

# The Dutch farmers movement

## Populism, framing and integration into the political mainstream

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis examines the messaging of the main movement entrepreneurs of the Dutch Farmers movement, which has been organising protests since 2019. The protests started in a response to what is now known as the nitrogen crisis. Due to this nitrogen crisis, farmers are facing threats of forced closure or reorganisation of their businesses, which is quite unpopular. The protests have changed in form, attendance, and political content over time. With the BBB portraying itself as the farmers party, it seems like the farmers movement is gaining influence in the mainstream political arena. To investigate the messaging of the farmers movement, and how the BBB has adapted the messaging, a frame analysis was conducted.

From this frame analysis, 12 salient frames were uncovered. These frames are centred around the policy process, the notion that certain actors want to demonize, discredit, and get rid of the agricultural sector, exploitation of farmers, and the supposed inefficiencies and illegalities of past and future policies. The BBB has adapted most of these frames, except for one. The BBB has made an attempt to make the frames more digestible for the general population, by extending them to include regular citizens as victims as well, and by de-amplifying the frames when it comes to demonisation of politicians, civil servants, journalists, NGOs and other actors the farmers movement is opposed to.

The frames found tell us the grievances of the farmers movement, and subsequently shows us that there are a plethora of problems with the current state of Dutch agriculture. The solutions the farmers movement propose do not match their problems however, siding with the continuation of the status quo, as opposed to a transition to a more equitable, sustainable and future proof agricultural sector. To achieve a transition, many actors have to come together to define their goals, and consult experts and scientists on how to achieve these goals. Another important aspect in future policy negotiations is to not give agro-industrial interest an influential role. Farmers themselves, in combination with activists, scientists, NGOs and anyone concerned should shape the future of agriculture, not capital.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

In 2019, the Dutch Council of State ruled that the nitrogen policy implemented in 2015 (PAS, Programma Aanpak Stikstof) was contrary to the European Habitats Directive, and therefore could not be used as a basis to give out permits for nitrogen emitting activities. The argumentation for nullifying the permits given out through PAS was as follows: giving permission to emit before compensation measures have been employed, and from which the effects are uncertain is not allowed, because this is contrary to the European Habitat Directive. Rather, measures should be deployed beforehand, and only then can pollution be increased, only to the extent where it will not further deteriorate the environment (Raad van State, 2019). This meant that permits for nitrogen emitting activities could no longer be issued, effectively blocking development of housing, agriculture, transport, and other nitrogen emitting activities near Nature 2000 areas. It also meant that the exemption for activities with low nitrogen emissions was void, and thus the activities that fell under this category needed a permit, contrary to expectations (Remkes, n.d.).

In response to this, waves of farmers protests have been happening throughout the Netherlands. These protests have been happening since the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 2019, with many protests happening in that month. Protests are still going on to this day, with the most recent protest taking place on the 29<sup>th</sup> of July, 2023 (ANP, 2019; NRC, 2023). The methods that have been used to influence Dutch nitrogen policy have been diverse, ranging from lobbying efforts and direct collaboration with lawmakers, to more radical methods of protest. These include blockades using tractors, intimidation of various stakeholders, unannounced visits to the private homes of activists, supermarket officials and politicians, and even death threats (Hendrikse, 2022; Kuiper, 2022).

Behind these demonstrations, multiple organisations can be identified, but one organised the majority of demonstrations, Farmers Defence Force (FDF). This organisation has by now developed a militant reputation but was initially founded to fight back against the “excesses of environmental extremism”, in a response to an occupation of a pig farm by animal rights activists (NOS, 2020a). Nowadays, FDF is openly questioning the existence of nitrogen problems, stating that it is mainly a man-made legal problem. The founder of FDF has even compared the treatment of Dutch farmers to Jewish people under the Nazi regime (van de Griend & Hotse Smit, 2022). Another organisation involved with the farmers movement is Agractie, often organising demonstrations, especially in the beginning of the protest wave.

The demonstrations of the farmers movement were at least partly funded by feed producers (ForFarmers, Voergroep Zuid, Gebr. Fuite en De Heus), meat processors (Vion), feeding system producers (Trioliet) and dairy processors (FrieslandCampina, A-Ware). These businesses all contributed financially to the protest, for example by providing funding for a communication firm, and by organising transport for farmers to come to The Hague (van Westhreenen, 2019). Besides contributing to the protest itself, financial interests have led some of these organisations to fund a lobbying platform, under the guise of an impartial factchecker, or an investigative

journalism platform, called Agri Facts. This platform has attempted to discredit the methods and calculations that serve as the foundation for environmental policy. (Harmsen, 2020).

The message voiced at the farmers' protests often follows the narrative that the nitrogen problem is created by the government, the EU, and the "elites". Often, the nitrogen problem is outright denied, the methods of research on the topic discredited, and the politicians speaking in favour of environmental regulations ridiculed, intimidated, and scapegoated. The solutions proposed by the farmers movement stay within the current agricultural status quo, advocating for the continuation of business as usual (van der Ploeg, 2020).

In addition to organisations involved in the farmers protests stating their support for the continuation of business as usual, some political parties have explicitly sided with the movement. Three parties are of particular interest here, namely, Forum voor Democratie (FVD), Partij Voor de Vrijheid (PVV), and BoerBurgerBeweging (BBB), of which the last has ties with the meat processors, feed producers and pesticide manufacturers, like ForFarmers, Bayer and Vion (L'Ami, 2021). Another party previously involved and self-identified as the farmers party, the Christen Democratisch Appèl (CDA), has ceased to be perceived as such, and is not very vocal about the nitrogen crisis in their election program (CDA, 2021).

The way in which these parties position themselves alongside the farmers movement is as follows: they attempt to demonise the mainstream political bloc, stating that the farmers have been fooled by them for too long. Alongside this, they make appeals to the "Dutchness" of the farmers, stating that they are the heroes of the country, producing food for our nation. The support of the farmers movement is grounded in nationalist discourse used by above parties, and the movement itself. This can be seen in the display of Dutch flags during the protests, both the regular flag and the upside down version. Bosma & Peeren (2021) conclude that the narrative being pushed by the farmers movement is mainly geared towards promoting an idyllic version of farming. They propagandize with imagery of and discourse on the romantic of small-scale farming, while hiding the realities and consequences of intensive livestock farming.

One identifying factor that these parties share is their right-wing populist nature, with anti-immigration views, opposing environmental regulations and proposals of educational reforms aimed at reducing the freedom of teachers to express their own "ideology". As per the current situation in the Netherlands, these parties can count on support from at least a part of the farmers movement. This is a worrying development, as these parties are exploiting the very real concerns of farmers about their livelihoods, and their way of life as a whole, to further an agenda that promotes the continuation of the agricultural status quo and platforming right-wing ideology. This will not provide society with the necessary changes needed to address the nitrogen problem, as well as legitimizing nationalist, regressive, exclusionary politics.

## **1.1 Empirical research gap**

There is a vast body of scholarly work on populist movements in general, spanning from discursive aspects to the effects populist politics have in economic (Rodrik, 2018), social (Brubaker, 2020; Rummens, 2017), and environmental realms (Ofstehage et al., 2022). Studies have been carried out on general trends in populism on various scales, spatial and temporal. An article by Mamonova & Franquesa (2020) identifies the root cause of European rural right-wing populism in general, to be the crisis of globalised neoliberal capitalism. In addition to this, it explores how regional and rural specificities contribute in shaping these movements. However, the populist aspects of the farmers movement in the Netherlands has not had much academic attention, with only two articles available. The commentary article by van der Ploeg (2020), has a focus on the messaging of the movement, and tries to draw attention to the role of agricultural entrepreneurship on the shape of agriculture in the Netherlands. It critiques the movement on the response it has given to proposed legislation, with the core of the demands being a continuation of business as usual, continuous expansion following the logic of capital. The second paper published on the Dutch farmers movement concerns itself with the imagery that the movement uses, and is observed to be portraying an idyllic version of the farmer and their environment. It critiques the use of this imagery and the rhetoric on the basis that it is not a realistic depiction of the industrial nature and scale of current farming practices (A. Bosma & Peeren, 2021). Compared to other movements which gathered more academic attention, like the French Yellow Jacket movement (Bergem, 2022), Occupy Wall Street (Aslanidis, 2018) and many others, the Dutch Farmers movement has barely been studied. The papers by Bosma & Peeren (2021) and van der Ploeg (2020), seemingly did not review the discourse associated with the farmers movement in its entirety. Instead, they pick examples, and reflect upon these. This provides an opportunity to review the discourse associated with the farmers movement in more detail.

