

The Dutch Development Policy and the Media: How do they interrelate?



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Abstract

This research has examined the relation between the frequency and framing of development cooperation in the media on the one hand, and the evolution of the development cooperation policy on the other hand, from 2006 to 2016. Using the theoretical concepts of Agenda Setting, the Issue Attention Cycle, Punctuated Equilibrium Theory -of which framing is part- to clarify the influence of media on the movement of development cooperation on the political agenda. Indexing theory is used to illustrate the influence of the political elite on the media. 363 articles from the 3 different newspapers have been coded on the presence of frames and their tone of voice towards development cooperation. It turned out that there is no direct relationship between the amount of media attention and the way development cooperation is framed in the Dutch media vs. changes in the Dutch development cooperation policy. Media attention has diminished over the years. Policy events, especially with a negative budgetary implication, and to a lesser extent the attitude of the minister, attract media attention.

The general tone of voice regarding development cooperation is rather stable as well as positive. The tone of voice with regard to the Dutch development policy is rather negative and differs significantly between the different officeholders. Again, the attitude of the minister is a contributing factor in the way the minister is portrayed in the media. Reporting about development cooperation in the Dutch media is fairly balanced. The most dominant frame Protecting the West occurred in 19% of the articles and the least dominant frame Enhancing Social Justice in 10% of the articles. Events turned out to be influential regarding the choice of frames, such as the migration crisis. Although the use of frames might not lead to policy changes themselves, they can have a strong reinforcing role, especially when it coincides with the publication of a report. Besides, the media is often used as a venue, by the minister, member of parliaments, but also by lobbyists.

1. Introduction

Many people think that development cooperation does not work: there is still a lot of poverty and it seems that inequality is rather increasing than decreasing (ANP Redactie, 2017). Oxfam Novib just launched a campaign: the 8 richest who own as much as the poorest 3.6 billion - Fight it! (Oxfam Novib, 2017). That raises the question: is our tax money well-spent and does development cooperation actually work? These questions and the rather critical perception towards development cooperation is partly fed by coverage in the media as Mirjam Vossen, journalist, and researcher at the University of Nijmegen, demonstrates in her book 'Global Poverty in the media' (2015). Newspapers, as well as the news on television, tend to report about acute and current situations and 'bad news: stories with particularly negative overtones, such as conflict or tragedy', rather than the long term, often more positive, developments (see Harcup & O'Neill, 2001 p. 279; Davis & McLeod 2003). Obviously, both stories need to be told: the positive stories to show the effectiveness of aid on the long term and the negative to show the continuing need for aid as well as the backside of providing aid. Nonetheless, this imbalance at the expense of the long-term, often positive developments can have a diminishing effect on the support in society for development aid and development cooperation.¹ Therefore, this research aims to shed light on the coverage of international development in the Dutch media over the past decade, since only over a longer period of time one can draw conclusions about how often and in what way international development has gotten attention.

Furthermore, this questioning about the efficiency of development cooperation is partly fed by advertisements of development organizations themselves in which they keep asking for donations. Apparently, all previous donations have not resulted in less need for development aid, one could say. Vossen has pointed out that international development organizations tend to report very few on achieved results. Nor do they explain often or extensively about the way how improvement is realized (Vossen, 2015, p.44). This raises the question whether this critical attitude towards development cooperation was already apparent in the media for a longer period of time and in extension, whether that critical attitude might have played a role in the Dutch policy change with regard to development cooperation.

Currently, in the cabinet Rutte II, there is (for the first time) a combined Minister post for 'Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation' filled by Minister Ploumen. Her policy 'A World to Gain - a new agenda for Aid, Trade, and Investment' very much emphasizes the increasing role of the private sector in development cooperation (Ploumen, 2013a). She argues that: 'Our relations with low- and middle-income countries are on a more equal footing now that an increasing number are not only recipients of aid but also trading partners. (...) Recipient countries are taking a much more assertive attitude towards the aid they receive; and new actors like China, India, and Brazil are providing aid under different conditions. What is more, the aid budget is shrinking, while income from private sources is growing in poor countries. Companies are increasingly active in developing countries' (Ibid, p. 16). In other words: the importance of

¹ Since in policy documents as well as in the media the terms development cooperation and development aid are used interchangeably, this will be done in this thesis as well to enhance readability. Both terms refer to the support provided to mostly under or less developed countries that face difficult economic or social situations. This can include humanitarian aid/assistance as well, that is aid provided after humanitarian crisis, such as conflict or disasters.

trade, and consequently a more equal relation between the Netherlands and the partners in the South are at the core, instead of giving development *aid* which used to be the case in the past. Only recently, we can witness a growing trust in the contributions of corporations to poverty reduction (Beerends and Broere, 2004).

Frames can shed light on this complex relationship between Aid and Trade. Moreover, frames can shed light on which sentiments or attitudes towards development cooperation were dominant in the media in which periods. Since the media 'play an important role in the process of allocating attention, the media can be understood as fundamental to an information-processing approach to policy making' and policy change (Wolfe, Jones, and Baumgartner, 2013, p. 179) also with regard to development cooperation (ECPDM, 2012 p. 40). Precisely this relation between policy change and the coverage and framing of development aid in the Dutch media will be the topic of investigation. Was development cooperation 'framed' differently in the media before, during or after policy change? Has the person in the development office influence on the way media report about development cooperation? Are there perhaps differences in the way development cooperation is framed in the media that cannot be explained by who is in office and his/her policy? Especially in times of coming elections, international development can receive extra attention in the media, which might lead to agenda setting, which in turn can lead to policy change. However, whether that is the case and the sequence of this relationship between media and policy formation is still unclear: who follows who and how do they interrelate?

Consequently, the objectives of this research are twofold. On the one hand, this research aims to shed light on the coverage of International Development in the Dutch media over the past decade. On the other hand, this research aims to contribute to understanding the relation between media and agenda setting and, by extension, the formation of new policy. This relation with regard to Dutch development policy has hitherto not been researched. More insight in this relation can be essential both for policymakers and journalists. Policymakers might become more aware of the forces of the media in agenda setting and whether they want to take over possible new ideas or frames. Journalists might become more aware of their (lack of) power and the consequences thereof when publishing about international development. Moreover, to understand this relationship is highly relevant during the current populist developments by which national interest easily prevails over regional or international interests and needs. Finally, an understanding of how international development appears in the media can help practitioners in how to approach the public, also with regard to funding.

In order to be able to obtain an understanding of how the media and Dutch development cooperation policy relate, the following research question(s) will be answered:

What is the relation between Dutch development policy change and media coverage with regard to development cooperation in the period 2006 till 2016?

1. How has Dutch development cooperation policy developed since 2006? What were the main changes? When did these changes occur?
2. How often and in what way did development cooperation appear in the Dutch media since 2006?
 - How often has development cooperation occurred in the Dutch media since 2006?
 - In what way has development cooperation occurred in the Dutch media since 2006?

- With which frames did development cooperation appear in the Dutch media and when were these frames dominant?
- With what tone of voice did development cooperation appear in the Dutch media?

In order to answer the first question, interviews will be held and policy documents will be analyzed. Then framing analysis will be applied to articles that appeared in the three biggest national newspapers during the terms of office of the last three Ministers of development cooperation, to map how development cooperation has appeared in the media. To explain the influence of media on policy change, Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (long periods of policy-making stability and continuity, suddenly interrupted by an intense period of instability and policy change) and the concept of agenda setting and the Issue Attention Cycle will be used. To explain the forces of policy(makers) on the media, the Indexing Theory of Bennett will be applied. These theoretical concepts will be discussed in further detail in the next section. Thereafter, the methods regarding data collection and analysis will be described. In the results section, the evolution of development cooperation policy since 2006 will be described, then the amount of media attention, the framing of, and tone of voice regarding development cooperation, followed by an analysis of whether and how they interrelate. This relation between the changes in the Dutch development policy and the frequency and framing of development cooperation in the Dutch media will then be discussed and lastly, a conclusion will be provided.

2. Conceptual Framework

As said, this research wants to contribute to the understanding of the relationship between policy change and the media by examining the coverage of development cooperation in the media and development cooperation policy changes, since 2006.

2.1 Definition of framing and its devices: reasoning and formatting

To check whether and how international development is covered in the Dutch media, the theoretical concept of framing will be used. This concept is often used in the social sciences and is widely accepted by social constructivist researchers. Since I want to investigate media attention, it is interesting to look at how framing is defined in communication science: in its broadest sense, it refers to the manner in which the media and the public represent a particular issue or topic (Reese *et al.*, 2001). This concept draws attention 'to the details of just how a communicated text exerts its power' (Entman, 1993 p. 56). This is part of what Baumgartner, De Boef and Boydston call: the politics of attention. When articles are published in a newspaper, choices are made on what to publish, what not to publish and how to publish it. Media frames can thereby influence which parts of an event are communicated to certain audiences. Framing can, therefore, be perceived as manipulation of the public, by steering thoughts or even public opinion in a particular direction. Nevertheless, it can also be perceived as being done (partially) consciously (Ford and King, 2015). Here, the process and effects of framing at the system level will be examined rather than at the individual level.

In this thesis, Entman's definition will be used arguing that framing essentially involves selection and salience, thus making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences. An increase in salience enhances the probability that receivers will perceive the information, discern meaning and thus process it. Entman states that: 'To frame is to *select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment or recommendation* for the item described' (Entman, 1993, p. 52). A well-known example used by Entman is the Cold War frame in the US news of foreign affairs. It highlighted certain foreign events (e.g. civil war) as a problem, identified the source (communist rebels), offered moral judgment (atheistic aggression) and recommended a particular solution (U.S. for the anti-communist side). Frames, then:

- *'Define problems* - determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values;
- *Diagnose causes* - identify the forces creating the problem;
- *Make moral judgments* - evaluate causal agents and their effects (often based on own values)
- *Suggest remedies* - offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects' (Ibid).

These framing functions, elsewhere by van Gorp called 'reasoning devices' thus 'form a route of causal reasoning which may be evoked when an issue is associated with a particular frame' (Van Gorp, 2010, p. 91). In other words, when the receiver is reading the text, he might identify a similar line of reasoning

regarding the problem, cause, and suitable remedy of the issue at stake, as the frame suggests. Additional to the framing functions or *reasoning* devices, a frame can also be identified by other devices, such as *framing* devices and *formatting* devices. Van Gorp argues that each reconstructed frame is, in fact, a 'frame package' consisting of these three devices that demonstrate how a frame depicts a certain issue. Framing devices consist amongst others of: metaphors, historical examples from which lessons are drawn, catch phrases, depictions, visual images (based on Gamson and Modigliani, 1989), themes, subthemes, type of actors, actions and settings, contrasts, lexical choices, sources, quantifications and statistics, charts and graphs, and appeals be it emotional, logical or ethical (Van Gorp, 2010, p. 91). The difference between the framing devices and the reasoning devices is that the latter need not be explicit in the text. This is precisely why the content of framing analysis requires a human coder that is capable of interpreting implicit elements of the text, despite the increased degree of subjectivity in the analysis. Lastly, formatting devices, such as the number of words, pictures, the layout of text, the place of the article on the page itself and on which page, can also influence the salience of the issue that is framed, in this case, Dutch development cooperation.

Van Gorp focusses on news frames that express culturally shared notions with symbolic significance, such as narratives and myths. These narratives and myths and other culturally embedded notions reflect the shared ideas, fears and hopes of certain groups. Therefore, he has proposed a constructionist view of framing, referring to the process in which 'individuals and groups actively create social reality from different information resources' (Van Gorp 2010, p.84). This is also what happens in the media, namely journalists not only report about events but often attempt to explain reality by identifying the causes and the ideal problem resolvers of the topic at hand. Since journalists already prior to their career have been involved in different circles such as their friends, church, side job, student union, or political affiliation, with different culturally shared elements, such as values, narratives, and archetypes, they might, unconsciously, adopt these notions and present them in the news.

Most frames are defined by what they omit as well as include, and the omissions of potential problem definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusions in guiding the audience (Entman 1993, p. 54). Salience and selection are thus powerful tools at disposal of the authors -or journalists- to characterize an issue in a certain way. 'Because salience is a product of the interaction of texts and receivers, the presence of frames in the text, as detected by researchers, does not guarantee their influence in audience thinking' (ibid, p. 53). In other words: the frame has a common effect (whether most people notice and how they understand and remember a problem, the (absence of) solution(s) and whether they choose to act upon it) on large portions of the receiving audience, though it is not likely to have a universal effect on all (p. 54). This can amongst others be due to personal convictions, the appearance of other frames, and whether people are conscious of a certain frame present.

Furthermore, the definition of framing from Baumgartner, De Boef, and Boydston is worth mentioning here, especially because of the application to policy changes with regard to capital punishment in their book 'The Decline of the Death Penalty and the Discovery of Innocence' (2008). They view framing as a natural part of the political process, which is why their definition is used in this thesis. According to them framing is 'defining an issue along a particular dimension -such as fairness and innocence- at the exclusion of alternate dimensions' -such as morality, constitutionality or costs- (Baumgartner *et al.*, 2008, p. 4). They

identify frames as a cluster of co-occurring arguments. Framing may occur through the use of a single argument, a cluster of arguments within a single dimension, or even as a cluster of arguments across different dimensions (Ibid, p. 107). In other words, they do not only look at salience (how often an argument is used) but also at resonance (how many individual arguments are made in tandem over time) and persistence (how long a frame lasts). They showed that arguments that were unsuccessful by themselves could become successful when used in tandem with other arguments. Success here is defined as attracting media attention and turning the dimension and direction of the debate.

Like the death penalty, international development cooperation is a multifaceted issue. It can very well be judged from people's moral frames: e.g. from a solidarity frame based on the premise that human beings are equal, and consequently, one ought to help one another, especially in the case of suffering while living in abundance in the West. Alternatively, people can adhere to other frames emphasizing that the cause of the problem is in the corruption of foreign leaders themselves and that there are plenty of poor people in the Netherlands that should be helped first. In the next paragraph, a description of all frames of Vossen is provided, before I proceed to the theoretical discussion regarding framing and agenda-setting, Punctuated Equilibrium Theory and the Issue Attention Cycle.

2.2 Poverty Frames of Vossen

Vossen identified 9 frames to investigate the representation of global poverty both in newspapers and in advertisements of international development organizations. These frames are based on the definition of Entman, which means that they include a causal reasoning regarding the problem, -in this case poverty- possible solutions including a direction for the appropriate problem solver, and a moral basis or judgment. It should be noted that these frames were initially developed to identify how media report about global poverty, the problem to which the causal reasoning is applied in the frame. However, development cooperation is a vital part of these frames, as different solutions to the problem that needs to be solved, often based on a moral conviction regarding who should solve it and how it should be solved. Furthermore, Vossen has applied these frames herself to Dutch development cooperation in the years 2011-2013 (Vossen, 2015, 46-55). The frames are summarized underneath:

- 1) The Innocent Victim frame: poverty is a tragedy that affects innocent people and causes human suffering. This frame often contains explicit descriptions of desperate circumstances the poor live in and from which they need to be saved by a rich, and often white savior.
- 2) The Guilt frame: the rich world harms the poor. The way the rich world has behaved -during the colonial era- and even behaves today, harms the poor. The rich should become less self-indulgent and take responsibility for their actions. They should be willing to sacrifice some of their luxuries and care for the poor.
- 3) The Progress frame: global poverty is due to a lack of progress and development. The human condition has improved over the course of history and will continue to do so. Therefore, the poor countries must develop by means and knowledge of the richer countries. This frame is frequently featured by an emphasis on numerical progress.
- 4) The Social Justice frame: Poverty is a sign that society is arranged in an unfair and unequal way, denying people choices, opportunities and a fair share of resources. The poor are best helped by

being enabled to fight against injustice.

- 5) The Bad Governance frame: global poverty is a sign of bad governance in poor countries. Solving the poverty problem is the responsibility of the countries themselves. Patronage should be abandoned. Development aid aggravates corruption by making leaders lazy and irresponsible.
- 6) The Global Village frame: We live in a global village and we have a joint responsibility for our future; poverty stands in the way of a sustainable future for all. Solutions are sought in international treaties and agreements. Moreover, as an individual, one can adapt its behavior to mitigate climate change.
- 7) The Every Man For Himself frame: poor persons and countries are responsible for their own circumstances; nobody has to be poor. Either the market is not free and open or one has no or not sufficient work ethic or entrepreneurial spirit. The solution is to create a barrier free market. Pursuing self-interest enhances the public good.
- 8) The Impending Doom frame: global poverty is a threat to security, stability, and wealth in the rich world. Threats, such as migration, infectious diseases, and conflicts should be stopped. Accommodating refugees in the region, joint peacekeeping missions, and fighting diseases should be the first priority in development cooperation.
- 9) The Chain of Being frame: everything on earth has a predestined place in the chain of being. Global poverty is part of the natural order in which everyone has to accept his or her place.

These frames are useful to the extent that they discuss development cooperation as a solution to poverty and identify the problem resolver, for instance, the local government, the western governments, international bodies, development organizations or individuals. Since without global poverty, there would be no need for development cooperation: the support provided to mostly under or less developed countries that face difficult economic or social situations. Additionally, these frames are useful since they disclose the motivation and interests behind development cooperation such as guilt related to the colonial past, our interdependence, security or economic interests or a legitimate reason to refrain from providing development aid. These frames thus define development cooperation along different dimensions: morality, efficiency, protectionism, and others. To optimize the usage for this research each frame will be asked the question what the role of development cooperation should be (see section 3.2.2).

Thus, frames contain a 'meta-message' about the topic at stake, including elements related to the problem, its cause, a direction of a solution and a moral judgment. A frame thus contributes to the way in which a topic is presented. These different ways of looking at an issue can cause an issue to come up or move on the political agenda. In order to understand this process of agenda setting, two theoretical concepts, or rather processes, will be discussed. Firstly, the Issue Attention Cycle, and secondly, Punctuated Equilibrium Theory.

2.3 The Issue Attention Cycle and Punctuated Equilibrium Theory

The Issue Attention Cycle

Organizing attention around an issue can be captured in the Issue-Attention cycle as identified by Downs (1972). Note that this Issue-Attention Cycle mainly applies to issues that have the following characteristics: First, the majority of the population does not experience direct hinder, thus attention is

hard to be kept. Second, the problem is an effect of an economic, social or other provision from which the majority benefits (f.i. external effects of an economic activity). Third, it has no intrinsic features that attract attention or excitement. Based on Down's analysis, it is expected that development cooperation has both cycle-sensitive elements as insensitive elements. When there is a crisis, attention may be triggered and coverage increased, but attention can decrease when there are internal crises which affect the population more directly. The Issue Attention Cycle can be divided into five stages:

- 1) Pre-problem – an undesirable social condition exists that might have alerted some experts or interest groups, but has not yet captured public attention. Strikingly, objective conditions in this stage are often more alarming than in the phase when the public becomes aware of it (p. 49).
- 2) Alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm – a triggering or focusing event or series of events alarm the public.
- 3) Realizing the cost of significant progress – It becomes evident over time that the solution might not be beneficial for all and might require a change in behavior or comes at higher financial costs.
- 4) The gradual decline of intense public interest – These efforts related to the solution discourage people and their attention is easily captured by other emerging problems, which are still encircled by the euphoric enthusiasm from the second stage.
- 5) Post-problem – the problem becomes background material again, nonetheless higher on the agenda than before the public discovery, but lower compared to the levels of attention related to stage 2.

Prior to Phase 1, a policy monopoly may exist, where policy is made, kept from opponents as much as possible. Framing, another approach the problem at stake, with the help of policy entrepreneurs and focusing events, might alert experts and a new cycle may begin (Breeman, Timmermans and Van Daltsen, 2011, p. 23-24).

Framing and Punctuated Equilibrium Theory

The second theory is Punctuated Equilibrium Theory, that attempts to explain periods of political (in)stability and the role of framing as part thereof. Baumgartner *et al.* (2008) view framing as a natural part of the political process, referring to the politics of attention at play. They argue that although framing might be common to the political process, its effect, however, seldom is so strong that it results in a 'near-complete overhaul' of an issue debate such as the death penalty. The reason for the turn in the debate results from collective attention shifting according to Baumgartner *et al.* (2008, p. 218). Several people working in the judiciary as well as in the media brought innocence again to the fore. This then was fortified by new cases of innocence, used to argue that it was not just a mistake, but that the whole system had become dysfunctional. The increase in attention resulted in a renewed search for other cases of innocence. Moreover, pro bono legal assistance was offered to the wrongfully convicted. TV Dramas dealing with the theme of innocence further enhanced the likelihood of the idea that the system could be erroneous. These self-reinforcing developments changed the way the issue was defined. Although people might still be in favor of the death penalty from a moral point of view - e.g. because of the Biblical notion 'a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye'- they started to question the functioning of the system responsible for the implementation and execution of the death penalty. The questioning of the death penalty system as such had always remained outside the debate previously.

Baumgartner *et al.* further demonstrate with the help of Punctuated Equilibrium Theory, that there are often long periods of policy-making stability and continuity, suddenly interrupted by an intense period of instability and policy change. This is because in the policy process there are both stabilizing forces - referred to as negative feedback mechanisms- and destabilizing forces active - referred to as positive feedback forces. Negative feedback forces, on the one hand, contribute to stability and incrementalism, since any pressure for change is counter pressured. In other words, it functions as a self-corrective mechanism. Positive feedback mechanisms, on the other hand, contribute to change by for example a change in issue definition or agenda-setting.

Punctuated Equilibrium Theory can be explained using the following concepts that describe mechanisms that can cause a stir in the policy making process at times, or contribute to policy-making stability.

a) Bounded rationality: policymakers have a limited amount of time and only pay attention to a small number of issues for which they are responsible. This leaving aside of many issues by policy makers clarifies partly the relative few policy changes in terms of issues.

b) Disproportionate attention: some policy issues receive a great deal of attention from policymakers, while other issues are largely ignored. The unusual amount of attention can open the way for different views or solutions to the problem, in other words: policy change.

c) Framing: the definition of an issue is essential because that determines to a great extent how the issue is viewed and in extension, which issues the government considers. An increase or decrease in the importance on the agenda rarely occurs without such a difference in how an issue is viewed. Furthermore, a new way of looking at the issue -the policy image- may attract new audiences, ranging from your 'identification group' to 'attentive groups' (who are easily mobilized on topics of their interest), to the 'attentive public' (high educated people with relatively high political interests in general) to the general public (Cairney, 2011, p. 183). Expanding your audiences is one of the best ways to enter or rise on the agenda (Cobb and Elder, 1972 and Baumgartner and Jones, 1993). Moving these audiences can provoke a discussion causing policy instability and thus a window of opportunity for change.

d) Agenda setting: This can be defined as 'organizing attention in an environment with competing information, interests, issues, and ideas and limited processing capacity' (Wolfe *et al.*, 2013 p. 177). Note that there are also stabilizing forces at play that want to keep current issues on the agenda or that are in favor of the old way in which the issue was viewed and thus want them to remain 'silent policies'. Nonetheless, disproportionate attention and framing can contribute to an entrance or raise on the policy agenda and may end the so-called 'policy monopoly' of certain groups active in certain policy venues.

f) Policy venue: a more a less institutionalized arena (depending on the degree of formality) where agenda setting takes place and where political organs such as government, parliament on a national level, the EU - in the case of the Netherlands- on a supranational level, the media, or scientific institutions interact and where visions on problems are created and/or communicated. When excluded from a policy monopoly in a policy venue, actors might decide to shop, that is shift venues in order to find allies with a shared problem vision or policy image. Nonetheless, not all players have access to all policy venues in the Dutch context, thus venue shopping is rather limited (Breeman and Timmermans, 2008, p. 20). Each venue has his own *bias*: either a limitation of participation and a congestion of the conflict of how the problem should be viewed or solved or an extension and connection of themes and conflict in the public and political debate.

