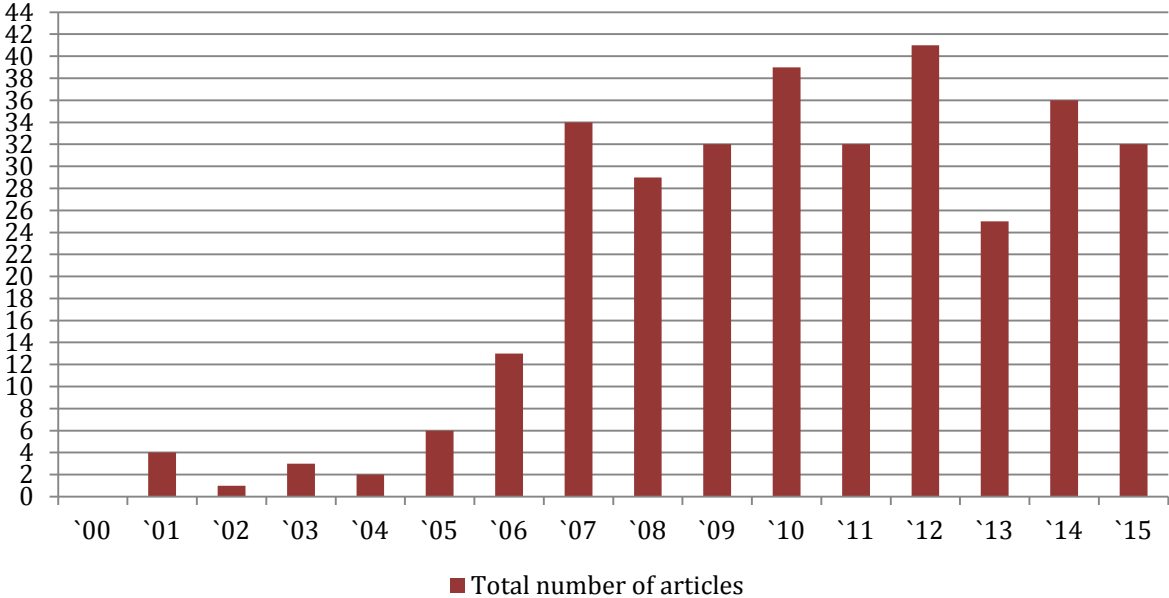


FIGURE 2: TOTAL NUMBER OF ARTICLES PER YEAR

4.2.1 FRAME PACKAGE 1: PROUD PALM OIL PRODUCER

The frame package that occurs most often (in 194 of the 329 articles) in the Malaysian newspaper sample is the ‘proud palm oil producer’. As described in the introduction of this thesis, palm oil production significantly contributes to the stability of the Malaysian economy. The revenues derived from palm oil help raising living standards and therefore reduce poverty. In addition, the industry creates nearly 600.000 jobs. Before palm oil became an important cash crop for Malaysia, a major source of income from the agricultural sector was from natural rubber. However, since that industry is overtaken by synthetic rubber the prices for that product went down and the production stagnated (Burger & Smit, 1997). Palm oil gave a new impulse to the Malaysian economy and ensured that it became and remained one of the most prosperous countries of Asia (Yaacob, 2014). This frame package shows a clear sense of pride towards the palm oil sector and the position it has on the international market. Moreover, also the efficiency of the crop compared to other vegetable oils and the steps already made to make palm oil production more sustainable are widely reported. The country is proud of its market, of what

they have achieved and of how they are able to raise both economic and environmental standards.

In the graph below the occurrence and dominance of this frame package per year are displayed. On the x-axis one can see the years that are included in the scope of the research (from 2000 to 2015). On the y-axis, the absolute numbers are given, which are connected to the light and dark red columns. The light red column shows the total number of articles per year and the dark red columns displays the number of articles that include this frame package. In this way, the relative dominance of the frame can be seen; the closer the dark red column is to the height of the light one, the more dominant the frame is in that year.

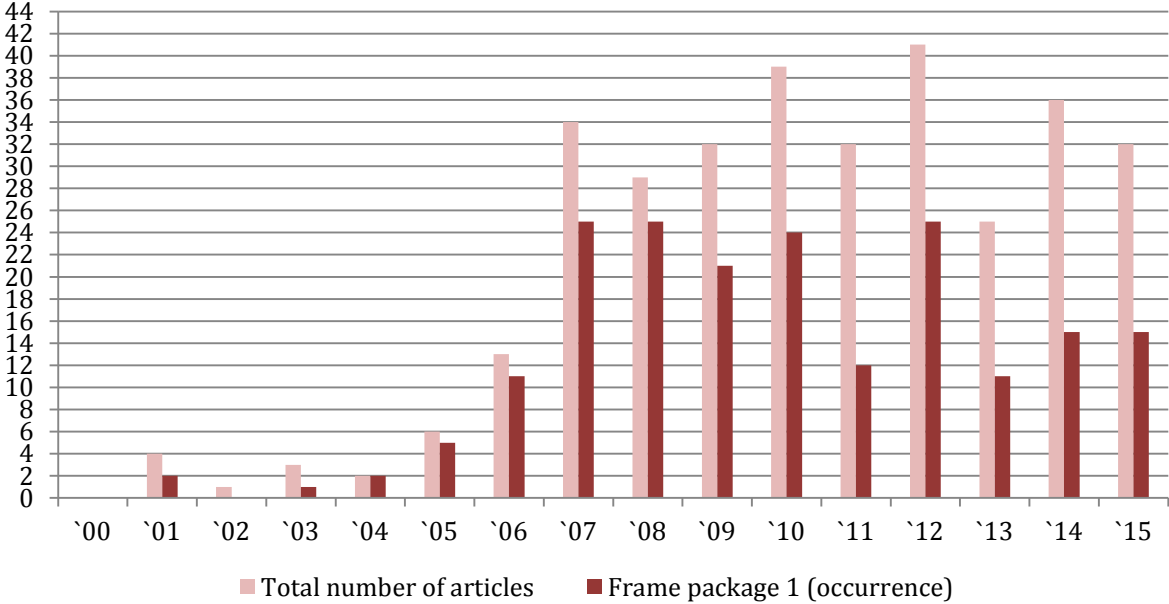


FIGURE 3: OCCURRENCE AND DOMINANCE OF FRAME PACKAGE 1

Frame package 1 occurs most from 2007 to 2012 and seems to lower again after that. In relative sense this frame is most persistent between 2004 and 2008. In 2004 there are only 2 articles on palm oil sustainability, but the years after that the number of articles increases rapidly and the frame remains quite dominant. A reason for the fact that this frame package is most dominant from 2004 onwards might be the start of the RSPO in that year which gave the Malaysians the incentive to defend their market position and to show the consumer the value and the quality of their product. This frame package has 4 sub frames, which are discussed below in order of significance (from most present to least present in absolute sense.)

SUB FRAME 1.1: MALAYSIA AS A PROUD PRODUCER

This sub frame is, with an occurrence in 120 of the 194 articles (61,9%), a very important indicator of frame package 1. The feeling of national pride regarding the palm oil sector is reflected in the way the government, the industry and also media go public. Articles often showcase activities that highlight the good will and the sustainable incentives of the government and the industry. An example can be found in *The Star* (15-04-2008) *“Malaysia’s palm oil industry is burnishing its green image with an RM20mil wildlife conservation fund. [...] This is one of the many examples of corporate social responsibility and environmental care by our palm oil industry.”*

The Malaysian newspapers make use of best practices examples to show the progress that the palm oil sector makes and the level of sustainability that is already achieved in the processes around palm oil production. One company that is often highlighted in articles is the Malaysian based company Sime Darby, a multinational conglomerate that is involved in various sectors (including palm oil plantations) and that has vested interests and a close relationship with the government. (Varkkey, 2015) *The Star* (08-09-2014) for example, stresses that “*Sime Darby Plantation Sdn Bhd has been very conscious about not burning old trees from as far back as 1985, when it instituted a zero burning policy; instead, the company fells trees that have reached the end of their life cycle.*”

Also in the *New Straits Times*, the company is being praised for its proper commitment to the international standard-setting body and its innocence in the environmental problems that occur due to palm oil production. “*Sime Darby Bhd, the world's largest producer of certified sustainable palm oil, is expected to be exonerated from the forest fires in Sumatra that caused smoky haze shrouding the skies of Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore in recent weeks. [...] 'Sime Darby had submitted the maps and RSPO is satisfied that they are not involved,' said an industry source.*” (New Straits Times, 05-07-2013) From this fragment a sense of trust and pride towards big economic players in the industry can be withdrawn.

Sometimes the positivity is present in such a way that it upsets other parties. An example is the following incident in the British media, recorded by *Malaysiakini* (10-01-2008) “*An advertising watchdog in the UK announced yesterday that two commercials by the Malaysia Palm Oil Council (MPOC) that ran on television channel BBC World last year were 'misleading'. [...] While the world 'may know almost all the wonders of the earth, many may not be aware of the wonders of this gift from nature, this gift for life,' said the voice as it spoke of 'Malaysia palm oil': 'Its trees that give life and help our planet breathe. Its fruit provides vitamins for our bodies and energy for our daily lives. Malaysia Palm oil: A gift from nature, a gift for life, sustainably produced since 1917.'*”

SUB FRAME 1.2: PALM OIL IS MORE SUSTAINABLE THAN OTHER OILS

A next sub frame, which is seen in 53 of the 194 articles that belong to frame package 1, shows the need of the Malaysian actors to compare to other vegetable oil sectors and set them in contrast with the palm oil sector. The main message in this comparison is consistently that palm oil is far more sustainable and progressive than the other oils. In the *New Straits Times*, journalists put various indicators forward that confirm this. At first, they stress that palm oil is a healthy choice in the selection pallet of vegetable oils. “*Palm oil is a healthy choice to be used in processed food compared with other vegetable oils because it is not genetically-modified and does not contain harmful trans-fat at all.*” (New Straits Times, 15-02-2007)

Secondly, the lifespan of the palm oil tree is often mentioned as an indicator of efficiency and sustainability of the crop in comparison to others. “*Oil palms have a productive lifespan of 20 to 30 years while competitors like rapeseed, soya and sunflower need to be uprooted every four months during harvest and that contributes to soil erosion.*” (New Straits Times, 03-05-2011)

Connected to the efficiency indicator, the yield of palm oil in contrast to other oils is a third important element put forward to highlight the sustainability of the crop. “*Palm oil is 11 times higher yielding than soybean oil. Importing palm oil will reduce the pressure on deforestation to grow soybean by a factor of 11 times. [...] Furthermore, palm oil is the only oil that is sustainably certified by international bodies for food and biofuel applications. Soya and rape oil cannot be certified sustainable as they will not qualify based on international standards.*” (New Straits Times, 21-10-2012)

Finally, the allegation that palm oil is a driver of deforestation is weakened (or even turned around) by focusing on the effects that other crops have. *“They say that oil palm causes deforestation. But in truth, oil palm only destroys 0.4 per cent of Malaysian forests, compared to livestock industries such as soya bean, which causes total deforestation of more than 70 per cent.”* (New Straits Times, 03-04-2014)

SUB FRAME 1.3: IT IS NOT BECAUSE OF US

According to the Malaysian media, palm oil is not a major contributor to environmental problems. This and the next sub frame are, with an occurrence in respectively 12 (6,2%) and 5 (2,6%) of the 194 articles that are part of frame package 1, a lot smaller than the ones discussed above. But they are still important attributes to the frame package and give a more complete and nuanced image of the situation.

To show the reading public that the palm oil sector is doing relatively well with regard to sustainability, journalists tend to make a comparison between Malaysian and EU agriculture. Countries in the EU have, according to them, destroyed their own nature more than a century ago which led to considerable biodiversity loss and climate change. Yet, they perceive it as unfair that the EU now accuses Malaysia of doing so without considering past environmental degradation in their region. The palm oil sector, they stress, thereby has the ability to counter climate change. *“Another major contribution to the world is the ability of the four million hectares of oil palm to absorb twice the amount of carbon dioxide produced compared with 17 million hectares of agricultural crops in Britain. [...] According to data from the Food and Agriculture Organisation, Britain has less than 12 per cent of its land under forest cover compared with 64 per cent for Malaysia. [...] Judging by the unsustainable performance of British and EU agriculture, it would be more logical for them to ask their consumers to boycott their own farm produce as their sustainability is far below that of Malaysian palm oil.* (New Straits Times, 27-05-2006) This is not the only case where the UK is used to portray the problem of false accusations. In the Malaysian articles, this country is used as the main example of Malaysia opposing itself to European customs, which can also be seen as a link to the colonial history.

Another example is the connection between peatland and palm oil production. According to various experts and NGOs peatland is destroyed due to fires in plantations (Goldstein, 2015; Varkkey, 2013b), but the *New Straits Times* reports that it is not the plantation companies or the government that are to blame for this. *“While many news reports and social media portals alleged oil palm planters were to be blamed for slash-and-burn activities on peatland, Embas said the truth was far from that. Peatland is highly flammable during droughts, if not properly managed. Many cash-crop farmers, who cannot afford heavy machinery for land clearing, torch peatland and set off fires that smoulder underground for weeks and months. Many oil palm planters have been preventing the spread of fire in peatland that may have been set off by cash crop farmers or carelessly ignited by cigarette butts in times of drought.”* (New Straits Times, 12-08-2013) On top of the fact that the formal and commercial institutions are not causing the environmental damage, articles also often elaborate on the precautionary measures that are taken to ensure sustainability. *The Star*, for example proudly explains that *“for every hectare of oil palm, the country preserves four hectares of permanent reserves which is a healthy balance in terms of the land use policy.”* (The Star, 25-05-2010)

SUB FRAME 1.4: MALAYSIA IS AHEAD OF INDONESIA

As a last element of this frame package there is the sub frame where Malaysia has a tendency to show that they are better than their neighbour Indonesia. As written in an article of *Malaysiakini* *“Malaysia’s palm oil industry is generally seen as better organised and regulated than its*

neighbour's." (Malaysiakini, 26-02-2006) Malaysia has been the largest palm oil producer in the world until Indonesia took over in 2006. They still feel this as something that ruined their market position. As a way to cope with this setback, Malaysia focuses on the high quality of their palm oil and their good compliance to international sustainability standards as a means to still distinguish themselves as an important player in the market. Furthermore, Indonesia is often portrayed in the media as a big polluter in comparison to Malaysia. Environmental NGOs are not often heard, but in the case that they are in favour of Malaysia an exception is made. "NGOs have alleged that Malaysia contributes 13 per cent of the carbon dioxide emissions through oil palm with Indonesia contributing more than 60 per cent." (New Straits Times, 11-07-2007)

Furthermore, Indonesia is blamed by Malaysia for the yearly haze events that afflict Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. They say it is caused by bad practices and land clearing by means of slash and burn activities. According to Varkkey (2013a) illegal land clearing is less regulated in Indonesia than in Malaysia and for that reason they accuses them of all haze occurring. This transboundary problem causes respiratory diseases and public facilitates often need to close which also affects the daily life and even the economy (Varkkey, 2013a, 2015). The fight that Malaysia intends to be having with Indonesia is also be backed and illustrated by information gathered during fieldwork in Malaysia. During the 'friends of the industry' symposium (02-02-2016), the CEO of the Malaysian Palm Oil Council (MPOC), Dr. Yusof Basiron, said the following: "We lost our market in the US, Indonesia stole it from us. If we can answer to their to their market growth in terms of competitiveness we will do that. We will not let them win so easily."

Frame package	Malaysia as a proud palm oil producer
Cultural theme	National pride is a the major indicator of the current welfare status of Malaysia
Definition of the problem	Malaysia has to defend and protect their palm oil market towards the rest of the world and convince them by all means of the beauty of it
Cause	Palm oil brought welfare and a stable economy to Malaysia, therefore great value and importance is attached to the sector
Consequences	Palm oil is portrayed in the media as an amazing crop which is produced with care and sold with pride
Moral values involved	As a Malaysian citizen you have the moral duty to endorse and support the sector
Socio-economic interests	Palm oil creates stable jobs and income for a large part of the population. The sector is the driving force behind the national economy and the opportunity for the country to put themselves on the map (to show their identity and increase their reputation).
Possible solutions/ actions	As long as we ensure that we remain running in the lead in terms of palm oil quality everything will be fine. We comply with the most stringent requirements if you let us be the market leader we can push the others (who are less sustainable) away.
Non-solution	Making Indonesia the market leader will only worsen the sustainability of the sector. We are quite far with implementing sustainable practices and there is still a lot of progress, limiting our sector would ruin this efforts.

Metaphors/ choice of vocabulary

“Malaysia Palm oil: **A gift from nature, a gift for life, sustainably produced since 1917**”

“Malaysia’s palm oil industry is **burnishing its green image**”

“Sime Darby Plantation Sdn Bhd has been **very conscious**”

“Palm oil is... a **healthy choice/ only destroying 0.4 percent of Malaysian forest**”

“EU agriculture sustainability is **far below that of Malaysian palm oil.**”

“Malaysia's palm oil industry is **generally seen as better** organised and regulated **than** its neighbour’s.”

TABLE 7: FRAME ANALYSIS TABLE FRAME PACKAGE 1

4.2.2 FRAME PACKAGE 2: WESTERN BOYCOTT

In the Malaysian article sample the sense that Western countries try to blackmail the palm oil sector appears. The Malaysian media represent a feeling of being unfairly treated by an increasing number of campaigns (mainly initiated by Western environmental NGOs) that are, according to the journalists, aimed at a boycott of the commodity. In the articles, voices are raised that Western countries do this to protect their own vegetable oils market. The ‘Western boycott’ is the second most dominant frame package in the Malaysian newspaper articles. The frame package occurs in 176 of the 329 articles (53,5%) of the Malaysian sample and especially from the year 2007 onwards it becomes one of the most important elements in the media-discussion regarding palm oil and sustainability. In 2010 there is a remarkable peak in both occurrence and relative dominance of the frame package. A reason for this might be that at that time there is a heated debate about palm oil as a biofuel where Western countries have a different perception than the Malaysians on the sustainability of the product.

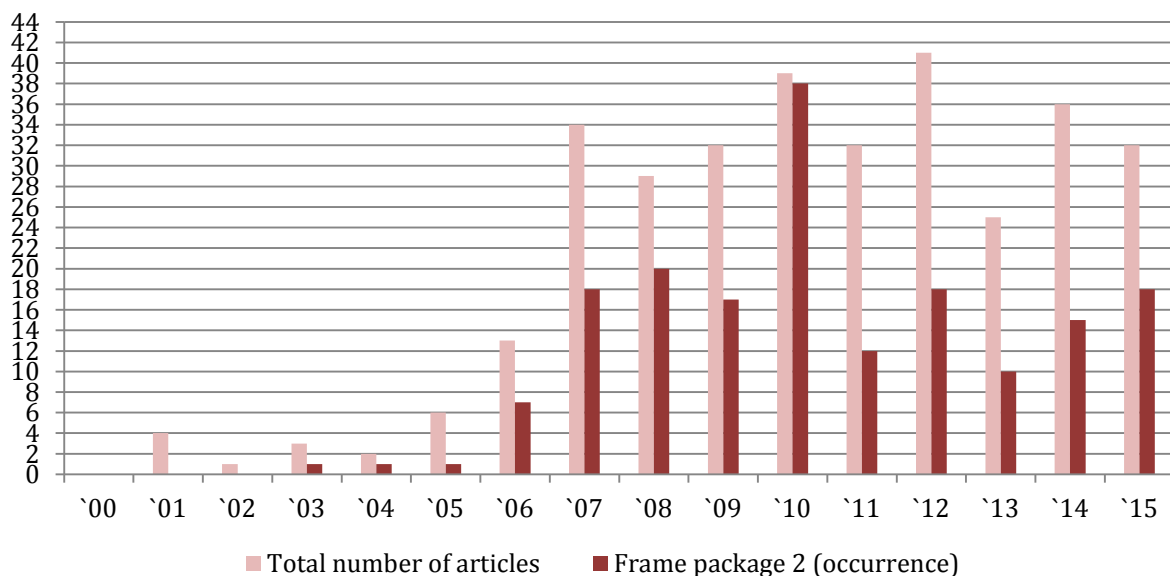


FIGURE 4: OCCURRENCE AND DOMINANCE OF FRAME PACKAGE 2

SUB FRAME 2.1: THE PALM OIL SECTOR IS BEING BLACKMAILED

This sub frame, which occurred 128 of the 176 articles (72,7%) that are part of frame package 2, focuses on the role of NGOs and international institutions in blackmailing the sector. According

to the Malaysian newspapers, Western countries have a wrong picture of palm oil production and they are too critical. This all starts, journalists argue, with Western environmental NGOs (WENGOS) that perform anti-palm oil campaigns that are blackmailing the sector. *“Independent research group GlobEcon director Dr Gernot Pehneit said it would be an uphill task for palm oil producers to convince European consumers who have been strongly influenced by the successful anti-palm oil campaigns mounted by environmental NGOs like Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace.”* (The Star, 25-05-2010)

These allegations harm the sector and its position on the vegetable oils market according to the media. Furthermore, palm oil is a major economic driver in Malaysia, so blackmailing the sector also has financial consequences for the country. *“The palm oil industry is often vilified for the plight of orang-utans - but mud-slinging won’t save them. Palm oil is a huge source of revenue. You can’t expect the country to give up its main source of income... Environmental activists are sometimes ridiculous in the claims they make.”* (Malaysiakini 21-11-2014)

In the newspaper articles is often mentioned that these NGOs accuse palm oil of being unhealthy, bad for the environment and causing social inequality. *“The palm oil sector has endured constant attacks by Western-based non-governmental organisations (NGOs), which hurled the sector with a number of accusations. They mainly labelled palm oil as unhealthy and dangerous for consumption. The Malaysian palm oil industry, backed by the government, went all out, all guns blazing, to counter the accusations - with scientific evidence at hand.”* (New Straits Times, 19-05-2015)

The main reason for starting blackmailing campaigns is, according to the Malaysian articles, that Western countries try to defend their own competitive position in the vegetable oils market. And therefore, the journalists argue, it is only for their own benefit that they blackmail palm oil; it is protectionism. Furthermore, they stress that the funding for most NGO campaigns is also done by EU lobby. *“The politician Mambong MP Datuk Dr James Dawos Mamit said he is not surprised by the EU government funding these NGOs as propaganda proxies. ‘Politicians in the EU are using political solutions, disguised as environmental concerns, to protect trade interests of their local farmers’, he said.”* (New Straits Times, 26-04-2010) Also Patrick Sibat Sujang, author of an important article on the position of smallholders in the palm oil industry (Cramb & Sujang, 2013), stated in an interview that Western countries are especially concerned about palm oil because they want to protect their own market on oils.