## **1.2 Theoretical research gap**

The importance of framing processes in mobilizing individuals for contentious action has been covered in previous studies (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow et al., 2014). The effects of framing in movements are not limited to what movements protest about, but also how they communicate about those issues (Snow et al., 2018). With the farmers movement gathering significant amounts of support at the beginning of the protests, and support decreasing over the course of the protests, leading up to the provincial elections, it is interesting to see how the frames of the farmers movement have changed over time. Within the farmers movement, there are obvious parties whom organise, promote, and set the agenda for protests and demonstrations. These parties can be considered movement entrepreneurs, and hold a significant amount of leverage over the framing of issues which the movement concerns themselves with (Staggenborg, 2013). Literature on social movement and elections states that there are many ways in which social movements can be influenced by elections, and how these movements can give rise to whole new political parties (Heaney, 2013). With the provincial and national elections of 2023 behind us, an interesting opportunity has presented itself to look into the way the BBB has attempted to use, and adapt frames from the farmers movement for their own electoral success.



With the small amount of research done on the Dutch farmers movement, there is an opportunity to further explore the characteristics of the movement, in terms of framing elements and how these have been adapted by the BBB into their party program.

### **1.3 Research objective and research questions**

The objective of this research is to explore how the movement entrepreneurs of the Dutch farmers movement have framed the developments in the policy process, responses to demonstrations, and media coverage of the farmers protests over the course of the protest cycle, and how the movement has been institutionalized as seen in the establishment of the BBB. This research objective has been made into a main research question, and has been split into three different research questions. Which are as follows:

Main RQ: What frames have the movement entrepreneurs of the Dutch farmers movement constructed, and how has the BBB adapted these frames to into their party program?

SRQ1: To what extent can Agractie, Agrifacts and Farmers Defence Force be characterized as movement entrepreneurs?

SRQ2: What collective action frames have been constructed over the course of the protests by the movement entrepreneurs of the farmers movement?

SRQ3: How has the BBB used frame alignment processes to adapt collective action frames from the farmers movement into their party program?

### **1.4 Readers guide**

In the next section, chapter 2, the conceptual framework used for the methodology and research questions has been described. In chapter 3, the methods of this research have been described, categorized into research design, data collection and analytical methods. Chapter 4 contains context to the farmers movement, its protests and responses to policy changes. In Chapter 5, the results can be found. In this section the frames found in the communications of the movement entrepreneurs are described, and how the BBB has adapted these frames. Chapter 6 contains the discussion and recommendations following from the results. Chapter 7 concludes this thesis with the conclusion.

## **2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

In this chapter, the conceptual framework of this study is explained. The following concepts have been covered: Movement entrepreneurs, which concerns itself with the actors primarily responsible for the framing of issues of a social movement, and how it is determined who is a movement entrepreneur; Collective action frames, commonly created by movement entrepreneurs, covers the relevance, meaning and construction of frames in the context of a social movement; Interactions between social movements and political parties covers the interactions between social movements, political parties and citizens, and the influence of elections on the dynamics between these three; Frame alignment processes covers the various types of changes that can be made in a frame, typically done by movement entrepreneurs, to make frames more or less suitable to an audience.

### **2.1 Movement entrepreneurs**

Often, within social movements, movement entrepreneurs play a significant role in the framing of issues, which aim to trigger cognitive processes that turn discontent into action. Often, there is a core group, which commands a large amount of leverage over the exact framing of issues within the movement. Modern social movements have been professionalized, characterized by full-time leadership, a large amount of paper membership, and a reliance on constituents which do not necessarily stand to benefit from the success of the movement (Aslanidis, 2018). Actors concerned with the issues associated to the movement, such as the leaders of the movement, politicians and journalists define issues for their audiences, and bring them to the public attention. If they do so successfully, they can increase the amount of people concerned about an issue, which can aid them in increasing the scale of the mobilization. The way in which these movement entrepreneurs frame the grievances at hand is crucial to both the scale of mobilization, and the social construction of the social problems. In institutional settings, these movement entrepreneurs are often ideological activists, who attempt to change institutions by making use of political opportunities and by engaging in framing activities (Staggenborg, 2013).

### **2.2 Collective action frames**

Social movement studies has a longstanding tradition which concerns itself with the linguistic and cognitive aspects of social movements and their ideologies. The cognitive processes which interpret grievances, and gives direction and consensus around the goals of the movement are central in this tradition. Two closely related approaches have risen out of this focus, discourse and frame analysis. Which are based on similar ontological and epistemological assumptions, but differ in purpose. For the purpose of this research, frame analysis will be carried out. This choice was made, because the goal for this research was to make an inquiry on how ideas, culture and ideology are used, interpreted and combined with situations at hand, in order to construct a lens through which the world is understood. Frame analysis as used in this research zooms in on how particular ideas are used to mobilize supporters towards a common goal. It focuses on how established ideological constructs are used to frame a particular topic, and how it accentuates, hides and borders off reality in a certain manner. In comparison to discourse analysis, frame analysis places emphasis on the strategic and deliberative side of language usage of movement actors. In the form of frame analysis applied in this research, frame analysis is less

concerned with uncovering the process of social construction of reality, but more targeted towards uncovering the effect of texts on mobilization and participation within social movements (Lindekilde, 2014).

Inherent to populist movements is the construction of a frame. Framing happens as follows, it first establishes a diagnostic frame, which identifies grievances and attributes the blame for these to certain actors. After this, a prognostic framing takes place, where solutions strategies and frames are suggested and constructed. Finally, a motivational frame is constructed, which in the context of populism often consists out of delineating between “us” and “them”, which provides the movement with motivation to take action according to the prognostic frame. This usually takes the form of the notion that “the common” needs to take action against “the elites”.

Populism as a way of framing is based on anti-elite discourse, in the name of the sovereign people, and attempts to address grievances. If the grievances the populist movement represents can be and are adequately addressed by political authority, a mobilisation will not ensue (Aslanidis, 2017). Populist discourse is powerful at mobilising a wide range of non-affiliated individuals, often with their own grievances. It does so by giving people a common enemy, and providing an integrative perspective, which is not found in the political mainstream. It is a flexible way of animating political support and provides the tools necessary to build a large, diverse and highly motivated coalition or movement. It can be seen as a scheme of interpretation, a manner of assessing the situation at hand. The frames are often presented by abovementioned movement entrepreneurs, in order to reach and recruit potential audiences.

A large part of the academic work on populism agrees with the notion that inclusive populist platforms have the ability to give a voice to a group of citizens commonly unheard by hierarchical and unresponsive political participation. It does so by aggregating grievances of groups that normally feel underrepresented by mainstream politics (Aslanidis, 2017).

According to Aslanidis (2018), framing processes play a significant role in the mobilization of individuals towards contentious action. This makes frame analysis crucial when attempting to study social movement, their actions and movement entrepreneurs involved. The framing processes within a social movement arena produce a collective action frame. Like regular frames, collective action frames produce and transform meanings associated with objects of attention. However, collective action frames differ from regular everyday frames in terms of their purpose: they have another purpose, to move individuals within the movement towards mobilization (Snow et al., 2018).

## 2.3 Interactions between social movements and political parties

Social movements and elections are reciprocally interrelated with each other. By influencing electoral outcomes, social movements may be able to exert influence over public policies and society at large. The outcomes of elections can also influence motivation of individuals in devoting their time and energy to a social movement. The interactions between movements and electoral actors like political parties can both be cooperative and conflictual, depending on the strategies employed by these actors. The interactions between social movements and elections go in both ways, with movements affecting elections, and elections affecting movements (Heaney, 2013).