These positive and negative feedback mechanisms lead to the question of how government institutions and media information interact. With regard to government institutions, it is important not to view them as exogenous, that is as stable and fixed entities, but rather as endogenous, that is a dynamic entity, which functioning can be influenced by the policy process (Baumgartner and Jones, 2010). The media can have different roles in the agenda setting process in a certain government institution, according to Jones and Wolfe (2010). First, media coverage weights information (signals) about the policy environment and offers a direction which are important and which can be ignored. Consequently, the media can set the tone for subsequent policy actions. Last, the media attention and policy-making activities can react upon each other: for example, a rise in crime caused more media and public attention, which caused more policy making activities. This once again led to more media and public attention and so on (Wolfe *et al.*, 2013, p. 179). This process is what Baumgartner *et al.* call a 'social cascade' or 'tipping point'. A social cascade is a self-reinforcing process that is likely to continue in the future. 'A tipping point has been reached where changes in public understanding have begun to induce further changes in policy, which in turn reinforce those same changes in public understanding' (Baumgartner *et al.*, 2008, p. 10). Tipping points and social cascades are by their nature unpredictable, but the continued operation of a system of self-reinforcement allows us to conclude with some predictions about future developments. The impact of these changes on public opinion has been more difficult to observe, because public opinion at the aggregate level is very slow to change unless a strong external force, for example, a focusing event or triggering point, such as a disaster, leads to a window of opportunity for change. However, the gravity of the event, the media attention for it, and the people or policy communities related to it determine the impact on policy. 'The event-driven nature of the news provides issue advocates opportunities to introduce and/or amplify new frames or definitions (...) especially if the focusing or triggering events are dramatic or troubling (i.e. less well understood) and in need of interpretation' (Wolfe *et al.*, 2013, p.181).

Thus, media frames can have effects on the political system level by 'highlighting some attributes and underweighting others [consequently] limiting the bounds of what makes up the set of feasible alternative solutions to a policy problem.' (Wolfe *et al.*, 2013, p. 183). Policy stability can be disrupted by new information provided by the media through frames, whether or not supported by issue advocates.

Summarizing, the Issue Attention Cycle, as well as Punctuated Equilibrium Theory, discuss how the process of agenda setting works and how and when policy stability can be disrupted. Moreover, it is discussed what the role of media can be in disrupting this policy stability, by weighing information, setting the tone and provoking policy reactions.

To get a complete image of the interrelation between the media and policy, another theory is needed that discusses the influence of the policy process on the media. To that end, Indexing Theory will be discussed in the next paragraph.

2.4 Indexing Theory

How media is influenced by the policy process can be explained by Bennett's Indexing Theory (1990). He argues that journalists use government elites (officials, such as Ministers, high civil servants) as sources of information and that the elite thus influences what the media report about. In other words, the media

follows the agenda of the official debates. Especially when elite conflict is involved, media coverage increases. When after a while media coverage declines, this does not mean that the conflict is resolved, but rather that it is no longer discussed by the elites. Arguments in line with this theory are that government officials are preferred sources for journalists because they have power and lend legitimacy to news stories (Jones *et al.*, 2010, p. 21). For the government official, this can be beneficial as well since they enjoy media exposure which they can use to gain support for their policies, explain their policies or to showcase their successful policies. Nonetheless, when tested Bennett's Indexing Theory did not always deliver the same results. For example, when tested by Althaus *et al.* (2003), they found that domestic elites are not the single or most important sources for journalists, but often are combined with foreign sources or other opposition voices, especially regarding dramatic and sensitive events, such as police brutality. Mermin (1999), however, has found that in case of media coverage in the United States regarding the Gulf War that the government had set the terms and boundaries for policy debate in the news, thus indexing the news. He also demonstrated that that external voices have been marginalized and that journalist only questioned the policy itself, when this was also done by a governmental actor. Last, it should be noted that both the media as well as the policy can be influenced by other external factors so-called triggering events.

In the end, an analysis of the evolution of Dutch development cooperation policy in the past decade must demonstrate what positive feedback mechanisms were at play such as a social cascade, what negative feedback mechanisms were at play, and what the role of the media was. The above-mentioned theories of the Issue Attention Cycle, Punctuated Equilibrium Theory, and Indexing Theory will be used in this thesis to examine the relationship between media and policy change with regard to Dutch development cooperation from 2006 onwards. Finally, it should be noted that it is hard to measure the precise impact of framing on policy changes since policy changes can be caused by many factors. In the next section, the methods regarding the collection and analysis of data will be discussed in further detail.

3. Methods

In this section, it is clarified how the data required to answer the research questions is obtained. This is done per research question. A distinction is made between methods for data collection and analysis.

3.1 How has Dutch development cooperation policy developed since 2006?

In order to answer the question ‘How has Dutch development cooperation policy developed since 2006?’ the main policy changes with each new administrator, either a secretary of state or Minister, are described from 2006 onwards. Additionally, it addresses changes in policy implementation, that are indicative of policy changes.

3.1.1 Data collection

The focus of answering the question ‘how has Dutch development cooperation policy developed since 2006’ will be on the policy *changes* and the (visible) consequences thereof, rather than an assessment of the quality of those changes or the policy itself. This is because this chapter serves to answer the main research question eventually, which reads: ‘What is the relation between Dutch development policy change and media coverage with regard to development cooperation in the period 2006 till 2016?’ Data on the development of Dutch development cooperation policy is collected via the policy documents of the responsible Ministers or Secretary of State in which they set out their policy goals for the coming term in office. Moreover, the policy evaluation documents from the Inspection of Development Cooperation and Policy Evaluations (IOB) are used. An overview of the persons in office during the scope of the research is shown in Table 1:

Table 1 Overview of Dutch officeholders of development cooperation

Period	Name	Function	Cabinet
2007-2010	Bert Koenders	Minister of Development Cooperation * February 27, 2007 - October 10, 2010	<i>Balkenende IV</i> (CDA, PvdA, CU)
2010-2012	Ben Knapen	Secretary of State of European Affairs and Development Cooperation October 14, 2010 - November 5, 2012	<i>Rutte I</i> (VVD, CDA, and PVV)
2012-2017	Lilianne Ploumen	Minister of Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation November 5th, 2012- current (de-missionary since March 15)	<i>Rutte II</i> (VVD & PvdA)

**(From 23/02 - 10/10 2010 the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Maxime Verhagen, became Interim Minister of Development Cooperation due to the resignation of all Ministers of the Dutch Labor Party).*

3.1.2 Data Analysis

In addition to the policy documents of the officeholders and the official policy evaluation documents, by which policy changes can be identified, other indicators for changes in the development cooperation

policy or implementation will be assessed, in line with Baumgartner *et al*, 2008. They witnessed a decline in the number of death sentences after a significantly increased prevalence of the innocence frame. Although such a decline in the number of death sentences is an important indicator for public policy with regard to capital punishment, it is not actual public policy; rather it is an indicator related to policy implementation. Within development cooperation, there is not such a clear indicator of policy change as the application of the death penalty, nonetheless, since the best demonstration of the picture of *policy* stability and change can be found in budgeting, three budgetary indicators are used to identify additional policy changes and to assess whether and if policy changes have become material. Budget change is characterized by a widespread 'hyper-incrementalism' (or a huge number of small annual budget changes), combined with a small number of huge changes to annual budgets' (Cairney, 2011 p. 195).

Changes in policy spending

The first indicator is the percentage of the Gross National Income (GNI)² reserved for Official Development Assistance (ODA). This percentage can be indicative of shrinkages and increases of the development budget in different Ministerial periods and consequently of the degree of prioritization of development cooperation within a certain government coalition. Since the 70s, the members of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee have agreed to comply themselves towards reserving 0.7% of the GNI for ODA.

The second indicator is the Country Programmable Aid (CPA). It is the portion of aid that donors program at the country or regional level. The recipient country has, or could have, a significant say over this portion (OECD, 2017b). In that regard, it is a better reflection of the actual amount of support between countries.

The third indicator is the ODA spend per sector. Data is obtained via the data base of the OECD.³ These expenditures could indicate the relative weight of the sectors in terms of the budget.

Keep in mind that changes in policy implementation or execution can take some time due to multi-year agreements. Consequently, policy changes on paper, i.e. plans for future policy will be the main source of analysis.

3.2. How often and in what way has Dutch development cooperation appeared in the media since 2006?

In order to answer this question, firstly, the media attention before and during the term in office of the three most recent Ministers (or Secretary of State) of Dutch development cooperation has been scrutinized. Secondly, the way in which development cooperation has occurred in the media is made visible by analyzing the frequency and dominance of frames over time, and by analyzing the tone of voice with regard to development cooperation.

² The gross national income (GNI) is the total domestic and foreign output claimed by residents of a country, consisting of gross domestic product (GDP) plus factor incomes earned by foreign residents, minus income earned in the domestic economy by nonresidents (Todaro & Smith, 2011, p. 44)

³ <https://data.oecd.org/oda/oda-by-sector.htm#indicator-chart>

3.2.1 Data Collection

Data on the occurrence of development cooperation in the Dutch media is collected via the Database Lexis Nexis: an electronic database of newspaper articles. Nevertheless, it should be noted that formatting devices, such as the place on the page itself and the page (front page or a subsequent page in the newspaper) are hard to check via this database since it only provides a digital version of the text. Articles on development cooperation are selected from three of the biggest Dutch national newspapers with a diverse reader audience.

- Volkskrant - This newspaper is one of the biggest and eldest in the Netherlands with an edition of 258,415 copies. It is a former resistance newspaper from the war and has a social liberal or left oriented political signature (Vermeulen, 2013).
- NRC Handelsblad - This newspaper has an edition of 145,339 copies. Traditionally, the NRC Handelsblad has a liberal political signature.
- Telegraaf - This is the biggest Dutch newspaper with an edition of 426,827⁴. It has a social liberal political signature and it is known for its campaign journalism, that is to say being blunt in its political preferences (Kist, 2017).

This collection of newspapers, representing a total printed edition of 830,581 copies, is preferred over taking one news agent since that might not be a realistic representation of the framing of development cooperation in the whole Dutch media. This complicates the analysis of the relation between media and policy change.

From January 1st, 2006 till December 31st, 2016, 6456 articles have been published in the above-mentioned newspapers about development aid or cooperation.⁵ First, a pilot analysis consisting of a sample of 67 randomly selected articles from a population consisting of 2016 articles using the search terms 'Development Cooperation OR Development Aid AND name Minister', was conducted in order to test the frames (see 3.2.2.) Additionally, these articles were used to check how much attention each officeholder has received. Nevertheless, the use of these search terms excluded articles about development cooperation in general which may shed a different light on the issue. It was assumed that with a total population of 6456 articles resulting from the search terms: 'Development Cooperation OR Development Aid', the sample size would be too big for this research, however, this turned out not to be the case. Based on a calculation with a sample size calculator (using a confidence interval of 5%, a confidence level of 95% and a response distribution of 50%) the sample size is set at 363 articles.

The year 2006 is included in the scope since that year could reveal any changes in the frequency with which development cooperation has occurred in the media prior to Koenders' term in office. Since the ultimate aim is to analyze the relationship between the frames and development cooperation policy, the budget cycle of the political year is been taken as a starting point. Yearly (since 2002), on the third Wednesday of May, it is 'Accountability day', on which the Ministers are held accountable to Parliament

⁴ All data regarding the size of edition concerns the year 2016 and the printed editions. It is retrieved from the NOM dashboard (2016).

⁵ The search terms: Development Aid OR Development Cooperation were used to find the articles.

for the effects of their pursued policy of the previous year (Duisenberg and Van Meenen, 2014). Besides, on the third Tuesday of September -also known as 'Prinsjesdag'- the state budget is presented to the Dutch Parliament. Consequently, each year is divided into 3 periods:

1. January 1st - May 31st: the execution of current policy and run-up towards Accountability day regarding the policy of the previous year
2. June 1st - September 30th: the execution of current policy, lessons learned from Accountability Day can be taken into account for the budget presentation on the 3rd Tuesday of September.
3. October 1st - December 31st: the aftermath of budget presentation and execution of current policy.

Within each period 11 articles are selected randomly by means of a random number generator,⁶ to be able to analyze the frequency of frames.

3.2.2 Data Analysis

Framing analysis is applied to see how international development has appeared in the media. To analyze the frames, two methods were applied: one which allowed multiple frames to be identified in one article and the second method allowed only the identification of a single dominant frame. When articles related to development cooperation but did not fit any of the frames, they were coded frameless. When articles did not fit any of the frames, nor related to development cooperation, they were coded irrelevant. Of the 363 articles analyzed, 54 articles (15%) turned out to be irrelevant. In case of Knapen and Ploumen, it often related to their other policy responsibility, respectively European Affairs or Foreign Trade; or it related to national or European politics in general. In other cases, the term development aid was used as a metaphor for helping foreigners, e.g. in an article about adoption or including foreign ice-skaters in a Dutch team.

Next to the frames, reasoning and framing devices were coded. Each article was coded on the following items: which year, which period, which newspaper, which author if any, which tone of voice regarding development cooperation in general and regarding Dutch development cooperation policy specifically. Both tones were coded since people can be critical of the current policy, nonetheless can still be in favor of development cooperation in general. In order to calculate the average tone of voice, the articles expressing an explicitly negative attitude were accredited a value of -1, the articles expressing an explicitly positive attitude were accredited a value of +1, and the articles containing either factual or balanced information were accredited with a value of 0. These articles were then averaged. Note that frameless articles could still be coded on their tone of voice regarding development cooperation both in general and the Dutch policy specifically.

The frames identified and constructed by Vossen were initially used to make a more longitudinal research possible (see section 2.2). These have been adapted to a development cooperation context by asking each frame what the role of the development cooperation should be. This is indicated by the frame name: 'Development cooperation is a matter of ...'.

⁶ <http://stattrek.com/statistics/random-number-generator.aspx#faq>

After the pilot to verify their occurrence in and degree of coverage of all news items during the scope of this research, these frames have been adapted or excluded. Since the 'solution' in the frame, namely development cooperation, is at the heart of this analysis, the frames Guilt and Collective responsibility have been combined and renamed: 'Development cooperation is a matter of collective responsibility to tackle transboundary problems'. Both frames see international institutions and agreements as the answer to the question of poverty and climate change and argue that the rich or the West should take responsibility for their actions. The Innocence, Progress, Social Justice and Bad governance frame have been largely adopted, after being adapted to development cooperation context. The Impending Doom frame, which Vossen did not witness in her scope, has also been analyzed under the name: development cooperation is a matter of protecting the security and stability of the West. The Every Man for Himself frame, as well as the Chain of Being frame, have not been analyzed due to their absence in the pilot as well as in Vossen's analysis (Vossen, 2015, p. 63). I have added the third frame underneath, called 'Development cooperation is a matter of Trade for Aid', which depicts the so-called merchant's motives behind development cooperation, namely that trade can perfectly serve the self-interest as well. Moreover, this frame could be indicative of the policy changes of the last years (Knapen and Ploumen see section 4.1.3. and 4.1.4). The final frames are summarized as follows:

1. **Development Cooperation is a matter of Helping Innocent Victims**

'Poverty is a tragedy that affects innocent people and causes human suffering, therefore it is our moral duty to stand by the people in need'

2. **Development Cooperation is a matter of Facilitating Progress**

'Global poverty is a lack of progress and development. Economic and technological development will be able to combat poverty. It's just a matter of time'

3. **Development Cooperation is a matter of Trade for Aid**

'Poor persons and countries are responsible for their own circumstances; nobody has to be poor. Trade is the solution to end poverty and dependency, and is beneficial for us as well'

4. **Development Cooperation is a matter of Enhancing Social Justice**

'Poverty is a sign that society is arranged in an unfair and unequal way, denying people choices, and opportunities. The role of development aid is to support the poor in fighting for their rights'

5. **Development Cooperation is a matter of Fighting Corruption and Implementing Good Governance**

'Global poverty is a sign of bad governance in poor countries. Patronage and corruption should be fought and good governance should be enhanced'

6. **Development Cooperation is a matter of Collective Responsibility to Tackle Transboundary Problems**

'We live in a global village and we have a joint responsibility for our future; Poverty stands in the way of a sustainable future for all'

7. **Development Cooperation is a matter of Protecting the Security and Stability of the West**

'Global poverty is a threat to security, stability, and wealth in the rich world. Therefore, our stability and security should be protected by restricting migration and by contributing to joint peacekeeping missions'

Differences in the number of articles per year, per officeholder and per policy period have been tested in IBM SPSS Statistics 23 and 24, with a Oneway ANOVA test and a Bonferroni Post Hoc test. The latter has been chosen because it is strict and thus stronger conclusions can be drawn.

In order to judge whether there exist significant differences between the frequency of frames over the years, policy periods, during the terms of office of the different officeholders, and between the newspapers, a Chi square test has been performed, with $\alpha=0.05$. When a significant difference was found, Fisher's adjusted residuals test (to account for the variation due to the sample size) was done as post hoc test, using a critical z-score of ± 1.64 . The same has been done for testing the significant difference between the tone of voice regarding Development Cooperation in general and regarding the Dutch development cooperation policy specifically, over the years, policy periods, during the terms of the different officeholders, between the frames, and between the newspapers. All statistical test can be found in Appendix I.

3.3 Interviews

To obviate the difficulty of measuring the precise impact of the media on policy change and vice versa, four interviews were held with a policy maker, a communication advisor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and journalist and a policy advisor of a development organization. Moreover, these interviews were meant to obtain information regarding the differences between the persons in office and whether and how media has influenced policy and vice versa. Thus the data for answering the main question in the discussion followed partly from the results of sub-question one and two; and partly from interviews conducted. The following persons have been interviewed:

1. Frits van der Wal, Senior Policy Advisor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on May 9, 2017.
2. Rolf Wijnstra, Communication Advisor and External Relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on May 9, 2017.
3. Natalie Righton, Diplomatic correspondent covering Foreign Affairs and Defense at the Volkskrant, August 15, 2017.
4. Evert Jan Brouwer, Policy Advisor at Woord en Daad, a Dutch development organization, August 15, 2017.

4. Results

In this section, the results following from the applied methods will be presented. To start, the evolution of Dutch development policy will be discussed from 2006 on, with special attention to policy changes made by the three most recent officeholders of development cooperation. Thereafter, the amount of media attention as well as how development cooperation has appeared in the media will be discussed, followed by an analysis of which frame(s) were most dominant over time.

4.1 The evolution of Dutch development cooperation policy since 2006

A well-known metaphor used to depict Dutch development cooperation policy is that of the merchant and the clergyman. The merchant refers to rather egoistic, pragmatic or economic motives for providing development aid, whereas the clergyman represents more altruistic, idealistic motives. Hoebink (2007) has argued that in Dutch development policy after decolonization the merchant was dominant, until the eighties when the clergyman prevailed. In this section, it will become apparent that the merchant gradually has won back terrain in development policy.

New policy is formulated by the officeholders in close consultation with the policy officers of the Ministry, in this case, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Currently, this ministry consists of two officeholders: the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation, who closely collaborate. The Minister of Foreign Affairs generally has a greater say in the cabinet than the Minister of Development Cooperation, since the latter has no formal portfolio. When the officeholder of development cooperation is a Secretary of State, his say in the cabinet is even smaller, since he cannot attend the cabinet meetings on Friday and is dependent on the Minister, in this case of Foreign Affairs, in briefing him or getting his/her point across. The officeholders are responsible for the execution of the Coalition Agreement. What influences the direction of policy is the content of the Coalition Agreement, which in turn is dependent on the political composition of the coalition. Besides that, whether the two officeholders within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are from the same political party can also decide the emphasis on certain policy aspects. E.g. Koenders, member of the Dutch Labor party (PvdA; left wing party) collaborated with Maxime Verhagen, member of the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA; center party), who was greatly convinced of his own political ideas and the way to reach them. Knapen, also a member of the CDA, worked together with Uri Rosenthal, member of the Party of Freedom and Democracy (VVD; right wing party). These were said to have had a lot of conflicts regarding the development cooperation policy (Von der Dunk, 2012; Van der Wal, Interview, May 9, 2017). Minister Ploumen worked together with previous Minister of Development Cooperation Koenders, both members of the Dutch Labor Party, which eased their cooperation.

As said, the evolution of development cooperation policy will be discussed per government official, starting with Koenders' predecessor, Minister Van Ardenne as a baseline to understand on what policy Koenders had to build and what he actually changed.

Van Ardenne, who started in 2002 as Secretary of State responsible for Development Cooperation became

Minister of Development Cooperation in 2006. She followed the line of her predecessor, Minister Herfkens, in providing bilateral aid via sector programs instead of via project aid. These sector programs were aimed at the agenda of the receiving country and aid was increasingly spend locally - about 90% of the budget (Hoebink, 2007). Within the sectoral approach alignment of donors with local actors was more important than to identify who did what, because it was difficult to trace (Van der Wal, Interview, May 9, 2017). The aim was to change power structures in the long term, the results of which are difficult to demonstrate. Moreover, the complexity of development cooperation was only shared to a limited extent with the public, which resulted in an embracing of the 'measurement brings knowledge' idea. Consequently, detailed project/program proposals in advance, and interim as well as evaluative measurements were required in order to report about the obtained results. This was still done under all of her successors until today. Although Van Ardenne was more inclined to involve the Dutch private sector, this was only a marginal part of the budget. Van Ardenne introduced the so-called Dutch or 3D's approach, referring to Defense, Diplomacy, and Development, which has even been applied in the policy of Ploumen. She also increased the co-financing program by making 2.1 billion available from 2006 till 2010 for Public Private Partnerships (PPP) between the government and companies or non-governmental organizations (NCDO – Kaleidos Research, 2012).

4.1.1 Bert Koenders - Minister of Development Cooperation from 2007- 2010

Bert Koenders was sworn in on February 22, 2007. As a Minister without portfolio for development cooperation, he worked under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Koenders was a member of the Dutch Labor Party (PvdA) that were at that time in a coalition with the Christian Union and the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA). On the political spectrum, this coalition was centered at the middle-left. This meant more attention and budget space was given to Development Cooperation. On October 17th, 2007, the policy document of Minister Koenders 'Everybody's business'⁷ became public. It established that the world becomes, both smaller and more unequal. Although there are good chances for growth and investments, many countries and people are lagging behind. Development cooperation should work as a catalyst for development. Besides, it was expected to become increasingly political. Therefore, Koenders introduced an integrated approach to resolve conflicts with increased attention for human rights, especially that of women. In line with this new policy focus, Koenders changed the sectors in which development aid was to be spent. His predecessor, Agnes van Ardenne primarily focused on the sectors Education, HIV/Aids, Reproductive Health and Environment, and Water. Koenders removed the sectors Education and HIV/Aids from his priority list and changed Environment and Water into Sustainability, Climate, and Energy. While he kept Reproductive Health, he heavily emphasized 'gender' and 'rights' in this key policy sector. Furthermore, he added two new priority sectors: Security and Development and Growth and Distribution (Koenders, 2007). The latter would not make it into Knapen policy outlined in the 'Basic letter' Development Cooperation (2010). See Table 2 for an overview of the Ministers and their priority areas.

⁷ In Dutch: 'Een zaak van iedereen'

Table 2 Officeholders and their respective policy priority areas/spearheads

Van Ardenne	Koenders	Knapen	Ploumen
Education			
HIV/AIDS			
Reproductive Health	Gender and SRHR*	SRHR	Women rights and SRHR
Environment and Water	Sustainability, Climate, and Energy	Water	Water, Environment, and Climate
	Security and Development	Security and Rule of Law	Security and Rule of Law, Good governance
	Growth and Distribution		
		Food Security	Food Security

Source: Verwer *et al.* (2014, p.432-433)

* sexual reproductive health and rights

Differing from his predecessor and considering the Dutch backlog on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Koenders advocated - in order to fulfil these policy intensifications- for the (i) inclusion of fragile states with regard to good governance programs, since he feared that the question for more effectiveness and the necessity to be able to measure results would lead to the exclusion of countries that need help the most. This was a political risk, but Koenders was said to be rather skeptical of 'number fetishism' (Koelé, 2008). Furthermore Koenders advocated for (ii) Equal rights and possibilities for women and sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR); (iii) More emphasis on growth and especially the distribution of growth to reduce inequality between and within countries by stimulating participation in world trade system and a pro-poor growth in the private sector; and (iv) the importance of environment and energy in attaining the MDGs and the 'recognition that climate change has an influence on it' (Koenders, 2007, p. 18-19). He proposed to work with so-called development contracts that contain the mutual rights and duties of both donor- and receiving country. These contracts should not serve as conditions, but rather as an extension of ownership: development countries should be in charge of their own development. (v) he called for an increased cooperation with the private sector 'the experience, knowledge, and capabilities of private actors should be used for sustainable development and poverty reduction' (Ibid, p.20).