Counsellor#1, who is a senior advisor to the RSPO, said during an interview that there have been enough studies on the health of palm oil and all environmental issues are addressed by the RSPO. So there are no real reasons anymore to blackmail the industry. The *plantation manager#1* of a very big plantation on peninsular Malaysia also expressed his concerns during a site visit regarding the critics on the sector. The Malaysian palm oil industry is, according to him, trying it’s best to meet European defined certification standards (i.e. RSPO). But in his opinion the criteria become stricter over time. According to the manager this feels unfair and also results in a sense of hopelessness and defeatism because you get the idea that your palm oil will never be sustainable enough for Europeans.

SUB FRAME 2.2: WESTERN OPINIONS BASED ON NO EVIDENCE

The second sub frame of this frame package occurred in 48 of the 176 articles (27,3%) that are part of frame package 2 and is concerned with the reliability of scientific research and evidence posited in the palm oil debate. In the newspapers, journalists often stress how the WENGOS (western environmental NGOs) are altering (scientific) evidence in their favour. *“The industry becomes concerned by the blackwash which is based on unfounded allegations as it affects consumer sentiments towards the product. [...] The WENGOS influence scientists and environmental*

polymakers to manipulate data through simulation models to reflect emission-saving figures that are below the threshold level for palm oil, therefore disqualifying it from acceptance as a biofuel raw material.” (New Straits Times, 02-09-2012)

Furthermore, the way media and authorities present palm oil is manipulative and an incomplete picture is presented to the public according to the articles. *“If you have a picture of an oil palm plantation and a baby orangutan, the interest span among European customers will only be for one minute simply because they (the consumers) do not read or have access to the comprehensive research undertaken by the Malaysian Palm Oil Board or Malaysian Palm Oil Promotion Council.” (The Star, 25-05-2010)*

An example of an event where this sub frame is widely reported is the biofuel discussion. In 2010, the Renewable Energy Directive (RED) came into force that sets mandates for the use of various kinds of renewable energy in the EU. Malaysian palm oil got a very critical assessment which resulted in the fact that the import barriers for this vegetable oil have gone up (Levidow, 2013). Although Western countries say that the RED is not aimed at putting restrictions on the export of palm oil to the EU, but rather sees it as a way to stimulate sustainable palm oil, the Malaysian newspapers express their doubts about that. According to Malaysian media the criteria used for measuring the sustainability of palm oil as a biofuel in the EU is dubious. Also, the ban by the EU imposes unfair trade barriers which are discriminating against palm oil supply. *“The vague and distortive formulation and values regarding what is to be classified as ‘sustainable’ have negatively impacted the perception of the underlying scientific base and methodologies as well as the reliability in the European biofuels sector. [...] There is a remarkable difference between the calculation of carbon reduction performance of palm oil- based biofuel by the EU and a range of scientific studies that we documented in 2009. (New Straits Times, 11-01-2012)* There are also articles, especially in the last 5 years, where the tone is more aggressive and angrier. The *New Straits Times*, for example writes on the 22nd of May, 2014: *“Critics have constantly discredited palm oil's performance on sustainability without offering scientific evidence to support their claims. Many in the Malaysian palm oil industry have linked such harassment to the apartheid era.”*

Frame package	Western boycott
Cultural theme	Malaysia feels unfairly treated by Western countries that increasingly fight the palm oil sector
Definition of the problem	Western countries try to blackmail the palm oil sector while it is actually a very efficient and sustainable crop.
Cause	Western countries want to defend their own vegetable oils market.
Consequences	Environmental NGO start smear campaigns (funded by Western governments) to prevent people from buying palm oil
Moral values involved	Blackmailing without solid evidence is morally unacceptable
Socio-economic interests	If palm oil is blackmailed that harm the palm oil sector, also in economic sense. Western countries boycott us for their own gain and they want to overtake the vegetable oils market.
Possible solutions/ actions	European consumers have to be convinced of the healthiness of palm oil. Western institutions should do proper research before alleging the palm

	oil sector of being bad.
Non-solution	As long as parties in the West have no idea how things really go here they will keep on blackmailing us
Metaphors/ choice of vocabulary	<p>“uphill task for palm oil producers to convince European consumers who have been strongly influenced by the successful anti-palm oil campaigns”</p> <p>“industry is often vilified for the plight of orang-utans - but mud-slinging won’t save them”</p> <p>“hurled the sector with a number of accusations.”</p> <p>“based on unfounded allegations”</p> <p>“without offering scientific evidence to support their claims”</p>

TABLE 8: FRAME ANALYSIS TABLE FRAME PACKAGE 2

4.2.3 FRAME PACKAGE 3: DELIBERATIVE SPACE - SUPPORT OR DOMINANCE?

In the newspaper articles, an inner struggle in Malaysia can be identified between the need to be guided by Western parties and the fear of being dominated by them. The third frame package is seen in 148 of the 329 articles in the Malaysian sample (45%) and focuses on the discussion around standard-setting bodies and how the deliberative space should be structured. The newspapers question the intentions of Western countries; are they willing to help and support the growth of the sector? Or do they want to dominate all processes and impose their own values on Malaysia for their own benefit? From 2007 onwards, one can see an upward trend in the absolute number of times that this frame occurs in the articles (see graph below) with a peak in 2012. In these years, the debate on the role standard-setting bodies should have is at its peak which makes the inner struggle most visible. The relative dominance has no clear upward or downward trend, but in 2013 the frame is most dominant.

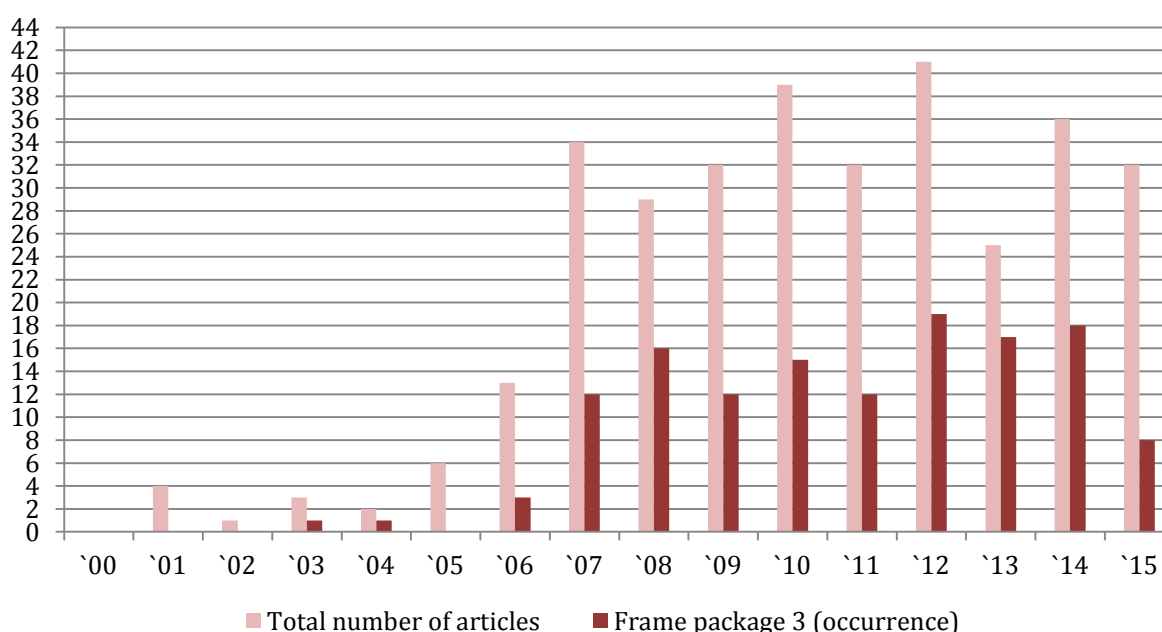


FIGURE 5: OCCURRENCE AND DOMINANCE OF FRAME PACKAGE 3

SUB FRAME 3.1: CHANGING PERCEPTION ON THE RSPO

This first sub frame is seen in 89 of the 148 articles in that are part of frame package 3 (60,1%). As mentioned in the problem description of this thesis, the RSPO (established in 2004) is a private standard-setting body that uses a set of principles and criteria and third-party verification to certify palm oil and to raise awareness on the topic (Brandi et al., 2015). In 2014, approximately 20% of the global palm oil was RSPO-certified, which is about 12 million tons (RSPO, 2015). The aim of the RSPO is not to create a niche market (which often happens with private global governance bodies), but instead focus on the sustainability of the supply chain as a whole (Schouten et al., 2012). The question, however, is if they managed to do so. According to Schouten & Bitzer (2015), some stakeholders in the palm oil chain have the opinion that the RSPO is too much focused on environmental issues and thereby doesn't balance the three sustainable development elements: people, planet and profit. Moreover, some say that the RSPO has a too 'western' agenda and has too much power in the sector. To challenge this dominance, two important other standard-setting bodies emerged which are called the Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO) and the Malaysian Sustainable Palm Oil (MSPO) standards. They are initiated by the governments of the two countries (Schouten & Bitzer, 2015). The ISPO wishes to improve the Indonesian market position of palm oil on an international scale. At the same time it aims to pay attention to environmental issues and the reduction greenhouse gas emissions. The MSPO standard is the Malaysian variant of the ISPO that also positions itself as a standard that matches with the Asian context and that dissociates with the set-up of the RSPO where downstream actors are dictating upstream actors (Schouten & Bitzer, 2015).

In the analysis of the Malaysian newspaper articles an interesting development of the perception on the use of deliberative space becomes visible. In the early days of the RSPO, Malaysia sees the standard-setting body as a way to ensure the consumer that their product can be trusted. Moreover, protecting the market share by implementing certification is seen as a main driver to support the RSPO. *"Malaysia will work with the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO), a global body of edible oil traders, to come up with an internationally recognised certification for the sustainable development of palm oil. Malaysian Palm Oil Council (MPOC) chief executive officer Tan Sri Dr Yusof Basiron said the move will help protect its market share in the world's edible oil sector.* (New Straits Times, 02-12-2006) Finally, it is a way for Malaysia to show Western countries their commitment to grow palm oil in a sustainable way. *"The RSPO is a business-to business-initiative and not mandatory, but many Malaysian companies have proactively pursued to take up this challenge, as the certification could give them easier access to markets. This clearly demonstrates the industries' commitment towards attaining the strictest standards of sustainability, unmatched by any other agricultural crop"* (New Straits Times, 28-08-2008)

In the years that follow, there is growing criticism on the standard-setting body, especially regarding the fact that Western countries demand for certified palm oil but do not purchase it enough. *"European buyers, including RSPO consuming members, failed to make full commitment to purchase the premium fuel. Some quarters have even indicated the lukewarm response from European buyers could complicate the progress of RSPO's certification among planters who are serious about producing eco-friendly palm oil abiding to the earlier demands of Western consumers and NGOs."* (The Star, 12-11-2009)

Nowadays, the RSPO is only concerned with Western interests according to the Malaysian media. Moreover, they have no eye for the smallholders and they dictate producing countries what to do. Therefore there is an increasing need among Malaysian actors to have an own national standard: the MSPO. *The Malaysia Sustainable Palm Oil (MSPO) certification scheme, to be implemented in 2014, is a tool to overturn smear campaigns against palm oil. The Roundtable*

on Sustainable Palm Oil certification scheme is very costly and their goalposts keep changing. It's time we set our own standards. (New Straits Times, 04-09-2013)

The opinions among the respondent of the interviews regarding the RSPO are mixed. According to *research consultant#2* and *counsellor#1*, committing to an international standard is the only way towards a more sustainable supply chain because then everybody measures the same way. *Industry#1* is more critical towards the RSPO and in favour of the national MSPO standard. The RSPO only reached 20% sustainable palm oil in more than 10 years, thus it is proved that the initiative has failed. This is backed by Yusof Basiron (the CEO of the MPOC) and Datuk Amar Douglas Uggah Embas, the minister of plantations, industries and commodities during the 'friends of the industry' symposium in Kuching (02-02-2016). And finally, *research consultant#1*, expresses the need for both the MSPO and the RSPO to be able to create a sustainable supply chain.

SUB FRAME 3.2: DICTATORIAL INFLUENCES IN DELIBERATION

The second sub frame of this package, which occurs in 45 of the 148 articles in frame package 3, takes a closer look at how Malaysians perceive Western interference as dominance. In the articles of the sample one element that often comes forward is uncertainty about the definition of sustainability. According to the journalists Western countries often try to appropriate the concept and form it in a way that is most favourable for them. But, they say, *"the word 'sustainable' does not belong to any one organisation. The interpretation of the word 'sustainable' is not confined to that dictated by RSPO."* (New Straits Times, 18-11-2011) Furthermore they also have the idea that they need to commit to this imposed definition to remain a business partner. *"If our oil palm planters fail to conform to EU's definition of 'sustainable standards', we are denied access into their market."* (New Straits Times, 26-04-2010) So by committing to the sustainability criteria of the EU you keep your market position, which makes this submissive position of Malaysia their best option (and even a good business case). There is, so to say, a level of understanding for the way Western countries cope with this sustainability and certification. However, the feeling of being controlled on what and how to deliver has its reflection in the tone of the articles. Journalists (especially from the New Straits Times) frequently refer to the colonial time to express their dissatisfaction with the situation. *"Though we do recognise the noble intentions of sustainability to guide future global growth, it can also be abused. Is colonisation coming back to haunt palm oil-producing nations under the guise of the environment?"* (New Straits Times, 18-06-2013)

Finally, multiple articles describe a sense of frustration with the fact that they think that these Western countries do not expose the same strict criteria to themselves as they do to Malaysia. As an independent country, they want to be able to have an equal say in what regulations are put in place. Journalists question whether it currently happens in a democratic way because they feel it as enforced from the outside. *"The benefit of being an independent country is that we and not foreign WENGOs set and enforce the regulations. [...] That is democracy at work where the government is elected to make laws and govern the activities of the country. Can we ask who elected the WENGOs to make laws and regulations on how to produce our palm oil? Can they give an example of similar sustainable certification schemes operating in their own countries? Is it the case of the colonial maxim being invoked again?"* (New Straits Times, 02-09-2012)

Frame package	Deliberative space: support or dominance?
Cultural theme	Inner struggle between the need to be guided and the fear of being dominated
Definition of the problem	Malaysians question the intentions of western countries. Are they willing to help and support the growth of the sector? Or do they want to dominate all processes and impose their own values on us for their own benefit?
Cause	The colonial history of the country makes Malaysians grateful on one side for the technics and knowledge are brought to their country, but afraid on the other side for new dominance.
Consequences	International standard-setting bodies can therefore feel as a way to secure a market position when it comes to sales to the Western market. But on the other side it is seen by Malaysians as a new way to interfere in the way they are doing it and imposing sustainability criteria on them; like a form of green-colonialism.
Moral values involved	It is not bad that Western countries think along with us how to make the supply chain more sustainable and we believe it stems from good intentions. But we think it is morally unacceptable that they decide it for us.
Socio-economic interests	Complying with the RSPO safeguards our sales market in the West.
Possible solutions/ actions	With our national standard MSPO we might also be able to convince the consumer of the sustainability of our palm oil.
Non-solution	The RSPO has not been proven to be very successful, only focusing on that standard would make us unable to grow the sustainable palm oil share in the near future. Moreover, it would make us too dependent on the will of the West.
Metaphors/ choice of vocabulary	<p>“abiding to the earlier demands of Western consumers”</p> <p>“a tool to overturn smear campaigns against palm oil.”</p> <p>“Is colonisation coming back to haunt palm oil-producing nations under the guise of the environment?”</p>

TABLE 9: FRAME ANALYSIS TABLE FRAME PACKAGE 3

4.2.4 FRAME PACKAGE 4: SECURING COMPETITIVENESS

This frame package, which occurred in 109 of the 329 articles analysed (33,1%) is concerned with securing competitiveness of the palm oil sector, now and in the future. The main points highlighted in this frame are raising efficiency in the production by means of innovation and the importance of international cooperation to safeguard the market position of Malaysian palm oil. The occurrence of this frame in the articles is highest in 2007, has a slight downward trend after that and increases again from 2014 (see figure 6). Around the first peak biofuel is seen in the articles as a new opportunity to strengthen the market position and to take a leading role in building partnerships with potential international buyers. From 2014 onwards, there is increasing attention for innovative practices, also linked to sustainability, which might be a reason for the increase. Remarkable is the fact that the relative dominance of this 4th frame

package is the highest in the beginning of the timeframe. Almost in all articles that are published between 2001 and 2004 (although that where not many) this frame is present.

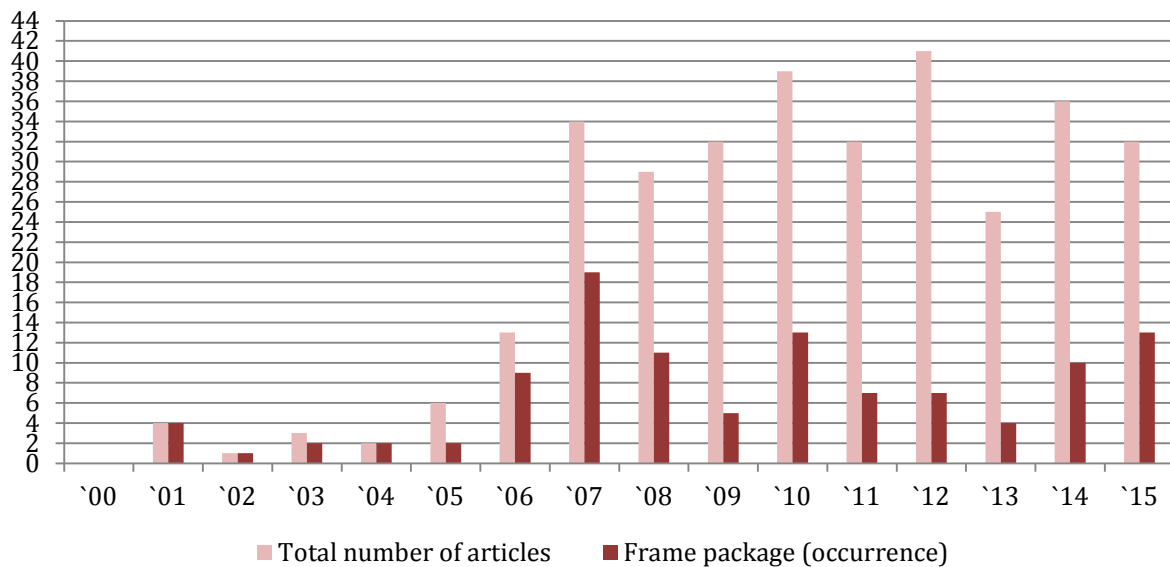


FIGURE 6: OCCURRENCE AND DOMINANCE OF FRAME PACKAGE 4

SUB FRAME 4.1: EFFICIENCY AND INNOVATION ARE THE FUTURE

This sub frame, which is seen in 64 of the 109 articles in frame package 4 (58,7%), looks at possibilities that might strengthen the future position of palm oil instead of analysing the current situation. A very good way to do so is, according to Malaysian journalists, putting a lot of effort in innovation. *“We cannot neglect but must take advantage of any new market opportunities for palm oil, including its use as biofuel, to support future increase in palm oil production. [...] New technologies and innovative methods of production across the entire production chain must be introduced to enhance the environmental performance of palm oil.”* (The Star, 10-11-2009)

At the 15th COP of the UNFCCC in Copenhagen in 2009, Malaysia commits to retain 50% of its forest by signing an agreement. The country reaffirms this again at the COP 21, which means that possibilities to further expand agricultural land are limited in the country (UNFCCC, 2015). Growing efficiency in production practices is therefore even more important because it makes producers able to increase their yield without expanding their agricultural land. *“With limited opportunities to expand agricultural land, palm oil producers will focus on increasing yield from existing crops by efficient growing techniques and replanting with better seedlings.”* (Malaysiakini, 14-04-2008)

SUB FRAME 4.2: INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IS ESSENTIAL

This sub frame occurs in 45 of the 109 articles of frame package 4 and is concerned with another element that secures future competitiveness: international cooperation. Palm oil is a stable source of income for Malaysian citizens and the demand is still increasing, but there are also some dangers. There is competition on the vegetable oils market from for example rapeseed oil and soybean oil that is mainly grown in South-America and Europe. Furthermore, palm oil production also spreads to other countries in South-East Asia, but also to Africa (e.g. Nigeria) and South-America (e.g. Colombia). (Murphy, 2014) In the newspaper articles there is a concern about these developments and a need to arm themselves for that. *“Given the scenario of*

increasing competition in the global oils and fats market, the palm oil industry needs to explore all available means to enhance productivity and its competitiveness.” (The Star, 11-02-2010)

As described in frame 1.4, Indonesia and Malaysia always fight and accuse each other and want to be the best and most important palm oil producer in the world. But when international dangers (for example competitiveness or accusation of international NGOs) come up they suddenly decide to cooperate and form a strong front against the rest of the world. That is their strategy to defend their power position in the sector for the future. *“Malaysia and Indonesia, the world’s top two palm oil producers, have agreed to form an alliance aimed at strengthening the commodity’s position in the global marketplace. [...] First, the industry associations will work towards strengthening market intelligence and market access as well as jointly counter negative campaigns orchestrated against palm oil by non-governmental organisations (NGOs).” (New Straits Times, 09-12-2006)*

Frame package	Securing competitiveness
Cultural theme	Malaysia has to arm its nation for future changes
Definition of the problem	International competition is growing. Malaysia has to arm itself by focusing on technical innovation and international cooperation.
Cause	Vegetable oils like rapeseed and soybean oil are also conquering the market. Moreover, palm oil is expanding to other continents as well (like Africa and South-America)
Consequences	Malaysian palm oil will not be the logical choice anymore, so it needs to distinguish itself from other oils and competing nations in advance.
Moral values involved	Malaysia’s future welfare is most important. It is morally unacceptable to leave the market to its fate and running the risk that the market collapses
Socio-economic interests	Vegetable oils markets are increasing all over the world so competition will increase in the future as well. Securing the Asian market by innovating becomes a top priority for the government and the industry to keep a leading position
Possible solutions/ actions	Although Indonesia is not Malaysia’s best friend, when conquering other vegetable oils market they are important companions for each other and building partnerships will strengthen its position. Technical innovation can raise the efficiency and the quality of Malaysian palm oil, this will create a competitive advantage.
Non-solution	Conquering Indonesia will eventually weaken the position of Asian palm oil on the market.
Metaphors/ choice of vocabulary	“take advantage of any new market opportunities for palm oil” “industry needs to explore all available means to enhance productivity and its competitiveness” “alliance aimed at strengthening the commodity’s position in the global marketplace”

TABLE 10: FRAME ANALYSIS TABLE FRAME PACKAGE 4

4.2.5 FRAME PACKAGE 5: DARK SIDE OF PALM OIL

Ultimately, the Malaysians do also point at the shadow sides of palm oil. This frame package, with an occurrence in 44 of the 329 Malaysian articles (13,8%), is not such a big frame package as the others but it does point at the fact that there are also other voices in the debate and that they have some room in the media too. Even though most journalists are in general not critical in the articles that are published, some remarks do pop up in a nuanced way. Most of them are related to social issues like labour conditions on plantations or the living conditions of indigenous communities (especially on Sabah and Sarawak). But there are also some comments on the role the government has and should take. In the graph below it is clear that this frame package has been most dominant in 2008 and 2009. That might be for the reason that that is the time that the first critique on the RSPO is expressed. It is noteworthy that this frame package mainly occurs in Malaysiakini, which is the only independent press in the sample.