Movements can affect elections in various ways. First, a social movement can play a significant role in pressuring non-democratic government to allow for democratic elections in the first place. Second, a social movement can provide new ways for disenfranchised groups to engage in elections, which can be seen in numerous historic examples (e.g. voting rights for women, ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples). What a social movement does or does not do makes a difference in access to elections. Third, social movements can grow into political parties which can become challenging forces in elections. The success of a social movement forming a political party is more likely if the electoral system allows for relatively proportional representation, rather than majoritarian rules for selecting representatives. Fourth, different electoral coalitions support different parties, which can be influenced by social movements through the following routes: influencing the salience of issues can change a party's platform, or the mobilization of a previously uninterested constituency can influence the outcomes of an election. Fifth, the personal identities of activists and their positions towards the political systems may be changed by social movements, which alters the environment in which the elections take place. If movements are able to transform the views of activists on their place within the political world, then they are able to produce impacts which can be felt even after the social movement dissipates or falls out of relevancy. Finally, movements can provide new forms of collective action, which can be used in elections. By transforming the workings of election campaigns, social movements can influence the outcomes of these election campaigns (Heaney, 2013).

Elections can exert influence on movements in many ways as well. First, elections alter the opportunity structure of movements. Election can generate events, frame issues, and direct attention in ways that social movements must take into account. Second, (non-) participation in electoral activities can cause conflicts within social movements. On the one hand, the argument can be made that participating in elections is the only opportunity a movement has to make a real impact on policies, while one could also argue that participating in elections forces movements to make compromises on their core values. This complicates the decision making process for movement entrepreneurs on coalition structure, framing tasks, endorsement of events and other strategic choices. Third, participating in elections may give reason to movements to moderate their positions. Because social movements rarely encompass a majority of a population, movements need to attract other groups of voters to win elections, which requires them to broaden their positions, so these unreached voters can be convinced to vote for their cause. This can cause movements to lose their identity as compared to before engaging with elections. Fourth, the outcomes of an election can affect the motivation of citizens to participate

in the movement itself. It can cause participants to either turn to or away from a movement as a result of a lost or won election. Finally, elections can shape the identities of citizens. By defining the conflicts that create identities, elections can set the environment in which a social movement operates. This can cause opportunities to open up, and barriers to be erected which can shape a movements success of mobilization (Heaney, 2013).

## **2.4 Frame alignment processes**

Frame alignment processes are the methods which movement entrepreneurs and organizations use to link their interests and goals to those of potential adherents and resource provides, with the intention of expanding and gathering support for the movement (Snow et al., 2018). Four basic frame alignment processes have been identified by (Snow et al., 1986):

*Frame bridging* is a process that links two or more disconnected frames regarding a common issue. This happens through the linkage between the movement organization and individuals, un-mobilized sentiment pools, or public opinion clusters. It is primarily done to increase the reach of the movements main frame, by connecting it with one which has a wider resonance in society. It can be seen as a form of coalition forming, in which movement entrepreneurs seek to align themselves with other organisations or groups of individuals to enlarge their respective audience for their frame. *Frame amplification* concerns the strengthening of specific values, beliefs and understandings, so that they become more salient and dominant than others. In principle, this process relies on the amplification of already existing values and beliefs, by placing emphasis on these, instead of extending or changing them. *Frame extension* extends a movements interests and framings beyond the movements original support base. This is done by including issues which are of relevance to bystander groups or potential adherents. In doing so the movement can garner a broader base of support for their contention. *Frame transformation* is done by changing understandings and perspectives already present within the frame of the movement. This is done to achieve a more resonant frame, amongst the individuals and collectives already supporting the movement. Frame alignment processes are not exclusive to movement entrepreneurs however, with political parties also employing them to make use of pre-established collective action frames in their own party programs and/or promotion.

## 2.5 Schematic overview of conceptual framework

This section contains a schematic overview of the conceptual framework which was constructed for this research. It can be found in Figure 1.

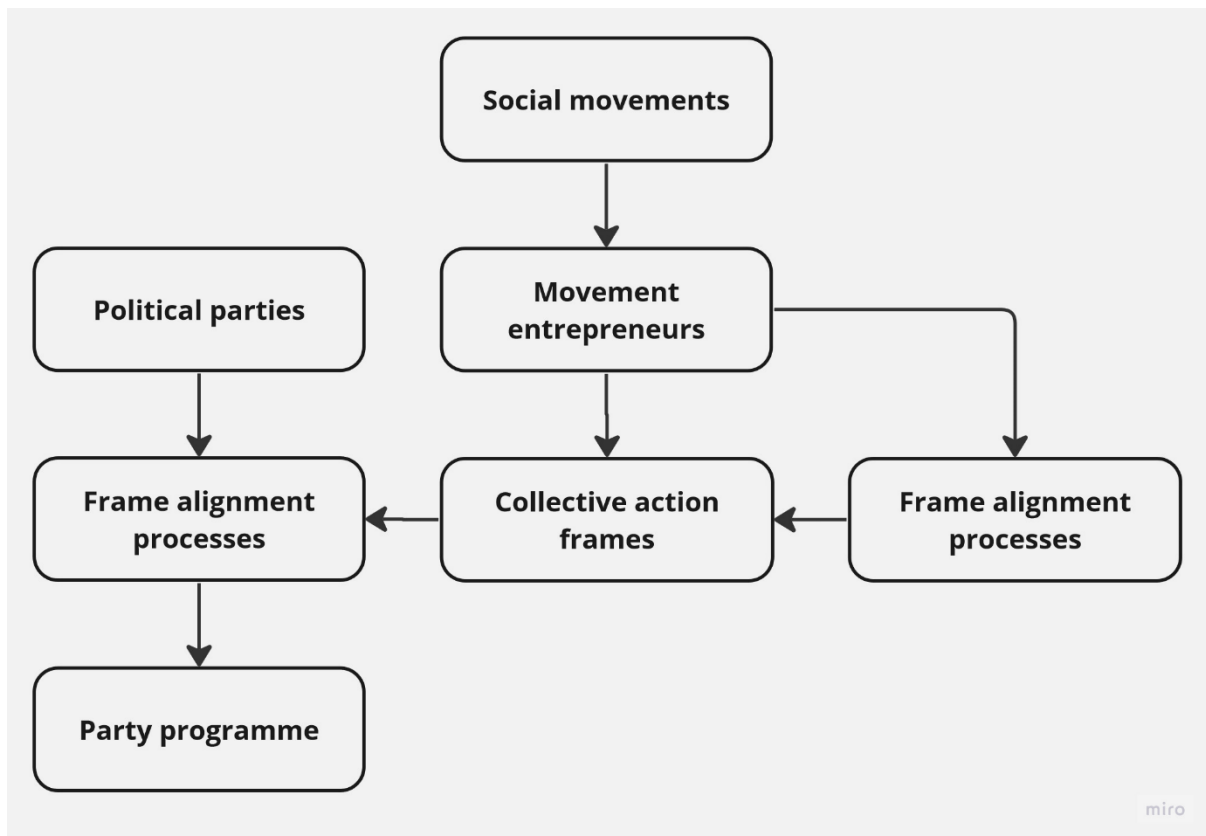


Figure 1: Schematic overview of the conceptual framework.

The schematic should be read in the following way: Social movements often have movement entrepreneurs, who have a large amount of leverage over the construction of collective action frames, and are able to adjust the frames using frame alignment processes, typically to try and achieve resonance with a broader or larger audience than the original action frame. Political parties, associated with the movement or not, can also employ frame alignment processes. In this case, the research concerns itself with the construction of the initial collective action frames, and how political parties, in this case the BBB, employ frame alignment processes to transform the collective action frames of the farmers movement into a party program.

### **3. METHODS**

In this chapter, the methods have been described, in the section on research design a general structure of the methodology is presented. In the section on data collection, the methods of collection and selection of data for the study has been described. In the section on analytical methods, the methods of analysis of the acquired data has been described.