At the start of Minister Koenders' term in office, the number of partner countries was 36 and the number of (post)conflict countries that received substantial aid was 4, adding up to a total of 40 countries. The volume and intensity of development assistance varied depending on the country's situations and needs, and on Dutch expertise and added value. In order to be better able to demonstrate the differences between these countries and the Dutch approach, Koenders distinguished between 3 profiles, which would simultaneously show the center of gravity of Dutch development cooperation. In the first profile,

the accelerated realization of the MDGs in low-income countries was at the core (17 countries); in the second profile, Security and Development was at the core (9 countries) and the third profile classified middle-income countries that needed specific support or policy instruments to sustain their development (7 countries). The remaining 7 countries were selected for the phasing out of development assistance from the Dutch government, meaning that the donor relation would gradually be ended.⁸

In sum, although Minister Koenders made some attempts to focus on Dutch expertise and added value by reducing the number of partner countries, he was mainly focused on decreasing the backlog of the MDGs by emphasizing the importance of social infrastructure: security, absence of conflict, SRHR and women's rights and the distribution of growth. However, by means of his new policy priority 'growth and distribution,' there came an opening for economic sectors, which had not been the case hitherto, when the focus was more on enhancing public basic facilities, such as health care and education. Furthermore, Koenders' start as minister coincided with a report of the World Bank: Agriculture for Development, stating that agriculture contributes to development as an economic activity, livelihood, and provider of environmental services, yet has been vastly underused for development (2007, p. 7). This resulted in a policy letter 'Agriculture, Rural Activity and Food security' of Koenders and the Minister of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality, Gerda Verburg. They announced 50 million euros extra per year - in addition to the regular 350 million - with special attention to Africa since 21 of the 37 countries hit hardest by the food crisis are located in Africa. The extra attention for Agricultural Development should lead to:

- Productivity Improvement: especially smallholder farmers with little land should benefit from local applicable innovations that lead to a higher quality and quantity;
- Enabling Environment: next to the private sector, the government should provide the right entrepreneurial climate;
- Sustainable Chain Development: based on enhancing the three P's: people, planet, and profit;
- Improved Market Access: enhancing local markets and removal of international trade barriers;
- Food security and transition mechanisms: attention for most vulnerable groups, such as women (Koenders, Verburg, 2008, p. 8-9).

Publication of WRR Report 'Less pretension, more ambition'

In the third year of Koenders' term in office, the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy⁹ (WRR) published a report entitled 'Less pretension, more ambition'. Based on 500 interviews with practitioners and academics and a literature study it analyzed the Dutch development cooperation policy and offered recommendations in order to 'let the Netherlands regain authority' (WRR, 2010, p.7). The WRR states that development cooperation is inevitable in this increasingly interdependent world with transboundary problems, such as financial and economic crisis, climate change, migration flows and others. Its proposal to extend the responsibilities of the Minister of Development cooperation with the Globalization Agenda should, therefore, be taken into account, according to Koenders.

One of the main recommendations was to reduce the number of partner countries to 10 so that aid can be better adjusted to the countries' needs. The Netherlands should focus on its expertise areas where it

⁸ Bosnia and Herzegovina, Eritrea, Sri Lanka, Albania, Armenia, Cape Verde and Macedonia, FYR (DGIS, 2007)

⁹ In Dutch: Wetenschappelijke Raad voor Regeringsbeleid (WRR)

has a comparative advantage, such as agriculture, water, rule of law and HIV/Aids. In a first reaction, Koenders stated that the number 10 appears to be chosen rather randomly to him since he already has reduced the number of partner countries and will continue to do so ('Koenders kritisch op WRR rapport,' 2010). Secondly, the WRR advice advocated for a development agency e.g. NLAid to promote knowledge development and professionalization of the sector. Currently, civil servants move every 3 years to another embassy, which can result in a loss of knowledge. Koenders acknowledged the need for professionalization, nonetheless, questioned a construction such as USAid 'which is not an enlightening example in terms of flexibility' (Koenders speech).

Thirdly, it recommended to focus on economic development instead of social development (poverty reduction and health care of the past 20 years) and to focus on global problems. Koenders admitted the importance of economic development, but emphasized the social conditions necessary to achieve it: it is not or-or, rather and-and' (Ibid).

Fourthly, it questioned the 0.7% of Gross National Income dedicated to the Official Development Assistance (ODA) norm, internationally agreed upon by OECD states. Koenders underscored the importance and duties of international agreements and assured that his department would study the recommendations made in this report. All in all, Koenders has stated to appreciate the thorough report and acknowledged its role as a constructive basis for debate, however, he rebutted every recommendation, at least partly. It was up to his successor to give the official reaction of the cabinet, which will be discussed in the next paragraph.

Koenders states in a first reaction (the official reaction appeared during Knapen's term of office) that 'the critique of society on development cooperation should be taken extremely seriously' (Koenders, 2010, Speech,) which was to be further outlined in the new policy of his successor: Ben Knapen.

4.1.2 Ben Knapen - Secretary of State responsible for development cooperation from 2010-2012

Knapen was sworn in on October 14th, 2010 as Secretary of State responsible for European Affairs and Development Cooperation. He is a member of the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) who shared a minority coalition with the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD), with the support of the Party for Freedom (PVV). On the political spectrum, these parties are all rather right, which clarifies why Development Cooperation became a shared responsibility of a Secretary of State, instead of a separate Ministers responsibility. He served under VVD Minister Uri Rosenthal, who came into discredit for saying that: 'diplomacy as a rustic pastime is over' ('Diplomatie als rustiek tijdverdrijf voorbij', 2010). This was illustrative for the new direction of the government, namely 'a fundamental revision of Dutch development policy (...) the unavoidable need to cut spending provides us with a unique opportunity to make very clear choices.' (Knapen, 2010, p.1). Knapen argues that in the past only new priorities have been added, while older ones were maintained – be it on a lower priority level, e.g. education and health under Koenders. This increased number of priorities, themes, and policy instruments have made Dutch

development ineffective. Therefore, he chose his themes on the basis of two criteria: a) its relevance to poverty reduction and b) Dutch strategic interests: where are Dutch social and commercial interests at stake and where does the Netherlands have comparative advantages? This resulted in a choice for water and food security as priority themes, as well as SRHR and Security and Rule of Law. The latter served also as a condition for support: 'we will give no budget support to countries where there is evidence of corruption, human rights violations or poor governance.' (Ibid, p.5).

Knapen clearly adopted several recommendations of the WRR report, namely:

- Shift from social to economic sectors - not only government to government support which was the case with public social sectors such as health and education but an extension towards other actors in the private sector.
- ODA expenditure was reduced from 0.8% in 2010 to 0.7% in 2012. This 0.7% included the costs of international climate policy projected for 2011 and 2012.
- The number of partner countries (based on the same profiles as Koenders) was reduced to from 40 to 15. Embassies should develop a multi-year plan for the countries including aspects like gender and good governance. Independence and self-reliance of the partner country should be aimed for.

Furthermore, PPP became more important. Not only NGO's, but also companies were encouraged to engage in a PPP and received public money to contribute to the spearheads of the new policy.

What was new under Knapen was that he developed policy for each spearhead separately. Moreover, each spearhead got its own budget. For example, for food security he wrote a letter to parliament outlining the policy together with Secretary of State of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Innovation, Henk Bleker, focusing on:

- Increased sustainable production;
- Access to better food;
- More efficient markets;
- Improved entrepreneur climate (Knapen and Bleker, 2011).

This was the first time that nutrition was included in the food security policy, thereby broadening the policy from production to people. This broadening was essential to make progress in terms attaining SDG 2 End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture (Van der Wal, Interview, May 9, 2017).

Regarding the policy priority Water, he focused on i) efficient water use, especially in agriculture; ii) improved river basin management and safe delta's; and iii) improved access to safe drinking water and sanitation. According to Knapen this relates to many issues that might not be dealt with in the news, such as increasing competition about river basins, water need of the fast growing metropolises, escalating pollution of surface- and groundwater, the depletion of groundwater in high food-producing regions, and the unequal and often uncontrolled exploitation of few areas that contain a lot of water (Knapen, 2012a, p 1). The focus of the water program should synergize with the food security programs as executed in the 15 partner countries.

4.1.3 Lilianne Ploumen - Minister of Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation from 2012-2017

Minister Ploumen started her term of office on November 5th, 2012 as minister without portfolio of 'Foreign Aid and Development Cooperation'. She was a deputy of the Dutch Labor Party (left wing) that formed a coalition with the Party for Freedom and Democracy (right wing). According to Van der Wal, senior policy officer at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, her function title was deliberately in that order, to show priority and the direction of the government (Interview, May 9, 2017). Just as her predecessor Secretary of State Knapen, Minister Ploumen had to execute another round of budget reductions amounting to 1 billion over the 4 years. Even though Minister Ploumen managed to allocate extra funds for the international security budget and the revolving Dutch Good Growth Fund amounting to 500 million euros, the latter lacked regulations that the money should be spent on the policy priorities. Furthermore, Minister Ploumen was a 'minister with a humanitarian heart' according to the director of the Direction Stability and Humanitarian Aid (Jelte van Wieren, Personal Communication, January 15, 2015). From 2014 to 2016 she made 296.1 million euro available for humanitarian assistance to the Syria region, specifically for the accommodation of refugees (Parlement & Politiek, 2017). Minister Ploumen was the first to have a separate budget from the budget of Foreign Affairs.

In summary, her policy pushed for three aims: i) to eradicate extreme poverty in a single generation; ii) sustainable inclusive growth all over the world; iii) success for Dutch companies abroad (Ploumen, 2013a, p. 11). Dutch expertise –when complementary to the local context- was once again decisive in the formulation of policy directions. Besides this, the interests of Dutch companies became an explicit policy goal (execution was dependent on the partner country), which should increase productivity. Nevertheless, she acknowledged that 'trade [only] aids a developing country when improvements to its starting position are accompanied by the removal of barriers to trade and by corporate social responsibility' (Ibid, p. 18). It turned out that her program 'Aid to Trade', was sometimes necessary to adapt to 'Trade AND Aid', since countries were not yet ready for the transitional relation from receiver to trade partner (Van der Wal, Interview, May 7, 2017).

Since frequent changes to the aid pattern reduce effectiveness, Ploumen adhered to the list of partner countries as set up by Knapen, consisting of 15 countries. The relationship with Bangladesh, Benin, Ethiopia, Ghana, Indonesia, Kenya, Mozambique, and Uganda would become transitional: moving from aid to trade. For the same reason, Ploumen adopted the four policy priorities of her predecessor Knapen, although including women's rights in the SRHR policy priority, environment and climate to the water policy priority, and good governance to the security and rule of law policy priority. Despite the extended names, she cut in the budget of all priorities except for women's rights and SRHR. Furthermore, she announced to cut into the budget for civil society, multilateral expenditure, education, and research (Ploumen, 2013a, p. 8-9). Besides adopting the policy priorities or themes, she also adopted the policy for each theme, except for food security for which a new policy direction was set out in a letter to parliament. The new Dutch policy goals for food security were:

- Eradication of current hunger and undernourishment
- Promotion of inclusive sustainable growth in the agricultural sector

- Realization of an ecologically sustainable food chain (Ploumen, Dijkma, 2014).

Lastly, new under Ploumen was her emphasis on policy coherence for development, which for her policy specifically meant that actions of one policy area (trade) should not undermine those of another policy area (sustainable growth), should conflicts of interest arise. In a more general sense, it meant that the consequences of all policy areas other than development cooperation should not undermine the position of developing countries.

A summary of policy timeline from 2006 till 2016 is displayed in Figure 1.

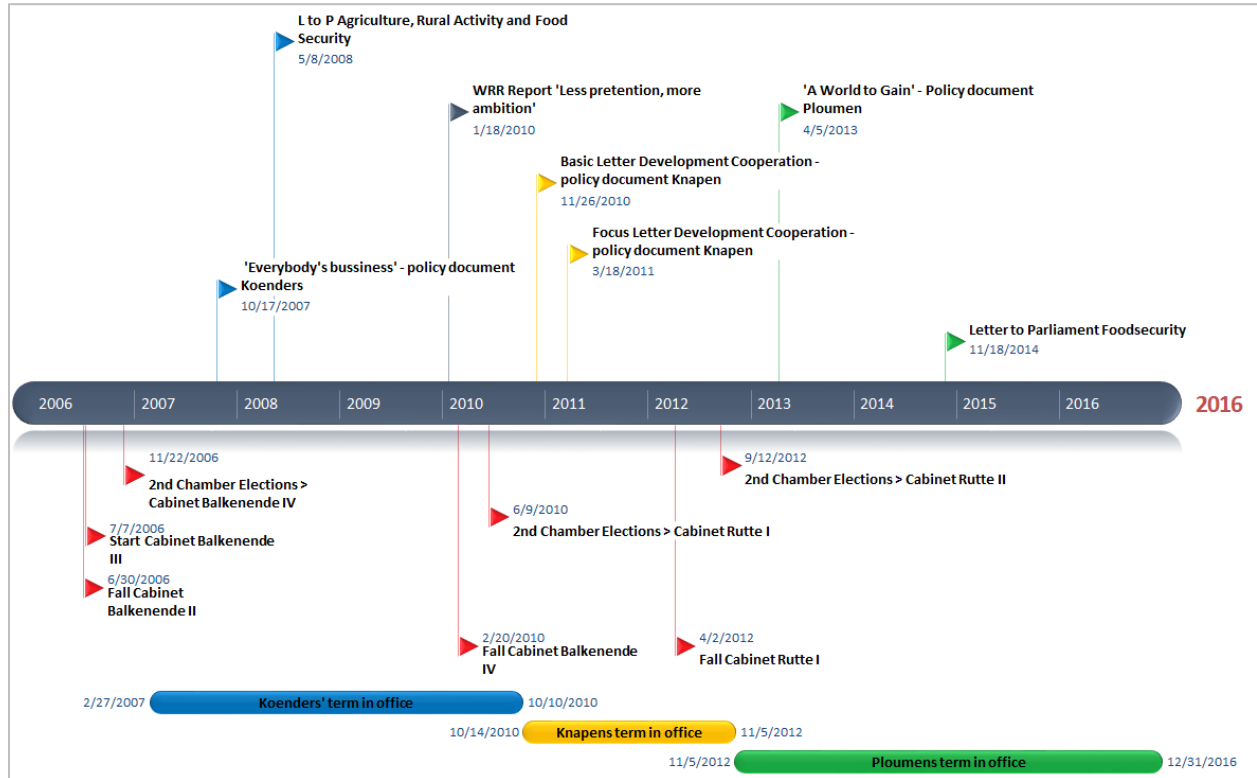


Figure 1 Policy timeline from 2006 - 2016

Whether the announced policy changes have become material will be discussed in the section 4.1.4.

4.1.4 Have policy changes become material?

According to Cairney, 'the best demonstration of the picture of policy stability and change can be found in budgeting' (2011, p. 95). Thus, in order to see if the policy changes made by the different officeholders are also reflected in changes in budgeting, we have analyzed Net ODA in % of GNI, Country Programmable Aid, and ODA expenditure per sector. The first indicator is the percentage of the Gross National Income (GNI) reserved for Official Development Assistance (ODA). See Figure 2, on the left hand underneath.

The Netherlands until recently used to be one of the most generous donors in terms of the GNI per capita (Verwer *et al.* 2014). Due to the budget reductions under Knapen, Net ODA was expected to decrease since 2010, which is indeed the case. Nevertheless, this has increased again under Ploumen, especially in

2015. This is due to an increase of 489 million euro in the budget for first-year accommodation of asylum seekers, which is part of the budget for development cooperation (Vermeulen, 2017). According to the OECD, this can be part of the Official Development Assistance (ODA). If one would exclude the costs of asylum seekers, the Netherlands would end up far beneath the international norm of 0.7% of the GNI, precisely at 0.59 % of the GNI in 2016 (Hoebink, 2017).

Moreover, a decrease in Country Programmable Aid (CPA) can be witnessed as shown in Figure 3. CPA is the portion of aid that donors budget at the country or regional level. CPA for bilateral donors is defined through exclusions, by subtracting from total gross bilateral ODA, all activities that: (i) are inherently unpredictable by nature (humanitarian aid and debt relief); or (ii) entail no cross-border flows (administrative costs, imputed student costs, promotion of development awareness, and costs related to research and refugees in donor countries); or (iii) do not form part of co-operation agreements between governments (food aid, aid from local governments, core funding to NGOs, ODA equity investments, aid through secondary agencies, and aid which is not allocable by country or region) (OECD, 2017b). In other words: it is the portion of money over which the recipient country can decide, which makes it is a better reflection of the actual amount of support between countries. Thus the decrease reflects the reduction of the number of partner countries and the transition from Aid to Trade.

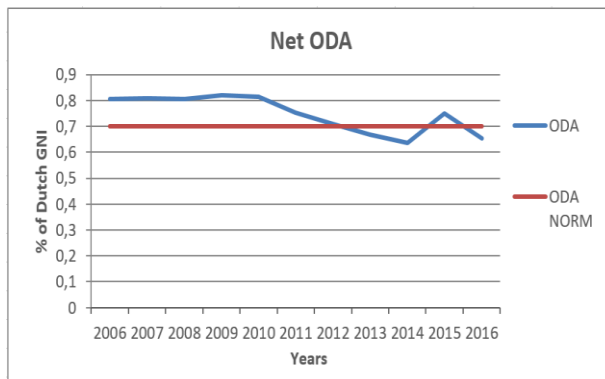


Figure 2 Net Oda, 2006-2016, (OECD, 2017a)

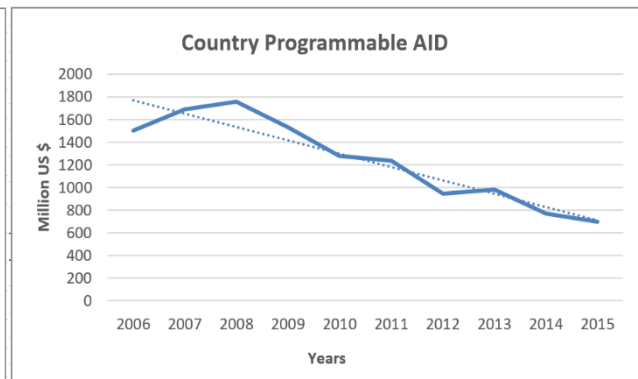


Figure 3 Country Programmable Aid, 2006-2015 (OECD, 2017b)

Based on the policy changes made especially under Knapen and Ploumen, one would expect to witness a decrease in budgeting for the social sector and an increase for the economic sector as well as the productive sector, such as agriculture. However, nor the absolute, nor the relative ODA expenditure showed this movement clearly, as is depicted in Figure 4. The fact that budget flows might not have been adjusted can be clarified by multi-year contracts that the ministry closes with partners. Moreover, it takes a while before countries are phased-out in terms of aid, or assistance is actually reduced (Van der Wal, Interview, May 9, 2017). Under Koenders the multi-sector expenditures are much higher than under his successors. Another aspect that stands out is that the unspecified expenditures have increased enormously under Ploumen. This could be due to the increase in the budget for the first year accommodation of asylum seekers, that has increased under Ploumen till 23% in 2016 (Vermeulen, 2016).

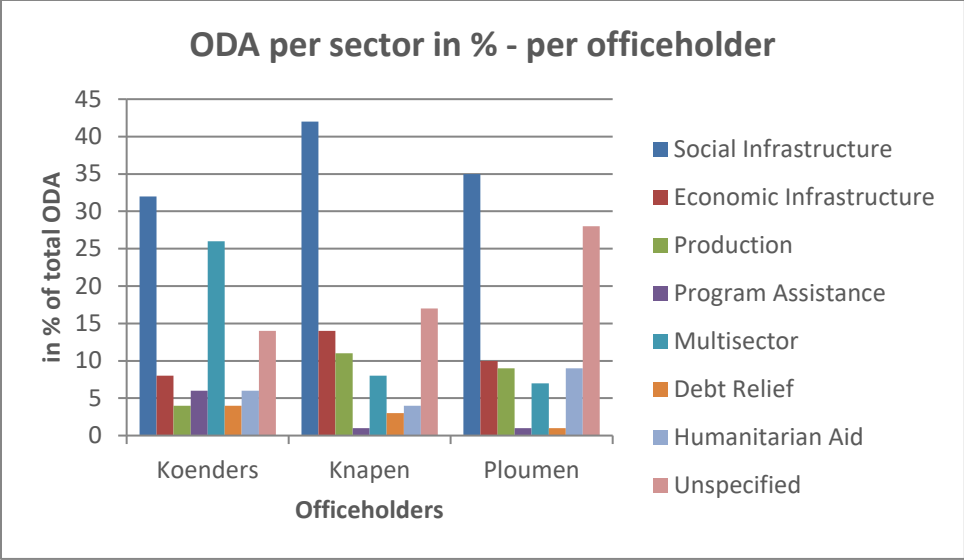


Figure 4 ODA expenditure in % per sector per officeholder (OECD, 2017c)

4.2 Amount of Attention and the way development cooperation occurs in the Dutch Media

4.2.1. will answer the question ‘How often has development cooperation occurred in the Dutch media since 2006?’ Section 4.2.2. will answer the question in what way development cooperation has occurred in the Dutch media. To that end, first the frames will be presented and their frequency analyzed. Thereafter the tone of voice regarding development cooperation in general and the Dutch policy specifically will be analyzed.

4.2.1 How often has development cooperation occurred in the Dutch media since 2006?

Since 2006, 6456 articles have been published in the Telegraaf, the NRC Handelsblad, or the Volkskrant that contained either the term development cooperation or development aid. Of these articles, 31% contained the name of the officeholder of development cooperation. The yearly distribution of articles about Development Aid/Cooperation is displayed in Figure 5. In general, one can conclude that the media attention for development cooperation has diminished over the years. This can partly be due to the fact that the second cabinet of Rutte, under which Ploumen was Minister of Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation, was the first since 1998 that completed the parliamentary period. Consequently, there were relatively few occasions in the years 2013- 2016, to write about development cooperation from a political perspective. No elections generally means no change of guard in the office and thus no major change of policy or budget. These major changes, which were now absent, tend to attract media attention. With regard to the distribution of the attention, no clear peaks can be identified, except for two relatively small increases in the years 2010 and 2012. They will be further elaborated upon underneath when discussing the different policy periods, since it then will become clear in which periods they have occurred exactly.

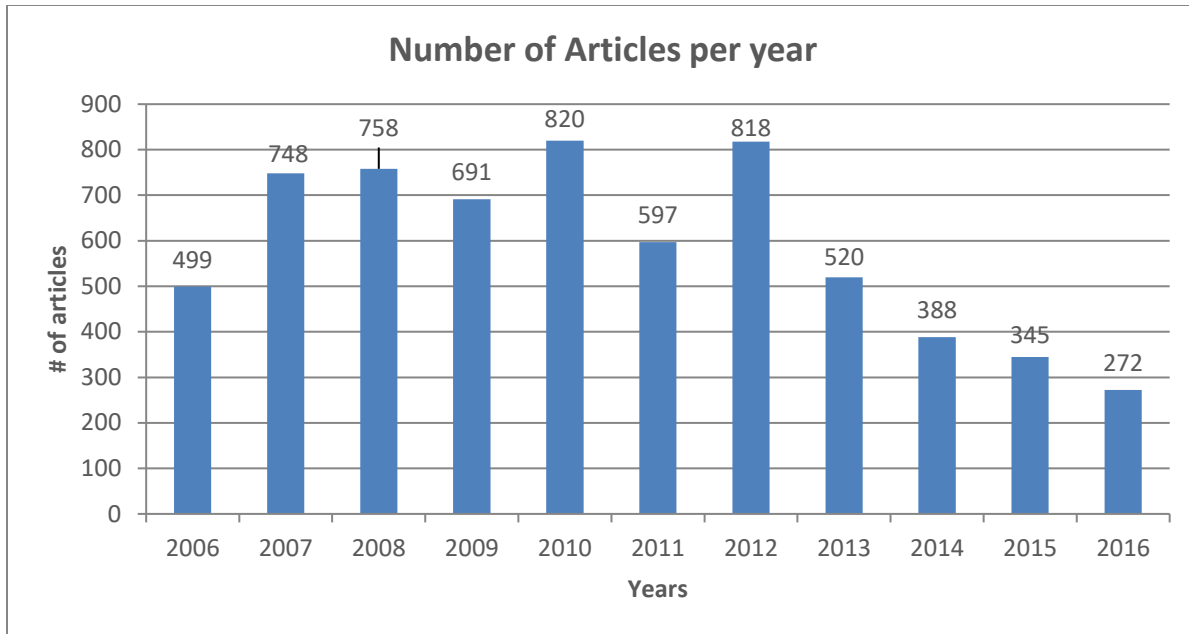


Figure 5 Number of articles containing the search terms development aid or cooperation, from 2006-2016

Media Attention during the different policy periods

In order to be able to make the comparison between policy changes and media attention and the way in which articles appeared in the media, the year has been split up between different policy periods. Period 1 from January – May includes ‘Accountability Day’ in which each Minister explains his/her expenditures and how that has contributed to attaining his policy goals. Period 2 from June – September includes ‘Prinsjesdag’, on which the budget for the coming year is presented. Period 3 from October till December is the remainder of the year, during which the cabinet decides over the budgetary proposals.