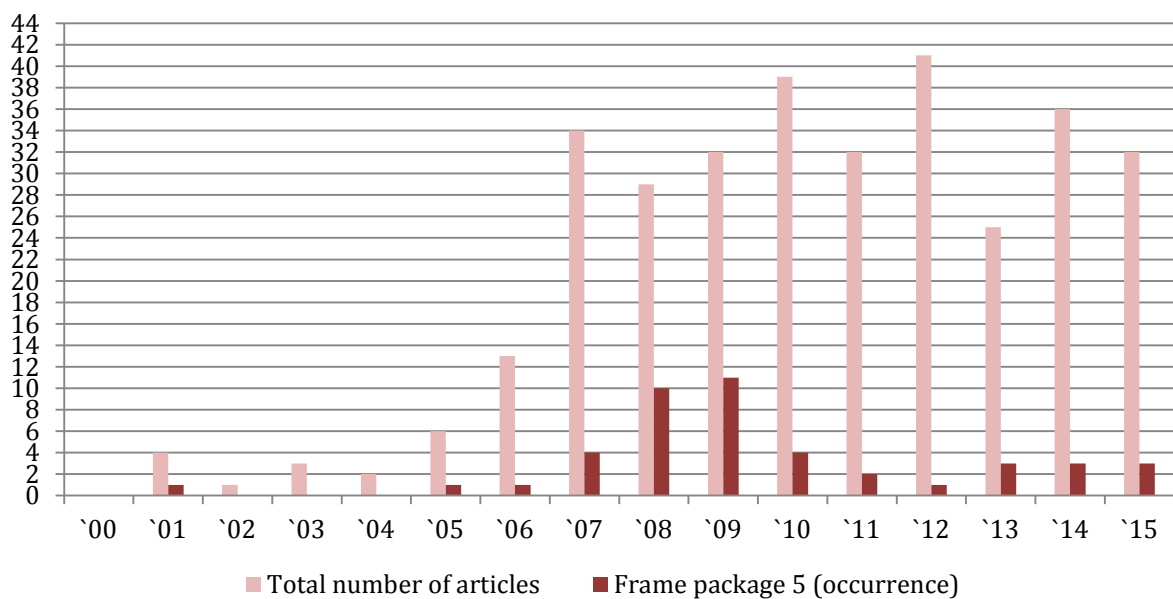


FIGURE 7: OCCURRENCE AND DOMINANCE OF FRAME PACKAGE 5

SUB FRAME 5.1: SMALL ACTORS ARE VICITIMIZED BY THE BIG BOYS

According to this sub frame, indigenous communities and smallholders are the victim of big companies and governments that have economic interests in the palm oil industry. This frame is seen in 21 of the 44 articles (47,7%) that are part of frame package 5 and is mainly found in the independent newspaper *Malaysiakini*. In that media source, there is in general more room for stories concerning smallholders, NGOs and indigenous communities than in *the Star* or the *New Straits Times*. This is reflected in the dominance of the frames per newspaper (see Appendix 3). In the articles, the journalists accuse the palm oil sector and the government for not taking into account the indigenous communities and the smallholders, especially on Sabah and Sarawak. They call the major expansion of palm oil plantations ‘destruction of native land’. *“Malaysia's lucrative palm oil industry and unabated logging are destroying native lands in eastern Sarawak state, while indigenous people are left in extreme poverty.”* (Malaysiakini, 11-10-2005)

Although the palm oil industry does provide people with direct employment, housing, other basic needs and social amenities (Singh, Huan, Leng, & Weng, 2009), smallholders worry that they can't comply with the RSPO criteria. They think that that is only possible for big companies because that is what the government tells them. Also, a sense of unfairness speaks from the

articles, where smallholders have the feeling that they are not heard or treated equally. *“Under current government policy, most palm oil plantations in Malaysia and Indonesia provide profits, not to poor rural smallholders, but to wealthy corporations. It is clear that these international purveyors of spin have had no significant contact with rural farmers in Sarawak whose land has been taken illegally by palm oil corporations.”* (Malaysiakini, 07-04-2010)

SUB FRAME 5.2: INTENTIONS OF MALAYSIAN ACTORS ARE QUESTIONABLE

This sub frame is seen in 15 of the 44 articles of frame package 5 (34,1%) and points at the dubious claims of Malaysian actors regarding palm oil sustainability. Moreover, intentions of actors (including governments) are questioned and analysed. Just as in sub frame 5.1, *Malaysiakini* is most vocal regarding this topic and mainly criticizes recurrent problems such as the haze. *“The annual haze is a human rights offence, and has cost lives and money in Indonesia, as well as in Malaysia. [...] Both governments have concentrated overwhelmingly on public relations and the blame game, rather than permanent solutions.”* (Malaysiakini, 19-07-2013)

In general, the credibility of environmental NGOs is questioned in Malaysia; not only by the government and the industry, but also in the media. *“These NGOs are whistle-blowers, judge and jury, all roled into one - a stark contrast to independent boards in corporations.”* (New Straits Times, 31-12-2009) In the *New Straits Times*, however there was one interesting event. On the 23th of October and the 11th of November 2009 two articles of Sean Whyte, the CEO of NGO Nature Alert, are published. They are very critical towards both the palm oil sector and the government. *“It is time to set the record straight and dispel myths perpetuated by industry spokesmen. Time and again, in an endeavour to shift blame and focus from themselves, the palm oil industry attempts to depict non-governmental organisations as people who want to put them out of business.”* (New Straits Times, 11-11-2009) The next day there is an immediate response to this story from the Ministry of Plantation Industries and Commodities with another article in which the minister says that these claims are untrue. *“The ministry is of the view that the allegations made by Whyte are unfounded. Malaysian palm oil is produced in a sustainable manner. The development of this is guided by more than 50 laws and regulations - covering everything from land development to the production stage - to ensure that palm oil production subscribes to sustainable practices.”* (New Straits Times, 12-11-2009) This example shows that there is some space is created for disagreement, but that the state does have the last word. Opposing claims like this can be seen as counter frames (as discussed in the theoretical framework of this thesis). A critical article is used to be able to counter it with strong arguments in favour of the opinion of the ministry. This shows that much is done in order to make frame package 5 as small as possible.

SUB FRAME 5.3: THE GOVERNMENT IS 'IN BUSINESS' REGARDING PALM OIL

This last sub frame was only seen in 8 of the 44 articles in frame package 5 (18,3%) and it is a very sensitive topic because criticising the government in a direct way is risky for a Malaysian journalist (also see chapter 4.1). Therefore it is interesting that there are some comments on the close relationship between the government and the palm oil industry in the media. *“The state is in collusion with the palm oil industry and they are acting with impunity. If matters escalate, it will lead to a considerable rise in the state of tensions.”* (Malaysiakini, 23-11-2007)

Frame package	Dark side of palm oil
Cultural theme	The strong will of Malaysia to survive in the international commodities market also has its downsides

Definition of the problem	Smallholders and indigenous people become the victim of large palm oil companies. Moreover, the state had very close relations to the industry and therefore sometimes does dubious claims.
Cause	Palm oil is Malaysia's identity to the outside world and its insurance for economic stability. So that leaves not much room in the public debate to criticize the government or the industry. Economic interest is always placed above human or environmental interest.
Consequences	Journalists generally follow the opinion of the industry and governments in their articles. But sometimes a small leak occurs in this strong positive offensive which results in the expression of dissatisfaction.
Moral values involved	There should be a little room in the media to express your criticism.
Socio-economic interests	The palm oil industry and the government can hardly be seen as two separate actors; economic interests and international competitiveness are completely interwoven.
Possible solutions/ actions	The RSPO should also take the smallholders into account in their certification; that would increase the need for the government to pay attention to them. Stricter control on compliance with international treaties and standard-setting bodies would make it harder for the government to deny that there are also problems.
Non-solution	If governments keep on focusing on who is to blame instead of looking for solutions, the voices of dissatisfaction will grow.
Metaphors/ choice of vocabulary	"Malaysia's lucrative palm oil industry and unabated logging" "The state is in collusion with the palm oil industry and they are acting with impunity. "

TABLE 11: FRAME ANALYSIS TABLE FRAME PACKAGE 5

4.3 MALAYSIAN META-ANALYSIS

4.3.1 CONSISTENCY AND CONFLICTS IN THE MALAYSIAN FRAMES

The Malaysian frames that are found in the analysis follow a clear direction and a well targeted line of reasoning. The strong consistency in the frames also causes some overlap. Colonial history, for example, is referred to in most of the frame packages (in some articles more direct than in others) and also national pride is interwoven in most frames. The only frame that conflicts with the others is frame package 5 in which the way Malaysia deals with palm oil sustainability is questioned. This frame is mainly found in the independent *Malaysiakini*; when it is present in *the Star* or the *New Straits Times* it is directly counter-framed by the ministry. This shows that there is some space created for disagreement, but that the state does have the last word. Opposing claims like this can be seen as counter frames, which is the creation of new frames that are based on different interpretations and interests regarding the issue. A critical article is used to be able to counter it with strong arguments in favour of the opinion of the ministry. This shows that efforts are being made in order to make frame package 5 as small as possible.

4.3.2 CHANGES IN FRAMING OVER TIME

The largest number of articles written on palm oil sustainability is between 2007 and 2012. An explanation for this can be found in the foundation of the RSPO in 2004 and the discussion that it provoked, especially in the years after bringing it into force. Besides, also the interest and controversies in the debate around palm oil as a biofuel have a big share in the increased attention in the media. In 2010, for example, a peak is observed in articles that point at unfair treatment by Western actors because the EU decided to raise import barriers on palm oil biodiesel.

Frame package 4, concerned with securing competitiveness of the palm oil sector, remains most stable over time. This might be due to the fact that palm oil is a major cash crop for Malaysia which makes a stable position on the global market essential at all times. Positive profiling of the sector and international cooperation are seen as important tools to maintain that position. Towards the end of the time frame, most frames show a slight decrease. The frame package with the smallest decline towards 2015 is frame package 3, is concerned with the inner struggle of Malaysia between the need to be guided and the fear of being dominated. This topic remains an important issue to debate in the media and the relation to foreign interference is ambiguous.

Sustainability is increasingly observed by the articles as a Western concept, and so is the RSPO. When this multi-stakeholder initiative was launched in 2004, it was perceived in the Malaysian context as a positive and hopeful sign for fruitful future cooperation where all parties would have an equal say in the debate on palm oil sustainability. In its first years of existence, the standard-setting body is seen as an opportunity to ensure a stable market position in the future. A few years later, however, not much is left of the initial enthusiasm and there is growing criticism. Malaysia tries very hard to comply with RSPO criteria and grow palm oil in a sustainable way, according to the journalists, but only 40% of the certified oil is purchased by the consuming countries. Moreover, the newspapers stress that Western parties increasingly press their mark on the sustainability criteria. Nowadays, the RSPO is mainly perceived in the media as a dominant Western instrument aimed at structuring the market in their favour. While the RSPO first seems an initiative where all actors are heard, there is disappointment in the Malaysian media when journalists notice that it is again the Western parties that set the standards. The hope to have good cooperation turns, after a few years, into deception and anger. This results in a general feeling of disappointment in cooperation on palm oil sustainability throughout the chain.

4.3.3 MALAYSIAN CONCEPTUALISATION OF PALM OIL SUSTAINABILITY

The frames identified in the Malaysian analysis are not a direct characterisation of the conceptualisation of palm oil sustainability in the country. The frame packages are mainly political and dealing with external issues, but the Malaysian portrayal of sustainable development in the palm oil sector can be found in elements interwoven in the frames.

From the frame packages stems a strong feeling of being unfairly treated by Western environmental NGOs (WENGOs). According to the articles, smear campaigns (which are funded by the governments of Western countries) are launched to blackmail the palm oil sector. Journalists stress that Western countries are campaigning to protect their own vegetable oils markets. Furthermore, a resilient national pride towards the palm oil sector is identified in the newspaper sample. Malaysia sees itself as a producer of high quality and increasingly sustainable palm oil. In the newspapers, journalists compare their palm oil sector to other palm oil producing countries (such as Indonesia) and other vegetable oils (such as soybean and rapeseed oil). The conclusion is unambiguous; Malaysia is doing much better than the others.

Furthermore, the Malaysian media believe that palm oil is not bad for the environment. Palm oil sustainability in the Malaysian newspapers is mainly characterized in terms of efficiency and competitiveness as can be found in frame package 2 and 4. Palm oil has worked as a means of poverty alleviation in Malaysia since the industry generated nearly 600.000 jobs, which makes the sector a major socio-economic driver. Efficiency is seen as a key indicator to ensure future competitiveness and for staying ahead of competitors. By discussing the definition of sustainable development there is often referred to a balance that needs to be strived for between *people*, *planet* and *profit* (Olsson et al., 2014). In the analysis of the Malaysian newspaper sample, there is a dominance observed of the *profit* and the *people* pillar as the most important indicators of sustainability in the palm oil sector. Securing competitiveness by means of efficient production practices and international cooperation are seen as a means to keep a profitable sustainable palm oil industry. Furthermore, labour rights and societal acceptance are framed to be major determinants for a sustainable future.

4.3.4 THE ROLE OF THE MALAYSIAN MEDIA IN THE PALM OIL SUSTAINABILITY DEBATE

As pointed out in the media analysis, there are many gaps in the information provided by Malaysian newspaper articles. This is also reflected in the frames that are identified for the country. Some elements, such as pride, are enlarged by very positive writing. However, there are also big parts missing in the stories that are published in printed media, negative imaging of the sector is permanently avoided. As *researcher#1* said, "it is a battle of information and it is all about information control."

In general, the government owned *New Straits Times* and government linked *the Star* have a very similar framing pattern which corresponds with the order of representation in the analysis above. Government agencies are the major knowledge source where the journalists of these newspapers refer to and they mostly voice the opinion of the palm oil industry. Therefore, palm oil sustainability is only referred to in a positive and proud way. The influence of government agencies on the media can on the one hand be linked to the lack of press freedom in the country, as discussed in chapter 4.1 on the media climate in Malaysia. On the other hand, it can be linked to a sense of protectionism towards the palm oil sector that brought such a constant level of welfare to the country, as referred to in frame package 2 and in the introduction of this thesis.

Malaysiakini, on the other hand, attaches most attention to frame 2 (which focuses on a Western boycott) and 5 (where shadow sides of palm oil are highlighted). This independent media source is most vocal in asking attention for the protecting of the rights of indigenous communities and smallholders. The criticism of *Malaysiakini* is mainly focused on social elements of sustainability, for example human rights abuses and labour rights.

5. MEDIA FRAMING OF PALM OIL IN THE NETHERLANDS

This chapter consists of an analysis of the media climate in the Netherlands (chapter 5.1) followed by an analysis of the frame packages that are identified in the Dutch article sample (chapter 5.2). Finally, a meta-analysis (chapter 5.3) concludes the Dutch analysis with pointing at the most remarkable elements of the analysis, the consistency of the frames, the changes over time and the differences and similarities between newspapers in the sample

5.1 MEDIA IN THE NETHERLANDS

In this part, the Dutch media climate is studied by use of interviews with (former) journalists and a literature study. The results of this analysis will give a better understanding of the Dutch frames in their broader societal context. Moreover, it will make it easier to highlight differences and similarities with Malaysia in the comparative chapter of this thesis.

5.1.1 PRESS FREEDOM

According to the 2015 World Press Freedom Index, there is a lot of press freedom in the Netherlands compared to other countries. The country ranks 4th (out of 180) and has even been at 1st place in the years before (Reporters-Without-Borders, 2015). Bakker & Vasterman (2007) argue that an important reason for this high rank is that Dutch media policy is based on the Dutch constitution. Article 7 states that *“no one shall require prior permission to publish thoughts or opinions through the press, without prejudice to the responsibility of every person under the law”* (Dutch-Government, 2008).

According to former Dutch journalist#1 you can indeed write about most topics without being afraid that it will cause you or your newspaper any trouble. There has, however, been a case in the past where a newspaper was threatened by a large company for writing an article that they didn't agree with and that they wanted to see changed. 'There might be more of these cases' journalist#1 said, 'but not that I know about.'

5.1.2 MEDIA LANDSCAPE

In the Netherlands, 90% of all paid newspaper circulation is controlled by three privately owned publishers, mostly Belgian. The five newspapers with the highest circulation numbers are based in Amsterdam (*NRC Handelsblad*, *Trouw*, *de Volkskrant* and *de Telegraaf*) and Rotterdam (*Algemeen Dagblad*). The *AD* and *de Telegraaf* are considered to be 'popular media' while the others are characterized as 'quality newspapers' (Bakker & Vasterman, 2007). All newspapers have their own political colour, regional character or political orientation. This results in a diversified media landscape where people can choose a newspaper that fits them best. Most Dutch journalists are, however, left-leaning in their political preference (Deuze, 2002a).

5.1.3 CHANGING WAY OF WORKING

In 2002 Deuze referred to the change in the way journalists work in the Netherlands. At that time, most journalists still worked for traditional media such as newspapers, but a growing amount of online platforms and other new forms of media was already appearing. Furthermore, a growing number of part-time, freelance and project based employees in the sector can be distinguished (Deuze, 2002b). This is also confirmed by journalists#1, who mentioned that for most newspapers it is mainly freelancers working at the moment. According to him, this takes the soul out of the company and makes it harder to find common ground in what is published.

Media has become more volatile and everything has to be quick and 'sexy' says journalist#1. Furthermore, Örnebring (2010) mentions in his article that Dutch journalists rarely leave their desk or the newsroom for their work. They sit most of the time in front of their computer and hardly see the outside world (Örnebring, 2010)

5.1.4 THE DUTCH JOURNALIST AND PALM OIL: A DUBIOUS RELATION

One of the main functions Dutch journalists see for themselves is being the *watchdog* of the government. Deuze (2002) argues that most journalists therefore often establish an ambivalent relation with their readers' public because they do value their critiques and comments but on the other side don't want to change their stories due to public criticism. Most Dutch journalists still have the feeling that they have an influential role in society (Deuze, 2002a).

Journalist#1 explained that the Dutch media came into contact with palm oil sustainability via the international interest of Unilever (and the founding of the RSPO). The more often something is referred to in media, the more aware the people become of the topic. But there are not many articles published about palm oil. On the one side this is due to time and money limits, according to journalist#1, but palm oil is not a sexy topic to write about and it stands far from most people's daily life. In general, you need a disaster before a topic is picked up by journalists. And apparently there hasn't been a disaster that is big enough for the Dutch media to get really involved says journalist#1. When looking for respondents among Dutch journalists, this statement was confirmed. Journalists where -if they responded at all- not eager to talk about palm oil in the media for various reasons (see Appendix 4). Most of them mentioned their lack of experience in writing about the topic, the low news value of palm oil and the lack of involvement in the topic of most newspapers.

5.2 FRAMES IDENTIFIED OVER TIME IN THE NETHERLANDS

In this section, the frames that are found in the Dutch media framing analysis are explained and illustrated. For the Dutch part of the media framing analysis, 68 articles of 4 different newspapers (published between 2000 and 2015) are analysed. 30 articles (44,1% of the total sample) are found in *de Volkskrant*, which is a newspaper with a left political orientation. In the progressive Christian newspaper *Trouw* 18 articles (26,5%) matched the selection criteria, from the progressive newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* 14 articles (20,6%) are selected and in the right-wing *de Telegraaf* 6 articles (8,8%) are found. In the Dutch article sample (see Appendix 5) 4 frame packages, existing of in total 11 sub-frames, are identified (see Appendix 6). The analysis is performed over all 15 years of the research scope; this makes the occurrence and dominance of frames over time visible. The frame packages and the sub frames are described below and are presented in order of significance (from highest occurrence to least occurrence). The quotes are translated from Dutch in English to make the results accessible for a broader and international public, the original Dutch texts can be found in Appendix 8 because some nuances can be very language sensitive.

In the graph below the total numbers of articles per year (that match with the selection criteria as discussed in the methodology) are shown. There are only 68 articles in the Dutch sample about this topic in Dutch media, which is a small amount compared to the 329 articles in the Malaysian media. In general, you can see that from 2007 until 2011 most articles about palm oil sustainability are published and after that there is a strong decline. This suggests that palm oil sustainability is not popular to write about or at least not prioritized, which confirms the analysis of *former journalist#1* (see chapter 5.1).

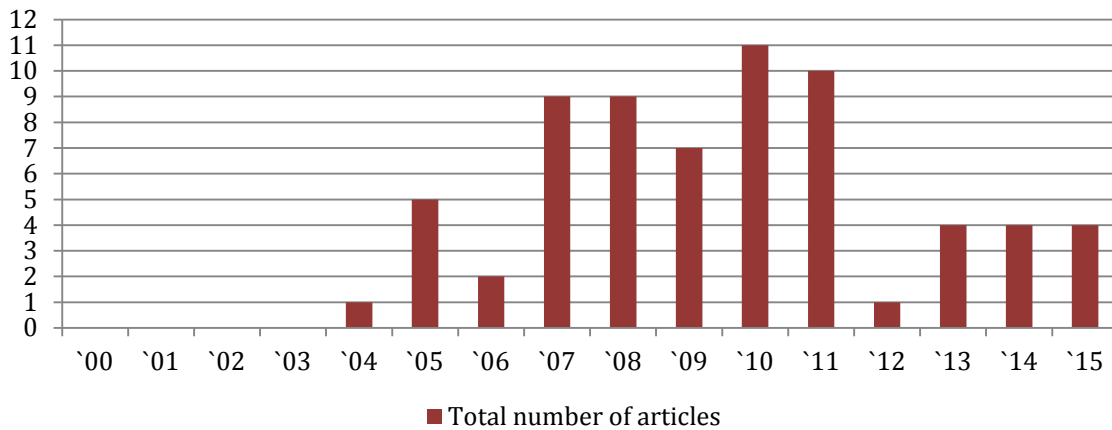


TABLE 12: TOTAL NUMBER OF DUTCH ARTICLES IN THE SAMPLE PER YEAR

5.2.1 FRAME PACKAGE 1: NGOS, THE BENCHMARK FOR SUSTAINABILITY

Frame package 1 is found in 44 of the 68 Dutch articles, which is 65,7% of the total sample. The frame shows how NGOs are portrayed in the articles as the measure for sustainability because they question things that others find self-evident and have an influence on company policies and public perception. This first frame package shows the signifying role of NGOs in the sustainability debate in the Netherlands. Journalists frequently refer to NGOs and use them as their main source of knowledge regarding palm oil sustainability; newspapers take frames almost literally from NGOs. An important reason for this trust is that, as *former journalist#1* confirmed, NGOs are seen by journalists as the only actor in this debate that is relatively unbiased.