#### **3.1 Research design**

During this research, the Dutch farmers movements use of frames has been explored. Logically following from this, this means that only actors and frames related to the Dutch farmers movement have been analysed. To assess the frames pushed by the movement entrepreneurs, and to compare these to the frames deployed by the BBB, the timeframe of the research spans from the start of the protest cycle (1<sup>st</sup> of October, 2019), to the provincial elections of 2023 (15<sup>th</sup> of March, 2023). Here, a brief overview of the methodology will be given, with further explanation on data collection and analytical methods given below.

The following movement entrepreneurs were selected: Farmers Defence Force, Agractie and Agrifacts. These were selected due to their reach, in terms of media attention, and involvement in the demonstrations associated to their farmers movement. News articles posted by these organisations were collected as material for a frame analysis. These articles were read and subsequently coded based on themes. These themes formed the basis for determining what frames the movement entrepreneurs were constructing. These frames were further described and developed, based on the framing elements found. These frames were further interpreted in terms of how they aimed to invoke certain feelings with their audience. The election program of the BBB was also read and coded deductively, applying codes based on the frames found in the movement entrepreneurs messaging. Subsequently, the similarities and differences between the movement entrepreneurs' framing elements and those of the BBB were observed, and further interpretation was done on these differences and similarities in terms of frame alignment processes and frame resonance factors.

#### **3.2 Data collection**

In this section, an explanation will be given for how the data needed for the various research questions will be collected.

For the first research question, the following data has been collected: Basic information about the movement entrepreneurs, like organisational structure, membership, goals and objectives came from their own outlets, like their website. Alongside information from the movement entrepreneurs themselves, additional information from other sources has been collected, like funding partnerships. For the second research question, as described by (Aslanidis, 2018), texts produced by movement entrepreneurs themselves provide the highest validity. As such, this is the primary source of data. Within this category, news messages and blog posts from movement entrepreneurs have been collected. These texts have been collected spanning the abovementioned time frame. Due to the large amount of texts found, a selection was made on the articles which should be read and coded. The articles were selected based on the titles, and to what extent they appeared to contain messaging with

populist framing elements. Articles which contained information about protests, policy negotiations and supposed misinformation were selected. Along these, articles were also selected based on language use, including articles with threats, notions of war or battle, name-calling of politicians and references to communist regimes and dictatorships.

More information on which articles exactly were selected can be found in Appendix 1. A general overview of the sources used, the number of articles found and used can be found per actor can be found in table 1.

For the third research question the frames distilled during the second research question have been used, in combination with relevant literature and the theoretical framework for determining factors of resonance. For the fourth and final research question, the party program of the BBB for the Parliamentary elections of 2021, and for the provincial elections of 2023 has been used to determine how the frames found within the farmers movement have been adopted by the BBB.

**Table 1: Overview of sources, and number of articles found and used per actor.**

Actor	Source	Type	No. Articles Found	No. Articles Used	% Texts Used
Agractie	<a href="https://agractie.nl/nieuws/">https://agractie.nl/nieuws/</a>	News posts	90	46	60%
Agrifacts	<a href="https://stichtingagrifacts.nl/">https://stichtingagrifacts.nl/</a>	News posts	67	40	51%
Farmers Defence Force (FDF)	<a href="https://farmersdefenceforce.nl/">https://farmersdefenceforce.nl/</a>	News posts	264	77	29%
Boer Burger Beweging (BBB)	<a href="https://www.parlement.com/id/vlg1gbia2hxq/boerbürgerbeweging_en_tweede">https://www.parlement.com/id/vlg1gbia2hxq/boerbürgerbeweging_en_tweede</a> <a href="https://boerbürgerbeweging.nl/verkiezingen/provinciale-statenverkiezingen-2023/">https://boerbürgerbeweging.nl/verkiezingen/provinciale-statenverkiezingen-2023/</a>	Election program national elections 2021 and provincial elections 2023	2	2	100%
<b>Total</b>			423	165	39%



### **3.3 Analytical methods**

The analytical methods for this research encompassed one method, empirical frame analysis. Frame analysis was carried out as follows: the collected texts were added to ATLAS.ti. After this, coding of the texts was done, by using an inductive coding strategy to identify the core framing elements of the movement entrepreneurs. The first step of coding consisted out of identifying the relevant framing elements of the movement entrepreneurs. After going through all of the documents, a selection was made out of the most salient and relevant frames produced by the movement entrepreneurs. The salience of the frames was determined using the amount of times a quotation was coded with the frame code. Subsequently, using this selection, a figure was made of the frames found in the texts, over time, and per movement entrepreneur. After this, the party program of the BBB for the provincial elections was coded deductively, using the frames selected in the previous step. Finally, the quotations found in the texts of the movement entrepreneurs and the BBB were compared to each other, to find differences between them and to determine what frame alignment processes were employed.

### **3.4 Trustworthiness**

When doing qualitative research, it is important for the researcher to demonstrate the trustworthiness of the analysis. Nowell et al. (2017) provides with guidelines for researchers on how to demonstrate trustworthiness. Trustworthiness is made up of different criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. These criteria have been covered in more detail below.

#### **Credibility**

Credibility can be defined as the “fit” between respondents views and the researchers representation of them. In this case, the respondents would be the movement entrepreneurs, and the representation of their views would be the frames that have been determined. A few techniques have been suggested to address credibility, one of which is data collection triangulation, which has not happened during this research. The sources of data were the websites of the movement entrepreneurs themselves, and if data triangulation did happen, another source of data should have been used per movement entrepreneur, which could have been Twitter, YouTube or other social media where movement entrepreneurs spread their message. By doing this, a future research could assess to what extent the frames pushed on social media correspond with the frames found on the websites of the movement entrepreneurs themselves.

Another technique to address credibility is referential adequacy, which is the archiving of a portion of the data, that would not be analysed during the initial analysis. Rather, it would be used after initial analysis is complete, to test the validity of the findings made during the initial analysis. This has not been done during this research due to time constraints. As there still is a large amount (258) of articles that has not been analysed, there certainly is a possibility of further proving the credibility of this research.

## **Dependability**

To ensure dependability, researches have to make sure the research process is logical, traceable and clearly documented (Nowell et al., 2017). By describing the methods for data collection, selection of the analysed data, and subsequently selection of the frames found in the messaging, an attempt has been made to ensure dependability. Alongside the description of methods, atlas.ti was used to save the different points during analysis, creating an opportunity for other researchers to observe the process of coding.

## **Confirmability**

Confirmability is establishing that the interpretations and findings of the research are clearly derived from the data (Nowell et al., 2017). This has been done by providing quotations, displaying examples of framing elements found in the texts. There could have been an improvement in the confirmability though, which would be done by providing references to every single framing element mentioned in the results section.

## **Transferability**

Transferability in the case of qualitative research is referring to the generalizability of the results. This concerns case-to-case transfer, which is difficult to determine when the other case is not set. To improve transferability, the case covered in this thesis has been described, in the introduction and the contextual chapter.

## 4. CONTEXTUAL CHAPTER

In this chapter, a chronological overview has been made of key events associated with the farmers movement, and nitrogen policies in the Netherlands.

### 2019

On May 29<sup>th</sup>, 2019, the Dutch Council of State ruled that the Nitrogen Approach Programme (Programma Aanpak Stikstof, PAS) was not sufficient to use as a basis for giving out permits for activities. The argument for this was that the mechanism of PAS, giving permission to emit before reduction measures have been employed, was deemed contrary to the European Habitat Directive (Raad van State, 2019). As a result of this, permits given out under PAS were nullified. This sparked a wave of protest in response to the nullification of these permits, and subsequently protest against proposed reforms in nitrogen policies.

On September 9<sup>th</sup>, coalition party D66 proposes to cut country's livestock population in half, to reduce nitrogen emissions. They want to reduce nitrogen emissions, so there will be space for construction activities (NOS, 2019a). On the 1<sup>st</sup> of October, demonstrations took place, in the Hague, but also in Hilversum (ANP, 2019). In the Hague there was traffic congestion along the highway due to the tractors brought to the protest (Borst, 2019). On the 14<sup>th</sup> of October, the Provinces of Drenthe and Overijssel scrapped nitrogen measures, as a response to protests against the measures. The province of Gelderland delay the measures (Klumpenaar & van Laarhoven, 2019). On October 16<sup>h</sup>, another demonstration took place in the Hague, on the Malieveld. Roads in and around the Hague are congested due to tractors. The army employed their vehicles to block roads to areas where no protests were allowed (NOS, 2019b).