The distribution of the number of articles per policy period over the years is displayed in Figure 6. It appears that the increases in media attention in 2010 and 2012 have occurred in the first period of the year. The increase in 2010 results partly from the great earthquake in Haiti on January 12th - 62 articles are dedicated to it. Other attention attracting events were the parliamentary elections and budget reductions, accounting for 96 articles in the first period. The peak in 2012 comes mainly from the coming elections and the importance of development cooperation during the coming negotiations. 131 articles contain the search term ‘budget reductions’.

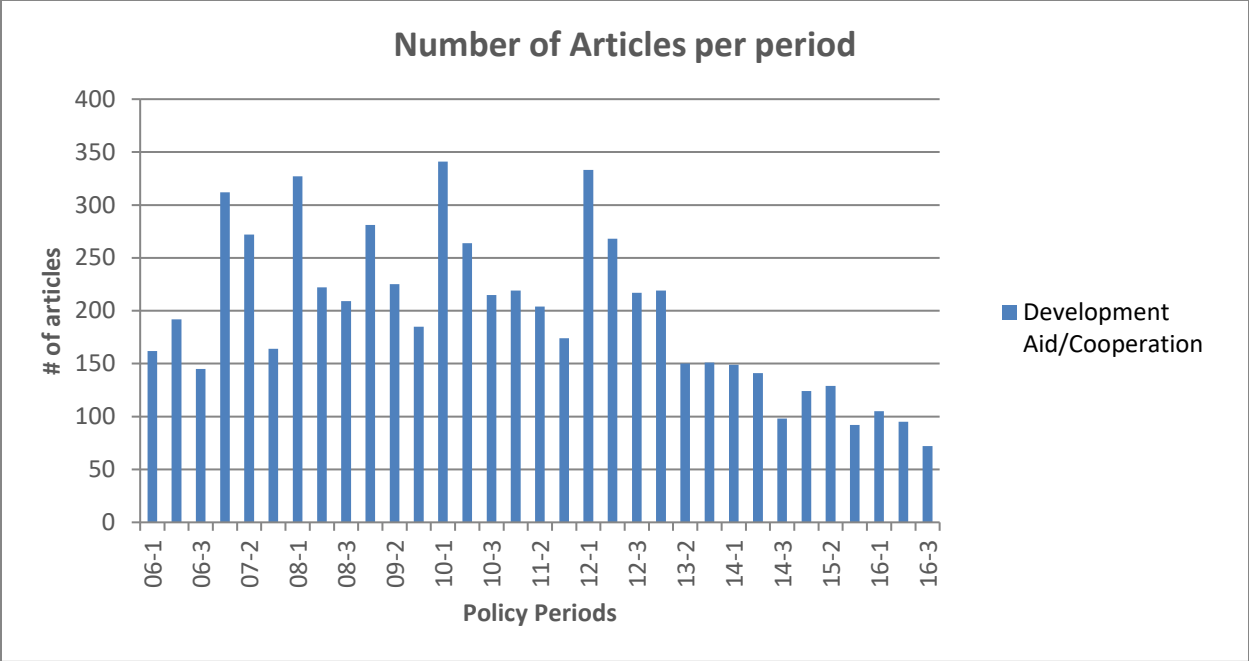


Figure 6 Number of articles per policy period

Media attention during the different officeholders

Another question that arises from the number of articles is whether there is a significant difference in the amount of media attention regarding Development Cooperation/Aid during the different officeholders. The declining trend of attention for development cooperation (Figure 5) is also clearly visible when comparing the different officeholders. Table 3 demonstrates that under Minister Ploumen media attention regarding development cooperation or aid has decreased significantly regarding both Minister Koenders as well as Secretary of State Knapen. Under Koenders and Knapen, an average of 754 and 708 articles per year were published respectively, whereas under Ploumen a yearly average of only 381 articles was published. Next to this, it has been tested who of the officeholders attracted most media attention by looking at the number of articles containing the name of the officeholder. Although one might expect that the Secretary of State would differ significantly from the Ministers in the number of articles published in his term of office given the difference in function, this is not the case here. Minister Koenders is the one with the most media attention, significantly differing from Secretary of State Knapen and from Minister Ploumen as is shown in Table 3 as well.

Table 3 Difference in the number of articles during the various officeholders using search terms development cooperation/aid as well as development cooperation/aid AND the name of the officeholder.

With regard to the articles about development cooperation/aid: a significant difference exists between Minister Ploumen and Secretary of State Knapen ($p=0.001$) as well as between Minister Ploumen and Minister Koenders ($p<0.000$). No significant difference exists between Secretary of State Knapen and Minister Koenders ($p=1.000$). A Oneway ANOVA test has been performed with a post Hoc Bonferroni and $\alpha=0.05$. See Appendix I-1. The amount of articles containing the name of the officeholder next to terms development cooperation/aid differs in case of Minister Koenders significantly from Secretary of State Knapen ($p<0.000$) as well from Minister Ploumen ($p<0.000$). No significant difference exists between Secretary of State Knapen and Minister Ploumen ($p=1.000$). An Oneway ANOVA test has been performed with a post Hoc Bonferroni and $\alpha=0.05$. See Appendix I-2.

Officeholder vs.	Officeholder	Average # of Articles per year	P -value	Average # of Articles per year including name Officeholder	P -value
Koenders	Knapen	754	1,000	271	,000
	Ploumen		,000		,000
Knapen	Koenders	708	1,000	114	,000
	Ploumen		,001		1,000
Ploumen	Koenders	381	,000	131	,000
	Knapen		,001		1,000

Overall, media attention for development cooperation has diminished over the years. This could be due to a decreased interest in the subject or an increased interest in other subjects, that take the place of development cooperation, such as the migration crisis, Trump’s election, or national problems. The number of articles published under Ploumen has significantly decreased compared to her two predecessors. When looking at the number of articles containing the name of the officeholder, Minister Koenders is mentioned most often. As shown, an important factor in generating media attention are policy events such as the elections and the expected budget reductions. Natural disasters also attract media attention as was visible in the years 2010 and 2012 by the earthquake in Haiti in January 2010. The next section concerns the way in which development cooperation has occurred in the media, by analyzing the frequency of frames present in the articles (4.2.2.a) and by analyzing the tone of voice of development cooperation in general and regarding the Dutch policy (4.2.2.b)

4.2.2 In what way has development cooperation occurred in the Dutch media since 2006?

Of the 363 articles that have been analyzed, 51 articles (14%) did relate to development cooperation but did not fit any of the frames. This could be due to very little or very factual information, such as an announcement that Minister Ploumen (foreign trade and development cooperation) is about to travel to New York for an international conference. Thus, only her function is mentioned, which is the reason that the article was part of the sample.

4.2.2.a Framing Analysis

In order to execute the framing analysis, 7 frames were established which will be presented first. Thereafter, the frequency of frames will be discussed, followed by the frequency of frames over the years, per officeholder and per newspaper.

1. Development Cooperation is a matter of Helping Innocent Victims

This frame is characterized by portraying the poor as (passive) victims surrounded by hardships. Their miserable circumstances, as well as the solutions, are beyond their control. Especially the rich are responsible for improving the lives of the poor and to provide at least the basic needs: food, water, health

care, shelter and perhaps a source of income. The role of development aid is to prevent suffering and death caused by the deprivation of basic needs. In other words, it mainly revolves around humanitarian assistance. Since the poor are innocent victims, situated in poverty by powers outside their control, the rich have a moral obligation to relieve these underserved needs. A de facto moral appeal is done: this is how we would love to be helped when the situation would be reversed. This frame is i.a. recognizable by 'the white savior', be it described or displayed.

2. Development Cooperation is a matter of Facilitating Progress

Humans have been capable of overcoming many problems regarding the satisfaction of their basic needs, mainly due to economic and technological development. Current poverty is caused by underdevelopment, and it's only a matter of time until it will be resolved if the suitable efforts and investments are made. Since the richer, developed countries have both the knowledge and the funds to invest in infrastructure, the economy, the educational system, and health care, they are most suitable to take on the problem resolver role. The emphasis in this frame is on rational and practical solutions, in which the poor follow the rich by adopting practices, technologies such as solar panels, water pumps, irrigation systems, sowing/plowing methods, and hospitals. NGO's and knowledge institutes play an important role in facilitating progress. Development aid should lead to visible and measurable improvements. Illustrative of this frame are the Millennium and Sustainable Development Goals, with clear targets to combat poverty. This frame is also recognizable by the implicit notion that progress is good for everybody. Moreover, metaphors with a moving element such as 'to climb out of poverty' are often used to illustrate the idea of progress and development. In fact, the very words 'development countries' and 'development cooperation' are part of this frame and the underlying progress thinking. Note that this frame can also be used to illustrate the reverse, namely stagnation or the lack of development and progress.

3. Development Cooperation is a matter of Trade for Aid

This frame also embodies the idea of progress and optimism with regard to poverty reduction. Only the means by which this should be enhanced are different. Here, trade is the solution and investments should be aimed at enhancing trade. Aid contributes to dependency, whereas trade in a free market does not. The trade approach implies a more equal relationship between trade partners than a donor vs. receiver relationship. Trade is the perfect instrument to combat poverty since it can be beneficial for both countries. Proponents of this frame would not be against development cooperation, however, strongly in favor of the inclusion of the private sector to stimulate development. Wealth will then trickle down to the poorer people in the country over time. This frame can furthermore be recognized by the view that our own economic interests are a perfectly legitimate reason to invest in developing countries. This need not be altruistic at all. The local context is of marginal importance here.

4. Development Cooperation is a matter of Enhancing Social Justice

This frame illustrates the content of article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: *'all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and right. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood'* (United Nations General Assembly, 1948). Nonetheless, the poor are in some cases deprived of political, social or judicial rights. In fact, they lack equality of opportunity, which is the cause of their poverty. Equal distribution of wealth, opportunities (e.g. by training people), and natural resources (e.g. by the legislature) would contribute to combating

poverty. The emphasis is on human rights, such as gender equality. The moral incentive is based on solidarity - all human beings are allies in the fight for dignity and equality of opportunities. In other words, the material aspect of poverty is not at the core, rather the negative social aspects, such as humiliation, discrimination, exclusion, and shame. The role of development aid is to support the poor in fighting for their rights.

5. Development Cooperation is a matter of Fighting Corruption and Implementing Good Governance

This frame depicts a corrupt, incapable leader or government as the root cause of poverty. Institutions are usually weak and do not manage to provide their people with the basic necessities. Stereotypes such as: self-enriching leader, wasting of the aid budget, and entirely dependent nations can occur within this frame. Since the problem originates in the country itself, it should be solved within the country. Corruption should be fought, the culture of patronage should be altered by not favoring family or tribe members at the expense of capable people, and institutions should be strengthened. This can be attained when governance is rooted in self-transcendent values, that is to say: the interests of the people should be of primary importance in decision making instead of self-enrichment and a desire to power. This frame can be used to demonstrate both the presence of bad governance as the cause of poverty, and the necessity of good governance as the cure for poverty.

6. Development Cooperation is a matter of Collective Responsibility to Tackle Transboundary Problems

We live in an increasingly interdependent world, due to globalization and the transboundary problems we face, such as climate change, pollution, crime, and others. Nonetheless, these problems, specifically food and water shortage, are unevenly distributed and the poor carry the heaviest burden. This frame emphasizes the moral idea that poverty is a collective problem, and not just one of the poor, and as such the responsibility for the solution is a collective one. Solutions are thus to be expected from joint international bodies, treaties, and agreements in which governments, as well as corporations and consumers are included as actors. On a personal level, one can contribute by minimizing his ecological footprint, and by buying fair products. This idea of collective responsibility is reinforced by the idea that the West (United States, Europe, and China nowadays) have enriched themselves at the expense of the developing countries.

7. Development Cooperation is a matter of Protecting the Security and Stability of the West

The effects of poverty in underdeveloped countries can be felt in rich societies, for example by the spread of infectious diseases, uncontrolled migration, and international terrorism. Development cooperation should, consequently, be aimed at protecting the security of the rich by restricting migration to the West, by accommodating refugees in their own countries, as well as by partaking in peacekeeping missions. International collaboration, such as joint peacekeeping missions, is the way to achieve stability in the West. The moral basis is that the world must be a safe place and that threats to this safety must be neutralized. Fear and anxiety are drivers which are expressed in metaphors like 'a flow of migrants', 'the conflict is getting out of hand', 'uncontrollable amounts', and 'own safety first'.

To enhance readability, the frames will be abbreviated (see Table 4).

Table 4 Frame names and their abbreviation

Frame Name	Abbreviation
1. Development Cooperation is a matter of Helping Innocent Victims	Helping Victims
2. Development Cooperation is a matter of Facilitating Progress	Facilitating Progress
3. Development Cooperation is a matter of Trade for Aid	Trade for Aid
4. Development Cooperation is a matter of Enhancing Social Justice	Social Justice
5. Development Cooperation is a matter of Fighting Corruption and Implementing Good Governance	Fighting Corruption
6. Development Cooperation is a matter of Collective Responsibility to Tackle Transboundary Problems	Collective Responsibility
7. Development Cooperation is a matter of Protecting the Security and Stability of the West	Protecting the West

Frequency of frames from 2006-2016

The frequency of frames over the years 2006 till 2016 is displayed in Figure 7. Frame 7 Protecting the West appears most frequently (19%). The second most frequent frame is the first frame Helping Victims with 16%. The third most frequently appearing frame is frame 6 Collective Responsibility. The top three is closely followed by frame 2 Facilitating Progress (14%), frame 3 Trade for Aid and frame 5 Fighting Corruption (both 13%) and lastly, frame 4 Social Justice occurring in 10% of the articles. This shows that the reporting about development aid/cooperation is rather balanced and not dominated by one particular frame.

These findings were largely confirmed by the multiple frame analysis, that is to say when more than one frame was coded per article.¹⁰ Nonetheless, the Social Justice frame was the second most frequent frame in the multiple frames analysis. In other words, it is often used as a secondary frame: not the most outstanding message in articles, however, present in the background.

The same holds true for the frame portraying development cooperation as a matter of Facilitating Progress, number 2. Frame 5 Fighting Corruption and Frame 3 Trade for Aid are relatively most absent in the reporting about development aid/cooperation.

¹⁰ The graphs displaying the results of the multiple frames analysis can be found in Appendix II, since they did not differ significantly, nor outstandingly.

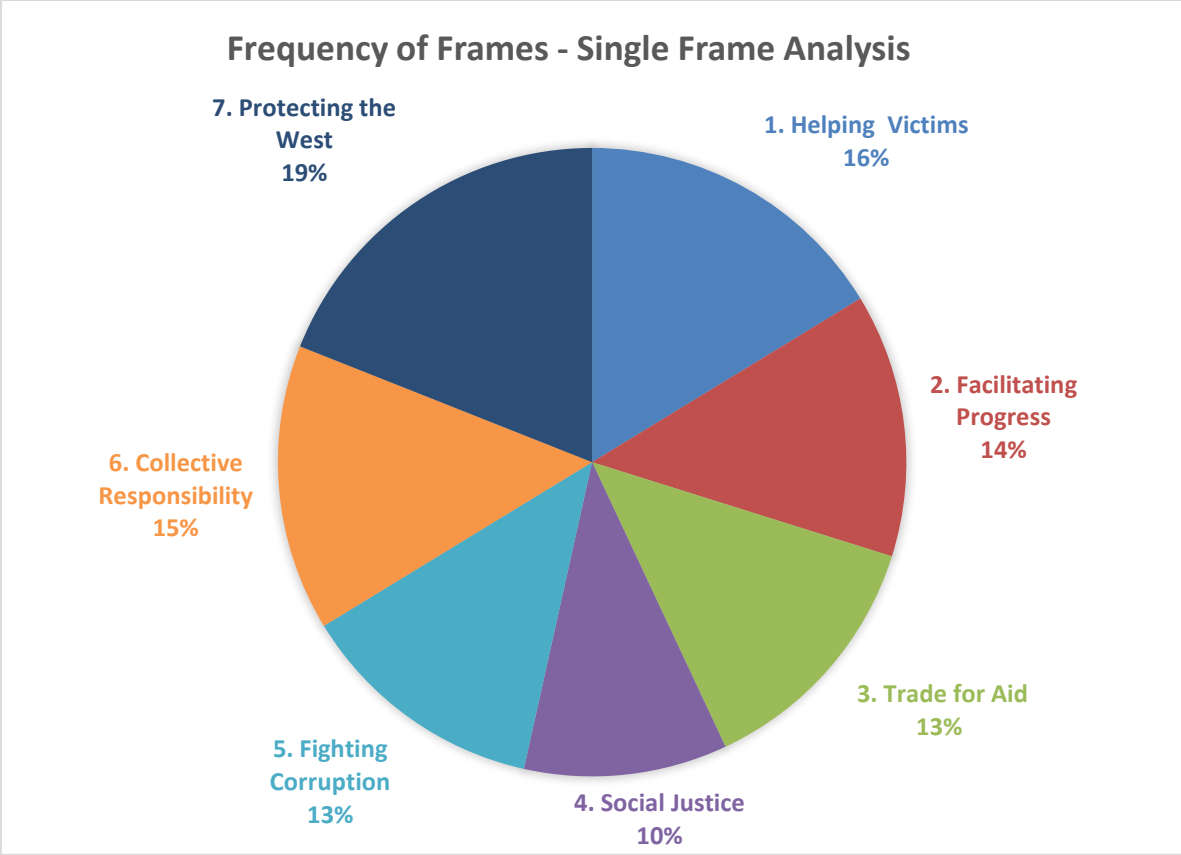


Figure 7 Frequency of frames in % - single frame analysis

The next question is how the frequency of frames is distributed over time, specifically over the years and over the three officeholders, which will be discussed in the next paragraph.

Dominance of frames over the years

Although there might be no significant difference in the frequency of frames per year ($p=0.180$)¹¹, they do fluctuate over time. The relative occurrence of the frames concerning development cooperation in the media per year in percentages is displayed in Figure 8 and 9.

The most frequently occurring frame Development Cooperation is a matter of Protecting Security and Stability of the West is rather dominant in the years 2006-2009 (average of 19%). This is due to articles relating to the Dutch military mission in Uruzgan, Afghanistan, in which this frame was almost always used. After begin completely absent in 2010, it increases until the great peak in 2016, where it covers 44% of the articles about development aid/cooperation. As said, nearly all articles concern the (boat)refugees often indicated as ‘the flow of migrants [...] that no country can handle on its own’. The European migration agreement is seen as an answer to the ‘disaster year’ 2015 when more than a million migrants entered the Union’ (Peeperkorn, 2016).

¹¹ See Appendix I-3

The second most dominant frame is the first entitled Helping Victims. The peak in 2010 is due to the earthquake in Haiti, which was followed by Dutch humanitarian assistance. From 2013 till 2016 it is mainly due to Haiyan, the typhoon in the Philippines, the refugees in Mali, Ebola – for the eradication of which the Netherlands sent a fully equipped ship to West Africa, and the dreadful circumstances in the refugee camps in the region of Syria.

The third most dominant frame, the Collective Responsibility frame, increases over time till the peak in 2010, where it is present in 39% of the articles. It then decreases, especially when the Protecting the West frame increases. In other words, collective responsibility becomes more background material when national interests and anxiety towards outsiders – typical for the latter frame – prevail.

Fourthly, the Facilitating Progress frame used to be quite dominant in 2006 (33%), however, decreases over time. It diminishes, while the Trade for Aid frame increases. The latter becomes more dominant in 2010 and is the most dominant frame in 2011. As indicated above, this corresponds to the policy period of Secretary of State Knapen.

The occurrence of the Fighting Corruption frame is rather modest, except for the peak in 2009. After this peak, the use of this frame relatively diminishes. Lastly, the Social Justice frame is concentrated around the parliamentary elections of 2012 as discussed above.

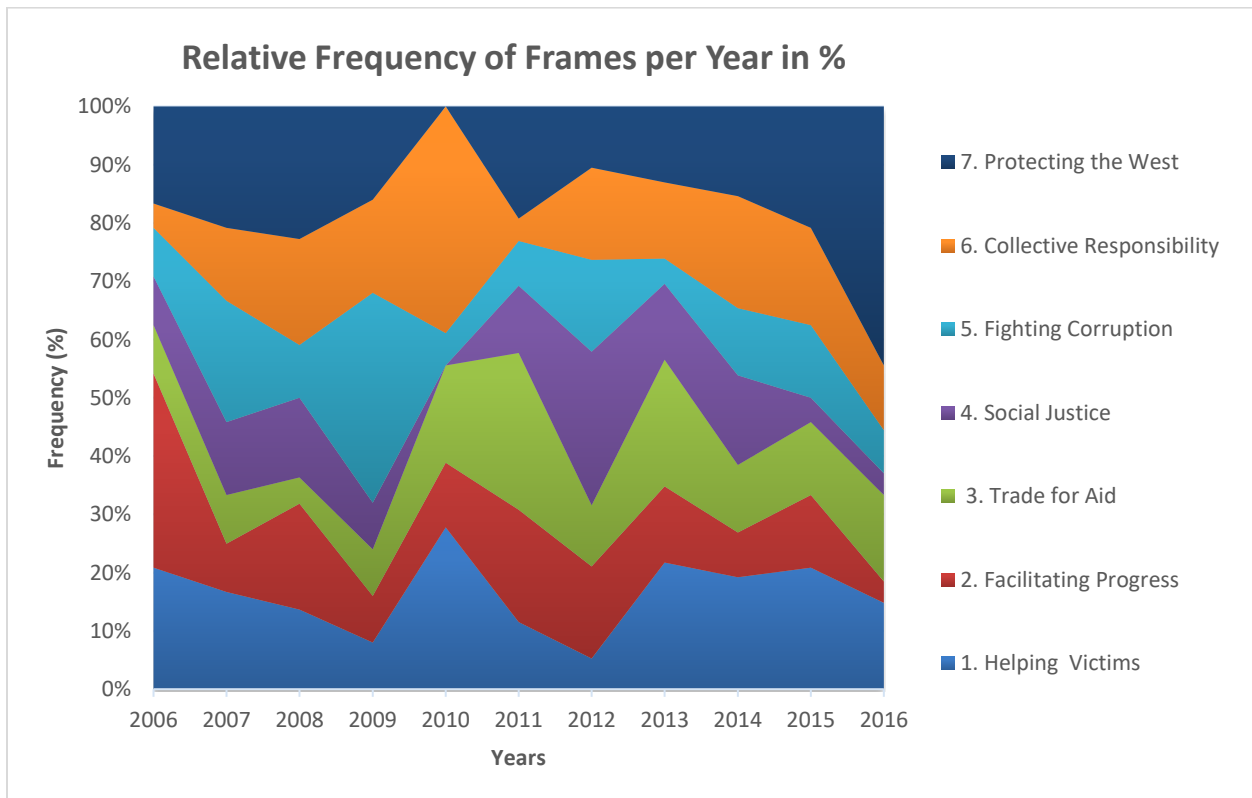


Figure 8 Relative frequency of frames per year – single frame analysis

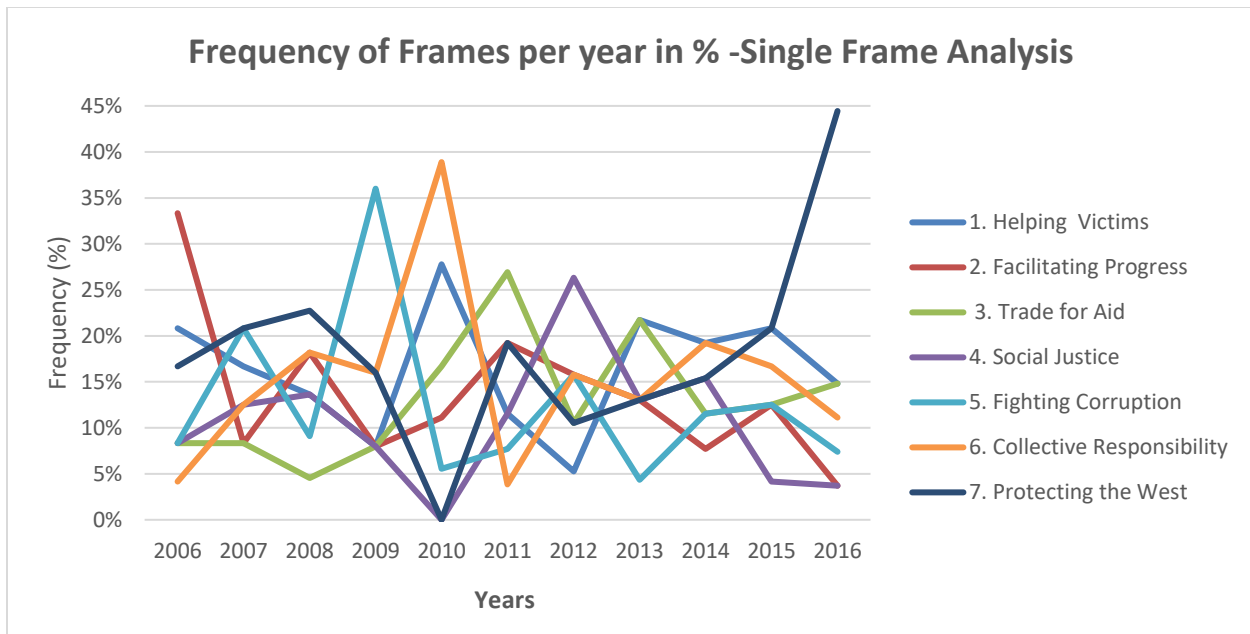


Figure 9 Frequency of Frames per year in % - single frame analysis

Dominance of frames during each officeholder

Is there a significant difference between the frequency of frames during the different reigning periods of the officeholders? In principle not, unless we take the Chi Square test as a p-value. 28.6% have a cell count of less than 5. Therefore, the Fischer Exact Test should be performed, which results in a p value of 0.82. Nevertheless, only when one looks at the less strict Pearson Chi-square p value it is significant: $p=.047$. See Table 5 below.