In the graph below the dominance and occurrence of this frame package over time is displayed. On the x-axis the years that are part of the research scope (2000 to 2015) can be seen. On the y-axis the light red column shows the total number of articles per year and the dark red columns displays the number of articles that include frame package 1. In this way, one can see the occurrence of the frame package, how that relates to the total number of articles and what that says about the dominance of the frame in each year. This frame package is most present between 2008 and 2011, this is the time that NGOs first questions the RSPO after its implementation and the biofuel discussion is at its peak.

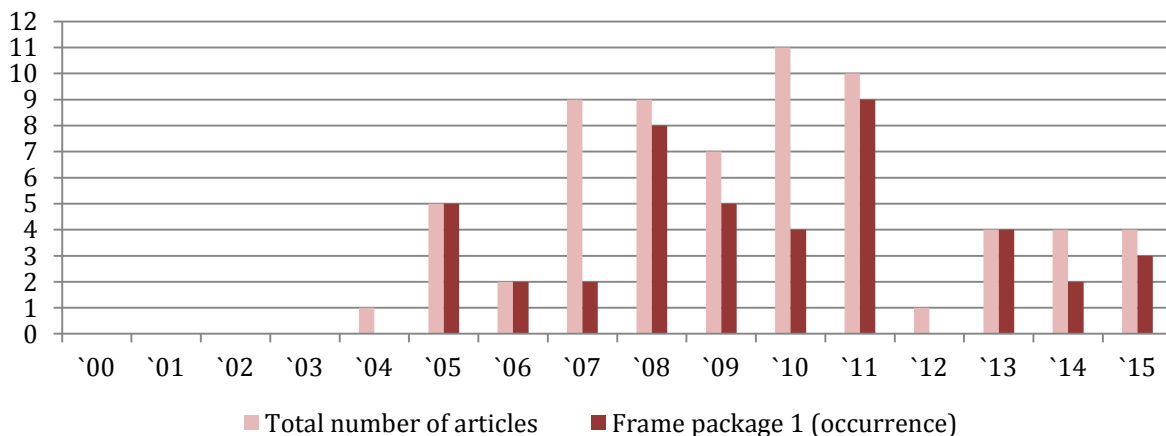


FIGURE 8: OCCURRENCE AND DOMINANCE OF FRAME PACKAGE 1

SUB FRAME 1.1: GOOD INTENTIONS OF THE RSPO ARE QUESTIONABLE

This sub frame occurs in 22 of the 44 articles (50%) that present frame package 1. The main sense that stems from this frame is that NGOs (and scientists) question the RSPO as a sustainable solution and their intrinsic motivation to green up the palm oil chain. Journalists write more and more critical about the standard-setting body by using the research and opinions of NGOs as an important base of their analysis. A major reason for this critical tone is, according to the articles, that the impact of the RSPO is still small. *“For five years, the palm oil sector has been given the opportunity to work towards a more sustainable production of palm oil. Led by Unilever, businesses and civil society organizations did a, according to Greenpeace, failed attempt to preserve the palm oil market. The consultation in the so-called Round Table for Sustainable Palm Oil, representing 200 members and 40 percent of total palm oil production, however, has had a negligible impact on the fight against deforestation.”* (Trouw, 09-11-2007)

Furthermore, journalists refer to various conservationists in the field that express their concerns about the fact that changes are too slow and there is too little progress. *“Nature conservationist Willy Smits, who is living on Borneo for more than 30 years, said in 2011 to Trouw that he has little faith in the RSPO. ‘The steps that are made are too small. It’s going too slow. If we wait until 2015, all the lowland forest has disappeared.’ He also argues that RSPO criteria do not work in countries where corruption is widespread. There is no question of enforcing compliance with these rules.”* (Trouw, 04-06-2014)

SUB FRAME 1.2: ENVIRONMENTAL NGOS INFLUENCE SOCIETY

The second sub frame of this frame package is found in 11 of the 44 articles of frame package 1 and focuses in the impact of NGOs on company policy and on the creation of public opinion. In the articles where this frame is present the journalist refers acts of NGOs that influence the way actors handle with palm oil sustainability which can be done in two ways. On the one side, there is a group of NGOs (such as Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth) that fight practices that are not sustainable in their eyes. They investigate large actors in the palm oil industry to reveal bad practices and then try to convince Western players to stop their cooperation with that organization. An example is the repeated investigation of Greenpeace on a big Indonesian palm oil company. *“When Greenpeace had once again released a damning report on the Indonesian company, Unilever suspended its contract with Sinar Mas. It was about 40 million dollars (31 million euros), accounting for 3 percent of Unilever’s palm oil sourcing. ‘That suspension has caused an international shock wave’ said Suzanne Kröger from Greenpeace who is co-responsible for the report.”* (NRC, 02-09-2010)

On the other side, there is a group of NGOs that form alliances with large companies in an attempt to use cooperation as a way to create a sustainable image to the outside world. Co-branding, as this is called, mostly appears between NGOs with a stable image and big companies that do not have an established sustainable character. *“Since the industry has discovered the climate problem, it tries to boost its sustainable image. Some companies, such as Triodos Bank, Body Shop and Max Havelaar already have an authentic sustainable image [...] other companies have close partnerships with environmental organizations like WWF or Natuurmonumenten. From this form of ‘co-branding’ they borrow a sustainable image. [...] The close relation between companies and environmental organizations indeed has risks [...] ‘But’ says Johan van de Gronden, (director WWF in the Netherlands) ‘we do not run away immediately if things go wrong.’ Take for example the debate on palm oil in the energy company Essent. With palm oil Essent generated green electricity, which was promoted by the WWF. But in order to make the cultivation of extra palm oil possible, tropical rainforest was cut. ‘Suddenly palm oil was demonized,’ says Van de*

Gronden. *‘We didn’t quit our cooperation with Essent, but held intensive consultations to reach a solution.’* (Volkskrant, 17-11-2007)

SUB FRAME 1.3: PALM OIL AS A BIOFUEL IS A BAD IDEA

The last sub frame also occurs in 11 of the 44 articles of frame package 1. In these articles, journalists write how NGOs are against the use of palm oil as a biofuel. According to them an increasing Western demand for biodiesel will severely impact the pressure on the rainforests. *“The demand for biofuels which is created by Western governments - biodiesel can be made from palm oil - will lead to even greater pressure on the rainforest.”* (Volkskrant, 15-11-2008)

NGOs warn for the dangers of biofuel use in Western countries. They publish reports where they focus on the social and environmental impacts that are caused by increasing your import on a large scale. *“In the European Union, the use of palm oil as a fuel has increased by 365 percent. This is shown in a study by the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD) and the Global Subsidies Initiative (GSI). According to Friends of the Earth Europe, the umbrella organisation above Milieudefensie that requested the study, the increased use leads to major environmental and social abuses on plantations. It also indirectly contributes to climate change. The Western crave for biofuels leads to the creation of more and more plantations in Indonesia and Malaysia. Thereby, tropical rain forest are cut down and burned on a large scale, leading to an increase of greenhouse gas emissions.”* (Trouw, 09-09-2013)

Frame package	NGOs, the benchmark for sustainability
Cultural theme	NGOs as the most trusted actor regarding palm oil sustainability
Definition of the problem	NGOs are the only actor that are seen by the broader public as relatively independent.
Cause	Governments and companies are seen as biased.
Consequences	NGOs have a leading position in proving knowledge and in asking for change.
Moral values involved	You need to strive for a better world and media shouldn’t be dependent of financial interests
Socio-economic interests	Being independent of the industry secures readers support
Possible solutions/ actions	Chose to rely on information of NGOs, because they do sound research
Non-solution	If we don’t trust NGOs, there will be no knowledge source left that is independent and can be trusted
Metaphors/ choice of vocabulary	<p>“civil society organizations did a, according to Greenpeace, failed attempt to preserve the palm oil market.”</p> <p>“When Greenpeace had once again released a damning report on the Indonesian company, Unilever suspended its contract with Sinar Mas”</p> <p>“companies have close partnerships with environmental organizations like WWF or Natuurmonumenten. From this form of -branding; they borrow a sustainable image.</p> <p>“According to Friends of the Earth Europe, [...] the increased</p>

use leads to **major environmental and social abuses** on plantations”

TABLE 13: FRAME ANALYSIS TABLE FRAME PACKAGE 1

5.2.2 FRAME PACKAGE 2: PROUD PALM OIL CONSUMER

The Netherlands is a proud consumer of increasingly sustainable palm oil; this is reflected in this second frame package, which occurs in 27 of the 68 articles (39,7%) of the sample. The country sees itself as a very important player in the palm oil supply chain and a leader in the field of sustainability. This pride is reflected in the way journalists write about the Dutch role in the market. *“The Netherlands is the first country in the world where business is undivided in favour of sustainable palm oil.”* (Volkskrant, 02-11-2010) Big companies are used to visualize the leading Dutch position in the media and there is a strong focus on the stable economic competitiveness that is created by making sustainability important in the palm oil sector.

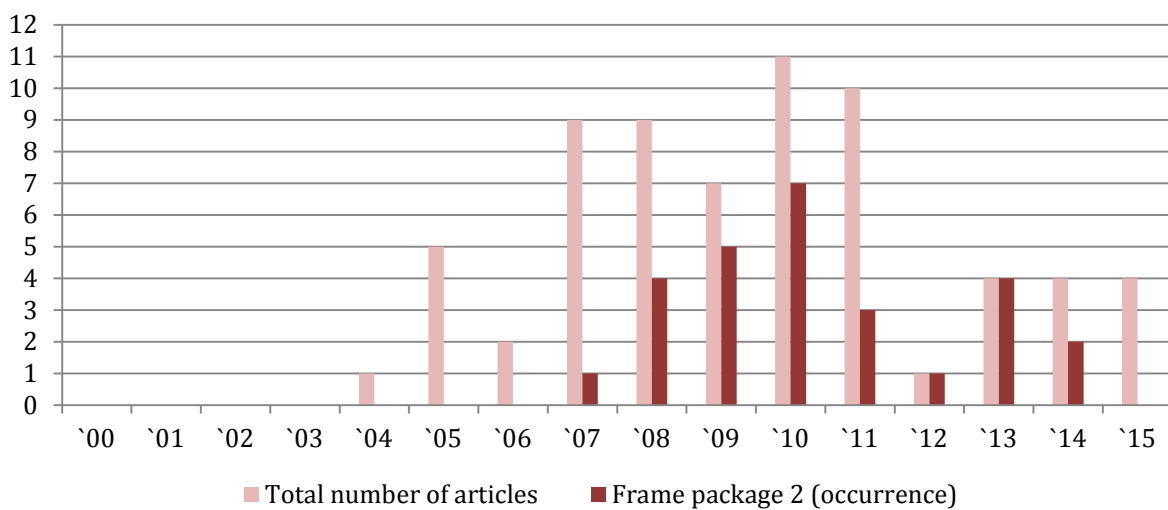


FIGURE 9: OCCURRENCE AND DOMINANCE OF FRAME PACKAGE 2

SUB FRAME 2.1: UNILEVER, MARKET LEADER IN SUSTAINABILITY

Big companies, like Unilever, are seen as a best practices example with regard to palm oil sustainability. That is the main message of this first sub frame, which is found in 21 of the 27 articles (77,8%) of frame package 2. As an indicator to show the public the progress that is made regarding palm oil and sustainability, Unilever is used as a leading example. The company uses about 1,5 million tonnes of palm oil per year in their products, which makes them a very important and visible actor. Moreover, it is one of the initiators of the RSPO and the principles of this standard-setting body are the foundation for their palm oil policy (Unilever, 2016). In the articles it is framed as an obvious but very honourable fact that Unilever takes a leading role. *“Nearly two-thirds of the 587 thousand certificates were bought by Unilever. This is again an example of something where the company is ahead of competitors like Procter & Gamble (Head& Shoulders, Pringles, Oral-B), which hasn’t bought any palm oil certificates via Green Palm.”* (NRC, 02-09-2010)

Next to the naturalness of their sustainable aims, Unilever is also praised in newspaper articles for its commitment to make the palm oil supply chain transparent. This topic, which becomes more visible from 2010 onwards, focuses on the traceability of palm oil and a growing interest of the consumer to know what they eat and where it comes from. *“From the end of this year,*

Unilever will only buy palm oil with a sustainability certificate. That is three years earlier than has so far been the plan. Moreover, the company promises to only use palm oil from traceable sources by 2020.” (Volkskrant, 25-04-2012)

However, creating a sustainable policy is not the only good action that has been attributed to Unilever in the newspaper articles. If sustainability criteria are not complied with by partners of the company, they sometimes decide to exclude them from further collaboration. *“Unilever, the world’s biggest buyer of palm oil, has with immediate effect terminated the contract with the Indonesian company Sinar Mas. This conglomerate, the second largest supplier of palm oil in the world, has illegally logged tropical rainforest on Sumatra and Kalimantan on a large scale for its plantations. It is the first time that a multinational suspends such a contract, which is worth tens of millions of dollars, for this reason.” (NRC, 29-09-2015)*

SUB FRAME 2.2: SUSTAINABILITY PROTECTS COMPETITIVENESS

Distinguishing yourself as a company with a sustainability aim is important for economic security and competitiveness. That is what the second sub frame, which occurs in 6 articles, is about. Having a moral aim to implement sustainability practices in your company policy is one thing, but it is also very profitable. *“This quest for raw materials, which are grown with care for people and their environment, puts Unilever no harm. The revenue has increased by nearly 28 percent in the last four years, from 40 to 51 billion euros. Sustainability means growth.” (Trouw, 24-04-2013)*

This results in the fact that more and more companies prioritize sustainability. Next to the fact that it is profitable because the consumer wants it, it is also a future safeguard. Raw materials and some commodities will become scarce and the best way to ensure a stable position for that time is investing in sustainable innovation and efficient and durable practices. *“In the last five years, you see that more and more large companies such as Mars, Nestlé, FrieslandCampina and Hennis & Maurits see sustainability as an increasingly important pillar of their corporate policy because they fear a lack of raw materials. You can really see that they are now taking major steps. There really is something going on that was impossible until recently.” (Trouw, 12-11-2013)*

Frame package	Proud palm oil consumer
Cultural theme	National pride in being a large and sustainable player in the palm oil sector
Definition of the problem	The Netherlands has to defend and protect their leading sustainability position in the palm oil market
Cause	The Netherlands has the feeling that they are ahead of other actors with their high sustainability standards
Consequences	Sustainability in the palm oil sector by Dutch actors seen as a noble act and Dutch companies are used to visualize all progressive measures that are taken
Moral values involved	As a Dutch citizen you have the moral duty to endorse and support sustainability standards
Socio-economic interests	Remaining the leading position in palm oil sustainability is a major driver for the Netherlands
Possible solutions/	By increasing the market share of Dutch companies, global sustainability

actions	will be enhanced
Non-solution	Bashing the palm oil sector wouldn't bring us any further
Metaphors/ choice of vocabulary	<p>"The Netherlands is the first country in the world where business is undivided in favour of sustainable palm oil."</p> <p>"This is again an example of something where the company is ahead of competitors."</p> <p>"That is three years earlier than has so far been the plan. Moreover, the company promises to only use palm oil from traceable sources."</p> <p>"large companies [...] see sustainability as an increasingly important pillar of their corporate policy because they fear a lack of raw materials. You can really see that they are now taking major steps."</p>

TABLE 14: FRAME ANALYSIS TABLE FRAME PACKAGE 2

5.2.3 FRAME PACKAGE 3: PROBLEMS ORIGINATE BEYOND OUR SPHERE OF INFLUENCE

According to this third frame package, problems concerning palm oil sustainability are caused beyond the sphere of influence of the Netherlands. Dutch journalists write about environmental and human rights abuses at production level and the problems associated with a growing demand for palm oil in developing countries. Furthermore, the invisibility of the product makes it the palm oil supply chain very intransparent and makes it hard for end-users to be sure if they buy sustainable palm oil according to the articles. The frame is found in 27 articles, which is 40,3% of the total sample. The frame occurs most frequently between 2007 and 2010 and from 2013 onwards. In 2014 and 2015 there is a high dominance of the frame package in the total number of articles, this might be due to the disappointing results of the RSPO, where surely someone must be blamed for.

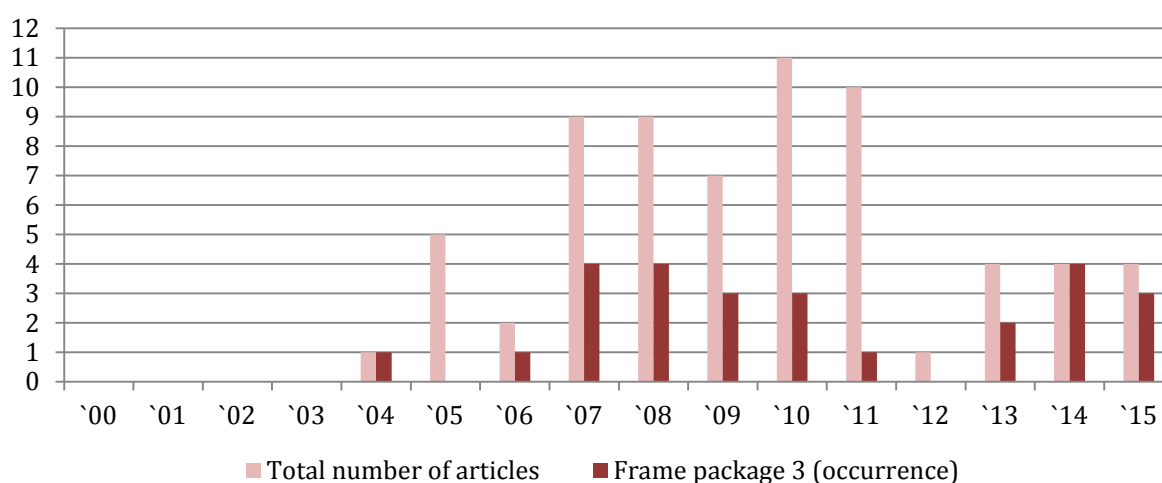


FIGURE 10: OCCURRENCE AND DOMINANCE OF FRAME PACKAGE 3

SUB FRAME 3.1: PALM OIL PRODUCTION HAPPENS UNSUSTAINABLE

Palm oil production in Asia happens in a human- and environmentally unfriendly way; that is the essence of this sub frame (which is seen in 11 of the 27 articles that are part of frame package 3).

At that beginning point of the supply chain, human rights are violated and the environment is damaged according to the Dutch newspapers. *“The cultivation of oil palm and soya (in Southeast Asia and South America) often leads to permanent damage to sensitive ecosystems such as tropical forests and savannas. The large plantations of soy and oil palm often clash with the land rights of the local population. Fertilizer and pesticides are wastefully sprinkled, with all its consequences for workers and the environment. Working conditions are often far below the standards of the ILO, the International Labour Organization of the United Nations.”* (NRC, 22-08-2005)

It is also mentioned that the problems are so big that it has become very difficult to control and oversee it. Journalists mention this in their articles with a sense of frustration, but at the same time they create a clear distance in their writing towards the activities in producing countries in Asia. *“The problems in the production of palm oil are immense. In the first place the plantations rapidly displace the original rainforest in Southeast Asia. [...] Borders are difficult to control, making it difficult to prevent illegal logging with, as a result, loss of biodiversity and the habitat of the native inhabitants, such as orangutans. The burning of forests leads to additional greenhouse gas emissions. In addition, there are numerous social conflicts on the plantations; land grabbing, forced expropriation, low pay, precarious working conditions and abuse of chemicals.”* (Volkskrant, 28-06-2014)

Furthermore, Dutch journalists stress that it is a lack of clear rules and criteria which enhances the illegal logging of tropical rainforest. There is some regulation in Malaysia, but that is not well managed and monitored. This causes that much room remains to develop illegal practices. *“Critics argue that it would help a lot if the current legislation would be well maintained. The government of Malaysia has a major influence on the companies that produce palm oil and can easily set things right according to them.”* (Telegraaf, 19-11-2009)

SUB FRAME 3.2: THE REAL PROBLEM IS GROWING DEMAND

This sub frame is found in 10 of the 27 articles (37%) that are part of frame package 3. The real problem of palm oil sustainability is, according to this frame, the growing demand due to the increasing world population and welfare. *“Demand has risen sharply in recent years and will continue to grow as the world population increases and all those billions of people will consume more on average.”* (Trouw, 31-01-2011) Especially India and China form a threat for the future because they are emerging economies and do not care about the environment or sustainability according to Dutch journalists. *“The enormous pressure on the rainforest is also caused by the strongly increased demand for palm oil from China and India. And in those countries no one is concerned about the fate of the rainforest.”* (Volkskrant, 15-11-2008)

For producers it is attractive if they can sell their palm oil to countries where they do not ask to commit to strict sustainability criteria as the Western countries do before they want to import the oil. In the articles is mentioned how this poses a threat to the sustainable road that the West is on and all the work that has gone into it. *“Yet there is little optimism about stopping deforestation. Although one is more conscious in the West, more and more palm oil, timber and other raw materials will go to emerging economies such as China and India.”* (NRC, 02-09-2010)

Moreover, the growing demand makes palm oil a very desirable commodity. This causes a pressure to produce more and a makes it tempting to accept a product that is less sustainable. *“The run on palm oil is in full swing, because palm oil is hot. Environmentalists even speak about a palm oil cake, which can't be cut quickly enough.”* (Volkskrant, 02-09-2006)

SUB FRAME 3.3: THE PALM OIL CHAIN IS INTRANSPARENT

This sub frame occurs in 6 of the 27 (22,2%) articles in frame package 3. Palm oil is a commodity that is always processed in product and therefore invisible to most consumers. This results in a lack of awareness and complicates the way to a more sustainable supply chain. According to the articles, this causes a situation where actors along the chain (mainly on the producing side) form a limited stimulant to put effort in sustainable practices, unless the efforts of Western companies. *“Palm oil is a product that is difficult to detect for the consumer. Two-thirds of consumer products contain palm oil, from soap to soup. That lack of transparency makes it, according to Greenpeace, easy for producers not to take any big steps.”* (Trouw, 09-11-2007)

Frame package	Problems originate beyond our sphere of influence
Cultural theme	We, as the Netherlands, do the best we can, but we can't solve everything
Definition of the problem	The Netherlands is not the only influential partners in the palm oil supply chain.
Cause	There are several other important actors involved in the chain that are less sustainable or retain progress in sustainability.
Consequences	There are still a lot of unsustainable production practices. Moreover, a growing demand for palm oil poses threats to sustainability and the invisibility of the product makes the chain very intransparent
Moral values involved	We want the best for the world, but we are also partially powerless in this situation
Socio-economic interests	There are other actors with an influence, convincing them of our way of working will safeguard sustainability
Possible solutions/ actions	Convince all actors follow the high sustainability standards of the Netherlands
Non-solution	Developing countries like India and China don't enforce sustainability criteria; this threatens the path towards a sustainable chain. If we don't act on the intransparency of the chain we will never be able to create a sustainable palm oil chain.
Metaphors/ choice of vocabulary	“often leads to permanent damage to sensitive ecosystems” “Producers of oil palm often clash with the land rights of the local population.” “ wastefully sprinkled”/ “ abuse of chemicals” “Working conditions are often far below the standards of the ILO” “ problems in the production of palm oil are immense .” “there are numerous social conflicts on the plantations” “ lack of transparency”

TABLE 15: FRAME ANALYSIS TABLE FRAME PACKAGE 3

5.2.4 FRAME PACKAGE 4: THE RESPONSIBLE WEST

The fourth frame package occurs in 19 of the 68 Dutch articles, which is 28,4% of the total sample. This frame is concerned with the strong feeling of being responsible that Western

countries have and their fatherly and dominant way of communicating their wishes to the other actors along the palm oil supply chain. Western countries think that their approach is the best and only way towards a sustainable future and they feel the responsibility to help other actors to commit to the same approach by teaching them how to do that. Although this is not the most frequent occurring frame package in the analysis, it is a very important indicator of the Western culture and how it influences international trade practices. The frame package is most visible between 2007 and 2011 and is almost absent afterwards.