On December 16<sup>th</sup>, a principle agreement was reached between the government and the Agricultural Collective, a group of 13 organisations representing farmers' interests. This agreement concerned some measures from the Agricultural Collective plan, called "Uit de gecreëerde stikstofimpasse" (Leaving the manufactured nitrogen impasse). FDF, one of the organisations involved with the Agricultural Collective, did not support the agreement, alongside several other organisations. Their main gripe with the agreement was a lack of compensation from the retail sector, and the media portrayal of farmers. On December 18<sup>th</sup>, more protests took place, mainly targeting industrial actors, as well as media and politicians (Het Parool, 2019).

### 2020

On February 19<sup>th</sup>, another protest took place, against the planned nitrogen reduction policies which were going to go into effect on February 20<sup>th</sup>. The main concern vocalized during the protest were the supposed shortcomings in RIVM calculations. Besides doubts about the calculations, the proposed buyout policies were critiqued for being low compared to sustainable practice subsidies (RTV Utrecht, 2020).

On May 6<sup>th</sup>, Minister of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality, Carola Schouten, proposed reduce the protein content of animal feed, to reduce nitrogen emissions. In response to this proposal, protests took place during July, blocking supermarket distribution centres and Eindhoven airport, amongst other locations (Eindhovens Dagblad, 2020).

In October 2020, Minister of agriculture Carola Schouten presented a policy proposal aiming to achieve a 26 percent nitrogen reduction in 2030. The new legislation was supposed to go into effect on January 1<sup>st</sup> 2021, replacing the emergency measures that were set to expire by the end of 2020. FDF felt that the measures proposed would have farmers contributing disproportionately, prompting a new series of farmers protests (NOS, 2020b).

## **2021**

On March 17<sup>th</sup>, 2021, parliamentary elections took place in the Netherlands. During these elections, the BBB participated for the first time, and won a seat in parliament. The BBB mainly got their votes from the eastern, rural part of the Netherlands. Alongside the victory of the BBB, the CDA, originally considered to be “the farmers party” went from 19 to 15 seats in parliament, losing 4 (Kiesraad, 2021).

From May 2021 onwards, several reports were published on the necessary measures to be taken to reduce nitrogen emissions. These all concluded that reducing livestock numbers and restructuring of rural areas to be crucial to achieve the reduction goals (NOS, 2021b). As a response to these reports, more protests took place, on July 7<sup>th</sup>, 2021 (NOS, 2021a).

June 10<sup>th</sup>, Minister of nitrogen and nature, van der Wal, presented the Nationaal Programma Landelijk Gebied (National Program for Rural Areas), a policy proposal which was supposed to outline the national government’s plan to reduce nitrogen emissions. It included a map including the areas in which farms would have to cease production. As a response to this, a new wave of protests started, with the first protests taking place at the private residences of Minister of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality, and Minister of Nitrogen and Nature (Luesink et al., 2022).

June 22<sup>nd</sup>, a large scale protest was organised in Stroe, the largest protest organised by farmers movement to this date, with approximately 60.000 attendees (Trouw, 2022). On June 23<sup>rd</sup>, a parliamentary debate took place, in which the Ministers of Nitrogen and Nature, and Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality received critique on their policy proposals and shortcomings in information provision to the parliament. On the 24<sup>th</sup> multiple protests took place again, at the media park in Hilversum, various provincial and municipal boards, and several highways were blocked (Luesink et al., 2022)

June 28<sup>th</sup>, a vote was held to determine whether the June 23 proposal would be implemented or not, the vote turned out in favour of the legislation. This triggered a new wave of protests that took place on the same day, blocking highways, damaging police vehicles, and law enforcement officers faced verbal aggression and attacks. The residences of van der Wal and Derk Boswijk were also visited by protestors. On June 29<sup>th</sup> multiple farmers protests occurred, blocking highways, and a distribution center of Albert Heijn. Alongside these protests, several provincial boards were approached by protestors, demanding to speak to representatives, or pressuring the boards to reject the national nitrogen plans (Luesink et al., 2022).

## **2022**

During July of 2022, a large amount of farmers protests took place, with some of them collaborating with Covid-19 related protest groups. On July 1<sup>st</sup>, 2022, a protest took place in Harderwijk, organised by Nederland in Verzet (Netherlands in Resistance). On July 3<sup>rd</sup>, a protest march took place in Eindhoven, organized by Samen voor Nederland (Together for Netherlands). On the same day, Johan Remkes was appointed to be mediator in the nitrogen policy process (Luesink et al., 2022).

On July 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2022, a demonstration took place in Amsterdam, organized by Nederland in Verzet. Besides this demonstration, protestors also blocked highways and supermarket distribution centres, and paid visits to the residences of multiple politicians (Luesink et al., 2022).

In August 2022, a series of discussions took place between the government, with Johan Remkes as mediator, and different representatives of farmers' interests and other stakeholders. First, on August 5<sup>th</sup>, farmers' interest groups, August 15<sup>th</sup>, environmental protection organisations, August 17<sup>th</sup>, industrial actors, August 18<sup>th</sup>, farmers chain partners and banks, and on August 22<sup>nd</sup>, local governments (provincial and municipal) (Luesink et al., 2022). September 5<sup>th</sup>, minister of nature and food quality Henk Staggenhouwer resigned due to the perceived insufficiencies of the offer the government made to the farmers in the context of the nitrogen policies (NOS, 2022a).

On November 16<sup>th</sup>, farmers protested in Zwolle, at the provincial board of Overijssel. They were protesting the measures the province was intending to take against the so called "PAS-melders", the group of farmers which saw their permits nullified as a consequence of the ruling by the Dutch Council of State (NOS, 2022b). On December 1<sup>st</sup>, a protest happened again in Zwolle, as a response to the province not meeting the demands of the farmers before the deadline of December 1<sup>st</sup>. Roads were blocked surrounding the provincial board and protestors demanded a meeting with the mayor of Zwolle (NOS, 2022c).

## 2023

On the 11<sup>th</sup> of March, another protest took place in the Hague, against the nitrogen policies. This protest was organised by Farmers Defence Force and Samen voor Nederland. This protest was not only aimed against nitrogen policies, but also against the handling of the childcare benefits scandal and the reparations for Groningen. During the protest PVV leader Geert Wilders and FVD leader Thierry Baudet also spoke. The protest was marked by upside down Dutch flags and red napkins (NOS, 2023b).

On June 29<sup>th</sup>, Farmers Defence Force organised another protest in the Hague, this time because the negotiations for the Agricultural Agreement (Landbouwakkoord) failed. This time, the intention of the protestors was to pay a visit to the Parliament, to observe the debate about the failed Agricultural Agreement. However, the municipality of the Hague requested the protestors to go to the Malieveld, which they did. During this protest a few hundred participants were counted. At this protest some far-right politicians spoke again, Wybren van Haga (WVNL), and Pepijn van Houwelingen (FVD) (NRC, 2023).

## 5. RESULTS

In this chapter, the results of the frame analysis have been described. The first subchapter contains information about the movement entrepreneurs whose texts have been used in the frame analysis. This information mainly concerns the characteristics which have been described by Aslanidis (2018), additionally, an overview was made of the financing partners of the movement entrepreneurs. The next subchapter contains the frames found in the texts produced by the movement entrepreneurs, at which point in time they were used, and what the goal of said frames is. Following the description of the frames, there is a section on the resonance of the frames, concerning how these frames resonate with the pre-existing beliefs and values of the audience. The final section of the results chapter concerns the BBB adaptation of the frames of the farmers movement, and includes a description of the BBB frames, and also how they employed frame alignment processes to make their frames suitable for a broader electorate.

### 5.1 Movement entrepreneurs

In this section, the first research question will be answered: To what extent can Agractie, Agrifacts and Farmers Defence Force be characterized as movement entrepreneurs?