During Koenders' term in office, there is a significantly higher number of articles containing frame 5 Fighting Corruption ($z=2.20$) and frame 6 Collective Responsibility ($z=1.81$). During Knapen's term in office, there is a significantly higher number of articles containing frame 4 Social Justice ($z=1.76$). During Ploumen's term in office, there is a significantly lower amount of articles containing frame 2 Facilitating Progress' ($z=-1.70$).

Firstly, the significant increase of the Fighting Corruption frame under Minister Koenders is mainly due to a peak in 2009, when it covers 36% of the articles. This is, amongst others, due to a coup in Honduras, elections fraud in Nicaragua and corruption with development money in Haiti and Afghanistan. The Dutch government, in the person of Minister Koenders, threatens to postpone the support to these governments, if the situation remains the same.

Secondly, the significant increase in the Collective Responsibility frame is mainly because of an increase in the year 2010, where it covers 39% of the articles, specifically in the 2nd period of 2010 when it appears in 75% of the articles. These articles, except for 1, relate to the Second Chamber elections of June 9th that year and the foreseen budget reductions for development cooperation. A plea is made for more international cooperation and financial and policy support for less developed countries in order to cope

with the consequences of climate change. This plea for more international cooperation and collective responsibility for crises also resulted from the financial and food crisis starting 2007 and 2008 respectively.

Thirdly, the significant increase of the Social Justice frame under Knapen will be discussed. Although one would expect that this frame would be most dominant under Minister Koenders, due to the fact this his policy was mostly focused on the social sectors, this is, however, not the case. The term in office of Secretary of State Knapen witnesses a significant increase of the Social Justice frame. After 2010 it becomes more dominant, especially in 2012. This is due to a counter reaction against the coming budget reductions of the Dutch government that were negotiated, which led to the resignation of cabinet Rutte I on April 21, 2012, and the forwarded parliamentary elections of September 12, 2012. Development cooperation was an important and sensitive item on the political agenda (Giebels and Koelé, 2012).

Lastly, the significant decrease of articles containing the frame Facilitating Progress under Minister Ploumen is best clarified by the almost significant increase of the Protecting the West ($z=1.65$) and the relative increase of Helping Victims frame. The vast majority of articles containing the Protecting the West and the Helping Victims frame concern articles relating to the situation in Syria and the influx of refugees. The Protecting the West frame strongly associates this with anxiety towards refugees and a tendency towards national protectionism, whereas the Helping Victims frame emphasizes the helplessness of the victims of war, the dreadfulness and desperateness of the situation, as well as our moral duty to help them.

Table 5 Difference in frequency of frames under each officeholder – single frame analysis

Under Koenders, there is a significantly higher number of articles containing frame 5 Fighting Corruption ($z=2.20$) and frame 6 Collective Responsibility ($z=1.81$). Under Knapen, there is a significantly higher number of articles containing frame 4 Social Justice ($z=1.76$). Under Ploumen, there is a significantly lower amount of articles containing frame 2 Facilitating Progress' ($z=-1.70$). A Chi-square test has been performed followed by Fisher's Exact Test since 8.6% of the cells exceeds the limit of having an expected count of less than 5. Note that these differences are only significant when the p-value of the Chi-square test is taken. With a p of 0.05, the critical z-score is ± 1.64 .

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Monte Carlo Sig. (2-sided)			Monte Carlo Sig. (1-sided)		
				Significance	95% Confidence Interval		Significance	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Pearson Chi-Square	29.152 ^a	18	.047	.047 ^b	.043	.051			
Likelihood Ratio	27.655	18	.068	.101 ^b	.095	.107			
Fisher's Exact Test	26.310			.082 ^b	.077	.087			
Linear-by-Linear Association	.889 ^c	1	.346	.349 ^b	.340	.359	.173 ^b	.166	.181

N of Valid Cases	258							
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- a. 8 cells (28.6%) have an expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.51.
- b. Based on 10000 sampled tables with starting seed 1122541128.
- c. The standardized statistic is .943.

Officeholder * Frame Crosstabulation

Officeholder		Frame							Total
		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	
Koenders	# of articles	14	10	8	8	17	18	14	89
	Adjusted Residual	-.17	-.79	-1.44	-.56	2.20	1.81	-.97	
Knapen	# of articles	4	8	9	8	5	4	7	45
	Adjusted Residual	-1.48	.91	1.49	1.76	-.37	-1.22	-.65	
Ploumen	# of articles	19	9	15	9	9	15	24	100
	Adjusted Residual	.94	-1.70	.69	-.61	-1.45	.10	1.63	
Total	Count	42	35	34	27	33	38	49	258

Even though the occurrence of other frames might not significantly differ between the 3 officeholders, there are some outstanding fluctuations in terms of frequency. These are displayed in Figure 10. One can see that the Trade for Aid frame -emphasizing that trade is the perfect instrument to combat poverty since it can be beneficial for both countries without stimulating dependency- has strongly increased under Knapen compared to Minister Koenders. Although it is less dominant under Minister Ploumen, it still occurs more often than preceding Knapen’s term in office. When coding multiple frames per article the Trade for Aid frame is highest under Ploumen compared to the other two officeholders.¹²

¹² See Appendix II-2

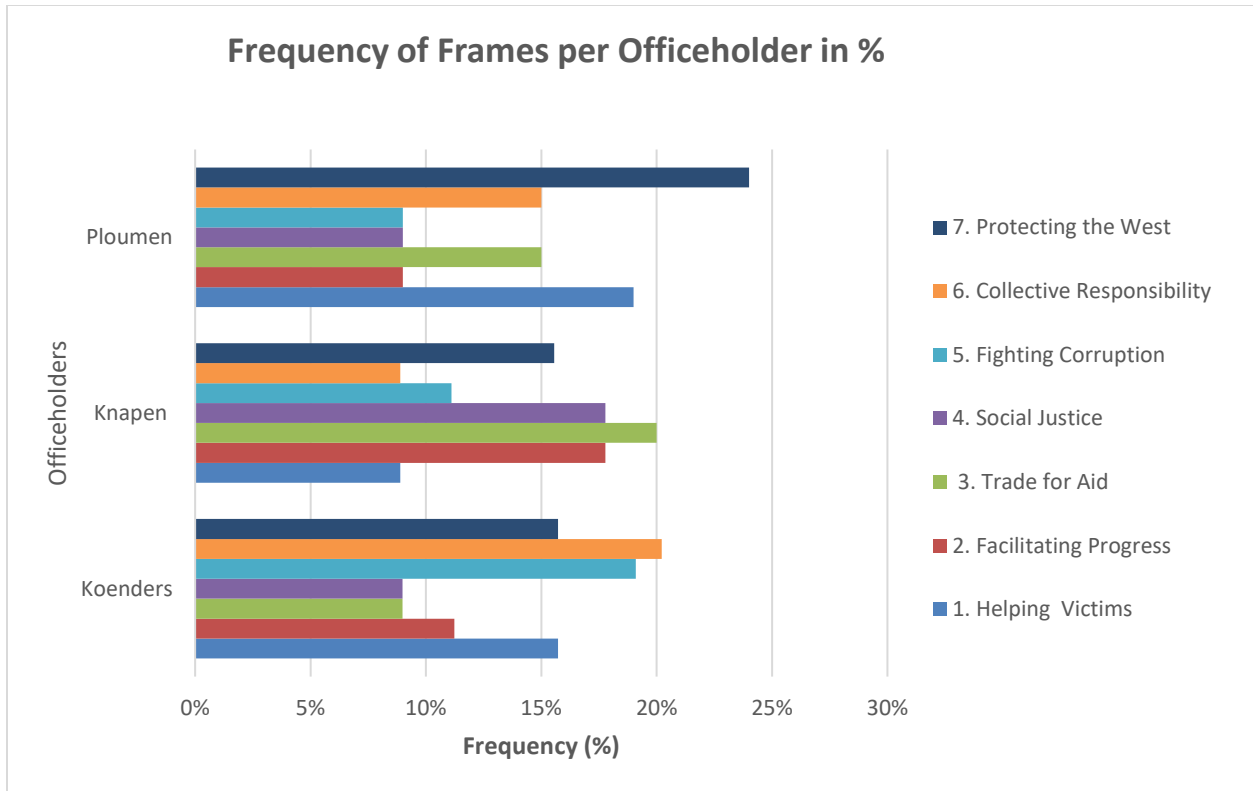


Figure 10 Frequency of frames per officeholder in % - single frame analysis

Dominance of Frames in the Newspapers: the Volkskrant, NRC Handelsblad, and the Telegraaf

Another question that can be raised is, in which newspaper do which frames occur the most? Are there differences? Firstly, one should recall that the division of articles is not evenly over the three newspapers, but 39% from the Volkskrant, 38% of the NRC Handelsblad and 23% from the Telegraaf. Thus frames that might occur often in the Telegraaf, need not be dominantly present in the overall reporting about development cooperation.

There are no significant differences in the frequency of frames between the different newspapers ($p=0.067$).¹³ The frequency of frames per newspaper is displayed in Figure 11. It stands out that the Helping Victims frame and the Fighting Corruption frame are most dominant in the Telegraaf, both covering 21% of the articles. In the NRC Handelsblad, the Protecting the West frame is by far the most dominant frame, covering 28% of the articles. This can be clarified by the traditionally rather liberal or politically right signature of the newspaper, compared the Volkskrant and to a lesser extent the Telegraaf. The Volkskrant is most balanced in the use of frames, with modest increases in frequency for Trade for Aid frame (19% of the articles) and the Collective Responsibility frame (18% of the articles).

¹³ See Appendix I-4

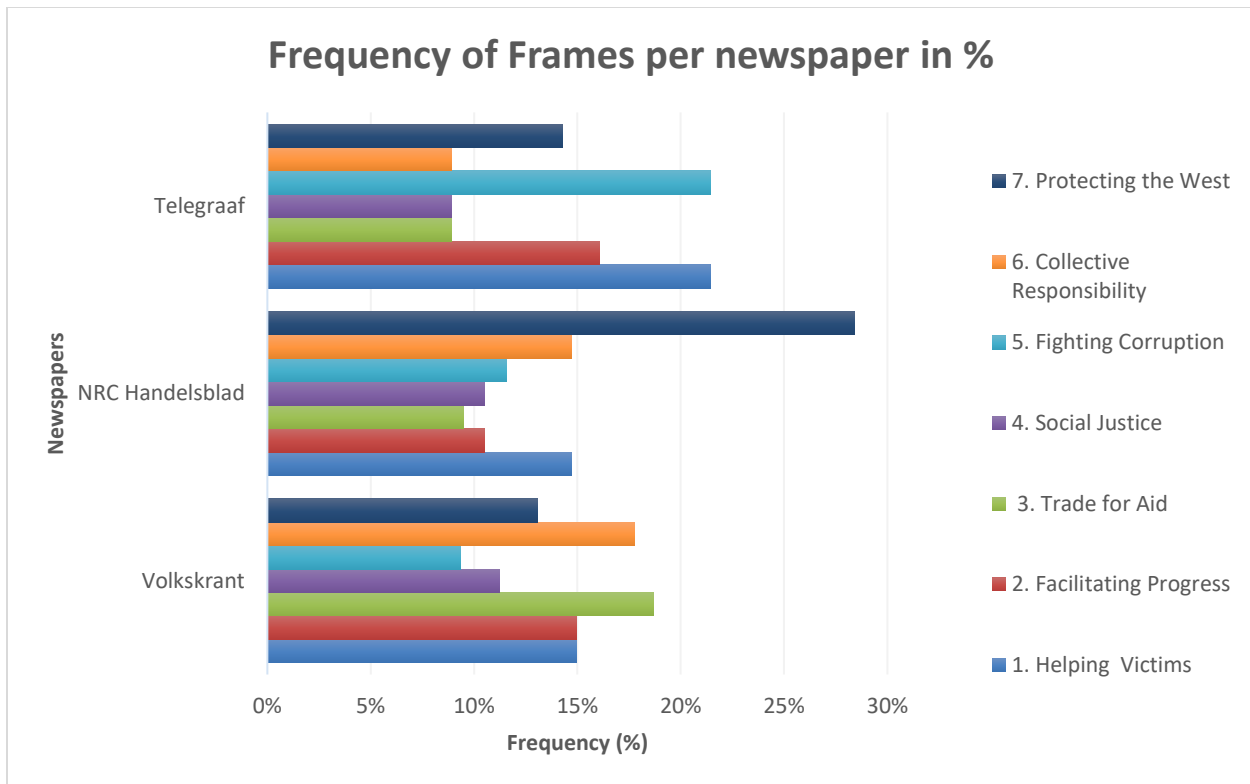


Figure 11 Frequency of frames per newspaper in % - single frame analysis

Summarizing, the Protecting the West frame was most dominant in the media between 2006 and 2016 in articles concerning development cooperation/aid. Followed by the frames: Helping Victims, Collective Responsibility, Facilitating Progress, Trade for Aid, Fighting Corruption, and Social Justice. The relative dominance of these frames ranges from 19 to 10% respectively. This means that the reporting about development cooperation in the Dutch media is not dominated by one or two particular frames, but is rather balanced.

Under Minister Koenders a significantly higher amount of articles was published containing the Fighting Corruption frames, due to many occasions of corruption. Moreover, a significantly higher amount of articles was found in which the Collective Responsibility was present, advocating for more international cooperation in the wake of the budget reductions. Other critiques and worries regarding the budget reduction related to the parliamentary elections of 2012 were expressed with the use of the Social Justice frame.

Under Minister Ploumen the Protecting the West frame increased (at the expense of the Facilitating Progress frame), which strongly related to the influx of refugees during her term of office. The other frame that was also used when writing about refugees, was the Helping Victims frames. Also, a gradual increase of the Trade for Aid frame could be witnessed with a peak under Secretary of State Knapen. The Trade for Aid frame was most dominantly present in the Volkskrant, closely followed by the Collective Responsibility frame. The Protecting the West frame is most dominant in the NRC Handelsblad, whereas Fighting

Corruption and Helping Victims is most dominant in the Telegraaf. The Volkskrant is most balanced in its use of frames and the NRC reflects best its liberal political signature, as demonstrated by Frame 7.

4.2.2b Tone of voice regarding development cooperation in general and vs. Dutch policy specifically

The tone of voice in an article could be coded either positive, neutral or negative. Neutral articles contained very factual or little information or had a balanced and nuanced tone of voice regarding development cooperation. Any significant differences in the tone of voice in articles towards both development cooperation in general and the Dutch policy on this terrain have been tested over the years, for the different policy periods and officeholders. Lastly, this section will discuss both tones of voice per newspaper.¹⁴

Tone of voice over the years

The first question is whether there is a significant difference in the TOV-G and the TOV-P, over the years. The course of both tones of voice is displayed in Figure 12. Although both the TOV-G and the TOV-P do not differ significantly over the years,¹⁵ meaning that the newspapers tend to write with a rather stable tone of voice about development cooperation, they do fluctuate over time. The course of the TOV-G remains positive, but decreases from 2007 till 2010, after which it stays rather stable until 2015 that witnessed a temporary decline. The TOV-P starts fairly neutral with a slight decline in 2008, and a relatively strong decline in the years 2010 till 2012. From 2012 till 2014 it becomes more positive, which a slight decline in 2015 and a slight increase in 2016.

In 2007, the financial credit crisis began (Davies, 2017). This clarifies to a certain extent the decreasing TOV-G. People had to bear losses themselves, pushing the circumstances of others living far away, to the background. From 2009, the TOV-G and TOV-P began to diverge. Due to the financial crisis, budget reductions were a constant topic of discussion, both in politics and in the newspapers. In 2010, the much discussed WRR report 'Less pretension, more ambition' was published, advising a change of policy to move away from the social sectors to the economic sectors (see 4.1.2.). This provoked a reaction from the development sector questioning the new course of the policy at the expense of the Dutch longstanding reputation as successful and innovative development workers, the poorest of the poor, the local context, empowerment of disadvantaged groups, tax evasion of multinationals and climate change related problems resulting in a decreasing TOV-P (Partos, 2010, p. 2-3). Simultaneously, articles appeared in the media stressing the importance of development cooperation in general, which led to the increase of the TOV-G. Thus the seemingly inverse correlation between TOV-G and TOV-P until 2013 relates to the budget cuts and the reactions it provoked. This relatively positive TOV-G remains rather stable until 2015. The year 2015 witnessed a high number of (boat)refugees coming to Europe, which evoked a public discussion concerning the benefits and costs dangers of the influx of refugees and the role of the citizens, the

¹⁴ To enhance readability the tone of voice regarding development cooperation in general will be abbreviated to TOV-G and the tone of voice regarding the Dutch development cooperation policy will be abbreviated to TOV-P.

¹⁵ A p-value of 0.192 for development cooperation in general and a p-value of 0.331 for the Dutch policy specifically. See Appendix I-5 and I-6 respectively.

Netherlands, and the EU and whether the asylum seekers should be paid from the budget of development cooperation. (Vermeulen, 2016). This elucidates amongst others the decline in the tones of voice in 2015. In 2016, the number of incoming refugees declined, which can clarify the rising TOV-G. Moreover, Ploumen attracted positive media attention with the textile convent for sustainable and fair clothes (Rijksoverheid, 2016).

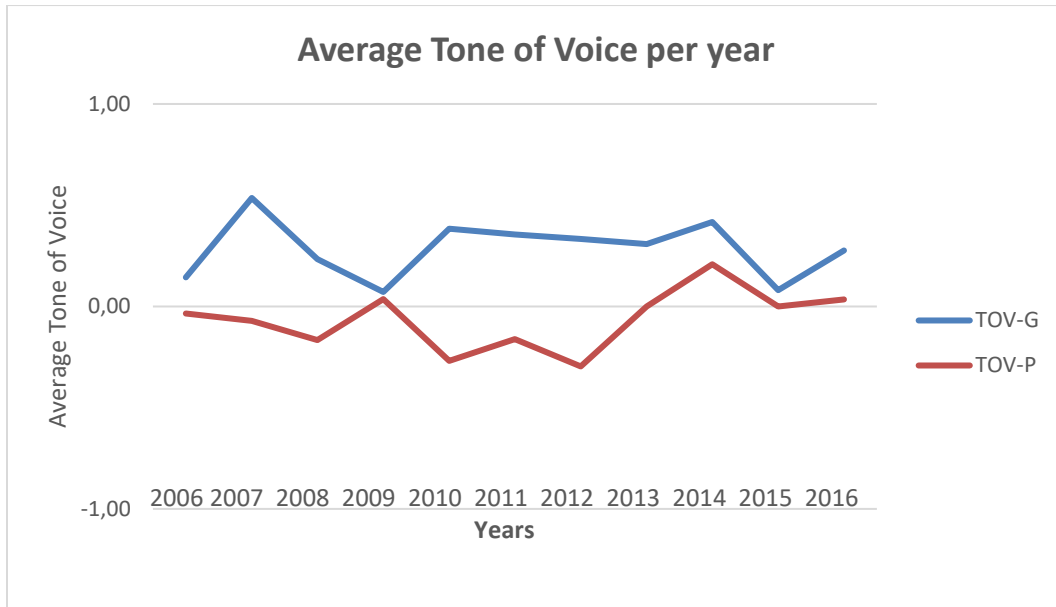


Figure 12 Average tone of voice of development cooperation in general (TOV-G) and of Dutch policy (TOV-P) over the years

Tone of voice during the various officeholders

Figure 13 illustrates the average tone of voice per officeholder, both with regard to development cooperation in general as well as the Dutch policy specifically. It shows that the TOV-G was highest under Knapen and lowest under Ploumen, however, these differences are minimal. A Chi square test with $\alpha=0.05$ showed that there is no significant difference in the TOV-G during the various officeholders ($p=0.319$)¹⁶. The TOV-P is hardly positive (except under Minister Ploumen with an average value of 0.06).

¹⁶ See Appendix I-7.

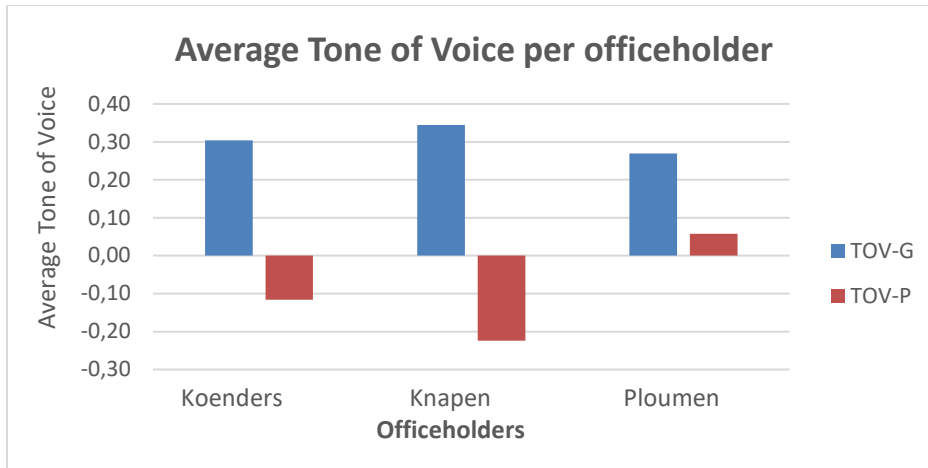


Figure 13 Average tone of voice of development cooperation general (TOV-G) and of Dutch policy (TOV-P) per officeholder

Can one state that the TOV-P differs during the three officeholders? Yes, one can, since there is a significant difference between the various officeholders ($p=0.043$).¹⁷ The critical z-score that is used to judge significance, ± 1.64 , is derived from Ott and Longnecker (2010). The significantly higher number of articles with a negative tone of voice ($z=2.40$) and the significantly lower amount of articles with a neutral tone of voice ($z=-1.65$) regarding the development cooperation policy that have been published under Knapen, can be clarified by the fact that he was the first to severely cut in the development cooperation budget: respectively, 400, 900, 720 and 750 million in the years 2011 and 2014 (Knapen, 2010, p.6). These budget reductions were to be realized by reducing the budget from 0.8 % of the national budget to 0.7%, and by including budgeted climate and asylum seekers related costs in the development budget. Moreover, Knapen announced to shift the policy towards the economic instead of the social sectors, and to stop funding education and health projects (see 4.1.3.) This led to questions and worries from the development sector, arguing that one cannot expect development work to be successful when human rights are neglected or basic conditions in countries are lacking, such as health care, education, and democratic institutions, or when Dutch companies are at the core of policy. Although under the Dutch Corporate Social Responsibility policy, children are no longer allowed to work in factories, it was feared that they might end up worse, for instance at the garbage dump, if the Dutch policy does not address the causes of child labor (Terre des Hommes, 2011). In other words, countries and people were feared to be excluded that might need support the most and therefore, a plea for human dignity was made (Van den Berg and de Morrée, 2011; Olde Engberink, 2011).