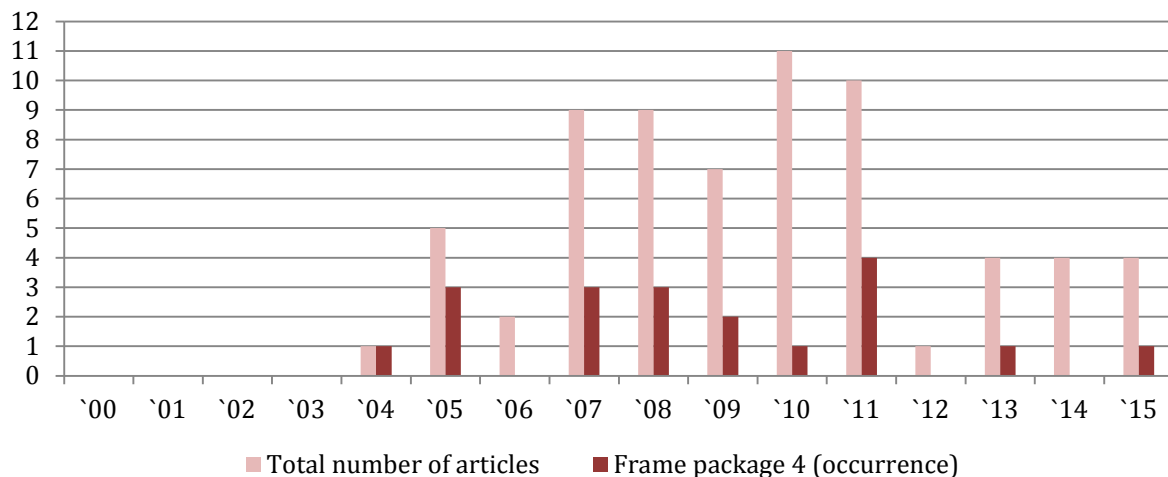


FIGURE 11: OCCURRENCE AND DOMINANCE OF FRAME PACKAGE 4

SUB FRAME 4.1: WE NEED TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY

We as Western countries need to take responsibility for the things that go wrong on the other parts of the palm oil supply chain. That is the main message of sub frame 4.1, which is found in 9 of the 19 articles in frame package 4. Journalists mention in the articles how the Netherlands should play a major role in solving issues because they are the end-user of the product.

The fact that Western countries outsource the production of commodities doesn't make them less responsible for damage that occurs at the production side. In the Netherlands we have signed various international treaties (such as the Kyoto Protocol), but we shouldn't pass responsibility for what we consume to the countries that produce it for us according to the articles in this sub frame. *"Recklessly boosting palm oil and soybean export increases the irreparable damage it often causes. It should not be the case that rainforest is cut down on the other side of the world, so that we can meet our Kyoto targets and can continue to drive our biodiesel cars. Therefore, the government should seize this opportunity to make sure that biomass is not at the expense of biodiversity by imposing sound policy."* (NRC, 22-08-2005)

The Dutch journalists mention that a transition to sustainable palm oil will also benefit the actors on the production side. So by taking responsibility Western countries do not only fulfil their duty, but they create long term profit for producing countries according to the articles in this sub frame. *"Research shows that with better management and a timelier replanting one hectare could yield no 3 but 6 tons of palm oil. The farmers also benefit from this because the certificates of sustainable oil are about 8% more expensive than palm oil on the regular market at the moment."* (Telegraaf, 07-04-2010)

SUB FRAME 4.2: WESTERN COMPANIES SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

The main message of this sub frame, which is found in 5 of the 19 articles (26,3%) of frame package 4, is that companies in Western countries should take the lead in educating other countries and actors about sustainable palm oil. Because they are seen as sustainability leaders and actors with market power, they need to be the change agents. *“Ultimately, the big western companies are the leaders in sustainability. The Unilever, Carrefour and WalMarts of this world, which are leading in Europe and North America, also play a key role in East Asia. Change should come mainly from them.”* (Trouw, 31-01-2011)

According to the articles, there is still room for improvement in this frame because there is more supply than demand for sustainable palm oil. *“This week the first ship with sustainable palm oil arrives in the port of Rotterdam. It carries about 500 tonnes of palm oil, not from Indonesia but from Malaysia. It is the proverbial straw that is bought by Unilever and the British supermarket chain Sainbury’s.”* (Volkskrant, 15-11-2008) Big companies in the Netherlands should use their position and show other big companies the way towards a sustainable future, journalists say. Change ultimately has to come from the market side of the chain.

SUB FRAME 4.3: THEY PERCEIVE US AS GREEN COLONISTS

This sub frame also occurs in 5 of the 19 articles that are part of frame package 4 and is concerned with the fact that the aim for palm oil sustainability is seen by Malaysians as a modern form of colonialization. It is interesting to see in the articles that interventions in other countries are perceived as something so natural that Western actors seem to be surprised about this allegation because they see it as a way to help. The anti-Western sentiment in Malaysia and Indonesia is reflected in the fact that they oppose developments that are designed in the West. *“The RSPO says that this year four percent of the palm oil acreage is certified. Next year it anticipates on twice as much. ‘Changes can be made fast, but in Indonesia and Malaysia there is still a lot of resistance, both in business and in politics. They see sustainability is a new kind of Western colonialism,’ Van Gelder says. It is therefore particularly important that more Asian banks take part in the round table, the researcher says. ‘The Dutch banks could then try to convince them to get involved in financing more sustainable investments.’”* (Volkskrant, 15-11-2008)

In an interview in *NRC Handelsblad* with Greetje Schouten on her PhD research this subject is also discussed. *“Is there also an element of guilt, about the colonial history?”* *“That’s a dangerous question. But the past does sometimes play a role. It is mainly producers who see sustainability initiatives sometimes as neo-colonialist. Then they respond with: there they are with their rules again; Or: you don’t have any primary forest left yourself, right?”* (NRC, 22-11-2013)

Frame package	The responsible West
Cultural theme	A feeling of strong responsibility for issues that appear in other places along the supply chain and a strong feeling of doing the right thing to enable more sustainability
Definition of the problem	The West has the highest sustainability standards and therefore we are responsible to enforce these standards all along the supply chain.
Cause	Western countries have high sustainability standards regarding palm oil sustainability (such as the RSPO) and they think that is the best and only way towards a sustainable future.

Consequences	Therefore they feel the responsibility to help other actors to commit to the same criteria. Western companies are seen as the actors where the change is initiated and as a role model to be followed
Moral values involved	We know what is best so we have the moral duty to teach that to the others
Socio-economic interests	Following the Western path to sustainability is not only important to show that you are good for the world, but it is also profitable.
Possible solutions/ actions	Companies in Western countries that use palm oil could do more to enable the switch to sustainable palm oil. Because they are seen as sustainability leaders and actors with market power, they need to be the change agents.
Non-solution	If actors decide to resist our solutions because they perceive us as green colonialist, we will not be able to create a sustainable palm oil supply chain
Metaphors/ choice of vocabulary	<p>“the Netherlands plays a key role”</p> <p>“It should not be the case that rainforest is cut down on the other side of the world, so that we can meet our Kyoto targets”</p> <p>“The Unilever, Carrefour and WalMarts of this world, which are leading in Europe and North America, also play a key role in East Asia. Change should come mainly from them.</p> <p>“Changes can be made fast, but in Indonesia and Malaysia there is still a lot of resistance, both in business and in politics. They see sustainability is a new kind of Western colonialism.”</p>

TABLE 16: FRAME ANALYSIS TABLE FRAME PACKAGE 4

5.3 DUTCH META-ANALYSIS

5.3.1 CONSISTENCY AND CONFLICTS IN THE DUTCH FRAMES

The frames that are found in the Dutch analysis do not follow a clear direction, which reflects the press freedom in the country as described in chapter 5.1 on the media climate in the Netherlands. Frames in itself may seem simplistic, but the complete set of frames incorporates multiple opinions and nuances and sometimes they even contradict each other. An example is sub frame 2.1, which sees Unilever as a proud example and as the market leader in sustainability because it is one of the founding fathers of the well-functioning RSPO. This frame shows a clear and definite line of arguing, but it is actually an exact opposite of sub frame 1.1 that very much doubts the good intentions of the RSPO.

5.3.2 CHANGES IN FRAMING OVER TIME

The Dutch sample consists of just 68 articles over the past 15 years, which makes it hard to distinguish clear trends. In general, however, it is very notable how little media attention has been given to the subject. Between 2007 and 2011 most articles on palm oil and sustainability are published and all 4 frame package generally follow that trend. Before the foundation of the RSPO in 2004 no articles are published on the topic at all, which is remarkable because preparations for the standard-setting body must have been in full progress already. Finally, from 2011 onwards there is in general a lot less interest in the subject in the newspapers analysed.

5.3.3 DUTCH CONCEPTUALISATION OF PALM OIL SUSTAINABILITY

As in the Malaysian analysis, the frames identified in the Dutch framing analysis are not a direct characterisation of the conceptualisation of palm oil sustainability in the country. The Dutch portrayal of sustainable development in the palm oil sector can be found in elements interwoven in the frames.

In the Dutch frames, a strong sense of national pride is identified. According to the articles, the Netherlands sees itself as a country that takes responsibility, even for things that happen outside of the borders. There is, however, awareness, that some events happen beyond their sphere of influence. Sometimes this is perceived in the newspapers as frustrating because Dutch actors see their sustainability measures as the solution for the rest of the world as well. There seems to be a constant fight between responsibility that the Dutch feel for the impacts they have in other countries on the one side, and the danger to be perceived as patronizing on the other side. The neo-colonial feeling that producing countries have is recognized by Western actors, but not seen as something they can solve. Palm oil sustainability in the Dutch newspapers is mainly characterized in terms of responsibility and opinions are completely matched with the opinion of NGOs. By discussing the definition of sustainable development there is often referred to a balance that needs to be strived for between *people*, *planet* and *profit* (Olsson et al., 2014). In the analysis of the Dutch newspaper sample, there is a dominance observed of the *planet* and *profit* pillar. NGO campaigns that are used as a base for the articles point at environmental threats caused by the palm oil industry and sustainability is seen as a guarantee for future profitability of big companies (such as Unilever).

5.3.4 THE ROLE OF THE DUTCH MEDIA IN THE PALM OIL SUSTAINABILITY DEBATE

Furthermore, the general lack of interest in the subject is remarkable. In 15 years, only 68 articles (in 4 newspapers) are published on this topic, while the Netherlands is the largest importer of palm oil in Europe. In *de Volkskrant* most articles (30) on palm oil sustainability are found, which is almost twice as much as the newspaper that follows. In *de Telegraaf*, on the other end, only 6 articles matched the selection criteria. Next to the number of articles that publish on the subject, there are no extraordinary differences between newspapers in the sample. Moreover, the Dutch reporting on palm oil sustainability is flat and sometimes even nonchalant; there are no passionate debates.

While government and industry actors are seldom quoted by the journalists, NGO campaigns and opinions are the major knowledge source for all newspapers in the analysis. Moreover, journalists have a clear bias to their own country. The press freedom in the country enables journalists to be critical, but the newspapers seize every opportunity to praise the leading position on palm oil sustainability of Dutch companies. This is a strange combination with the critical notes on foreign actors and the strong leaning on NGOs reporting. So on the one hand, all the information is obtained from NGOs, but on the other hand the country has a strong feeling of pride towards its own industry.

As discussed in the analysis of the media culture, Dutch journalists rarely leave their desk or the newsroom for their work (Örnebring, 2010) Moreover, journalists were not willing to talk about palm oil in the media because of their lack of experience in writing about the topic, the low news value of palm oil and the lack of involvement in the topic of most newspapers. These elements contribute to a simplistic narrative of palm oil sustainability in Dutch media.

6. COMPARISON BETWEEN MALAYSIA AND THE NETHERLANDS

In chapter 4 and 5, the Malaysian and the Dutch media framing analysis are performed to be able to identify dominant frames in the newspaper sample. In this chapter, a comparison between both countries is made to visualize tensions, differences and similarities in perceptions on palm oil sustainability between the countries. First, a factual comparison gives insight in the numerical results of the analysis. Second, the knowledge source in both countries is looked at, followed by a section on the polarisations and contradictions in the sustainable palm oil debate.

6.1 RESULTS OF THE MALAYSIAN AND THE DUTCH ANALYSIS

For the Malaysian media framing analysis, 329 articles from 3 different newspapers are examined (see table 17). *The News Straits Times* published the vast majority of the articles on palm oil sustainability. The topic was most present from 2007 onwards and in this period the media attention remained relatively stable. In the Malaysian newspapers, 5 frame packages, consisting of in total 13 sub frames are found. The most dominant frame (which is found in 194 articles) is the 'Proud palm oil producer', followed by 'Western boycott' (identified in 176 articles), 'Deliberative space – support or dominance?' (observed in 134 articles), 'Securing competitiveness' (in 109 articles) and finally 'Dark side of palm oil' (seen in 44 articles).

# articles	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
<i>The Star</i>	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	2	5	1	1	0	5	3	21
<i>Malaysiakini</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	7	4	9	8	0	3	2	3	42
<i>NST</i>	0	4	1	2	2	5	11	30	20	26	25	23	40	22	29	26	266
TOTAL	0	4	1	3	2	6	13	34	29	32	39	32	41	25	36	32	329

TABLE 17: NUMBER OF MALAYSIAN ARTICLES PER YEAR AND PER NEWSPAPER

For the Dutch media framing analysis, 68 articles from 4 different newspapers are investigated (see table 18), which is 5 times smaller than the Malaysian sample. *De Volkskrant* published most articles on palm oil sustainability, but the difference with the other newspapers is not as big as between the Malaysian newspapers. The topic is absent in the Dutch media before 2004 and most present between 2007 and 2011. From 2011 onwards there is, in general, a lot less interest in the subject in the newspapers analysed. In the Netherlands, 4 frame packages (consisting of 11 sub frames in total) are identified, which is a remarkable amount compared to the number of frames in Malaysia on a much bigger sample. This shows that there are more diverse opinions given in the Netherlands than the clear line of reasoning that can be seen in the Malaysian frames. The most dominant frame (which is found in 44 articles) is 'NGOs, the benchmark for sustainability', followed by 'Proud palm oil consumer' (identified in 27 articles), 'Problems originate beyond our sphere of influence' (also in 27 articles) and finally 'The responsible West' (seen in 19 articles).

# articles	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
<i>Volkskrant</i>	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	5	4	3	5	4	1	0	1	2	30
<i>Trouw</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	1	1	6	0	3	1	1	18

<i>NRC</i>	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	1	3	0	0	1	2	2	14
<i>Telegraaf</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	6
Total	0	0	0	0	1	5	2	9	9	7	11	10	1	4	4	5	68

TABLE 18: NUMBER OF DUTCH ARTICLES PER YEAR AND PER NEWSPAPER

6.2 KNOWLEDGE SOURCES

The Malaysian frame packages form a clear narrative because the majority of them present similar arguments and refer to the same sources of information. Malaysia defends the palm oil sector in the media against ‘attacks’ from external entities (i.e. WENGOS, foreign media and Western governments) and tries to portray palm oil as positively as possible. This is used as a way to show that Malaysia fully supports its sector. The Dutch frame packages, by contrast, do not follow such a clear line of reasoning, although they also use one main knowledge source. If examined separately, the individual frames might seem fierce. However, the complete set of frames found in Dutch media, present a rather nuanced picture. In these discrepancies the press freedom in the Dutch media can be seen, journalists are not forced in one direction and can therefore also contradict each other.

Malaysia and the Netherlands refer to very different knowledge sources in the newspaper articles on palm oil and sustainability. There is, however, one important similarity; they are both dependent on information from one actor group. Malaysian articles on palm oil sustainability almost completely based on government sources while Dutch media mainly depends on information of NGOs. In the frame packages from both countries it becomes visible that concerns regarding sustainability are raised by Western actors, particularly NGOs. In Malaysia, on the other hand, the independence of WENGOS is questioned because articles suggest that Western governments fund their campaigns (see frame package 2) and national NGOs have a weak position because the government has chosen side for the palm oil companies while they are closely interrelated with each other (Yaacob, 2014). Most newspapers are government linked or government owned and the idea is that positive media coverage on palm oil ensures political stability and national development (Tamam & Abdullah, 2015).

6.3 POLARISATIONS AND CONTRADICTIONS IN THE SUSTAINABLE PALM OIL DEBATE

Throughout the analysis, a sense of a polarised positioning of Dutch versus Malaysian media representations of palm oil can be observed. The countries take broadly opposing points of view on the debate albeit with some common themes. Where Malaysia perceives NGOs as a source of unfair criticism, the Netherlands perceives them as the most important knowledge source. And where Malaysia fights its inner struggle between the need to be guided and the fear of being dominated, the Netherlands validates the manifestation of its feeling of responsibility. On the other side, however, both Malaysia and the Netherlands have a dominant frame that points at a strong national pride and the focus on one stand out company (i.e. Sime Darby and Unilever).

6.3.1 NATIONAL PRIDE

In the Malaysian media, palm oil is associated with economic, social and political stability. Therefore, articles make clear that Malaysian actors have the moral duty to endorse and support the sector. Palm oil is Malaysia’s identity to the outside world; economic interests and international competitiveness are interwoven. The government and the industry form a close

formation and join forces to convince the world of the quality, sustainability and healthiness of their palm oil. Moreover, there is a high dependency on the sector in Malaysia because it provides direct employment for almost 600.000 people and is a key economic growth driver for the country (Brandi et al., 2015). Malaysia uses a strong national support and interwoven relations between government and industry to secure its economic competitiveness and its position on the global palm oil market. Sustainability is seen as a market opportunity that can create trust by the consumer. However, as soon as sustainability criteria are perceived as Western dominance, resistance to cooperate is sparked.

In the Netherlands, national pride is reflected in the expression of being a large and sustainable player on the consuming side of the palm oil sector. The country sees itself as a frontrunner on innovation and sustainability that should serve as an example for others. Palm oil is one of many imported products in the Netherlands which means that there is not such a level of economic dependency on the commodity as in Malaysia (OEC, 2016). The main focus and most of the media attention concerning palm oil is therefore not related to securing market share or economic stability, but to position the country as a sustainability expert. The Netherlands uses sustainability as an example to protect its competitiveness. According to the articles, the Netherlands sees itself as a country that takes responsibility for the impacts they have in other countries. There is, however, awareness, that some events happen beyond their sphere of influence. The neo-colonial feeling that producing countries have is recognized by Western actors, but not seen as something they can solve.

While it is clear that both countries have a different base for their national pride, there is also an important common denominator. Both Malaysia and the Netherlands use a big company as a best practices case study to show the reading public their efforts to be a trustworthy and sustainable actor in the supply chain. Malaysia praises its plantation multinational Sime Darby for its leading position in innovation and its commitment to create a sustainable palm oil supply chain. In the Dutch article sample, on the other hand, the leading role of Unilever regarding palm oil sustainability is highlighted. Unilever is also praised in newspaper articles for its commitment to make the palm oil supply chain transparent. This is used as an indicator to show the public the progress that is made regarding palm oil and sustainability.

6.3.2 DISTRUST AND CONTRADICTIONARY ACCUSATIONS

In section 6.2, the use of NGOs sources (in the Netherlands) versus government sources (in Malaysia) is mentioned. More broadly, this seems to reflect a lack of trust between Malaysia and the Netherlands. Behind the sustainable palm oil issue, both countries have a different economic and political agenda, which fuels the polarisation in the reporting on the topic. In the sections below, two major examples of distrust and contradictory accusations that are found in the frames are analysed.

MALAYSIA UNFAIRLY TREATED?

Malaysia feels unfairly treated by Western countries that increasingly attack the palm oil sector in their view. According to them, they are blackmailing the industry without solid evidence. In the Dutch newspapers it becomes indeed visible that Western actors have the opinion that the production of palm oil still happens in an unsustainable way. According to the articles, rainforests are cut down and the habitats of rare animals like the orangutan are severely threatened. Malaysia, however counters these accusations in their newspapers by noting that Western countries have no right to point fingers at them because they already demolished their own primary forest long ago in exchange for agricultural land. This shows that Malaysia doesn't deny unsustainable practices in the palm oil industry, but opposes that the West has the right to

condemn them for that. However, as mentioned earlier, Malaysia is proud of its progress regarding sustainability and Sime Darby is presented as a leading sustainable actor. Malaysia is proud of its own version of sustainable palm oil. Their main counter argument to accusations of unsustainable practices in their palm oil industry is that European countries also destroyed their own natural environment. This can be seen as a form of counter framing, as discussed in the theoretical framework, where there is creation of new frames by other actors that are based on different interpretations and interests regarding the issue.

COLONIAL HISTORY REVISITED?