Agractie, Agrifacts and Farmers Defence Force, were selected due to their reach, in terms of media attention, and involvement in the demonstrations associated to their farmers movement. In this section, a summary will be given on these parties, to what extent they can be characterized as movement entrepreneurs, and what their goals are.

The following criteria for movement entrepreneurs have been described by (Aslanidis, 2018), first, a movement entrepreneur is an actor which has a large amount of leverage over framing of issues within a movement. Second, they have a professionalized, full time leadership. Third, they have a large amount of paper membership, and finally, a reliance on constituents who do not necessarily benefit from the success of the movement. Which characteristics apply to which actor has been summarized in the table 2 below. Further explanation on these characteristics have been described per actor in their respective sections.

**Table 2: Movement entrepreneur characteristics.**

Characteristic	Agractie	Agrifacts	FDF
Large amount of leverage over framing of issues	X		X
Professionalized, full time leadership		X	
Paper membership	X	X	X
Reliance on constituents not directly benefiting from success of the movement	X		X

## **Agractie**

Agractie has been active in the farmers movement through their framing activities, frequently releasing articles and stories, responding to the developments in the nitrogen crisis. By doing this alongside the organization of demonstrations, they have a significant amount of leverage over the exact framing of issues concerning the farmers movement. They do have a form of paper membership, through donations, which are on a yearly basis (Agractie, n.d.-b). They also rely on constituents not directly benefiting from the success of the movement, as seen in their messaging, which is not only directed at farmers, but also towards regular citizens.

Agractie wants to increase solidarity between farmers and citizens, increase public knowledge about food production, emphasize that sustainability is not only a task for farmers and that quality and entrepreneurship is something to be proud of (Agractie, 2022). According to their website, they intend to tell the story of Dutch farmers, the story of honest and safe food, with the lowest environmental pressure in the world. They state that food from the Netherlands is appreciated worldwide, because the knowledge, infrastructure and passion found in the Netherlands produces more beautiful products than anywhere else in the world (Agractie, 2022). They say that they have grown to be more than just a protest club, namely a fully fledged advocate of farmers interests. They say about themselves that they are sharp and focused on the content, and constructive, working towards a solution. They state that they want to increase solidarity between farmers and citizens (Agractie, 2022). They have been attempting to better the public image of farmers, through demonstrations, lunches with “citizens” and farmers, bringing fruit to parliamentarians, letters to politicians concerning the policy process, and they have been part of the Agricultural Collective. They were involved in the first demonstration (1<sup>st</sup> of October 2019), a demonstration at the residence of the Prime Minister (13<sup>th</sup> of November, 2019), and the protest in The Hague on (7<sup>th</sup> of July, 2021) (Agractie, n.d.-a).

## **Agrifacts**

Agrifacts has been classified as a movement entrepreneur based on their professionalized, fulltime leadership. They employ multiple journalists and scientists to write articles for their magazine. They also rely on a paper membership, through donations and subscription to their magazine.

Agrifacts concerns itself with combating the “misinformation” spread surrounding the agricultural industry. They state that farmers are frustrated with being pointed to as the cause of calamities, without any serious evidence. They say that sometimes assumptions are used as motivation for policies. They also state that financing of policy research is often used as a means to influence the methods, and that this leads to biased outcomes. They want to promote critical thought and careful reporting on the agricultural sector (Agrifacts, n.d.-a). The articles written and published by AgriFacts are often cited by Agractie and Farmers Defence Force, functioning as evidence of the failings of government- and educational institutions. Their goal is to finance and publish research that scrutinizes agricultural policies, their empirical underpinnings, and publications concerning agriculture. These reviews are performed by independent investigative journalists, scientists and students (Agrifacts, n.d.-a). However, the independence and impartiality of their journalists and scientists could be questioned. For example,



one member of the editorial office is director at an animal feed research institute, which offers consultations and courses on various aspects of animal feed. Another member of the editorial office is a reporter for the magazine *boerenbusiness* (farmers business) (Agrifacts, n.d.-b). Besides these obvious obstructions to independent journalism, the other editorial office members are also obviously connected to the agricultural industry. This makes it difficult to say with confidence that AgriFacts is independently covering and scrutinizing policy and media coverage surrounding farmers.

### **Farmers Defence Force**

Farmers Defence Force has been classified as a movement entrepreneur due to the large amount of leverage they hold over the framing of issues. They mainly hold leverage over the framing of issues due to their involvement in the organization and agenda setting for demonstrations. Besides leverage over framing of the movement, they also have a paper membership, and they rely on constituents who do not directly benefit from the success of the movement, similar to *Agractie* (Farmers Defence Force, n.d.).

Farmers Defence Force is an organization that was first founded as a response to animal rights activists doing an occupation at a pig farm (Farmers Defence Force, 2019). The purpose of the organization was to provide a network which could respond to these kinds of actions, because the founders of the organization felt that the police could not be depended upon to protect farmers and their property. They state that their organization is necessary, because politicians and courts did not provide with a sufficient response to the animal rights activists' actions in terms of policy changes and legal charges. Their preferred approach to defend farmers from animal rights activists is to physically remove them from the premises. After the court ruling on PAS, FDF started to organize demonstrations, and has been doing so since . FDF has also been involved in the now defunct *Agricultural Collective* since the beginning, and has participated in policy negotiations. However, they have become more radical over the course of the past three years, now being one of the few parties still left organizing demonstrations. Their last major demonstration event, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of May 2023, The Hague, was marked by the appearance of several far-right politicians, including Geert Wilders (PVV), and Thierry Baudet (FVD) (Van De Groep, 2023).

## Financing of movement entrepreneurs

Due to the movement entrepreneurs being connected to the agro-industrial complex, the decision was made include a table with the financing partners of the movement entrepreneurs. Financing of movement entrepreneurs is not something that was directly relevant to the research questions, but interesting regardless considering the positions of the movement entrepreneurs in relation to contemporary agriculture. Table 3 contains which movement entrepreneurs were financed by which companies, and the source of information. Farmers Defence Force also acquires funds for their activities through their web shop, and donations from their supporters, the first of which resulted in a cash flow of approximately €300.000,- (van den Berg, 2022).

**Table 3: Financing partners of the movement entrepreneurs.**

Sector	Name	Agractie	Agrifacts	Farmers Defence Force	Source
Feed Supply	ForFarmers	X			(van Westhreenen, 2019)
	Voergroep Zuid	X			
	Gebr. Fruite	X			
	De Heus	X	X		(van der Horst, 2021; van Westhreenen, 2019)
	Agruniek Rijnvallei	X			(van Westhreenen, 2019)
Meat processors	Vion Food Group	X			(van Westhreenen, 2019)
	ValleiLam	X			
Veal producer	VanDrie Group		X	X	(van den Berg, 2022; van der Horst, 2021)
Feeding system producers	Trioliet	X			(van Westhreenen, 2019)
Agricultural equipment	Kramp	X			
Agricultural services	AB Vakwerk	X			
Dairy processors	FrieslandCampina	X			
	Royal A-Ware	X	X		

## 5.2 Collective action frames

In this section, the second research question is answered: What collective action frames have been constructed over the course of the protests by the movement entrepreneurs of the farmers movement? The collective actions frames were defined based on the framing elements found in the texts produced by the movement entrepreneurs.

In figure 2, a general overview of the frames, with their employment over time, and their respective movement entrepreneur, can be found. Out of the 44 frame categories, 12 salient frames were considered. The frames have been described individually under the figure. When looking at the figure, a few things can be observed. Temporally speaking, it is clear that Agractie and FDF have employed a lot of the selected frames in their articles during the beginning of the protest cycle, staying quite stable over the course of the summer protests in 2021 and 2022, and peaking leading up to the provincial elections of 2023. For Agrifacts, the framing elements found in their articles were less present during the beginning of the protest cycle, but after that grew consistently leading up to the provincial elections of 2023. Topically, there are some very noticeable differences between the movement entrepreneurs. Agrifacts clearly puts more emphasis on content related frames, like the ineffectiveness and empirical shortcomings of policies. FDF on the other hand pays a lot of attention on supposed moral and competence related shortcomings of politicians and civil servants, false depictions, exploitation and unequal treatment of farmers. Agractie is more vocal about the perceived lack of inclusion in the policy process, alongside the ineffectiveness of nitrogen policies and broken promises, related to permits. Further explanation of the frames found in the figure can be found below.