Minister Ploumen, who came from the development sector herself, managed to start with more trust and support from the development sector and the media (Haagse redactie, 2012). It appears that during her term in office, a significantly lower amount of articles ($z=-2.49$) were published with a negative TOV-P and a relatively high amount of articles with a neutral TOV-P (60%). Thus, the reporting contained a more nuanced, balanced tone of voice than outspokenly negative as was often the case under Knapen.

¹⁷ See Appendix I-8

Table 6 shows the amount of articles in percentages of the total amount of articles per officeholder for each possible tone: negative, neutral and positive.

Table 6 Percentage of articles published under each officeholder for each possible tone of voice: negative, neutral or positive regarding Dutch development cooperation policy.

			Tone of Voice Dutch Development Cooperation Policy		
			-1 / 0 / +1		
			Negative	Neutral	Positive
Officeholder	Koenders	% of articles	31	49	20
	Knapen	% of articles	40	43	17
	Ploumen	% of articles	18	58	24

Tone of Voice – per frame

Additionally, it is interesting to look whether the tone of voice differs per frame. Although the TOV-G does not differ significantly between the frames,¹⁸ its distribution is still worth looking at. This is displayed in Figure 14. The TOV-G is positive under all frames, notably under the Facilitating Progress frame. This is to be expected since this frame represents a belief in progress and development and that it is just a matter of time until the under/less developed countries will follow the developed world. As expected, it is lowest under the Fighting Corruption Frame, since this frame is most frequently associated with the adverse effects of development aid.

Next to the TOV-G, it was tested whether the TOV-P differed significantly between the frames. This turned out to be the case with a p-value of 0.002¹⁹. Under frame 3 Trade for Aid, there is a significantly lower amount of articles with a neutral TOV-P ($z=-2.28$) and a significantly higher amount of articles with a positive TOV-P ($z=3.89$). The majority of these positively written articles appears during the term of office of Minister Ploumen. Moreover, critics of the economic approach -interests of Dutch companies at the expense of the people or local context at the core- often fit frame 6 Collective Responsibility, or frame 2 Facilitating Progress better. An analysis of the articles shows that the negative TOV-P (with an almost significant z-score of 1.59) under frame 6 Collective Responsibility is for 25% due to criticism that the Dutch policy is patronizing regarding development countries and outdated with regard to climate change measures. Another quarter is critical towards the Dutch budget cuts and pleads for more international cooperation. 20% is critical because they view the policy as vague and too much dependent on the EU. The general tone of voice regarding development cooperation is way more positive, since people believe that international cooperation is the way forward in this 'global village'.

Under Frame 4, the Social Justice Frame, one can witness similar differences: a significantly lower amount of articles with a neutral TOV-P ($z=-1.76$) and a significantly higher amount of articles with a positive tone

¹⁸ See Appendix I-9

¹⁹ See Appendix I-10

of voice ($z=2.10$). When one looks at the distribution of articles within the Social Justice frame, 23% is negative, 38.5% is neutral and another 38.5% is positive regarding the Development Cooperation policy. The positive as well as the neutral written articles are not concentrated in a specific time period, but rather equally spread over the years. Interestingly, all but one article with the positive TOV-P address a specific policy measure taken by the Dutch government, such as the Dutch 3D approach (Defense, Diplomacy and Development), Koenders who pressures Mugabe to respect human rights, the Dutch support for a salt mining company in Palestine, and Ploumen's efforts to stop child marriages. Apparently, measures related to human rights enforcements are rather well received in the media.

Under frame 7 Protecting the West, a significantly higher amount of articles are written in a neutral TOV-P ($z=2.68$) and a significantly lower amount of articles with a positive TOV-P ($z=-2.51$). As said before, most of the articles under this frame relate to the refugee crisis. Although there are a significantly lower amount of articles with a positive TOV-P (only 9% of the articles with this frame), most articles are written with a neutral and balanced tone of voice (72%).

Lastly, the outstandingly, albeit not significantly negative TOV-P ($z=1.51$) under frame 5 Fighting Corruption is due to many articles that address corruption. These are often negative since this frame highlights the adverse effects of development aid: dependency, self-enrichment, patronage systems and/or the Dutch government is criticized for wasting tax money of citizens.

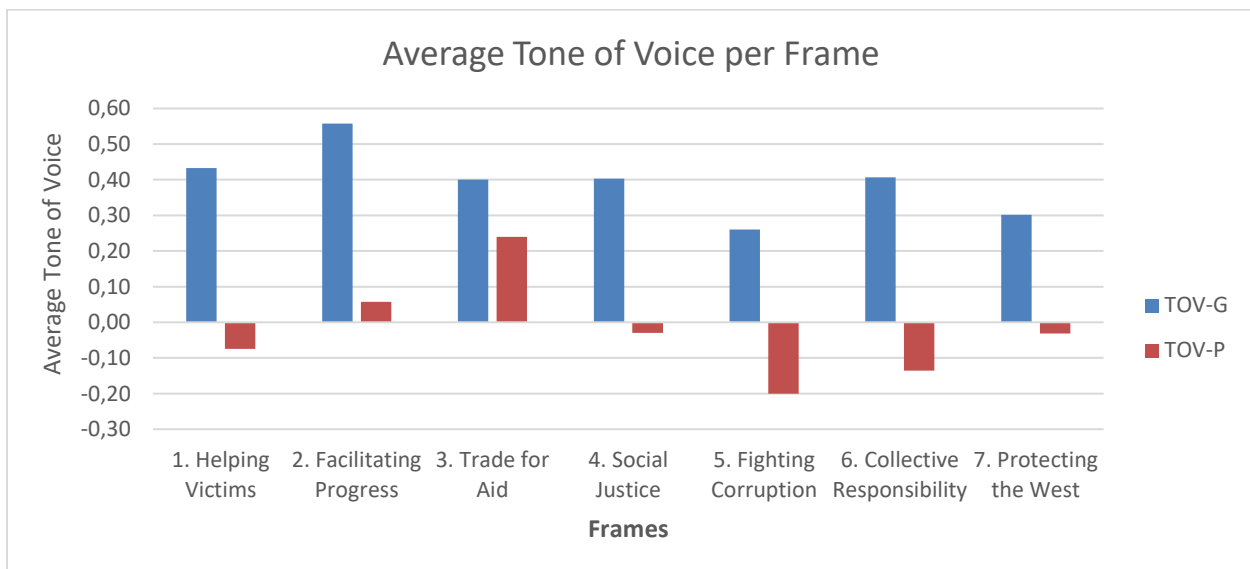


Figure 14 Average tone of voice development cooperation general (TOV-G) and of Dutch policy (TOV-P) per frame

Tone of voice per newspaper

Finally, the difference in the tone of voice per newspaper has been tested, with turned out to be insignificant for the TOV-G ($p=0.314$) and significant the TOV-P ($p=0.011$).²⁰

²⁰ See Appendix I-11 for TOV-G and Appendix I-12 for TOV-P.

The Volkskrant clearly writes in a more positive tone of voice both regarding development cooperation in general and the Dutch development cooperation policy specifically. The Volkskrant, namely, has published a significantly lower amount of articles with a negative TOV-P ($z=-2.30$), and a significantly higher amount of articles with a positive TOV-P ($z=1.90$). The NRC Handelsblad, on the contrary, has published a significantly lower amount of articles with a positive TOV-P ($z=-2.30$). Those articles amount up to 13%, whereas 59% of its articles are written in a neutral tone of voice. See Table 7. The Telegraaf has published a significantly higher amount of articles with a negative TOV-P ($z=2.47$) and a significantly lower amount of articles with a neutral TOV-P ($z=-2.72$).

Table 7 Percentage of articles published in each newspaper with each possible tone of voice: negative, neutral or positive regarding Dutch development cooperation policy.

			Tone of Voice Dutch Development Cooperation Policy		
			-1 / 0 / +1		
			Negative	Neutral	Positive
Newspapers	Telegraaf	% of articles	38,5	38,5	23
	NRC Handelsblad	% of articles	28	59	13
	Volkskrant	% of articles	20	55	26

However, one should realize that the amount of articles is not evenly spread over the three newspapers. 39% of the analyzed articles came from the Volkskrant, 38% came from the NRC Handelsblad and 23% came from the Telegraaf. This means that more than half (61%) of the articles are only slightly positive in its TOV-G and slightly negative in its TOV-P. See Figure 15.

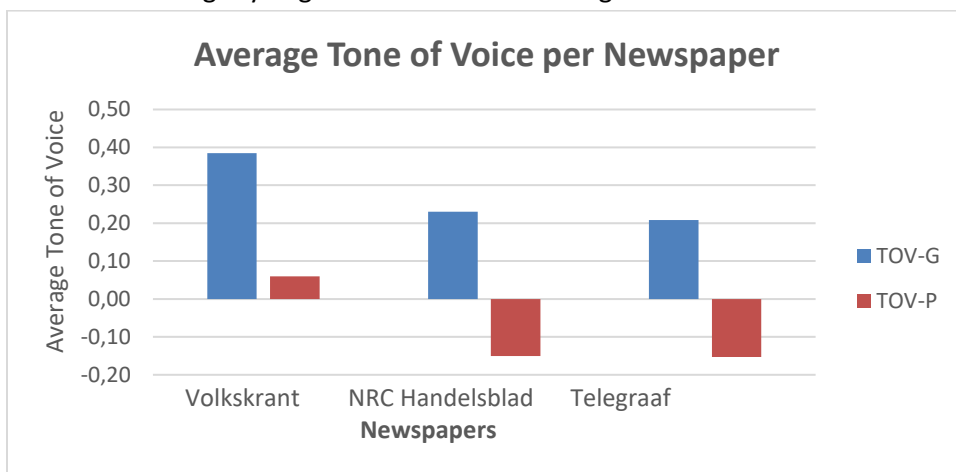


Figure 15 Average tone of voice of development cooperation general (TOV-G) and of Dutch policy (TOV-P) per Newspaper

In sum, the TOV-G is rather stable as well as positive. Development cooperation as such is not heavily criticized. The TOV-P, however, is rather negative and differs significantly between the different officeholders. Secretary of State Knapen's policy is significantly more criticized, whereas Minister Ploumen's policy is regarded significantly less negative. Only two frames contain a positive tone of voice regarding the current policy, namely Trade for Aid and Facilitating Progress. Most of the articles with a positive TOV-P under the Trade for Aid frame are published during Minister Ploumen's term in office. The content of the positively written articles within the Social Justice frame often concerns a specific policy measure related to human rights enhancement. Most articles under Frame 7 Protecting the West are written in a neutral tone of voice. Critics of the Dutch policy are concentrated in the Fighting Corruption and the Collective Responsibility frames. Regarding the tones of voices in the separate newspapers, the following can be concluded: the Volkskrant clearly writes in a more positive tone of voice both regarding development cooperation in general and the Dutch development cooperation policy specifically. The Telegraaf is most outspokenly negative, and the NRC Handelsblad has published a significantly lower amount of articles with a positive TOV-P.

5. Discussion

Here I will discuss what the relation is between changes in the development cooperation policy and the frequency, framing of, and tone of voice regarding development cooperation in the media in the light of Downs Issue Attention Cycle, Baumgartners and Jones' Punctuated Equilibrium Theory, and Bennetts Indexing Theory. Thereafter, some methodological issues will be discussed as well as their consequences for answering the main research question.

5.1 The amount of media attention

Firstly, findings show that the media attention for development cooperation has diminished over the years. The number of articles published under Ploumen has significantly decreased compared to Knapen ($p=0.001$) and Koenders ($p=0.000$). When looking at the number of articles containing the name of the officeholder, Minister Koenders is mentioned most often. An important contributing factor is the character and/or attitude of the minister. According to the Communication Advisor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs this significant increase in media attention during Minister Koenders' term of office, is because of Koenders' active approach to involve the media (Rolf Wijnstra, Interview, May 9, 2017). An illustrating example is the 'Agreements of Schokland' organized by the Minister to make an official commitment toward reaching the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Individuals, companies, non-governmental organizations as well as other members of the Dutch cabinet could demonstrate their commitment towards attaining the MDGs. This received a lot of media attention due to the presence of artists, such as Marco Borsato, well-known Dutchmen, and various members of the cabinet. Afterwards, Koenders received media attention again, due to a scandal of assigning the organization of the Agreements of Schokland to the BKB campaign agency, owned by two party members (Kroes, 2007). The active attitude of Minister Koenders toward the media was also confirmed by the public podcast station that stated that Minister Koenders -contrary to most of his colleagues- was always available for a television interview (De Bruin, 2008).

Moreover, events can also play a big role in attracting attention, as was visible in the years 2010 and 2012 by the parliamentary elections and related budget reductions in those years. Nonetheless, one should realize that it is not the parliamentary elections as such that generate most media attention for development cooperation, but the political climate and the negative budget implications for development cooperation. Within this scope of research, there were three parliamentary elections. The first one was on November 22, 2006, resulting in the left center coalition of the Dutch Labor Party (PvdA), the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) and the Christian Union. In this cabinet, Development Cooperation got extra money (Janssen & Kammer, 2007). No clear increase in media attention could be witnessed. Almost 4 years later, the political climate had shifted to the right, severe budget cuts had to be made, and the budget for development cooperation was put on the line. This time, the minority coalition consisted of 3 politically rather right parties: the CDA and the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD), that reigned with the support of the Party for Freedom (PVV). In 2012, a center cabinet was chosen consisting of the VVD and the PvdA, nevertheless, this still meant continued budget reductions. The VVD is known

for its skepticism against development cooperation and the combined minister post of Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation was a logical consequence of the coalitions composition.

5.2 Interactions between frames and policy

First of all, the Protecting the West frame was most dominant in the media between 2006 and 2016 in articles concerning development cooperation/aid, mostly covering articles related to the Kunduz, Uruzgan mission in the years 2007-2010 and the recent influx of migrants. This is interesting since Vossen did hardly find it in the years 2011-2013 (Vossen, 2015, p.63). Thus the occurrence of this frame correlates with the occurrence of typical events that provoke anxious reactions requiring development cooperation to protect our security.

This frame was followed by: Helping Victims, Collective Responsibility, Facilitating Progress, Trade for Aid, Fighting Corruption, and lastly Social Justice. The relative share of these frames ranges from 19% to 10% respectively. This means that the reporting about development cooperation in the Dutch media is not dominated by one or two particular frames, but is fairly balanced.

The second most dominant frame Helping Victims closely correlates with the occurrence of natural disasters or epidemics. In most of these cases, the media follows the minister by reporting about how much money the Netherlands will donate. The increase of this frame corresponds with a relative increase in the expenditure of Humanitarian Assistance under Minister Ploumen (see Figure 4 ODA expenditure in % per sector per officeholder, p. 32).

The third most dominant frame, the Collective Responsibility frame, increases over time till the peak in 2010, where it is present in 39% of the articles. It then decreases, especially when the Protecting the West frame increases. In other words, collective responsibility becomes more background material when national interests and anxiety towards outsiders – typical for the latter frame – prevail. This shift of frames in the media coincided with a budget response regarding the first-year accommodation of refugees that is part of the development budget. It increased from 5% in 2010 to 23% in 2016. The shift of frames in the media might have been influential, however, the factual situation: the increase of asylum requests, required a budgetary response (CBS, 2017). Additional measures taken to deal with the migration crisis are executed by other departments. This frame concerning development cooperation can hardly account for the policy consequences that the migration crisis has caused. This would require a separate research.

Interestingly, the Fighting Corruption frame was most apparent under Minister Koenders. Considering the Dutch backlog on the MDGs, Koenders had advocated for the inclusion of fragile states with regard to the good governance programs, since he feared that the question for more effectiveness and the necessity to be able to measure results, leads to the exclusion of countries that need help the most (Koenders, 2007, p. 18). In 2009, the Netherlands had 33 partner countries that received support from the development cooperation budget. 25 of which can be classified as a Fragile State - or Failed State as the Index in 2009 was called - classifying states' vulnerability to conflict or collapse (Fund for Peace, 2009). These states are relatively vulnerable to corruption as well, since they often lack well-functioning governmental

institutions, which was critically reported about in the media. This coincided with the publication of the WRR report (2010) that recommended a reduction in the number of partner countries. Under Knapen, the number of partner countries was reduced to 15, excluding most fragile states: 'we will give no budget support to countries where there is evidence of corruption, human rights violations or poor governance.' (Knapen, 2010, p.5). From that time onwards, this frame receives also relatively less attention. In other words, the media had a boosting role, firmly reinforced by the report that was indeed decisive in formulating Knapen's policy (Van der Wal, Interview, May 9, 2017).

The Facilitating Progress frame used to be quite dominant in 2006 (33%), however, decreases over time. This corresponds with the decline of optimism regarding the attainability of the MDGs and their follow-up the SDGs (Wijnstra, Interview, May 9, 2017). The occurrence of the Facilitating Progress frame diminishes, while the Trade for Aid frame increases. The course of the Trade for Aid frame suggests that the media can also follow the Minister. In the years 2006-2009, the Trade for Aid frame occurs at the most in 8% of the articles. The Basic Letter Development Cooperation of Knapen, outlining the policy directions for his term in office, is published on the 26th of November in 2010. 33% of the articles in that policy period (from October 1st till December 31st) contain the Trade for Aid frame. In the preceding policy period, the Trade for Aid frame does not occur. Its follow-up, the Focus Letter Development Cooperation is published on March 18, 2011, when the Trade for Aid frame is most dominant (27% of the articles of that year). Under Minister Ploumen, it is the third most dominant frame (and the second most dominant when looking at the multiple framing analysis). The occurrence of the Trade for Aid frame seems to appear in reaction to the policy: after being very modestly present preceding Knapen's terms in office, it increases simultaneously with the publication of his policy documents and stays more dominant than compared before. This suggests that the media follows the policy agenda, as Bennett has argued in his Indexing Theory.

According to Bennett, officeholders can have an interest in media publicity, for instance, to share a story or idea to gain some exposure or to test an idea. During the budget negotiations in 2012, this was done somewhat obviously: the Dutch newspaper the Volkskrant was said to have let themselves be used by politicians to test their new policy proposals (Argwaan over Catshuisprimeurs, 2012). Whereas the other newspapers reported that 'the budget for development cooperation was not yet discussed in a determining matter', the Volkskrant reported that the coalition had agreed to reduce the development cooperation budget with one million. This was based on anonymous sources. Others argued that this was done by the opposing party in the coalition to call upon its party members to stand up against this budget reduction. However, when Bennett's theory was tested by Althaus *et al.* (2003) they found domestic elites are not the single or most important sources for journalists but are often combined with foreign sources or other opposition voices. The journalist from the Volkskrant confirmed this, by saying that 50% of her articles, resulted from following the officeholder and the political agenda. The other 50% of the articles resulted from own research and creating own news, often based on other sources, which she was not going to reveal. Only in some cases, she was tipped by the press officer of the minister. Although from the above one can conclude that the media does follow the policy agenda at times and that the media is used by the political elite for their own purposes, no similar conclusions could be drawn in relation to other

policy documents and/or frames. Thus Bennett's Indexing only partly explains the interrelations between policy and the media.

The last frame that will be discussed is the Social Justice frame. Although one would expect that the Social Justice frame would be most dominant under Minister Koenders, due to the fact this his policy was mostly focused on the social sectors, this is, however, not the case. The term in office of Secretary of State Knapen witnesses a significant increase of this frame, due to a counterreaction to the coming budget reductions.

Thus, the media can have a strong reinforcing role as was visible with the Fighting Corruption frame, especially when it coincides with a publication such as the WRR report. The media at times follow the minister, for example, when writing about the policy changes under Knapen with the increase in the Trade for Aid frame at the expense of the Facilitating Progress frame. Media can also be used to legitimize policy, for example regarding the Dutch foreign missions in Uruzgan and Kunduz that was almost always written about as a matter of protecting the security of the West. Or the media can be used to test ideas. The media seldom writes about development cooperation as a matter of Helping Innocent Victims, unless a (natural) disaster has happened. Thus, it turned out that most of the frames did not lead to policy changes, at least not on their own. This corresponds with what Jones and Wolfe have argued: 'the media seldom have a direct policy making effect via its tonal component, but it can facilitate policy entrepreneurship on an issue' (2010, p.31).

5.3 A Social Cascade: land grabbing and the influence of lobbyists

In order to understand the relation between the media and policy entrepreneurship, a sub issue of development cooperation, namely land grabbing will be discussed, since that has moved high on the political agenda according to Van Wal (Interview, May 9, 2017). The media is used as a venue, not only by politicians but also by NGOs, lobbyists and by members of parliament, who might use stories from the media as an eye catcher to attract attention (and on the long term votes). Attention from lobbyists and members of parliament together with stories, especially about abuses, in the media can cause a topic to rise quickly on the political agenda. Subsequently, it can provoke a reaction from the officeholder, which in turn causes media attention. Such a build-up of interactions between the media and policy, or a social cascade, is clearly demonstrated by the issue of land grabbing. Although the importance of land rights as a condition for the environment, stability, and food security is widely understood, this never is a policy priority of a minister or cabinet. This corresponds with what Downs calls the pre-problem phase, where only experts might be alarmed. Nonetheless, the media published a story and the issue is communicated to a wider public, picked up by members of parliament, leading to a series of events that alarm the public: the alarmed discovery phase. This is visible with the issue of land grabbing in 2012, where the issue rises quickly on the political agenda. It then remains higher on the agenda compared to before, especially in 2013. Thereafter, however more latently, until it gets another revival in 2016. The activity on the political agenda is shown in Figures 16 and 17.²¹ The in-depth explanation, and the issue of land grabbing on the

²¹ The following abbreviations are used: Q from P = Question from Parliament, L to P = Letter to Parliament.

political agenda prior to the year 2012 can be found in Appendix III.