The colonial origins of palm oil in South East Asia also play an important role in the framing of palm oil sustainability. In colonial times, the British presented the forest areas as 'unproductive' and starting with rubber they turned these unproductive landscapes into 'production landscapes' according to McCarthy & Cramb (2009). The resources that came from the land were then exploited largely for the benefit of Western countries. Malaysia also benefited in economic terms from the mass export of crops (rubber, palm oil), but it is important to recognize that it was the British who energized the mass clearance of forest for agriculture in first place for large-scale monocultures. So ultimately the idea of large scale land clearance was a colonial idea (McCarthy & Cramb, 2009).

There is a sense in Malaysian media of being thankful towards the old colonialists for bringing palm oil (together with innovations and knowledge) to their country because it ensured economic stability. The colonial time is over, and Malaysia is independent, but Western countries still play a dominant role in the palm oil supply chain. Sustainability in the palm oil sector is a Western driven concept that gets more and more attention in recent years. In 2004, the RSPO was launched and is initially perceived in the Malaysian media as an opportunity on equal cooperation regarding palm oil sustainability. Soon, however, criticisms begin to rise and newspapers stress that Western parties press their mark on the sustainability criteria. This ultimately leads to the fact that the RSPO is nowadays perceived as a dominant Western instrument aimed at structuring the market in their favour. In the Malaysian article sample, journalists wonder if this dominance can be considered as a form of neo-colonialism. According to Malaysian media, the Western hunger for sustainability will never be satisfied and it will never be good enough. By committing to Western sustainability criteria (whether you agree with them or not) a market position is safeguarded because consuming countries trust your product and will continue to purchase your product. But on the other hand, it is a way of denying your identity by accepting an enforced set of rules.

The Netherlands feels responsible for issues that appear in other places along the supply chain and a strong feeling of doing the right thing to enable more sustainability. In the Dutch media this is described as a sense of knowing what is best and therefore having the moral duty to teach that to others. The Dutch media recognizes Malaysian actors might perceive them as green colonialists. In the Dutch reporting of palm oil there is very limited reference to the history and global political economy of palm oil. However, sustainability standards, especially those with a perceived European origin like the RSPO, do have political implications. According to Padfield et al. (2016), the RSPO divides producers in Malaysia because some can afford RSPO certification and others can't. There is a feeling of responsibility for palm oil sustainability in the Dutch newspapers, but very limited reference to colonial history and the introduction of a 'production landscape' by European colonists in Southeast Asia. The Dutch media acknowledge that problems originate beyond sphere of influence, but that doesn't cover the difficulties and complexities of the notion of sustainable palm oil.

6.3.3 OVERSIMPLIFICATION OF A COMPLEX CASE

Arguments regarding palm oil sustainability in Malaysia versus the ones in Dutch media appear to be inherently contradictory. A major reason for this might be that media (in this case Dutch and Malaysian newspapers) tend to oversimplify a complex problem such as sustainable palm oil and report a very narrow view on the debate. Since the media are only reporting what they believe will be of interest to its readers, it is interesting to refer back to the theories of Entman (1993) and de Vreese (2005) as discussed in the theoretical framework of this thesis. Looking at that scheme, the problem of trust and the polarisation of the debate between the countries seems to originate at the stage of *frame setting*, which shows the interaction that appears between the media frames that are put forward in the text and how that connects to the prior knowledge of the receiver.

7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this thesis a comparative media framing analysis is performed to examine similarities and differences in the perception of palm oil sustainability in Malaysia and the Netherlands over the past 15 years. This is done as a means to analyse conceptualisations of sustainability in the contrasting geographies. This last section is used to discuss what the differences and similarities between the way Malaysia and the Netherlands report sustainable palm oil say about the way we think about sustainability, about ideas of 'sustainable palm oil', about the media and their role in this discussion.

In the frame packages identified in the newspaper samples of both countries there are some very visible elements, such as pride, but other components are completely absent. In the Malaysian newspapers for example, negative imaging of the sector is permanently avoided. In the Dutch media, on the other hand, reference to colonial history connected to palm oil sustainability is almost absent. Most frame packages identified do not show the content of palm oil sustainability, but rather reflect external societal elements. In Malaysia, most frames are mainly political and not about the content of palm oil sustainability. In the Netherlands, NGOs are seen as the determination of sustainability and the responsibility that the country feels is the core of the frames. The conceptualisations of palm oil sustainability are in both countries interwoven in the identified frame packages. It has been found that in the Malaysian media palm oil sustainability is understood as ensuring competitiveness to protect the sector for external economic and political threats. In the Dutch newspapers, on the other hand, sustainability in the palm oil sector is characterised by means of taking responsibility for the environmental threats that are posed by the industry.

Palm oil is very visible in Malaysia, plantations are omnipresent. Therefore, the country has a strong feeling that it has to arm the nation for future changes. Malaysia is economically, politically and socially dependent on the sector, which makes securing the market position a major driver. More international cooperation is needed to ensure future competitiveness; alliances must be formed to defend the position in the world market. Also in production practices, innovation and efficiency are key to stay ahead of competitors. In the Netherlands, on the other side, palm oil is almost invisible because it is processed in products. This is one of the reasons why there is a lot less media attention for palm oil sustainability in this country compared to Malaysia. According to a Dutch journalist, a 'disaster' is needed before a topic is urgent enough to write about, but the Dutch media apparently didn't rank any of the events related to palm oil sustainability disastrous enough for the topic to become 'sexy'.

Both countries have a different media climate. While there is little press freedom in Malaysia, the journalists in the Netherlands have all room to be critical. This is reflected in the frames that are distilled from the samples. Where Malaysia uses government agencies and the palm oil industry as their primary source of information uses the Netherlands NGO campaigns to base their stories on. The Malaysian frame packages are straightforward and a clear line of arguing is visible. In the Dutch sample, however, many different opinions are found. Dutch journalists never leave their desk, which contributes to the oversimplification in the reporting of this complex case. In Malaysia, the main reason for oversimplification is the unintentional political ignorance, which is embedded in the society.

What makes this more complex is that the concept of sustainability remains hazy. The frame packages made clear that concerns regarding sustainability come mainly from Western countries and most standard-setting bodies are Western driven and initiated. The Netherlands can therefore be seen as a sending party regarding sustainability criteria. Malaysia, on the other

hand, sees sustainability as a way to show that their product can be trusted. But there is also scepticism regarding the Western ideas of the concept. According to the Malaysian articles, it is used to protect Western vegetable oils markets by blackmailing the palm oil sector. Furthermore, mainly Western interests are represented in most sustainability criteria and Malaysia feels little room to fight decisions in this regard. That dominant way of imposing sustainability is a major reason why Malaysian government and industry actors especially want to focus on their national palm oil sustainability standard.

Conceptualisations of sustainability are also a function of (uneven) power relations across the supply chain. As a producer of palm oil, Malaysia is at whim of purchasers in the Netherlands and other countries in the West who have the power to purchase palm oil of their choice. Malaysia has to toe the line and meet demands of purchasers in the Netherlands. This reflects in the bitterness towards Europe, the RSPO, the national pride in the 'green image' of industry, the overlooking of environmental and social trade-offs in media, and ultimately why palm oil is such an important topic in Malaysia. Yet, in the Netherlands palm oil is not 'sexy'; comparatively there are very few articles written, and articles are more critical and nuanced. Sustainability is thus understood from a position of strength in the supply chain in the Netherlands rather than a position of relative weakness in the case of Malaysia (Malaysia cannot afford to be critical). This points again at the political nature of standards and sustainability, there are always different interests involved which make it hard to work on an equal base. Imposing sustainability standards can limit other parties, an issue that is often overlooked.

Both countries have a strong national pride towards their role in palm oil sustainability. Malaysia sees itself as the producer of high quality and increasingly sustainable palm oil and the Netherlands portrays itself as the frontrunner in sustainability in the sector. Therefore, the Netherlands feels a responsibility to teach their sustainability standards to the Malaysian palm oil sector. Since the West is a large consumer of palm oil and is worried about the unsustainability of its production, the West wants their sustainability standards to be adopted throughout the chain. However, the line between taking responsibility and being patronizing is very thin, as recognized in both Malaysian and Dutch media. Sustainability standards are merely initiated by Western parties, which entails the risk that they are perceived as 'renewed colonialism' by the producing countries.

The characterisation of palm oil sustainability also changes over time. When the RSPO was launched, Malaysia saw the sustainability criteria as an opportunity to create trust among consumers and to secure their market position. Nowadays, however, not much is left of the initial enthusiasm and the standard-setting body is seen as a dominant Western body aimed at structuring the market in their favour. While the RSPO first seems an initiative where all actors are heard, there is disappointment in the Malaysian media when journalists notice that it is again the Western parties that set the standards. The hope to have good cooperation turns, after a few years, into deception and anger. This results in a general feeling of disappointment in cooperation on palm oil sustainability throughout the chain. The RSPO can't find common ground despite its aim to be a multi-stakeholder initiative because the issue is a way too political issue for both the consuming as the producing country. Different views on how to deal with sustainability issues have become even more challenging because globalization has an influence on the present systems of food provisioning. As mentioned, in the introduction of this thesis, food related decisions of actors along the supply chain have impacts beyond the nation state and global dynamics also affect local practices. Finding common ground and mutual understanding with regard to sustainability is therefore more important than ever. Cultural embeddedness and political interests, however, complicate this process in the case of palm oil sustainability.

Palm oil sustainability and the broad concept of sustainability are very culturally specific and thus should be understood as a reflection of both global forces and the local politics of development. Mike Hulme discusses this in a paper about climate change and says: "Climate, and hence climate change, must always be viewed from somewhere" (Hulme, 2008). Clearly the same applies with regards to palm oil sustainability and this connects back to the sentence this thesis started with where it is written that sustainability is in general a concept that everybody supports and nobody opposes. This creates an apparent consensus where everyone seems to agree on the same thing. Actors, however, can have very different explanations of sustainability and therefore also promote very different actions and visions for the future. Similarly, in case of palm oil sustainability there is no common agreement on the detail because of critical local politics which shape our understanding of what's important in sustainability.

7.1 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As seen in the analysis and evaluation of this thesis, knowledge sources are an important element in the determined frames. In future research, knowledge sources could be used as an indicator to show to what actors is referred to and what knowledge is seen as relevant. This would make it possible to make better judgement about the parties where is relied on.

To be able to see more clear trends and changes over time, it would be an asset to look at important events that happened in the research scope and how they possibly interlink with the dominance of certain frames. A timeline with detailed information on specific important events in time can make the analysis more extensive and the relation between events and its consequences clearer. According to Gorp (2007) the identification of frames and frame packages needs to be abstract on a certain level to be able to apply it to similar cases in the future. This means that a level of generalisation and evidence for the frames is needed. A way to achieve this is to relate the frames with cultural phenomena or specific (policy) events (Gorp, 2007).

In this thesis, interesting differences between Asian (producing) and European (consuming) countries are found. The cultural embeddedness of the topic makes it even more relevant to conduct such an in-depth analysis. For the future, it might be interesting to also look at other producing and consuming countries. Indonesia would of course be good to consider because it is the largest producers of palm oil worldwide, but also growing markets in South America (e.g. Colombia) or Africa (e.g. Liberia) would be interesting to look at. They might as well adopt a very different conceptualisation of palm oil sustainability as was found in this analysis. This thesis has contributed to an in-depth understanding of framing of a complex problem in two very different cultures. All future research that can add to that will make us more able to understand distant interactions.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: MALAYSIAN ARTICLE SAMPLE

Newspaper	Year	Date	Title	Section
The Star	2003	22-aug	SUSTAINABLE PALM OIL goal of forum	
	2006	17-mei	PALM OIL industry urged to go global	Business News
	2008	14-apr	Conference on PALM OIL to draw over 400	Business News
	2008	15-apr	RM20mil conservation fund	Nation
	2009	10-nov	Keng Yaik warns of ramification of attack	Business News
	2009	17-nov	Not many are buying SUSTAINABLE certified PALM OIL	Business News
	2010	25-mei	M'sia unhappy with EU green directive for PALM OIL	Business News
	2010	25-mei	Orang utan not under threat, says Dompok	Nation
	2010	25-mei	Malaysia must quickly provide the latest PALM OIL inputs	Business News
	2010	26-mei	M'sia may take EU directive on PALM OIL to WTO	Business News
	2010	28-sep	Recycle OIL PALM waste, millers told	Nation
	2011	31-dec	Another test of resilience	Business News
	2012	11-sep	CPO exports to pick up	Business News
	2014	8-sep	Addressing PALM OIL concerns	Environment
	2014	8-sep	MPOC gives leadership awards to industry veterans	Community
	2014	8-sep	SUSTAINABLE practices in the PALM OIL industry	Environment
	2014	8-sep	PALM OIL industry in Malaysia: Working with the people	Environment
	2014	8-sep	Implementing a national standard for the PALM OIL industry	Environment
	2015	4-jul	Big boost for small planters	Business News
	2015	12-okt	CIMB Research positive on plantations long-term prospects	Business News
2015	30-dec	FGV, P&G and others to develop jointly model for SUSTAINABILITY	Business News	
Malaysiakini	2005	11-okt	PALM OIL industry seen destroying indigenous land	
	2006	27-feb	M'sia to lose top PALM OIL status to Indonesia: industry	
	2007	26-mei	KL, Jakarta take to Europe to defend PALM OIL Rainforests 'not cleared for PALM OIL in a decade'	
	2007	5-jul		
	2007	20-nov	Iban landowners sue Sarawak gov't	
	2007	23-nov	Natives: Are we the problem, Mr Minister?	
	2008	10-jan	M'sian PALM OIL ads 'misleading'	

	2008	14-apr	M'sia no longer top PALM OIL producer	
	2008	22-apr	Gov't agency refuses to meet NGO reps	
	2008	5-mei	PALM OIL struggles to promote 'green' image	
	2008	8-mei	These are the people behind anti-PALM OIL campaign	
	2008	4-okt	Jabu blasted for calling NGOs 'intruders'	
	2008	9-okt	Group lays bare PALM OIL claims in report	
	2009	5-jan	Sabah walks the tightrope this year	
	2009	12-mrt	Force big OIL to produce biofuel, gov't told	
	2009	23-aug	Penan tribe escalates anti-logging campaign	
	2009	27-nov	Dark side of PALM OIL report wins journalism prize	
	2010	26-jan	Little men, big industry	
	2010	5-feb	OIL PALMs threaten survival of Mah Meri arts	
	2010	11-feb	Indonesian worker exodus worries Sabah planters	
	2010	18-mrt	IOI denies not going green in Indonesia	
	2010	18-mrt	Illegals endanger water catchments, warns Sabah Forestry	
	2010	7-apr	Dayaks battle against gangsters and spin doctors	
	2010	5-mei	PALM OIL groups form coalition against critics	
	2010	24-mei	Uphill task to clear PALM OIL image in EU	
	2010	25-mei	Don't single out PALM OIL for EU compliance	
	2011	1-feb	Peatswamps depletion worrying, says NGO	
	2011	1-jun	NGOs outraged IOI treated with kid gloves	
	2011	1-jul	PALM OIL certification more stringent than IAEA's	
	2011	12-jul	EU must clarify biofuel rules	
	2011	1-aug	M'sia plans green PALM OIL certification scheme	
	2011	24-aug	WWF and Taib's empire: Sleeping with the enemy?	
	2011	20-nov	Warnings as SUSTAINABLE PALM OIL effort falters	
	2011	22-nov	WWF: Companies not buying enough 'green' PALM OIL	
	2013	23-apr	NCR lifeline for Sarawak's natives	
	2013	18-jul	Greed gets in your eyes	
	2013	24-jul	Moral hazard means more haze	
	2014	26-aug	NGO: MPOB colluding with PALM OIL firms	
	2014	21-nov	No such thing as objective news	
	2015	23-mei	The forgotten human face in climate change	
	2015	7-sep	R&D to produce new PALM OIL-based products	
	2015	18-dec	Efforts to stop Indonesian haze fires may not work for 2016	
New Straits Times	2001	13-feb	More land to be needed for oil-palm areas	Local
	2001	15-mrt	Coffee, teak option needs detailed study	Local
	2001	14-jun	Efficiency key to palm oil's future growth	Local
	2001	19-jul	CPO price rise brings cheer	Local
	2002	25-feb	Palm oil mission for Latin America	Local

2003	23-feb	Portal to handle all palm oil transactions	Local
2003	11-jun	Pan Century leads the way	Local
2004	4-feb	New initiatives paint batik in brighter colours	Local
2004	10-nov	The sustainability challenge	Local
2005	12-jun	Making the golden crop glitter..ZO: B -All Region	Local
2005	10-jul	A Malaysian success story..ZO: B -All Region	Local
2005	15-okt	UK propaganda campaign against palm oil..ZO: B -All Region	Local
2005	31-dec	Golden Hope transcends boundaries in search of new grounds	Local
2005	31-dec	Palm oil can light up biofuel advantage	Local
2006	8-jan	Maintaining Malaysia's LEAD IN BIO-FUEL	Local
2006	26-mrt	Now to win their hearts and minds	Local
2006	1-apr	Producers seek incentives	Local
2006	27-mei	A distortion of facts, by palm oil critics	Local
2006	24-jun	Get orang utan facts right, BBC told	Local
2006	28-jul	GHope plans biodiesel plants in China, S. Korea	Local
2006	7-aug	GHope on track to be major biodiesel supplier	Local
2006	13-aug	Branded ingredient' strategy the way to go	Local
2006	17-aug	HSBC boost for palm oil sector	Local
2006	2-dec	'Need for palm oil certification'	Local
2006	9-dec	KL, Jakarta forge palm oil agreement	Local
2007	10-jan	Mergers and biodiesel the commodity buzzwords	Local
2007	14-jan	Need for biofuel standard	Local
2007	15-jan	Palm oil-based food exporters may benef	Local
2007	3-feb	Sabri is palm oil board's new chairman	Local
2007	24-feb	The palm-oil advantage in biofuel	Local
2007	16-mrt	Turning palm oil waste into drinking water	Local
2007	21-mrt	Palm oil it is for S. Korea's Enertec	Local
2007	12-apr	CPO extends price gains on tight supply of edible oils	Local
2007	4-jun	Chin to allay fears in EU over oil palm cultivation	Local
2007	10-jun	Guidelines on sustainable oil palm cultivation	Local
2007	10-jun	We are producing palm oil the right way, says Chin	Local
2007	18-jun	Lobbyists in monkey suits pour scorn on palm oil	Local
2007	18-jun	Certification by 2010 to counter allegations	Local
2007	21-jun	Unveiling the green truth	Local
2007	30-jun	Time to cross the Rubicon	Local
2007	4-jul	PM: Ensure food makers have enough palm oil	Local
2007	6-jul	'Vegetable oil demand to boost Malaysia-EU trade'	Local
2007	7-jul	Palm oil exports to EU unlikely to remain low	Local
2007	11-jul	Biofuels: The Malaysian story	Local
2007	12-sep	Palm oil: Malaysian asset or liability?	Local

2007	20-okt	CPO futures prices soar to new high, further upside seen	Local
2007	19-nov	Global standards for sustainable palm oil out soon	Local
2007	20-nov	Terrorism against palm oil industry	Local
2007	21-nov	Synergy Drive committed to sustainable palm oil practices	Local
2007	23-nov	Sustaining palm oil markets	Local
2007	23-nov	Concern over smallholders' ability to meet standards	Local
2007	1-dec	'Palm oil players must practise RSPO standards'	Local
2007	11-dec	The Netherlands stops subsidies on imports of palm oil for bioenergy	Local
2007	12-dec	Dutch players buy less palm oil due to subsidy cut	Local
2007	17-dec	Export of 'green commodities' grows to RM63b in Jan-Sept	Local
2008	12-jan	Council defends ads, disappointed with UK action	Local
2008	25-jan	Raising oil palm yields	Local
2008	2-feb	Meeting global standards to market palm oil products	Local
2008	10-feb	Running on biodiesel	Local
2008	28-feb	Sustainability and future of palm oil	Local
2008	15-apr	Palm oil fund for saving orang utans	Local
2008	15-apr	Big planters ready to be certified	Local
2008	21-mei	Who's to blame for rising food prices?	Local
2008	22-aug	Business match-making sessions among highlights	Local
2008	28-aug	Milestone for United Plantations	Local
2008	7-sep	Winning 'em over with clean green	Local
2008	9-sep	Global meet to discuss future of palm oil	Local
2008	11-sep	Making profits, and breaking out of poverty	Local
2008	14-okt	Growth plan for plantation unit on track: Sime Darby	Local
2008	28-okt	Kulim expects cert for palm oil ops by year-end	Local
2008	8-nov	Malaysia, Indonesia to prop up CPO prices	Local
2008	13-nov	UP refutes Greenpeace, Wetlands claims	Local
2008	17-nov	Pressure mounts on palm oil producers	Local
2008	27-dec	Kulim setting SPO benchmarks	Local
2008	28-dec	Helping smallholders get fair prices	Local
2009	29-jan	More US food giants using heart-healthy palm oil	Local
2009	5-mrt	Future of palm oil remains bright	Local
2009	12-mrt	Wake-up call for Malaysian palm oil	Local
2009	8-apr	Consumers should not take palm oil for granted	Local
2009	14-apr	OSK raises call on Kulim on expected strong results	Local
2009	19-mei	Japan urged to use more palm biodiesel for transportation	Local

2009	27-meo	Kulim's UK refinery to boost viability in European market	Local
2009	6-jul	Healthier food and drinks with palm oil vitamins	Local
2009	11-okt	Lifeline for orang utans	Local
2009	23-okt	Palm oil industry must get out of denial mode	Local
2009	2-nov	Charges are without merit	Local
2009	2-nov	Face-off expected at palm oil roundtable talks	
2009	3-nov	What the critics don't understand	
2009	3-nov	Palm oil export earnings set to drop	
2009	6-nov	KL to fight palm oil ad ban	
2009	9-nov	No level playing field, only more rules	Analysis
2009	10-nov	Why this palm oil rant?	
2009	11-nov	All the NGOs want is responsible development	
2009	12-nov	Those palm oil charges are unfounded	
2009	16-nov	How palm oil helps feed an increasingly hungry world	
2009	1-dec	Green concerns or trade barriers?	
2009	8-dec	`Work with large plantations to get better rates'	Local
2009	15-dec	AmResearch: Planters may step up RSPO compliance	
2009	21-dec	Malaysia, Indonesia reject planting curbs at Copenhagen	
2009	30-dec	Commodity export earnings likely to fall	Local
2009	31-dec	Credibility of green groups questioned	Local
2010	13-jan	We're committed to palm oil sector	
2010	16-jan	Why palm oil does not deserve its bad press	
2010	26-jan	Govt mulls incentives for palm oil millers to be green IPPs	
2010	10-mrt	Palm oil exports likely to rise	
2010	19-mrt	`Educate consumers on sustainable production'	
2010	26-apr	Palm oil trade curbs perpetuate poverty	
2010	4-mei	KL, Jakarta to fight anti-palm oil lobby	
2010	10-mei	Report: EU directive biased	
2010	11-mei	April CPO exports show `normal fluctuation'	
2010	17-mei	Environmental concerns, latest trends top agenda	
2010	18-mei	Nestle: We'll decide after audit results	
2010	25-mei	Smallholders can help boost palm oil yield	
2010	28-mei	Palm oil trade a priority in FTA talks with EU	
2010	31-mei	Right to trade palm oil products `earned'	
2010	31-mei	EU lawmakers to look into palm oil discrimination claims	
2010	14-jun	Malaysian biofuel exports to EU `will grow'	
2010	11-aug	Palm oil the new cure?	Local
2010	16-aug	IOI beefs up US bulking facilities	
2010	1-okt	Stakeholders, NGOs to exchange views at palm oil meet	