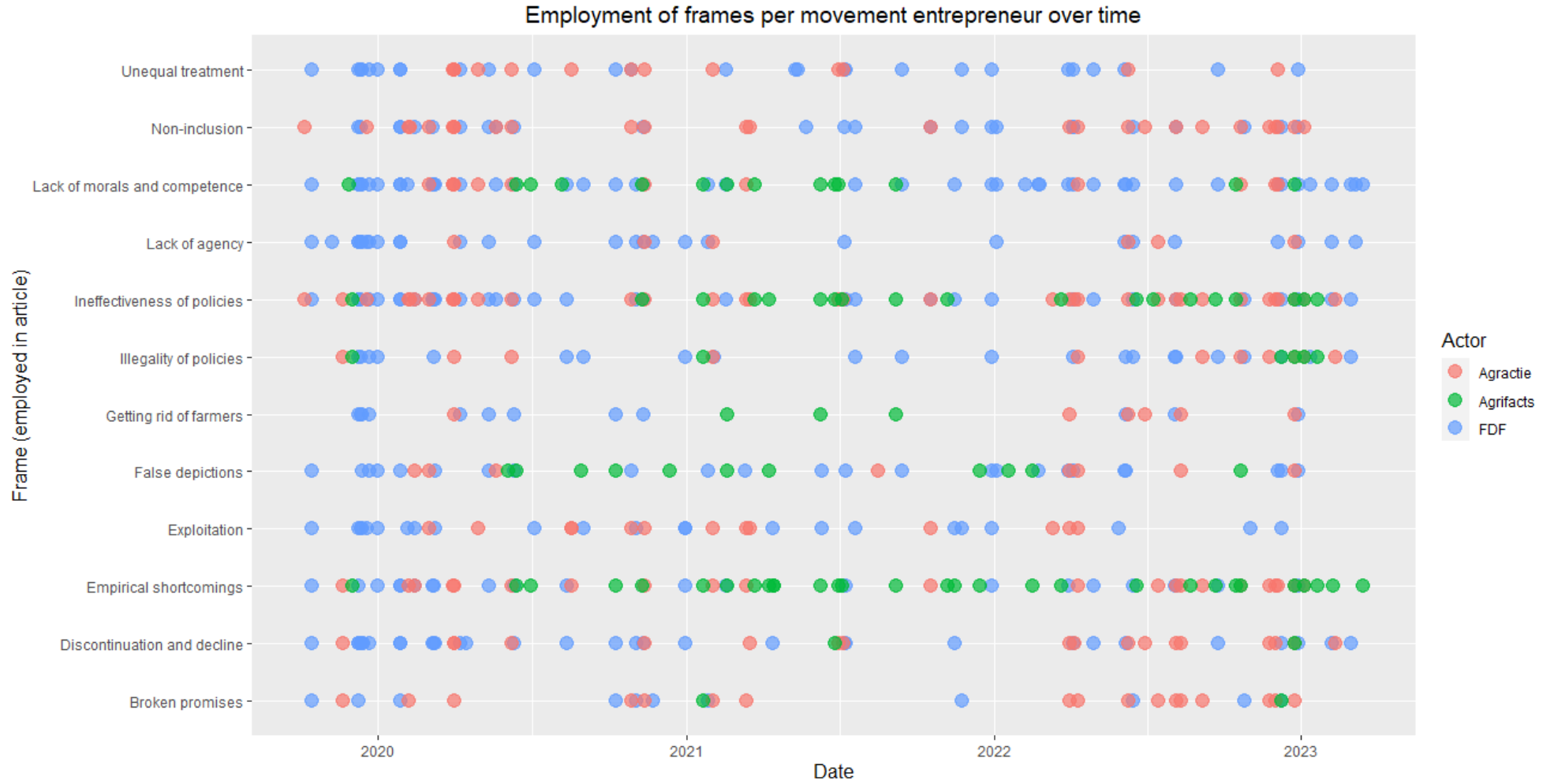


Figure 2: Employment of frames per movement entrepreneur over time.

## **Non-inclusion – The farmers movement is not being sufficiently involved in the policy process**

The main message of the non-inclusion frame is that the government excludes the farmers movement from the policy process, or does not give them a significant say in the policy process. This collective action frame aims to place emphasis on the feeling of discontent caused by the perceived sidelining of farmers during the policy process. This has an effect on the perceived agency of the farmers movement, as they are being involved in the policymaking process, but their plan to fix the nitrogen crisis is not being implemented by the ministry of agriculture. According to the Agricultural Collective, this plan would reduce nitrogen emissions by a significant degree compared to the plans from the cabinet, and the plan would be supported by the complete agricultural sector. This frame is constructed through multiple different diagnostic framing elements. The most salient elements are the following: Farmers and their movement are not being taken seriously by the government; The agricultural collective is not being genuinely involved in the policy process, because their plan which supposedly fixes the nitrogen crisis is not being adopted by the government; The negotiations between the agricultural collective and the government are not producing satisfactory results; Farmers are not being consulted about possible nitrogen reduction measures, they are spoken about instead of consulted. The prognostic framing elements found in the texts from the movement entrepreneurs mainly touch on abovementioned grievances. The main elements found concern the involvement of the agricultural collective in the policy process, the terms on which the agricultural collective should be involved, and the notion that the farmers movement in general should be given a higher degree of access to the policy process, by having meetings and discussions with the actors responsible for the policy process. The following quote illustrates a diagnostic and prognostic framing element that FDF has written about the agricultural collective plan.

*“We tried talking. We have tried with good proposals. We tried it with science. The farmers have to leave. That is the message this Cabinet is giving us. But we don't budge! And watch out for the Netherlands: what happens to us, the farmers, can happen to anyone in the near future. Then your profession is over and too much. And then you will understand why we are demonstrating again. Then you will understand what we experience in our long, dark nights. Despair and anger have already become too much for many a farmer. But that does not affect this Cabinet either.”*

(Farmers Defence Force, Article 12, Line 16)

This frame is only used by Agractie and FDF. Both employ it with similar frequency, with 59 and 55 quotations, respectively. Agractie places more emphasis on the importance of collaboration in the policy process, underlining the progress they have made together with the agricultural collective during the negotiations. The quote below is from Agractie and displays abovementioned framing element.

*“On December 2nd, we received a request to partake in the negotiation process to come to an agricultural accord. This was not an easy question to answer for us! We strongly emphasized with the minister that all parties must be involved in this process and that the various sectors should be given the chance to make decisions about their own future.”*

(Agractie, Article 44, Line 9)

FDF is more antagonistic in its use of this frame, stating that they should not work together with the government unless it benefits farmers. They ask other farmers interest groups to not take part in policy negotiations because they feel like it will legitimize policy decisions which disadvantage farmers.

This frame aims to invoke feelings of mistreatment, not being taken seriously, and being subjected to randstad elitism. It makes the reader think that you do not get to have a say in your future. Alongside this, it implies that the government is at fault for the policy process not proceeding in a satisfactory way, according to the farmers, because the farmers do not feel taken into account sufficiently.

### **Lack of morals and competence – Politicians and civil servants have a lack of knowledge and do not have the right morals**

The moral corruption and incompetence frame encompasses the lack of knowledge regarding agriculture, and the supposed moral shortcoming in the politicians and civil servants involved in the policy process. It also contains a large amount of allegations, questioning the character of said politicians and civil servants, stating that they do not care about and even despise normal citizens. The diagnostic framing elements found related to this frame are the following, the movement entrepreneurs question the legitimacy of government reports, stating that the government tries to influence results which favour their agendas. It also concerns the supposed effort politicians put into their image and fighting with their fellow politicians. It also contains the notion that politicians whom are responsible for the policy process are not capable of overseeing it, and that they lack the necessary knowledge to make sound decisions. This is not only said about the politicians and civil servants tasked with the nitrogen crisis, but also politicians in other departments. The movement entrepreneurs also raise concerns about civil servants being too secretive about their work, with them hiding parts of reports before they are published. They also touch upon the way of governmental organisations communicating, stating that it seems that they despise farmers and citizens, this is illustrated in the quotation below, by FDF.