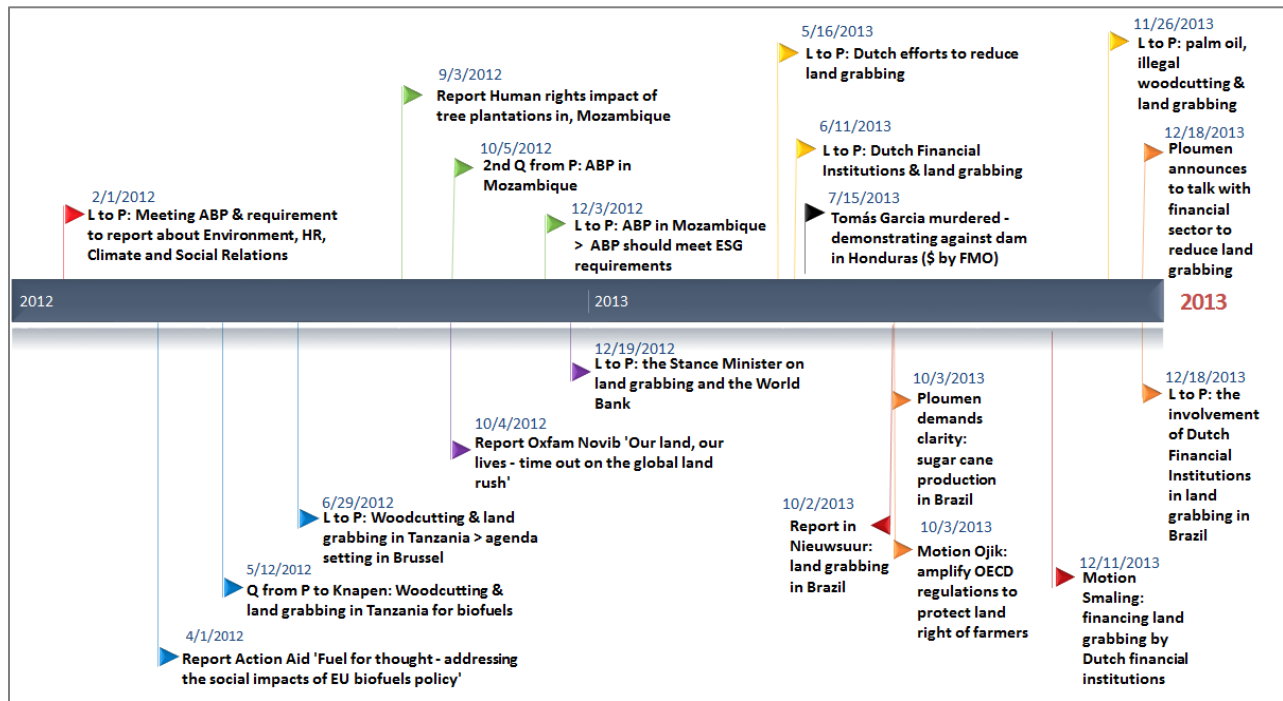


Figure 16 Timeline agenda setting of land grabbing, 2012-2013

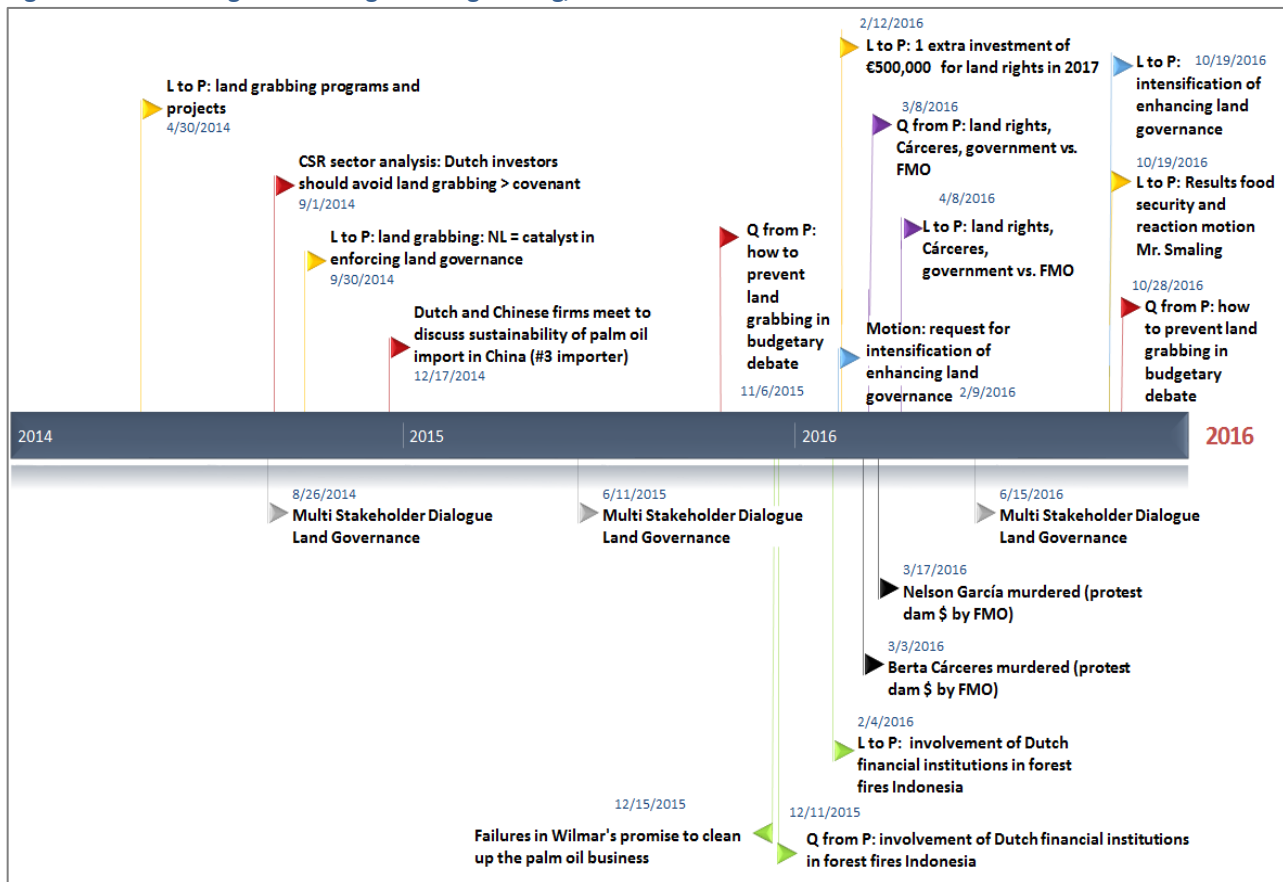


Figure 17 Timeline agenda setting of land grabbing, 2014-2016

Thus, the issue of land grabbing indeed increased a lot on the political agenda as indicated by Van der Wal and followed the pattern of the Issue Attention Cycle. Even more influential than stories in the media about land grabbing, were reports of development organizations or non-governmental organizations (NGOs). In four occasions this has led to questions from Parliament to the minister and consequently from a formal reaction of the minister. Additionally, it has led to policy measures: e.g. the introduction of the Multi Stakeholder Dialogue of Land Governance and extra budget to reduce land grabbing for the year 2017. So, these reports leading to questions from members of parliament, are rather powerful positive feedback mechanisms, since they destabilize the status quo and the way land grabbing used to be accepted or at best ignored.

This raises the question what has caused the NGOs to write reports about land grabbing? In the media, it was not a really dominant topic - on average 45 and 48 articles per year were published about land grabbing in 2011 and 2012 respectively. The frames that could be indicative of land grabbing, Social Justice and Collective Responsibility do show a slight increase in the years 2011, 2012 and 2013, but can hardly account for this great revival compared to before. This suggests the influence of lobbyists, which can be very influential according to Wijnstra, communication Advisor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Interview, May 9, 2017). How this relation between lobbyists, the media, press officers and officeholders work is hard to analyze since that is often hidden from the public. Much of the parliamentary news exchange takes place in the Nieuwspoort, the press center next to the Second Chamber in the Hague. Joris Luyendijk, the famous Dutch writer, who as a reporter political-public complex in the Nieuwspoort Association has examined this relation, confirmed the opacity of the Dutch political culture (2010, p. 19). This opacity is due to a lack of political memories, an overview of members of the Nieuwspoort, and the fact that behavior in the Nieuwspoort is subject to the unwritten Nieuwspoort code, demanding secrecy if not given explicit permission.

According to an employee of the Dutch Development Cooperation Organization Woord en Daad -who prefers to be called a policy advisor instead of a lobbyist- lobbyists do follow the political agenda and feed the members of parliament with reports, summaries and potential questions for the minister preceding the debates of the commission Foreign Aid and Development Cooperation. This is because of bounded rationality: members of Parliament simply lack the expertise and time to read everything, thus they focus on a small number of issues for which they are responsible (Cairney, 2011). This opens the way for lobbyists, they can exert influence, while members of parliaments can score with new questions and/or motions. In a way, they are mutually dependent on each other. Nevertheless, Joris Luyendijk discovered by interviewing lobbyists that the political lobby as described above, is just the finishing touch; the most influential lobby work happens between lobbyists and civil servants because most new bills come from the ministry (2010, p. 33). This was confirmed by the lobbyists of Woord en Daad, to create change in the content civil servants are the best target, to create public consciousness or media attention members of parliament are the best targets (Interview, August 15, 2017). It also turned out that when an issue is no longer on the political agenda, for example, education under Koenders and Knapen, it is really hard to influence policy and or the media. Partos, the umbrella organization of Dutch development NGOs, tried to launch a global campaign for education, which was really hard to get across the media and the members of parliament.

Concluding, the media is a venue used by issue advocates and only one component in a complex political system, meaning: 'the media influences and is influenced by inputs and outputs from the policy process' (Wolfe *et al.* p. 184). This interaction between lobbyists, journalists, civil servants and politicians deserves further research, which was not possible to realize within the scope and time constraint of this thesis.

5.4 The tone of voice regarding development cooperation

The general tone of voice regarding development cooperation is rather stable as well as positive. Development cooperation as such is not heavily criticized. This confirms the findings of Vossen regarding the years 2011-2013 (2015, p. 51). The tone of voice with regard to the Dutch development policy is rather negative and differs significantly between the different officeholders. Secretary of State Knapen's policy is significantly more criticized ($z=2.40$), whereas Minister Ploumen's policy is regarded significantly less negative ($z=-2.49$). Knapen was the first to announce severe budget cuts and stopped 'dear' themes such as education and HIV Aids since the Netherlands could not offer added value there. Ploumen, who came from the development sector started with a lot of trust: 'Sector is horrified by the budget cuts, but has confidence in the women who is to execute them' (Haagse Redactie, 2012). Thereby, Ploumen is said to have 'a political nose' for the right story or reaction at moment and the capacity to deal with journalists (Wijnstra and Righton, Interview, 2017). Again, the character and/or attitude of the minister is a contributing factor in attracting media attention and the way the minister is portrayed in the media.

With regard to the tones of voices under the different frames, one can conclude that the TOV-G is positive under all frames, but notably under the Facilitating Progress frame. Since this frame represents a belief in progress and development as the way forward, this was to be expected. The TOV-P, however, differs significantly between the frames ($p=0.002$). Under the Trade for Aid frame, there is a significantly lower amount of articles with a neutral TOV-P ($z=-2.28$) and a significantly higher amount of articles with a positive TOV-P ($z=3.89$). Most of these positive frames were published during Minister Ploumen's term in office. As stated above, Ploumen who came from the development sector managed to start with more trust and to gain positive media attention with her efforts to stop child marriages and the covenant for sustainable and fair clothes. Although the budget reductions were received with great skepticism in the sector, the economic approach as reflected in the Trade for Aid frame was addressed more positively in the media over time. Nonetheless, criticism is still articulated, mostly in terms of the Collective Responsibility frame. International cooperation is the way forward and Dutch companies' interest should not be at the fore, rather climate change and its consequences for the poorest of poor as well as for ourselves. Under the Social Justice frame, a significantly lower amount of articles with a neutral TOV-P ($z=1.76$) and higher amount of articles were published with a positive TOV-P ($z=2.10$). The significantly lower amount of neutral articles can be clarified by the fact that this frame is also used to criticize the economic approach, especially related to Knapen's policy as discussed above. The positively written articles with regard to Dutch development cooperation policy almost all related to specific policy measures to enhance human rights. Lastly, articles related to incoming refugees, especially regarding the recent refugee crisis are often associated with negativity and worry regarding their number and the pressure on Dutch facilities (Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau, 2016). Nevertheless, a significantly higher

amount of articles under the frame Protecting the West contain a neutral TOV-P. This might be due to the fact that development cooperation is seen as the best solution to mitigate the flows of migrants (Renout, 2016).

Regarding the tones of voices in the newspapers, the following can be concluded: the Volkskrant clearly writes in a more positive tone of voice both regarding development cooperation in general and the Dutch development cooperation policy specifically. As the Volkskrant is considered to be a politically left oriented newspaper, this could clarify the more positive tone of voice. The Telegraaf is most outspokenly negative: it has published a significantly higher amount of articles with a negative TOV-P ($z=2.47$) and a significantly lower amount of articles with a neutral TOV-P ($z=-2.72$). This is in line with the expectation since it is known for its campaign journalism and its explicit political preferences, mostly associated with the political right (Kist, 2017). Nonetheless, the NRC Handelsblad has published a significantly lower amount of articles with a positive TOV-P. 59% of its articles are written in a neutral tone of voice. Thus, the NRC Handelsblad and the Telegraaf both write in a comparable manner: fairly positive regarding development cooperation in general and fairly negative regarding the Dutch policy. Righton, diplomatic correspondent of the Volkskrant, did not expect the tone of voice to be different between the newspapers, and consequently does not consider it as a factor of influence for the minister to choose his/her podium. Now, the press officers of the Ministry divide the issues they want to get public rather equally over the different newspapers and podia (Interview, August 15, 2017). Although it is known that the Volkskrant tend to dedicate more space to topics as development cooperation than, for example, the Telegraaf. This could be a consideration for a press officer to contact them for optimal exposure. Nevertheless, this is also dependent on the proactive attitude of the journalists: first come, first served.

The if's and buts of this research:

It should be noted that not all significant increases are always to be traced back to certain (policy) events or topics because in the framing analysis the approach was taken to exclude the articles that were coded irrelevant or containing no frame. Hence, the increase can be based on a very small number of articles, when there is a relatively high number of irrelevant or frameless articles in a specific year or period. For example, the increase of the Collective Responsibility frame under Minister Koenders was relatively high compared to other frames. Nevertheless, this was mainly because 45% of the articles of that year was irrelevant or frameless. This means that the significant increase is based on a really modest n , which should make one cautious when interpreting the results.

Moreover, I have chosen to use the poverty frames of Vossen (2015) as a point of departure, since she had used them to map development cooperation in the years 2011-2013, and in order to make a more longitudinal research possible. However, one should be aware that other frames or differently formulated frames could perhaps have led to clearer indications of policy change. On the other hand, when one formulates the frames in advance in such a way that they can predict policy change, one can easily influence the results. To find the right balance between these two problems, I have tested these frames and two additional ones on 66 articles and afterward adapted them so that they covered the content of the articles and were focused on development cooperation as such. Nevertheless, a certain degree of subjectivity is inevitable here.

Furthermore, I have interviewed four persons that are at the center of this relationship between policy changes on the one hand, and the media on the other hand. A senior policy officer, and a communication advisor, both coming from the ministry of Foreign Affairs; a journalist from the Dutch newspaper, the Volkskrant, since it publishes the most about development cooperation and focuses on decision-making in the Hague; and a lobbyist from a Dutch Development NGO. One should realize that this reflects only one perspective of each role in the relationship between media and policy, where each of these person's professions turned out to be of influence. Interviewing multiple persons representing each profession would undoubtedly have given a more trustworthy and nuanced image. This would also be a recommendation for future research to better and further explore this relationship.

Lastly, additional research could reveal more about the relative dominance of development cooperation as such on the political agenda, by gaining insight in the relative dominance of other areas, by means of analyzing the king's speeches, topics of oral chamber questions and legislature. This could unfortunately not be realized within the scope and time slot of this research.

6. Conclusion

The relation between the framing of development cooperation and the amount of attention it receives in the Dutch media on the one hand, and the evolution of the Dutch development cooperation policy during 2006 - 2016 on the other hand, was at the core of this research. Concluding, there is no direct relationship between the amount of media attention and the way development cooperation is framed in the Dutch media and changes in the Dutch development cooperation policy.

Considering media attention, it can be concluded that the number of articles related to development cooperation/aid diminished over the years. Secondly, when looking at articles containing the name of the minister, the attitude of the minister turned out to be of influence. Thirdly, important policy events with negative budgetary implications attract a lot of media attention.

In this research, seven frames were formulated regarding the role of development cooperation. The Protecting the West frame turned out to be the most dominant. The relative dominance of these frames ranges from 19% to 10% respectively. This means that the reporting about development cooperation in the Dutch media is fairly balanced. Events turned out to be very influential regarding the choice of frames, such as the migration crisis. Framing analysis showed that most of the frames did not lead to policy changes, at least not on their own. Nonetheless, the media can have a strong reinforcing role, especially when it coincides with the publication of a related report. This can be strategically used by development practitioners to exert influence on the policy. Next to this, it was found that the media sometimes followed the minister and was sometimes used to legitimize policy or to test ideas. Besides, the media is used as a venue, not only by politicians but also by NGOs, lobbyists and by members of parliament, as was illustrated by the example of land grabbing.

Concerning the tone of voice, the following can be concluded. The general tone of voice regarding development cooperation is rather stable as well as positive. The tone of voice with regard to the Dutch development policy is rather negative and differs significantly between the different officeholders. Again, the character and/or attitude of the minister is a contributing factor in the way the minister is portrayed in the media. Regarding the tone of voice under the different frames, one can conclude that the TOV-G is positive under all frames and notably under the Facilitating Progress frame. The TOV-P is particularly positive under the Trade for Aid frame. Articles addressing specific policy measures concerning human rights enhancement were well received in the media. Against the expectation, the majority of articles (72%) relating to the refugee crisis under the Protecting the West frame was written in a neutral and/or balanced tone of voice regarding Dutch development cooperation policy. Press officers could use this information strategically to change the rather negative image of Dutch development cooperation policy. The same applies to the conclusions regarding the tone of voice in the different newspapers. The Volkskrant, namely, clearly writes in a more positive tone of voice both regarding development cooperation in general and the Dutch policy specifically. The NRC Handelsblad and the Telegraaf both write in a comparable manner: fairly positive regarding development cooperation in general and fairly negative regarding the Dutch policy.

Due to the assumingly powerful, albeit rather invisible role of lobbyists in the interrelation between the media and policy, it would be recommendable to focus particularly on the role lobbyists in future research, especially since in the Netherlands this is relatively hidden.

In extension, since Bennett's Indexing theory particularly focusses on the direct influence of the political elite on the media, the role of lobbyists as interferers is under exposed. Wolfe and Jones have argued that the media seldom have a direct policy making effect via its tonal component, but it can facilitate policy entrepreneurship on an issue. To further explore role of policy entrepreneurship in the different policy venues would contribute to a more solid theoretical foundation of how the interrelationship between journalists, press officers, officeholders and lobbyists work.

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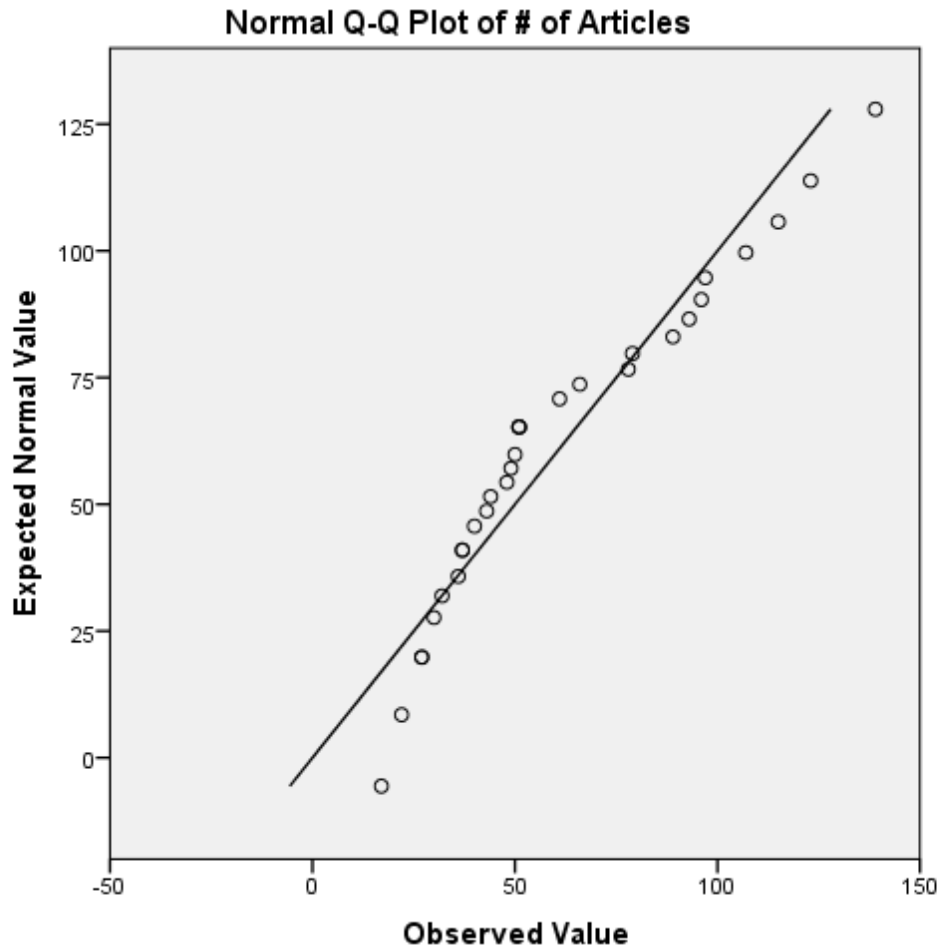
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Appendix I Statistical tests

Amount of Media Attention

Differences in the number of articles are tested with a Oneway ANOVA test, which requires that the data is normally distributed. This is the case as shown in the Q-Q plot underneath.



1. Is there a significant difference in the number of articles published about development cooperation during the reigning periods of the various officeholders? Yes $p=,000$.

Difference in the number of articles – using development cooperation/aid – during the various officeholders

A significant difference exists between Minister Ploumen and Secretary of State Knapen ($p= 0.001$) as well as between Minister Ploumen and Minister Koenders ($p<0.000$). No significant difference exists between Secretary of State Knapen and Minister Koenders. An Oneway ANOVA test has been performed with a post Hoc Bonferroni and $\alpha=0.05$).

ANOVA

of Articles

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	103168,700	2	51584,350	20,357	,000
Within Groups	68418,667	27	2534,025		
Total	171587,367	29			

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: # of Articles

Bonferroni

(I) Officeholder	(J) Officeholder	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Koenders	Knapen	15,5833	25,1695	1,000	-48,661	79,828
	Ploumen	124,3333*	20,5509	,000	71,878	176,789
Knapen	Koenders	-15,5833	25,1695	1,000	-79,828	48,661
	Ploumen	108,7500*	25,1695	,001	44,506	172,994
Ploumen	Koenders	-124,3333*	20,5509	,000	-176,789	-71,878
	Knapen	-108,7500*	25,1695	,001	-172,994	-44,506

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

- Is there a significant difference in the number of articles published about development cooperation AND the name of the officeholder during the reigning periods of the various officeholders? Yes, $p = ,000$.

Differences in the number of articles - using search terms Development Cooperation/aid AND the name of the officeholder - during the various officeholders.

The amount of articles containing the name of the officeholder next to terms development cooperation/aid differs in case of Minister Koenders significantly from Secretary of State Knapen ($p < 0.000$) as well from Minister Ploumen ($p < 0.000$). No significant difference exists between Secretary of State Knapen and Minister Ploumen ($p = 1.00$). An Oneway ANOVA test has been performed with a post Hoc Bonferroni and $\alpha = 0.05$.

ANOVA

of Articles

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	17426,852	2	8713,426	17,254	,000
Within Groups	13635,315	27	505,012		
Total	31062,167	29			

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: # of Articles

Bonferroni

(I) Officeholder	(J) Officeholder	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Koenders	Knapen	51,5325*	10,8653	,000	23,799	79,266
	Ploumen	49,0682*	9,3805	,000	25,125	73,012
Knapen	Koenders	-51,5325*	10,8653	,000	-79,266	-23,799
	Ploumen	-2,4643	10,6878	1,000	-29,744	24,816
Ploumen	Koenders	-49,0682*	9,3805	,000	-73,012	-25,125
	Knapen	2,4643	10,6878	1,000	-24,816	29,744

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Statistical Tests Frequency of frames over the years

3. Is there a significant difference between the frequency of frames over the years? No $p = 0.180$.
A Chi-Square test was done with an α of 0.05. Thereafter, since 98.7% of the cells have an expected count less than 5, Fisher's Exact Test has been performed.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Monte Carlo Sig. (2-sided)			Monte Carlo Sig. (1-sided)		
				Significance	95% Confidence Interval		Significance	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Pearson Chi-Square	77.267 ^a	60	.066	.064 ^b	.059	.069			
Likelihood Ratio	74.969	60	.092	.233 ^b	.224	.241			
Fisher's Exact Test	66.234			.180 ^b	.172	.188			
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.444 ^c	1	.229	.239 ^b	.231	.247	.118 ^b	.111	.124
N of Valid Cases	258								

- a. 76 cells (98.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.88.
b. Based on 10000 sampled tables with starting seed 1993510611.
c. The standardized statistic is 1.202.

Statistical Test Frequency of Frames – in the different newspapers

4. Is there a significant difference in the frequency of frames between the different newspapers?
No p=0.067

Case Processing Summary

	Valid		Cases Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Newspaper * Frame	258	71,1%	105	28,9%	363	100,0%

Newspaper * Frame Crosstabulation

		Frame							Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Newspaper De Telegraaf	Count	12	9	5	5	12	5	8	56
	Adjusted Residual	1,2	,6	-1,1	-,4	2,2	-1,4	-1,0	
NRC	Count	14	10	9	10	11	14	27	95
	Adjusted Residual	-,5	-1,1	-1,3	,0	-,4	,0	2,9	
Volkskrant	Count	16	16	20	12	10	19	14	107
	Adjusted Residual	-,5	,5	2,2	,3	-1,4	1,2	-2,0	
Total	Count	42	35	34	27	33	38	49	258

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Monte Carlo Sig. (2-sided)		
				Significance	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
Pearson Chi-Square	20,014 ^a	12	,067	,065 ^b	,060	,069
Likelihood Ratio	19,331	12	,081	,093 ^b	,087	,099
Fisher's Exact Test	18,822			,088 ^b	,082	,094
N of Valid Cases	258					

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,86.

b. Based on 10000 sampled tables with starting seed 1502173562.

Statistical Tests Tone of Voice – over the years

5. Is there a significant difference in the Tone of voice regarding development cooperation in general over the years? (Chi square test) No, p = 0.192. Since more than 20% has an expected count less than 5, the Fisher's Exact Test is performed.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Year * Tone of Voice TOV-G +1 / 0 / -1	303	83.5%	60	16.5%	363	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Monte Carlo Sig. (2-sided)		Monte Carlo Sig. (1-sided)			
				Significance	95% Confidence Interval		Significance	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Pearson Chi-Square	23.855 ^a	20	.249	.261 ^b	.253	.270			
Likelihood Ratio	27.819	20	.114	.160 ^b	.153	.167			
Fisher's Exact Test	24.810			.192 ^b	.184	.199			
Linear-by- Linear Association	.005 ^c	1	.944	.946 ^b	.942	.950	.482 ^b	.472	.492
N of Valid Cases	303								

a. 11 cells (33.3%) have an expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.01.

b. Based on 10000 sampled tables with starting seed 79654295.

c. The standardized statistic is -.071.