2010	6-okt	Palm oil sustainable for 100 years	
2010	9-okt	Why does World Bank hate palm oil?	
2010	10-nov	SPOC oils path to higher yields	Local
2010	15-nov	Sustainability will win hearts and minds	
2010	29-nov	`World Bank straying from core purpose'	
2010	15-dec	Palm oil and reduced global warming	Local
2011	21-mrt	`EU not supporting NGOs against palm oil'	
2011	8-apr	IOI to come up with compensation scheme	
2011	12-apr	Put palm oil waste to better use	
2011	19-apr	Malaysia states case against Australia's palm oil labelling bill	
2011	2-mei	Europeans keen on biomass projects here	
2011	3-mei	Buffeted by challenges from all sides	
2011	10-mei	Get ISPO cert too, Malaysian oil palm planters told	
2011	16-mei	Allegations against IOI `just not true'	
2011	16-mei	Malaysia-Indonesia council to counter bad press on palm oil in the works	
2011	17-jun	Malaysia is largest producer of certified, sustainable palm oil	
2011	17-jun	Malaysia wins case against Aussie palm oil labelling Bil	
2011	25-jun	Grave concern	
2011	4-jul	For the love of the redheads?	Monday view
2011	1-aug	Malaysia plans own palm oil cert scheme	
2011	17-sep	Aussies wrong on palm oil labelling	
2011	24-sep	Pact to green palm oil mills	
2011	24-okt	From greenhouse gas to green energy	
2011	28-okt	Najib hails Canberra move (HL)	Local
2011	29-okt	Labelling bill unfair, Aussies told	
2011	2-nov	EU biofuel policy should be transparent	Local
2011	17-nov	Sky's the limit for palm oil	Local
2011	18-nov	Indonesia: Apply for palm oil cert from January	
2011	22-dec	Making palm oil sustainable	
2012	11-jan	Biofuels RED alert	Local
2012	15-jan	Work with govt, palm oil industry players urged	
2012	23-jan	`Don't single out palm oil'	
2012	8-mrt	Oil palm growers to push for change	
2012	9-mrt	Growers unhappy after being `sidelined'	
2012	10-mrt	Sustainable CPO prices	
2012	10-mrt	Growing uneasy over RSPO	
2012	16-mrt	More palm oil for hungry world	
2012	23-mrt	Woman's switch to higher income	Local
2012	24-mrt	More to oil palm than just palm oil	Viewpoint
2012	30-apr	Greener environment or protectionism?	
2012	11-mei	Have RSPO's objectives been derailed?	
2012	11-mei	Mission and vision to implement global	

		standards	
2012	15-mei	Labour shortage hits palm oil export earnings	
2012	8-jun	Palm oil a good source of renewable energy	
2012	15-jul	The heart-healthy palm oil	
2012	30-jul	Need to strengthen competitive advantage	Monday view
2012	3-aug	Top of the crop by 2013	
2012	3-aug	Palm oil now widely accepted	
2012	6-aug	Playing second fiddle no longer	Monday view
2012	2-sep	Noise makers should be certified	
2012	4-sep	Industry experts to converge on KL next week	
2012	11-sep	Palm oil prices likely to hit RM3,200 by year-end	
2012	14-sep	Firms building RM96m oleo-derivatives plant	
2012	30-sep	French paradox in negative labelling of palm oil	
2012	12-okt	Nearly 1m work in oil palm industry	
2012	17-okt	Mielke sees prices rising to RM3,300	
2012	21-okt	US will find palm oil best biofuel	
2012	30-okt	Milestones, unresolved issues await participants	
2012	31-okt	Proposal to tighten standards	
2012	1-nov	Singapore banks urged to join RSPO	
2012	2-nov	Attempt fails to strike a chord	
2012	3-nov	More firms opt for certification	
2012	4-nov	Go for just 33pc forest cover	
2012	5-nov	Sustainability makes the world a better place	Monday view
2012	6-nov	Do more to defend palm oil, RSPO told	
2012	6-nov	UM inventors help solve palm oil mill woes	
2012	9-nov	Palm oil transforms economic landscape	
2012	21-nov	RSPO reminder to EU,France on green palm oil	
2012	31-dec	Felcra a success story in rural transformation	Local
2013	22-apr	Oil palm growers slam electronic voting `bias'	
2013	23-apr	`Address greenhouse gas issue now'	
2013	25-apr	WWF agenda punishing the poor	Viewpoint
2013	29-apr	WWF backs revised standards	
2013	16-mei	Don't quit RSPO, MPOA urged	
2013	18-jun	New threats to palm oil	Local
2013	27-jun	Multi-faceted barriers to trade	
2013	5-jul	Sime set to get RSPO clearance	
2013	26-jul	Headway in palm oil research	
2013	31-jul	NGOs talk to palm oil players	Local
2013	12-aug	Our planters unfairly blamed	Local
2013	4-sep	Palm oil trade barriers a priority issue	
2013	9-sep	Analysts mixed on MSPO standard	
2013	3-okt	Breakthrough in oil palm research	Local
2013	25-okt	Road map for humanity's survival	Local
2013	12-nov	11th RSPO meet draws over 600 delegates	
2013	13-nov	Destiny lies in the hands of 3 women	Local

2013	13-nov	RSPO plays key role in sustainable palm oil	
2013	16-nov	Demand for sustainable palm oil to hit 9m tonnes	
2013	20-nov	CPO price trending up	
2013	20-nov	Huge potential, opportunities in oil palm cultivation	
2013	15-dec	Growing demand for plam oil	
2014	2-jan	Demand for CPO likely to be resilient, says dealer	
2014	13-jan	Palm oil standards: Let cool heads prevail	Monday view
2014	22-jan	TDM upbeat on hitting RM1b revenue by 2021	
2014	24-jan	Wilmar pledge merely wishful thinking?	
2014	4-feb	Disguised trade barriers harm palm oil exports	
2014	10-feb	WWF-Malaysia works with all	Letters
2014	17-feb	Commodity alliance proves to be sustainable	Monday view
2014	5-mrt	Innovative trading products to drive sector	
2014	5-mrt	Bullish palm oil prospects	
2014	5-mrt	Diversify into niche areas, planters told	
2014	17-mrt	Trade coercion on palm oil imports	Viewpoint
2014	3-apr	Govt devises strategies to counter anti-palm oil campaigns	
2014	14-apr	Call to commit to sustainable palm oil	
2014	24-apr	Sarawak oil palm planters back MSPO	
2014	5-mei	A young player amid giants	
2014	22-mei	Let science light Asean's way	Local
2014	9-jun	RSPO certification best option to protect environment	
2014	10-jun	Global marketplace for futures	
2014	20-jun	Better mart access with MPOCS	
2014	23-jun	RM50m to be set aside for smallholders	
2014	1-jul	From `dirty' gas to clean energy	
2014	31-jul	Advanced combustion, hybrid route or both?	Viewpoint
2014	20-aug	Time to create strong Malaysian palm oil brand, says MPOC	
2014	10-sep	NGOs continue to bash palm oil	
2014	6-nov	Meeting demand	
2014	20-nov	RSPO keen to collaborate on certification	
2014	24-nov	'Huge potential in palm oil downstream sector'	
2014	24-nov	Need to bolster palm oil defence	
2014	4-dec	Nash: Belgium's label against palm oil illegal	
2015	17-jan	'No Palm Oil' labels misleading	
2015	19-jan	Govt in talks with stakeholders on B10 launch	
2015	26-jan	Fruitful yield from designer seeds	
2015	29-jan	Sime secures NBPOL, finally	
2015	9-feb	Palm oil smear campaign hits home ground	
2015	23-feb	Jointly defending palm oil industry	Comment
2015	3-mrt	Sime Darby unit adds 135,000ha to total	

			landbank	
2015	29-mrt		Capturing life in oil palm plantations	
2015	27-apr		Asean remains a top priority	
2015	19-mei		Palm oil should not be seen as a threat	
2015	9-jun		B10 plan expected to be implemented nationwide by Oct	
2015	11-jun		Sime Darby remains optimistic	
2015	22-jun		Palm oil a matter of national security	Comment
2015	31-jul		Future growth through innovation	
2015	9-sep		MPOC launches Europe campaign to counter myths	
2015	22-sep		DPM calls for continuous innovation in halal sector	
2015	25-sep		Palm Oil Bootcamp exposes undergraduates to palm oil industry	
2015	5-okt		Nations to set up palm oil council	
2015	12-okt		Nod for palm oil council	
2015	17-okt		Sarawak rejects trade barriers	
2015	13-nov		RSPO lauds Sabah for its CPO sustainability	
2015	20-nov		Biomass energises green sector, says Adenan	
2015	22-nov		KL, Jakarta form palm oil council	
2015	24-nov		FGV chief: RSPO fails to adequately help smallholders' issues	
2015	24-nov		Sime sees higher palm oil prices	
2015	30-nov		'CPOPC will lead to win-win situation'	

APPENDIX 2: TABLE OF MALAYSIAN FRAMES (TOTAL)

TOTALS	'00	'01	'02	'03	'04	'05	'06	'07	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	'14	'15	TOT.
1: PROUD PALM OIL PRODUCER	0	2	0	1	2	5	11	25	25	21	24	12	25	11	15	15	194
1.1 Malaysia as a proud producer	0	2	0	1	2	3	5	15	16	12	14	10	16	6	9	9	120
1.2 Palm oil is more sustainable than other oils	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	8	5	7	5	1	8	4	4	5	53
1.3 It is not because of us	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	1	5	0	0	0	1	0	12
1.4 Malaysia is ahead of Indonesia	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	9
2: WESTERN BOYCOTT	0	0	0	1	1	1	7	18	20	17	38	12	18	10	15	18	176
2.1 The palm oil sector is being blackmailed	0	0	0	1	1	1	6	15	16	14	23	10	12	5	11	13	128
2.2 Western opinions based on no evidence	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	3	15	2	6	5	4	5	48
3: DELIBERATIVE SPACE - SUPPORT OR DOMINANCE?	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	12	16	12	15	12	19	17	18	8	134
3.1 Changing perception on the RSPO	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	7	7	8	6	7	15	14	14	7	89
3.2 Dictatorial influences in deliberation	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	9	4	9	5	4	3	4	1	45
4: SECURING COMPETITIVENESS	0	4	1	2	2	2	9	19	11	5	13	7	7	4	10	13	109
4.1 Efficiency and innovation are the future	0	4	0	1	2	2	6	9	4	5	8	4	5	1	6	7	64
4.2 International cooperation is essential	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	10	7	0	5	3	2	3	4	6	45
5: DARK SIDE OF PALM OIL	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	4	10	11	4	2	1	3	3	3	44
5.1 Small actors are victimized by the big boys	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	5	3	1	1	1	1	2	21

5.2 Intentions of Malaysian actors are questionable	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	1	1	0	2	1	1	15
5.3 The government is 'in business' regarding palm oil	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	8

APPENDIX 3: TABLE OF MALAYSIAN FRAMES (PER NEWSPAPER)

The Star	'00	'01	'02	'03	'04	'05	'06	'07	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	'14	'15	TOTAL
1: PROUD PALM OIL PRODUCER	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	0	5	1	1	0	5	1	18
1.1 Malaysia as a proud producer	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	1	0	4	0	11
1.2 Palm oil is more sustainable than other oils	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
1.3 It is not because of us	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
1.4 Malaysia is ahead of Indonesia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	4
2: WESTERN BOYCOTT	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	6	0	1	0	2	1	15
2.1 The palm oil sector is being blackmailed	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	1	0	1	1	9
2.2 Western opinions based on no evidence	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	6
3: DELIBERATIVE SPACE - SUPPORT OR DOMINANCE?	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	1	2	10
3.1 Changing perception on the RSPO	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	5
3.2 Dictatorial influences in deliberation	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	5
4: SECURING COMPETITIVENESS	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	2	6
4.1 Efficiency and innovation are the future	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	4
4.2 International cooperation is essential	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
5: DARK SIDE OF PALM OIL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.1 Small actors are victimized by the big boys	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

5.2 Intentions of Malaysian actors are questionable	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.3 The government is 'in business' regarding palm oil	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Malaysiakini	'00	'01	'02	'03	'04	'05	'06	'07	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	'14	'15	TOTAL
1: PROUD PALM OIL PRODUCER	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	7	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	14
1.1 Malaysia as a proud producer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	8
1.2 Palm oil is more sustainable than other oils	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1.3 It is not because of us	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
1.4 Malaysia is ahead of Indonesia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
2: WESTERN BOYCOTT	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	7	1	9	2	0	0	1	2	25
2.1 The palm oil sector is being blackmailed	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	6	1	5	0	0	0	1	2	17
2.2 Western opinions based on no evidence	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	8
3: DELIBERATIVE SPACE - SUPPORT OR DOMINANCE?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	11
3.1 Changing perception on the RSPO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	6
3.2 Dictatorial influences in deliberation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
4: SECURING COMPETITIVENESS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	5
4.1 Efficiency and innovation are the future	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
4.2 International cooperation is essential	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
5: DARK SIDE OF PALM OIL	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	4	3	1	1	2	3	3	24

5.1 Small actors are victimized by the big boys	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	2	2	0	1	0	1	2	12
5.2 Intentions of Malaysian actors are questionable	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	1	0	2	1	1	10
5.3 The government is 'in business' regarding palm oil	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2

<u>New Straits Times</u>	'00	'01	'02	'03	'04	'05	'06	'07	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	'14	'15	TOTAL
1: PROUD PALM OIL PRODUCER	0	2	0	0	2	5	9	23	15	21	16	11	24	11	10	13	162
1.1 Malaysia as a proud producer	0	2	0	0	2	3	5	13	10	12	10	10	15	6	5	8	101
1.2 Palm oil is more sustainable than other oils	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	8	4	7	5	1	8	4	4	4	51
1.3 It is not because of us	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	5
1.4 Malaysia is ahead of Indonesia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	5
2: WESTERN BOYCOTT	0	0	0	0	1	1	6	16	11	14	23	10	17	10	12	15	136
2.1 The palm oil sector is being blackmailed	0	0	0	0	1	1	5	14	9	12	15	10	11	5	9	10	102
2.2 Western opinions based on no evidence	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	2	8	0	6	5	3	5	34
3: DELIBERATIVE SPACE - SUPPORT OR DOMINANCE?	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	10	12	10	12	9	19	15	17	6	113
3.1 Changing perception on the RSPO	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	6	7	7	5	4	15	12	13	6	78
3.2 Dictatorial influences in deliberation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	5	3	7	5	4	3	4	0	35
4: SECURING COMPETITIVENESS	0	4	1	2	2	2	8	19	8	4	11	6	7	4	9	11	98
4.1 Efficiency and innovation are the future	0	4	0	1	2	2	6	9	3	4	6	4	5	1	5	6	58
4.2 International cooperation is essential	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	10	5	0	5	2	2	3	4	5	40

5: SHADOW SIDES OF PALM OIL	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	7	7	1	1	0	1	0	0	20
5.1 Small actors are victimized by the big boys	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	1	1	0	1	0	0	9
5.2 Intentions of Malaysian actors are questionable	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
5.3 The government is 'in business' regarding palm oil	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6

APPENDIX 4: E-MAIL RESPONSES DUTCH JOURNALISTS

<[REDACTED]@Trouw.nl> wo 2016-03-30 17:43

Aan: Kraamwinkel, Duif;

Geachte mevrouw Kraamwinkel,

Dank voor uw verzoek. Helaas kan ik er niet op ingaan, het spijt me. Allereerst omdat de collega die tot voor kort wel eens over palmolie schreef, onlangs met pensioen ging. Daarnaast lijkt het me voor u veel effectiever om gewoon te lezen wat diverse media publiceerden over palmolie en daaruit uw eigen conclusies te trekken.

Als ik me niet vergis is de ronde tafel RSPO een van oorsprong Nederlands initiatief en is de voorzitter ook een Nederlander. Die lijkt me een veel betere gesprekspartner voor u omdat die vast ook iets kan zeggen over berichtgeving door andere Nederlandse media - want daar gaan wij natuurlijk weer niet over.

Ik wens u veel succes met uw onderzoek!

Met vriendelijke groet,

[REDACTED]

<[REDACTED]@nrc.nl> do 2016-03-31 10:19

Aan: Kraamwinkel, Duif;

Beste Duif Kraamwinkel,

Het spijt mij, maar helaas kan ik weinig voor je betekenen. Ik ben al sinds vijf jaar werkzaam als medisch redacteur bij NRC Handelsblad en houd mij dus helemaal niet meer bezig met duurzame palmolie. Binnen onze krant zou je misschien beter met [REDACTED] van de redactie economie kunnen praten ([REDACTED]@nrc.nl).

Met vriendelijke groet,

[REDACTED]

<[REDACTED]@nrc.nl> do 2016-03-31 15:43

Aan: Kraamwinkel, Duif;

Beste Duif,

Op veel gebieden ben ik wellicht een 'interessant persoon', maar ik vrees dat ik van palmolie weinig afweet en er zelden over heb geschreven.

Degene die daar wel met enige regelmaat over schrijft, is onze correspondent in Indonesië: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED], te bereiken via: [REDACTED]@nrc.nl

Succes ermee,

[REDACTED]

<[REDACTED]@volkskrant.nl> ma 2016-04-04 14:24

Aan: Kraamwinkel, Duif;

Beste Duif

Ik weet niet of ik je kan helpen, het is niet mijn specialiteit. Bovendien werk ik nu niet meer op de economieredactie waar ik veel over duurzame handel schreef, maar op de buitenlandredactie.

Met vriendelijke groet,

[REDACTED]

<[REDACTED]@trouw.nl> ma 2016-04-25 13:27

Aan: Kraamwinkel, Duif;

Beste Duif,

Dank voor je herinneringsmail. Ik ben druk met een project en daarom was het er nog niet van gekomen.

Ik heb in de afgelopen jaren nauwelijks over palmolie geschreven en weet er te weinig van. Mijn collega [REDACTED] des te meer. [REDACTED] heeft vele jaren voor Trouw Groen over voeding geschreven. Hij is zeer recent met pensioen gegaan, maar wellicht kan hij je - als hij dat wil - ontmoeten en je vragen beantwoorden.

Ik stuur deze mail in CC aan hem, dan heb je meteen ook zijn privé mailadres.

Ik hoop dat het lukt. Excuus voor de vertraging.

Met vriendelijke groet,

[REDACTED]

<[REDACTED]@volkskrant.nl> ma 2016-04-25 15:04

Aan: Kraamwinkel, Duif;

Beste Duif,

Het is alweer een tijdje geleden dat ik me echt met duurzaamheid en palmolie heb beziggehouden. En nooit heel intensief. Dus ik zou er niet voor pleiten om mij te kiezen voor zo'n gesprek.

Groet,

██████████

██████████@planet.nl> ma 2016-04-25 16:07

Aan: Kraamwinkel, Duif;

Hallo Duif,

Ik weet niet of ik je kan helpen. Ik ben er al weer bijna een jaar uit. Ik volg het dus niet meer zo op de voet als in mijn tijd als Trouw-redacteur. Bovendien heb ik als redacteur ook niet veel aandacht aan palmolie en duurzaamheid geschonken. Het onderwerp heeft weinig nieuwswaarde voor een landelijk dagblad. Het is ook een onderwerp dat ver van ieders bed ligt, in ieder geval in de beeldvorming. Die beeldvorming heb ik een paar maal willen doorbreken, als een van de weinigen in NL. Ik schat dat ik in de afgelopen jaren driemaal een verhaal heb gepubliceerd.

We kunnen altijd afspreken als je dat per se wilt, maar hou je verwachtingen laag. Ik woon in Utrecht, dus als je daar naar toe wilt komen is mijn drempel al vast lager.

Ik hoor het wel.

Vriendelijke groet,

██████████

██████████.nl vr 2016-04-29 11:45

Aan: Kraamwinkel, Duif;

Dag Duif,

Excuus voor mijn late reactie.

Ik moet je teleurstellen: ik heb niet echt zinnige antwoorden op je vragen. Ik heb - bijvoorbeeld - geen idee wat de verschillen zijn tussen de Europese en Aziatische perspectieven t.a.v. de palmolie-industrie en palmolie is een onderwerp waar relatief weinig media aandacht voor is.

Het spijt me.

Groet en succes,

██████████ VrijNederland

APPENDIX 5: DUTCH ARTICLE SAMPLE

Newspaper	Year	Date	Title	Section
De Telegraaf	2007	30-jun	Certificering kan palmolie over jaren duurzaam maken	Financiële Telegraaf Financiële Telegraaf Financiële Telegraaf Wetenschap
	2007	30-okt	Certificaat voor palmolie in maak	
	2009	19-nov	'Europa betaalt te weinig voor duurzame palmolie'	
	2009	21-nov	Verkade 'duurzaam' ten strijde tegen huismerken	
	2010	7-apr	Unilever 'dwingt' fabrikant palmolie tot duurzaamheid	
	2010	27-nov	Broodje Aap	
NRC Handelsblad	2004	25-mei	Succes palmolie leidt tot wildgroei aan plantages	Economie
	2005	22-aug	Biobrandstof kan milieu sterk schaden	Opinie
	2008	17-mei	Ze zijn zo mooi, zo vredelievend'; Het verhaal van bosbouwkundige Willie Smits(51) over zijn reddingsplan voor de orang-oetan	Zaterdag bijvoegsel
	2008	21-mei	'Hoge CO -kosten Unilever' 2	Economie
	2008	10-nov	Minder bomen kappen voor pakje boter; Duurzaamheid Unilever streeft naar duurzame palmolie in elk product, Greenpeace is sceptisch	Economie
	2009	11-dec	Unilever ziet af van 'foute' palmolie	Economie
	2010	10-jul	Stijf, smeerbaar of stroperig; wetenschap scheikunde	Wetenschap
	2010	2-sep	Regenwoud wijkt voor 'foute' margarine en zeep Unilever op kop met duurzame palmolie; Toenemende druk op fabrikanten om hun productielijnen door te lichten op de bijdrage aan ontbossing	Economie
	2010	11-sep	Blij met een nieuwe snoepreep	Wetenschap
	2013	22-nov	Vergaderen over betere olie	Wetenschap
	2014	15-mrt	Duurzaamheid Liever dode apen dan roos in je haar?	Opinie & Debat
	2014	26-sep	Reis door kaalslag en verwoesting; Het oerwoud, kilometer 240	Het grote verhaal
	2015	15-apr	Duurzaam Unilever promoot schone handen	Economie
	2015	19-sep	Indonesië brandt voor palmolie	Economie
Trouw	2005	25-apr	We hebben palmboter op ons hoofd Borneo	De verdieping
	2007	30-jun	Commissie: Essent moet palmolie duurzaam maken	Economie
	2007	9-nov	'Palmolie-producenten verzaken duurzaamheid'	Wereld
	2008	17-jul	AH op termijn over op duurzame palmolie	Economie
	2008	12-nov	Palmoliefeestje ruw verstoord door Greenpeace; Duurzaam produceren Producent United Plantations wacht onderzoek	Economie

	2009	29-okt	Bedrijven negeren duurzame palmolie	Economie	
	2010	25-feb	Unilever laat malafide palmolie links liggen; 'Indonesische producent kapt beschermd regenwoud'	Economie	
	2011	31-jan	De rijzende ster van palmolie	De verdieping	
	2011	10-feb	Producent van palmolie laat oerbos staan	De verdieping	
	2011	7-apr	Suikerpalm als redder van het regenwoud	Duurzaamheid & Natuur	
	2011	13-apr	Margarine bevat eind dit jaar alleen nog duurzame palmolie	Economie	
	2011	15-sep	Duurzame palmolie is te duur en dus niet in trek	Buitenland	
	2011	20-dec	Verhagen: Importheffingen duurzame palmolie afschaffen	Economie	
	2013	24-apr	Unilever sneller duurzaam dan voorzien	Economie	
	2013	9-sep	Steeds meer palmolie verdwijnt in de benzinetank	Duurzaamheid & Natuur	
	2013	12-nov	Concerns willen zelf duurzaam	Duurzaamheid & Natuur	
	2014	5-jun	Aandeel duurzame palmolie in voeding groeit gestaag door	Duurzaamheid & Natuur	
	2015	11-nov	Betere wereld door betere boodschappen	Opinie	
	De Volkskrant	2005	27-aug	Palmolie verhit gemoederen in milieudebat ; Volgens milieuorganisaties verplaatst Electrabel problemen naar ontwikkelingslanden door centrales op Indonesische biomassa te stoken	Economie
		2005	27-aug	'Derde Wereld opgezadeld met Nederlands milieuprobleem'	Binnenland
2005		27-sep	Palmolie kan alternatieve energiebron zijn, zonder ontbossing als hoge prijs	Forum	
2006		2-sep	Er zit een luchtje aan de wonderolie; Energieteelt Palmolie geldt als alternatieve energiebron, maar de plantages schaden mens, bos en dier	Kennis	
2006		14-dec	Essent schort bijstoken palmolie op	Economie	
2007		9-mrt	Milieuzorg is verkapt protectionisme'; Maleisische palmolieboer Basiron noemt kritiek Nederlandse milieuorganisaties op palmolie 'te gemakkelijk'	Economie	
2007		13-jul	De zeep van The Body Shop is voortaan groen; Interview Duurzame zeep	Economie	
2007		30-okt	Geen relatie palmolie en ontbossing'; Interview Anton Apriyantono	Economie	
2007		30-okt	Subsidie voor biomassa financiert de verwoesting van het oerbos	Forum	
2007		17-nov	Hand in hand het klimaat redden; Milieuorganisaties en bedrijfsleven sluiten coalities om de uitstoot van broeikasgassen terug te dringen	Economie	
2008		3-mei	Unilever: alleen duurzame palmolie	Economie	
2008		11-nov	'Ik weet niet wat voor bos dat was'	Economie	

2008	11-nov	Luchtje aan 'duurzame' palmolie; Palmolie Greenpeace: leverancier kapt ook regenwoud en voldoet dus niet aan eisen	Economie
2008	15-nov	Als het regenwoud allang verdwenen is, is de palmolie oké	Economie
2009	5-sep	Unilever stoot plantages voor palmolie in Congo af	Economie
2009	31-okt	Weinig aftrek 'goede' palmolie	Economie
2009	12-dec	Unilever breekt met palmoliegigant; consumenten illegale kap regenwoud reden voor multinational om leverancier aan de kant te zetten	Economie
2010	6-mrt	Gezichtsverzorging zonder palmolie; Spul	Economie
2010	13-mrt	Bas Haring	Kennis
2010	22-mrt	Nestlé onder vuur om gebruik 'foute' palmolie; Accent Verdwijnde oerbossen	Economie
2010	17-apr	Nieuws	Economie
2010	2-nov	Palmolie in 2015 'duurzaam'	Economie
2011	19-jan	Nieuws	Economie
2011	16-sep	Biodiesel tegen verdrukking in; reportage biobrandstoffenfabriek NESTE fel bekritiseerd	Economie
2011	4-nov	Duurzame palmolie loopt aan tegen protectionisme; import/export	Economie
2011	22-nov	Supermarkt kan beter met palmolie	Economie
2012	25-apr	Palmolie Unilever voortaan duurzaam	Economie
2014	28-jun	Van tropisch regenwoud tot mueslireep	Economie
2015	19-sep	Werken aan een betere palmoliereputatie	Economie
2015	28-nov	Een biologische kruidnoot is niet automatisch beter	Economie

APPENDIX 6: TABLE OF DUTCH FRAMES (TOTAL)

Totals	'00	'01	'02	'03	'04	'05	'06	'07	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	'14	'15	TOTAL
1: NGOS, THE BENCHMARK FOR SUSTAINABILITY	0	0	0	0	0	5	2	2	8	5	4	9	0	4	2	3	44
1.1 Good intentions of the RSPO are questionable	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	3	2	4	0	2	2	3	22
1.2 Environmental NGOs influence society	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	11
1.3 Palm oil as a biofuel is a bad idea	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	0	1	4	0	1	0	0	11
2: PROUD PALM OIL CONSUMER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	5	7	3	1	4	2	0	27
2.1 Unilever, market leader in sustainability	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	4	5	2	1	2	2	0	21
2.2 Sustainability protects competitiveness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	2	0	0	6
3: PROBLEMS ORIGINATE BEYOND OUR SPHERE OF INFLUENCE	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	4	3	3	1	0	2	5	3	27
3.1 Palm oil production happens unsustainable	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	11
3.2 The real problem is growing demand	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	2	1	0	1	2	0	10
3.3 The palm oil chain is intransparent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	6
4: THE RESPONSIBLE WEST	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	3	3	2	1	4	0	1	0	1	19
4.1 We need to take responsibility	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	9
4.2 Western companies should take the lead in the educational process	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	5
4.3 They perceive us as green colonists	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	5

APPENDIX 7: TABLE OF DUTCH FRAMES (PER NEWSPAPER)

De Telegraaf	'00	'01	'02	'03	'04	'05	'06	'07	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	'14	'15	TOTAL
1: NGOS, THE BENCHMARK FOR SUSTAINABILITY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1.1 Good intentions of the RSPO are questionable	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1.2 Environmental NGOs influence society	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1.3 Palm oil as a biofuel is a bad idea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2: PROUD PALM OIL CONSUMER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	4
2.1 Unilever, market leader in sustainability	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
2.2 Sustainability protects competitiveness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
3: PROBLEMS ORIGINATE BEYOND OUR SPHERE OF INFLUENCE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
3.1 Palm oil production happens unsustainable	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
3.2 The real problem is growing demand	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
3.3 The palm oil chain is intransparent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
4: THE RESPONSIBLE WEST	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
4.1 We need to take responsibility	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
4.2 Western companies should take the lead in the educational process	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.3 They perceive us as green colonists	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

NRC Handelsblad	'00	'01	'02	'03	'04	'05	'06	'07	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	'14	'15	TOTAL
1: NGOS, THE BENCHMARK FOR SUSTAINABILITY	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	7
1.1 Good intentions of the RSPO are questionable	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
1.2 Environmental NGOs influence society	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
1.3 Palm oil as a biofuel is a bad idea	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
2: PROUD PALM OIL CONSUMER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	6
2.1 Unilever, market leader in sustainability	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	5
2.2 Sustainability protects competitiveness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
3: PROBLEMS ORIGINATE BEYOND OUR SPHERE OF INFLUENCE	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	1	3	2	12
3.1 Palm oil production happens unsustainable	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	5
3.2 The real problem is growing demand	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	3
3.3 The palm oil chain is intransparent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	4
4: THE RESPONSIBLE WEST	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	4
4.1 We need to take responsibility	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
4.2 Western companies should take the lead in the educational process	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
4.3 They perceive us as green colonists	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1

Trouw	`00	`01	`02	`03	`04	`05	`06	`07	`08	`09	`10	`11	`12	`13	`14	`15	TOTAL
1: NGOS, THE BENCHMARK FOR SUSTAINABILITY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	5	0	3	1	1	12
1.1 Good intentions of the RSPO are questionable	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	1	1	1	7
1.2 Environmental NGOs influence society	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
1.3 Palm oil as a biofuel is a bad idea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	3
2: PROUD PALM OIL CONSUMER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	3	0	0	6
2.1 Unilever, market leader in sustainability	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	3
2.2 Sustainability protects competitiveness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	3
3: PROBLEMS ORIGINATE BEYOND OUR SPHERE OF INFLUENCE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	4
3.1 Palm oil production happens unsustainable	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
3.2 The real problem is growing demand	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
3.3 The palm oil chain is intransparent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
4: THE RESPONSIBLE WEST	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	9
4.1 We need to take responsibility	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	5
4.2 Western companies should take the lead in the educational process	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
4.3 They perceive us as green colonists	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2

De Volkskrant	'00	'01	'02	'03	'04	'05	'06	'07	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	'14	'15	TOTAL
1: NGOS, THE BENCHMARK FOR SUSTAINABILITY	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	1	5	3	3	4	0	0	1	2	25
1.1 Good intentions of the RSPO are questionable	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	2	2	0	0	1	2	12
1.2 Environmental NGOs influence society	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
1.3 Palm oil as a biofuel is a bad idea	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	7
2: PROUD PALM OIL CONSUMER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	2	1	1	0	1	0	11
2.1 Unilever, market leader in sustainability	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	2	1	1	0	1	0	11
2.2 Sustainability protects competitiveness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3: PROBLEMS ORIGINATE BEYOND OUR SPHERE OF INFLUENCE	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	7
3.1 Palm oil production happens unsustainable	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
3.2 The real problem is growing demand	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4
3.3 The palm oil chain is intransparent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4: THE RESPONSIBLE WEST	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	5
4.1 We need to take responsibility	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
4.2 Western companies should take the lead in the educational process	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
4.3 They perceive us as green colonists	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

APPENDIX 8: LIST OF ORIGINAL DUTCH QUOTES

Frame package 1

1.1

“Natuurbeschermer Willy Smits, die al meer dan dertig jaar op Borneo woont, zei in 2011 tegen Trouw weinig vertrouwen te hebben in de RSPO. “De stappen die worden gezet, zijn te klein. Het gaat te langzaam. Als we wachten tot 2015 is al het laaglandbos verdwenen.” Ook stelt hij dat RSPO-criteria niet werken in landen waar corruptie welig tiert. Er is geen sprake van dat naleving van deze regels wordt afgedwongen.” (Trouw, 04-06-2014)

“Vijf jaar lang heeft de palmolie-sector de kans gekregen om te werken aan een meer duurzame productie van palmolie. Onder leiding van Unilever hebben bedrijven en maatschappelijke organisaties een, volgens Greenpeace, mislukte poging gedaan de palmoliemarkt te verduurzamen. Het overleg in de zogeheten Ronde Tafel voor duurzame palmolie, goed voor 200 leden en 40 procent van de totale palmolieproductie, heeft echter een verwaarloosbare invloed gehad op het tegengaan van de ontbossing.” (Trouw, 09-11-2007)

1.2

“Nadat Greenpeace opnieuw een vernietigend rapport over dit Indonesische bedrijf had uitgebracht, schortte Unilever zijn contract met Sinar Mas op. Het ging om 40 miljoen dollar (31 miljoen euro), goed voor 3 procent van Unilevers palmolie-inkoop. ‘Die opschorting heeft internationaal echt voor een schokgolf gezorgd’, zegt Suzanne Kröger van Greenpeace en medeverantwoordelijk voor het rapport.” (NRC, 02-09-2010)

“Sinds het bedrijfsleven het klimaatprobleem heeft ontdekt, poogt het zijn duurzame imago op te krikken. Enkele bedrijven, zoals Triodos Bank, Body Shop en Max Havelaar hebben al een authentiek duurzaam imago [...] andere bedrijven moeten samenwerkingsverbanden sluiten met milieuorganisaties als WNF of Natuurmonumenten. Door deze vorm van ‘co-branding’ lenen ze een duurzaam imago. [...] De innige omhelzing van bedrijven en milieuorganisaties heeft inderdaad risico’s [...] ‘Maar’, zegt van de Gronden, ‘we lopen niet direct weg als het een keer tegen zit.’ Neem de discussie over de palmolie bij energiebedrijf Essent. Met palmolie wekte Essent groene stroom op, die door het WNF werd gepromoot. Maar om het verbouwen van extra palmolie mogelijk te maken, werd tropisch bos gekapt. ‘Opeens werd palmolie verketterd’, zegt Van der Gronden. ‘Wij hebben Essent niet laten vallen, maar intensief overleg gevoerd om tot een oplossing te komen.’” (Volkskrant, 17-11-2007)

1.3

“Ook de door Westerse overheden gecreëerde vraag naar biobrandstoffen - van palmolie kan biodiesel worden gemaakt - leidt tot een nog grotere druk op het regenwoud.” (Volkskrant, 15-11-2008)

“In de hele Europese Unie is het gebruik van palmolie als brandstof met 365 procent gestegen. Dit blijkt uit een studie van het International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD) en het Global Subsidies Initiative (GSI). Volgens Friends of the Earth Europe, de koepel boven Milieudefensie die om de studie heeft gevraagd, leidt het toegenomen gebruik tot grote milieuproblemen en sociale misstanden op plantages. Ook draagt het indirect bij aan klimaatverandering. De westerse honger naar biobrandstoffen leidt tot de aanleg van steeds meer

plantages in Indonesië en Maleisië. Daarbij wordt op grote schaal tropisch regenwoud gekapt en platgebrand, wat leidt tot extra uitstoot van broeikasgassen.” (Trouw, 09-09-2013)

Frame package 2

“Nederland is het eerste land ter wereld waar het bedrijfsleven zich onverdeeld uitspreekt voor duurzame palmolie.” (Volkskrant, 02-11-2010)

2.1

“Bijna tweederde van die 587 duizend certificaten werd gekocht door Unilever. Ook daarmee loopt het bedrijf voor op concurrenten als Procter & Gamble (Head & Shoulders, Pringles, Oral-B), dat via Greenpalm helemaal geen palmoliecertificaten heeft gekocht.” (NRC, 02-09-2010)

“Unilever koopt vanaf eind dit jaar alleen nog palmolie in met een duurzaamheidscertificaat. Dat is drie jaar eerder dan tot nu toe het plan was. Bovendien belooft het bedrijf vanaf 2020 alleen nog palmolie te betrekken bij traceerbare bronnen.” (Volkskrant, 25-04-2012)

“Unilever, 's werelds grootste afnemer van palmolie, heeft met onmiddellijke ingang het contract opgezegd met het Indonesische bedrijf Sinar Mas. Dit conglomeraat, de op een na grootste leverancier van palmolie ter wereld, heeft op Sumatra en Kalimantan op grote schaal illegaal regenwoud gekapt voor zijn plantages. Het is de eerste keer dat een multinational een dergelijk contract, dat een waarde heeft van tientallen miljoenen dollars, om deze reden opschort.” (NRC, 29-09-2015)

2.2

“In de laatste vijf jaren zie je dat steeds meer grote bedrijven als Mars, Nestlé, Friesland Campina en Hennis & Maurits uit angst voor een gebrek aan grondstoffen duurzaamheid als een belangrijke pijler van hun bedrijfsbeleid beschouwen. Je ziet dat er grote stappen worden gezet. Er is echt iets gaande dat tot voor kort nog onmogelijk was.” (Trouw, 12-11-2013)

“Deze zoektocht naar grondstoffen, die met zorg voor de mens en zijn leefomgeving worden geteeld, legt Unilever geen windeieren. De omzet is in de laatste vier jaar met bijna 28 procent gestegen, van 40 naar 51 miljard euro. Duurzaamheid betekent groei.” (Trouw, 24-04-2013)

Frame package 3

3.1

“Zo leidt het verbouwen van oliepalmen en soja (in Zuidoost-Azie en Zuid-Amerika) vaak tot onherstelbare schade aan kwetsbare ecosystemen, zoals tropische regenwouden en savannen. De grote plantages voor soja en oliepalmen botsen vaak met de landrechten van de lokale bevolking. En er wordt kwistig met kunstmest en pesticiden gestrooid, met alle gevolgen van dien voor werknemers en milieu. De arbeidsomstandigheden zijn vaak ver beneden de standaarden van de ILO, de Internationale Arbeidsorganisatie van de Verenigde Naties.” (NRC, 22-08-2005)

“De problemen bij de productie van palmolie zijn immens. In de eerste plaats verdringen de plantages in sneltempo het oorspronkelijke regenwoud in Zuidoost-Azië. [...] Grenzen zijn moeizaam te controleren, waardoor illegale kap moeilijk is te voorkomen met als gevolg: verlies van biodiversiteit en het leefgebied van de oorspronkelijke bewoners, zoals de orang-oetans. Het platbranden van de bossen leidt tot extra uitstoot van broeikasgassen. Daarnaast zijn er tal van

sociale conflicten op de plantages; landroof, gedwongen onteigening, slechte betaling, bedenkelijke arbeidsomstandigheden en misbruik van chemicaliën.” (Volkskrant, 28-06-2014)

“Critici stellen dat het al veel zou helpen als alleen de huidige wetgeving goed zou worden gehandhaafd. De overheid in Maleisië heeft een flinke vinger in de pap bij de bedrijven die palmolie produceren en kan dus makkelijk orde op zaken stellen, zo vinden zij.” (Telegraaf, 19-11-2009)

3.2

“De run op palmolie is in volle gang, want palmolie is in. Milieubeschermers spreken zelfs over een palmolietaart en die lijkt niet snel genoeg aangesneden te kunnen worden.” (Volkskrant, 02-09-2006)

“De vraag is de laatste jaren fors toegenomen en zal blijven groeien, omdat de wereldbevolking toeneemt en al die miljarden mensen gemiddeld meer zullen consumeren.” (Trouw, 31-01-2011)

“Toch is er weinig optimisme over het stoppen van ontbossing. Want hoewel men in het Westen steeds bewuster wordt, gaan steeds meer palmolie, hout en andere grondstoffen naar groeiende economieën, zoals China en India.” (NRC, 02-09-2010)

De grote zuigkracht op het regenwoud ontstaat nu echter door de sterk gestegen vraag naar palmolie uit China en India. En daar bekommert zich hoegenaamd niemand om het lot van het regenwoud. (Volkskrant, 15-11-2008)

3.3

“Duurzaam' wordt vaak gedefinieerd als palmolie die niet afkomstig is van plantages waar bos of regenwoud voor gekapt of afgebrand is. Maar de levensmiddelenfabrikanten weten vaak niet waar hun palmolie exact vandaan komt.” (NRC, 29-09-2015)

“Palmolie is een voor de consument moeilijk te ontwaren product. Tweederde van de consumentenproducten bevat palmolie, van zeep tot soep. Die geringe transparantie maakt het volgens Greenpeace voor de producenten ook makkelijk om geen grote stappen te nemen.” (Trouw, 09-11-2007)

Frame package 4

4.1

“Ruecksichtslos stimuleren van de palmolie- en soja-exporteconomieën vergroot de onherstelbare schade die ze vaak aanrichten. Het mag niet zo zijn dat aan de andere kant van de wereld regenwoud wordt gekapt, zodat wij onze Kyoto-doelstellingen kunnen halen en in onze biodieselauto's door kunnen blijven rijden. Daarom moet het kabinet deze kans grijpen om er met goed beleid voor te zorgen dat biomassa niet ten koste gaat van biodiversiteit.” (NRC, 22-08-2005)

“Uit onderzoek zou blijken dat door beter management en tijdiger herplanten een hectare geen 3 maar 6 ton palmolie op kan brengen. De boeren worden er financieel ook wijzer van omdat de certificaten van duurzame olie op dit moment zo'n 8% duurder zijn dan palmolie op de vrije markt.” (Telegraaf, 07-04-2010)

4.2

“Uiteindelijk zijn de grote westerse bedrijven de trekkers van duurzaamheid. De Unilevers, Carrefours en Wal-Marts van deze wereld, die in Europa en Noord-Amerika voorop lopen, spelen ook in Oost-Azië een hoofdrol. Van hen moet het vooral komen.” (Trouw, 31-01-2011)

“Deze week arriveert het eerste schip met duurzaam geproduceerde palmolie in de haven van Rotterdam. Het gaat om 500 ton palmolie, niet afkomstig uit Indonesië maar uit Maleisië. Het is de spreekwoordelijke druppel, die is gekocht door Unilever en de Britse supermarktketen Sainbury's.” (Volkskrant, 15-11-2008)

4.3

“RSPO stelt dat dit jaar vier procent van het palmolie-areaal is gecertificeerd. Volgend jaar voorziet men een verdubbeling. ‘Het kan hard gaan, maar er heerst in Indonesië en Maleisië nog veel weerstand, zowel in het bedrijfsleven als in de politiek. Men ziet het duurzaamheidsstreven als een nieuw soort Westers kolonialisme’, zegt Van Gelder. Daarom is het vooral van belang dat meer Aziatische banken aan de ronde tafel aanschuiven, aldus de onderzoeker. ‘De Nederlandse banken zouden hen meer tot financiering van duurzame investeringen kunnen bewegen.’” (Volkskrant, 15-11-2008)

“Zit er ook een element in van schuldbesef, over het koloniale verleden? ‘Dat is een gevaarlijke vraag. Maar het verleden speelt soms wel een rol. Juist de producenten zien duurzaamheidsinitiatieven soms als neokolonialistisch. Dan reageren ze met: daar heb je ze weer met hun regels; of: jullie hebben toch zelf ook geen oerbos meer?’”