6. Is there a significant difference in the Tone of voice regarding Dutch development cooperation policy over the years? No, p=0.331

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Year * TOV-P +1 / 0 / -1	303	83,5%	60	16,5%	363	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	22,172 ^a	20	,331
Likelihood Ratio	22,912	20	,293
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,276	1	,259
N of Valid Cases	303		

a. 1 cells (3,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4,83.

Statistical Tests Tone of Voice – officeholders

7. Is there a significant difference in the tone of voice regarding development cooperation in general between the various officeholders? No, p=0.319.

Officeholder * Tone of Voice Development Cooperation - General+1 / 0 / -1 Crosstabulation

		Tone of Voice Development Cooperation General +1 / 0 / -1			Total	
		-1.0	.0	1.0		
Officeholders	Koenders	Count	16.00	46.00	50.00	112
		Adjusted Residual	.70	-1.46	1.01	
	Knapen	Count	7.00	24.00	27.00	58
		Adjusted Residual	-.12	-.88	.97	
Ploumen	Count	12.00	52.00	40.00	104	
	Adjusted Residual	-.38	.87	-.63		
Total	Count	38	141	124	303	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Monte Carlo Sig. (2-sided)		Monte Carlo Sig. (1-sided)			
				Significance	95% Confidence Interval		Significance	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Pearson Chi-Square	7.019 ^a	6	,319	.321 ^b	.312	.330			
Likelihood Ratio	7.119	6	.310	.324 ^b	.315	.333			
Fisher's Exact Test	6.878			.326 ^b	.317	.335			

Linear-by-Linear Association	.155 ^c	1	.694	.711 ^b	.702	.720	.365 ^b	.356	.375
N of Valid Cases	303								

a. 1 cells (8.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.64.

b. Based on 10000 sampled tables with starting seed 1487459085.

c. The standardized statistic is .393.

8. Is there a significant difference in the Tone of voice regarding the Dutch development cooperation policy between the various officeholders? Yes, $p = 0.043$. (Critical z-score = Table 1 ($p = 0.05$) = ± 1.64)

Difference in tone of voice regarding the Dutch development cooperation policy during the various officeholders

This difference is significant for Knapen since during his term in office a significantly higher amount of articles has been published with a negative tone of voice regarding his policy ($z = 2.40$). Additionally, a significantly lower amount of articles has been published with a neutral tone of voice ($z = -1.65$). Last, under Minister Ploumen a significantly lower amount of articles has been published with a negative tone of voice ($z = -2.49$). A Chi square test has been performed with an α of 0.05, using a critical z-score of ± 1.64 .

Officeholder * Tone of Voice Dutch Development Cooperation Policy +1 / 0 / -1 Crosstabulation

		TOV-P +1 / 0 / -1			Total	
		-1.0	.0	1.0		
Officeholder	Koenders	Count	35.00	55.00	22.00	112
		Adjusted Residual	1.26	-.99	-.16	
	Knapen	Count	23.00	25.00	10.00	58
		Adjusted Residual	2.40	-1.65	-.61	
	Ploumen	Count	19.00	60.00	25.00	104
		Adjusted Residual	-2.49	1.23	1.23	
Total		Count	77	140	57	274

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Monte Carlo Sig. (2-sided)		Monte Carlo Sig. (1-sided)			
				Significance	95% Confidence Interval		Significance	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Pearson Chi-Square	12.979 ^a	6	.043	.042 ^b	.038	.045			
Likelihood Ratio	13.029	6	.043	.045 ^b	.041	.049			
Fisher's Exact Test	12.541			.046 ^b	.042	.050			

Linear-by-Linear Association	1.812 ^c	1	.178	.188 ^b	.180	.195	.094 ^b	.088	.099
N of Valid Cases	303								

- a. 0 cells (0.0%) have an expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.84.
- b. Based on 10000 sampled tables with starting seed 1131884899.
- c. The standardized statistic is 1.346.

Statistical Tests Tone of Voice – between the frames

9. Is there a significant difference in the TOV- G between the different frames? No, p= 0.065. Since more than 20% has an expected count less than 5, the Fisher’s Exact Test is performed.

Case Processing Summary

	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Frame * TOV-G +1 / 0 / -1	252	69,4%	111	30,6%	363	100,0%

Frame * TOV-G +1 / 0 / -1 Crosstabulation

		Tone of Voice OS algemeen +1 / 0 / -1			Total
		-1	0	1	
Frame 1	Count	4	15	23	42
	Adjusted Residual	-,3	-1,0	1,2	
2	Count	3	11	21	35
	Adjusted Residual	-,4	-1,5	1,7	
3	Count	4	14	15	33
	Adjusted Residual	,3	-,1	-,1	
4	Count	1	12	13	26
	Adjusted Residual	-1,2	,4	,4	
5	Count	9	14	10	33
	Adjusted Residual	3,3	-,1	-2,0	
6	Count	2	14	20	36
	Adjusted Residual	-1,1	-,5	1,2	
7	Count	4	28	15	47
	Adjusted Residual	-,5	2,6	-2,2	
Total	Count	27	108	117	252

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Monte Carlo Sig. (2-sided) 95% Confidence Interval		Monte Carlo Sig. (1-sided) 95% Confidence Interval		
				Significance	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Significance	Lower Bound
Pearson Chi-Square	22,517 ^a	12	,032	,034 ^b	,030	,037		
Likelihood Ratio	20,700	12	,055	,078 ^b	,073	,083		
Fisher's Exact Test	19,710			,065 ^b	,060	,069		
Linear-by-Linear Association	3,134 ^c	1	,077	,074 ^b	,069	,079	,037 ^b	,033 ,041
N of Valid Cases	252							

a. 6 cells (28,6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2,79.

b. Based on 10000 sampled tables with starting seed 112562564.

c. The standardized statistic is -1,770.

10. Is there a significant difference in the TOV-P between the different frames? Yes, **p=0.002**

Case Processing Summary

	Valid		Cases Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Frame * TOV-P +1 / 0 / -1	252	69,4%	111	30,6%	363	100,0%

Frame * TOV-P +1 / 0 / -1 Crosstabulation

		Tone of Voice Huidig OS beleid +1 / 0 / -1			Total	
		-1	0	1		
Frame	1	Count	8	25	9	42
		Adjusted Residual	-,67	,68	-,14	
2	Count	7	20	8	35	
	Adjusted Residual	-,46	,30	,10		

3	Count	5	12	16	33
	Adjusted Residual	-1,15	-2,28	3,89	
4	Count	6	10	10	26
	Adjusted Residual	,01	-1,76	2,10	
5	Count	11	18	4	33
	Adjusted Residual	1,51	-,03	-1,50	
6	Count	12	19	5	36
	Adjusted Residual	1,59	-,26	-1,30	
7	Count	9	34	4	47
	Adjusted Residual	-,70	2,68	-2,51	
Total	Count	58	138	56	252

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Monte Carlo Sig. (2-sided)		Monte Carlo Sig. (1-sided)			
				Significance	95% Confidence Interval		Significance	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Pearson Chi-Square	30,961 ^a	12	,002	,002 ^b	,001	,003			
Likelihood Ratio	29,452	12	,003	,005 ^b	,004	,006			
Fisher's Exact Test	28,514			,004 ^b	,003	,005			
Linear-by-Linear Association	5,152 ^c	1	,023	,025 ^b	,022	,028	,013 ^b	,011	,015
N of Valid Cases	252								

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,78.

b. Based on 10000 sampled tables with starting seed 1335104164.

c. The standardized statistic is -2,270.

Statistical Test Tone of Voice per Newspaper

11. Is there a significant difference in the TOV-G between the different newspapers? No, p= 0.314

Case Processing Summary

Valid	Cases		Total
	Missing		

	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Newspaper * TOV-G +1 / 0 / -1	303	83,5%	60	16,5%	363	100,0%

Newspaper * TOV-G +1 / 0 / -1 Crosstabulation

		Tone of Voice OS algemeen +1 / 0 / -1			Total	
		-1	0	1		
Newspaper	De Telegraaf	Count	11	33	26	70
		Adjusted Residual	,9	,1	-,7	
	NRC Handelsblad	Count	16	55	42	113
		Adjusted Residual	,7	,6	-1,0	
	Volkskrant	Count	11	50	56	117
		Adjusted Residual	-1,3	-1,1	1,9	
Total		Count	38	138	124	300

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2- sided)	Monte Carlo Sig. (2-sided)		
				Significance	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
Pearson Chi-Square	7,654 ^a	6	,265	,251 ^b	,242	,259
Likelihood Ratio	8,791	6	,186	,206 ^b	,198	,213
Fisher's Exact Test	6,701			,314 ^b	,305	,323
N of Valid Cases	303					

a. 3 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,38.

b. Based on 10000 sampled tables with starting seed 2000000.

12. Is there a significant difference in the TOV-P between the different newspapers? Yes, $p=0.011$.
Since more than 20% has an expected count less than 5, the Fisher's Exact Test is performed.

Case Processing Summary

	Valid		Cases Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Newspaper * TOV-P +1 / 0 / -1	303	100,0%	0	0,0%	303	100,0%

Newspaper * TOV-P +1 / 0 / -1 Crosstabulation

		Tone of Voice Huidig OS beleid +1 / 0 / -1			Total	
		-1	0	1		
Newspaper	De Telegraaf	Count	27	27	16	70
		Adjusted Residual	2,47	-2,72	,65	
	NRC Handelsblad	Count	32	66	15	113
		Adjusted Residual	,38	1,51	-2,30	
	Volkskrant	Count	23	64	30	117
		Adjusted Residual	-2,30	,52	1,90	
Total		Count	82	157	61	300

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2- sided)	Monte Carlo Sig. (2-sided)		
				Significance	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
Pearson Chi-Square	16,642 ^a	6	,011	,010 ^b	,008	,012
Likelihood Ratio	18,108	6	,006	,007 ^b	,006	,009
Fisher's Exact Test	15,684			,011 ^b	,009	,013
N of Valid Cases	303					

a. 3 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,60.

b. Based on 10000 sampled tables with starting seed 1314643744.

Appendix II – Multiple Frame Analysis

1. Frequency of Frames

This graph displays the frequency of frames when multiple frames could be identified per article. Nevertheless, this did not result in significant differences.

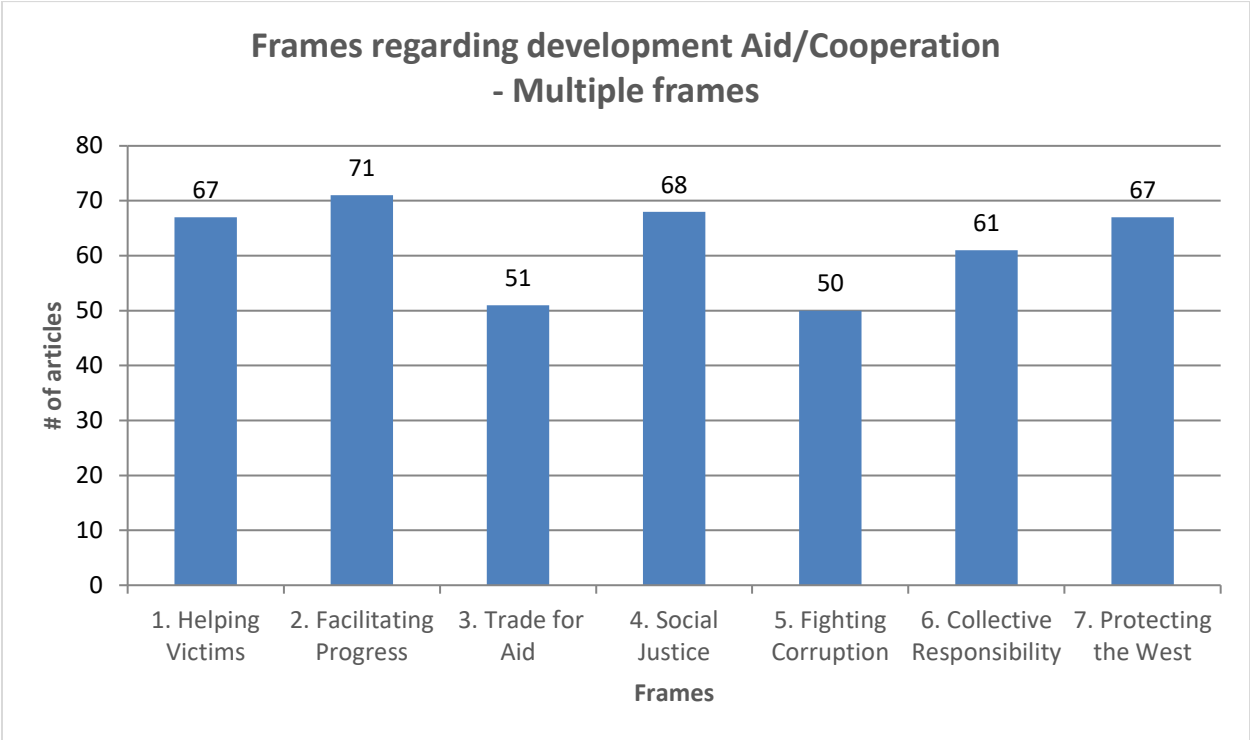


Figure 18 Frequency of frames – multiple frame analysis

2. Frequency of Frames per Officeholder

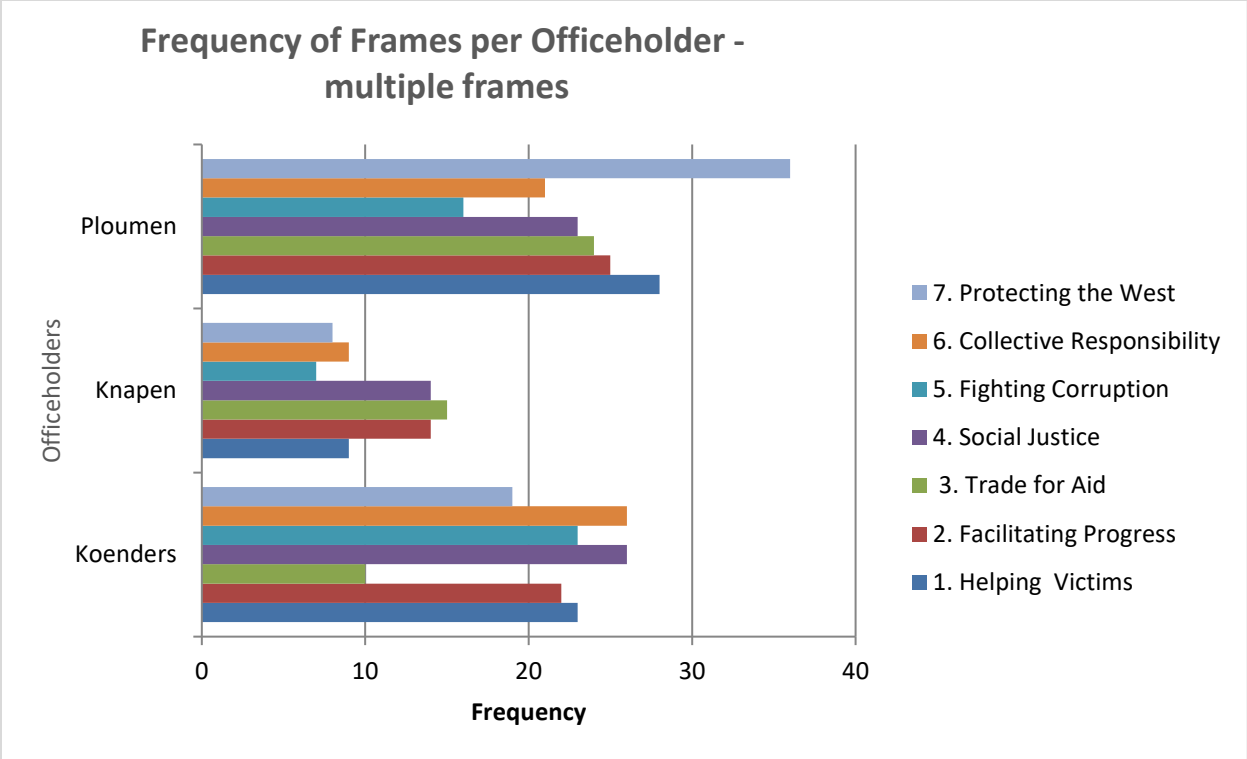


Figure 19 Occurrence of Frames per Officeholder- multiple frames analysis

Dominance of frames over the years – multiple frames

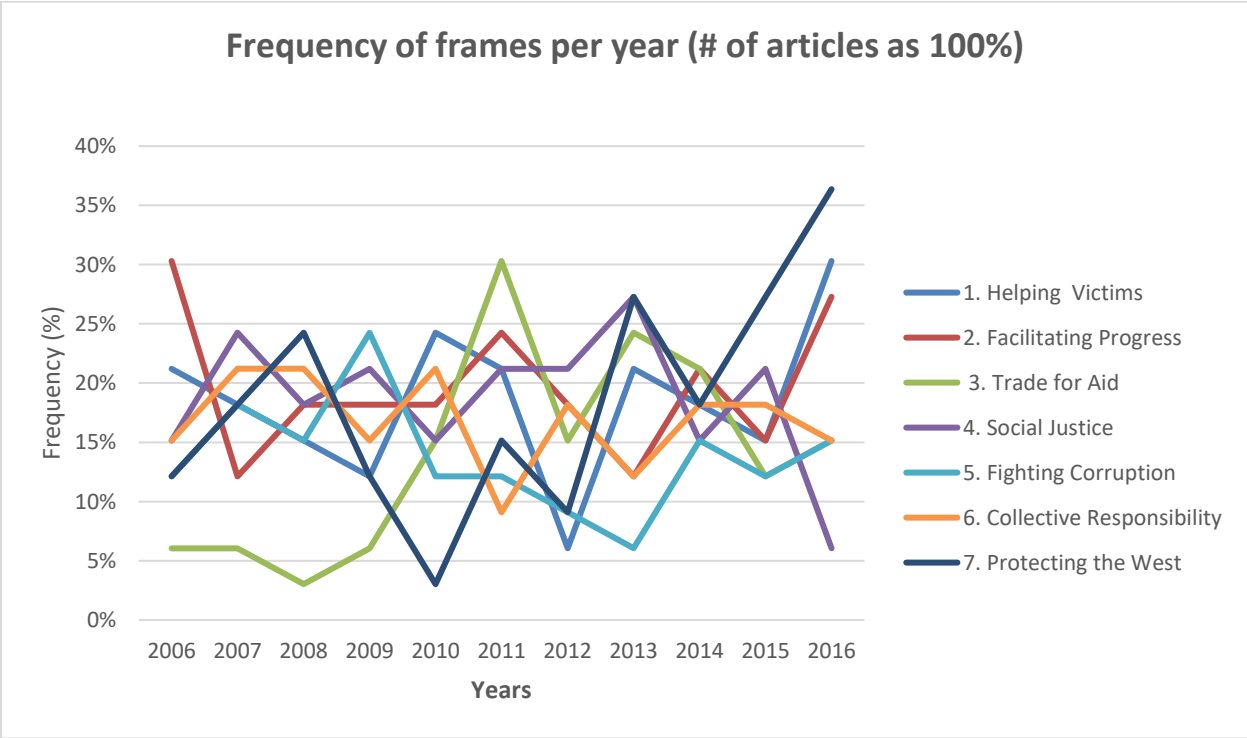


Figure 20 Yearly Occurrence of frames in % - multiple frames

Appendix III – Land Grabbing on the political agenda

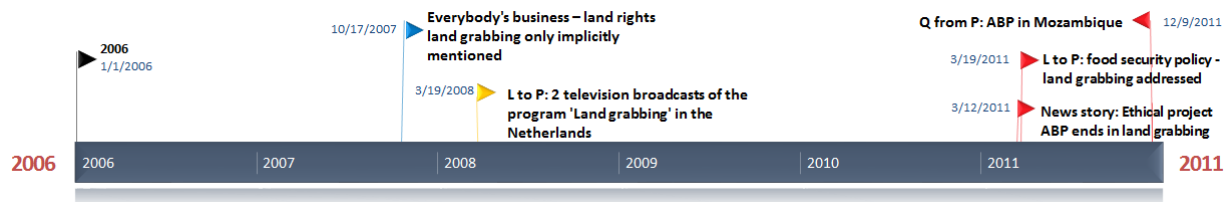


Figure 21 Timeline agenda setting of land grabbing, 2006 – 2011

Stories about land grabbing or the violation of land rights often lead to questions from members of parliament to the cabinet, specifically to the officeholder of Development Cooperation. For example, on December 3, 2011, the Volkskrant published an article entitled: 'Ethical project ABP ends in land grabbing'. ABP is a Dutch pension fund, to whom the Dutch government is the biggest premium payer. Instead of enhancing local development, people got temporary jobs and had to get rid of their lands (Witteaman, 2011). This article led to questions in parliament on December 9 of that same year, whether the minister could pressure ABP to adhere to the OECD regulations for multinational corporations. Knapen responded on February 1st of 2012 by assuring that the management of ABP will be questioned about their role and what can be done to improve the situation. Additionally Knapen promised to include in a policy proposal the requirement that pension funds need to report in their yearly reports about how they take into account the environment, climate, human rights and social relations in their investment strategy (Knapen, 2012b).

Reports from NGOs also lead to questions to parliament e.g. the report 'Fuel for thought- Addressing the social impacts of EU biofuels policies' of Action Aid in April 2012. Knapen responded 2 months later with no policy changes, however the promise to put it on the agenda in Brussels, thus a rise on the political agenda (Knapen, 2012c). In September of that year a report was published concerning the human rights impacts of the tree transplantations in Mozambique, where the Dutch pension fund ABP has invested in. This immediately led to another round of questions from members of parliament, whether minister the current minister Ploumen was aware that this was the second time this was on the agenda and whether the Dutch government could take up an active role in letting ABP adhere to the applicable guidelines and be transparent about their investment policy. Ploumen assured to meet with ABP and iterated the promise of Knapen that the fund should report about how they take into account the consequences of their investments for the environment, climate, human rights and social relations (Ploumen, 2012). In October a report was published by Oxfam Novib entitled 'Our land, our lives – time out on the global land rush'. This led to the 4th letter of parliament that year concerning land grabbing.

In 2013, it remained very high on the political agenda: another four letters to parliament were written concerning land grabbing, the Dutch efforts to reduce it, the involvement of Dutch financial institutions, specifically in Brazil, and land grabbing and illegal woodcutting in Indonesia. The Minister assured the Chamber to take on an active role in Brussels – e.g. to advocate for the prohibition of illegal palm oil imports, and towards other government in offering support for integrated land use planning with the help of the Dutch land administration (Ploumen, 2013b). These events and policy reactions are shown on the timeline in Figure 16 (p. 57).

Corresponding the Issue Attention Cycle, the issue decreased a little on the political agenda in the years 2014-2015 and media attention diminished (from 48 - 37 articles). Nevertheless, ever since the revival in 2012 and 2013, Minister Ploumen initiated a multi stakeholder dialogue for Land Governance, bringing together people from knowledge centers, the private sector and NGOs, discussing the best approach to reduce land grabbing and enhancing the implementation of the Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land (VGGT). Thus it remained on a higher level on the agenda compared to before the triggering events in 2012 and 2013. According to the Downs theory, this is where specialists and the executors deal with the issue. In other words: in the relevant policy arena's a policy monopoly is established, in which the issue remains rather hidden for the outside world and is further delegated to administrative and specialized arenas, until policy entrepreneurs or focusing events lead to another cascade, e.g. because the issue is not yet satisfactory resolved. In this case reports on the involvement of Dutch investment companies in the forest fires in Indonesia to free land for the production of palm oil, and the shocking murders on Berta Cáceres and Nelson García -who protested against the building of a dam financed by FMO of whom the Dutch government is a big shareholder- caused the topic again to rise on the political agenda. Minister Ploumen organized an International CSR covenant with the financial sector to reduce the mutual risks and problems, such as land grabbing, in the chain (Ploumen, 2016a). In the next letter to Parliament she announces an extra investment of €500,000 to enhance land rights and the role of women in 2017 (Ploumen, 2016b). The movement of land grabbing on the political agenda is shown in Figure 17 (p. 57).