*“It is the same Hague civil service that has proven itself to despise innocent civilians. They have bent policies, which has caused children to be kidnapped by the State, people and companies have been destroyed and reports have been “edited” just because they could.”*

(Farmers Defence Force, Article 58, Line 11)

There are not many prognostic framing elements found connected to this frame, the movement entrepreneurs mainly tell their readers to exercise their voting rights to get rid of the politicians in power, to voice their discontent with the current political status quo, and they ask the politicians in question themselves to resign and give up their positions of power. Agractie states that they want, together with the Agricultural Collective, to properly inform the government on the current knowledge surrounding nitrogen emissions and depositions. This can be seen in the quotation found below.

*It is becoming clear for Agractie that there is a lack of knowledge with many of the civil servants who have been tasked with the nitrogen crisis. This makes it more difficult to negotiate on policies. We are amazed that the policymakers of the Netherlands do not feel hindered by their lack of knowledge. The Agricultural Collective, together with the Mesdagfonds, puts effort into properly briefing the Dutch government on the current state of play regarding nitrogen.”*

*(Agractie, Article 8, Line 2)*

This frame is mainly employed by FDF, with 70 quotations, and is also employed by Agractie, with 6 quotations. FDF puts a great amount of attention on the supposed moral shortcomings of politicians, and in later messaging, turns towards a critique on the political establishment as a whole, while asking their followers to take action against the government by exercising their voting rights. Agractie pays less attention to the moral shortcomings and places more emphasis on the supposed lack of skills and knowledge of politicians.

The goal of this frame is to invoke a feeling of moral superiority towards politicians and civil servants, and even the government as a whole. By writing off politicians and civil servants as immoral and incompetent, it gives the reader the feeling of being better than abovementioned parties, delegitimizing their power. It tries to motivate the reader to demonstrate against the establishment using their voting- and demonstration rights.

### **Getting rid of farmers – The government wants to get rid of farmers**

The main message of the getting rid of farmers frame is that the government is using the nitrogen crisis as a way get rid of farmers, and that they are doing this to create space for the construction of housing and to allow non-food industry to keep on polluting the environment while farmers have to give up their businesses. The diagnostic framing elements associated with this frame are as follows, the message is that the people in charge want to rid the Netherlands of farmers, so that housing can be built and large industrial polluters can continue to pollute. It is also stated that shrinking the livestock industry is the main goal of the government, not solving the nitrogen crisis. Universities are aiding the government in their narrative, because are being influenced by politicians, which fits in with the narrative of dishonest and morally corrupt government officials. The main prognostic framing element found associated to this frame is that shrinking of the livestock pile should not be the main goal of the government, rather, it should be to solve the nitrogen crisis in whatever way possible, while not intervening on the number of animals held across the Netherlands.

This frame is mainly employed by FDF, followed by Agractie and Agrifacts, with 20, 7 and 3 quotations, respectively. FDF is more extreme in its use of this frame, strongly emphasizing the belief that the government

is out to turn the whole of the Netherlands into a N2000 area, and that they are not stopping until that has been achieved. It combines this idea with the notion that the current parties in power are “green communists”, out to influence your life and decide on what you are allowed to eat or not, this can be seen in the quotation below.

*“After a rainy Whit Sunday, I feel that dark clouds are gathering above the farmers of the Netherlands, including me. While I am living very far away from a N2000 area, I know that when the green communists are set loose, they will continue till the whole Netherlands is vegan, and all the farmers expropriated. Thinking ‘It will take our time’ only counts when there will be no next generation.”*

(Farmers Defence Force, Article 63, Line 3)

Agractie places more emphasis on the governments’ wish to further let the economy develop, and states that farmers are in the way for that, and thus must be dealt with. Agrifacts broadens the scope of who is at fault for this, and expands on this narrative by stating that universities and municipalities are collaborating with the national government. Universities are doing this by publishing information that links livestock farming to disease, and provinces are trying to protect and expand N2000 areas by buying out farmers, the latter can be seen in the quotation below.

*“The province of Overijssel is going to spend about 40 million euros on its Wierdense Veld peat bog area. The money is intended to get the excavated and dried up peat bog active again. About half of the money is needed to (partially) restore 180 hectares of adjacent farmland. buy and rewet. The substantiation of the proposed policy is being tested. Securing 180 hectares of farmland seems to be the main goal here, the realization of the nature objectives has hardly been considered.”*

(Agrifacts, Article 21, line 3)

The goal of the frame seems to be to discredit the government, and to create fear for farmers about losing their land. This is done with the intention of rallying people around the farmers movement, to be able to show their discontent with the governments current trajectory related to the nitrogen crisis.

### **Empirical shortcomings – Past and future policies are not backed by sufficient empirical evidence**

The empirical shortcomings frame covers the perceived lack of empirical evidence for the nitrogen crisis as a whole, and for subsequent policies. The diagnostic framing elements found related to this frames concern the reliability of the science and measurements behind the policies, and blame is attributed to the government, stating that they are influencing results and outcomes from studies done by the RIVM. The RIVM is said to be controlled by the government, and thus responsible for the policies which aim to reduce the amount of livestock held in the Netherlands. The prognostic framing elements are as follows: the RIVM should make their data and models public, measurement for nitrogen emissions and deposition should be changed to be more accurate, the empirical foundation of N2000 areas and subsequently nitrogen legislation should be renewed and the currently available models for calculating nitrogen deposition should not be used to locate farms eligible for buyouts.



This frame has been employed by every movement entrepreneur, with Agrifacts, FDF, and Agractie having 108, 41 and 36 quotations, respectively. The framing elements used by Agractie and FDF are similar, questioning the science behind nitrogen policies. This can be seen in the quotation below.

*“Think about it: isn’t it unbelievable nonsense, that the agricultural sector – who closed the natural cycle almost entirely, and already reduced 80% of its emissions – is the biggest problem for Dutch nature? Have you considered that it is highly implausible that super light ammonia precipitates directly next to the source, when the state car (?) was covered in sahara sand, because heavy desert sand can be transported through the air for thousands of kilometers to the Netherlands.”*

*(Farmers Defence Force, Article 58, Line 15)*

FDF takes a more conspiracy like stance on the subject, questioning the motives of the RIVM, while floating the idea that the institute has been influenced by the government. Agrifacts employs the frame more frequently, calling upon the lack of empirical underpinnings in some policies, related and unrelated to nitrogen emissions from agriculture, to try and construct an image of an incompetent government, and using that to cast doubt on the truthfulness of the nitrogen crisis as a whole. This is Agrifacts main frame, casting doubt on all things related to empirical truthfulness. Another example, showcasing the way in which Agrifacts uses the frame is shown below. Agrifacts has also put its attention on individual politicians who make claims about the environmental consequences of agriculture. As Agrifacts does often, they try to make individuals and organizations provide them with substantiation for claims which place the agricultural sector in a more negative light. When these actors do not provide Agrifacts with concrete evidence for their claims, or when the evidence mismatches their claims, Agrifacts requests these actors to retract their statements, sometimes even going to court over it.

*“The Member of Parliament Gerwi Temmink (Groenlinks) from Zeeland has asked questions in the parliament on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October, about the acute fish mortality in the Veerse Lake, last summer. Pointing at the over-fertilization from agriculture as a cause. STAF has asked Temmink for a substantiation for this pointing.*

*Apparently he can’t give this.”*

*(Agrifacts, Article 8, Line 3)*

The goal of this frame is to invoke distrust towards the government, and their scientific institutions. It aims to discredit the empirical reality of the nitrogen crisis, and place emphasis on the notion that the nitrogen crisis is not real, or at least not to the same extent as the government says it is.

## Illegality of policies – Past and future policies are illegal

The illegality of policies frame draws attention to the shortcomings in the legal foundation of old and new policies. The main diagnostic framing elements are that the government is not following its own rules and laws, and that they are ignoring their duty to take decisions based on a solid motivation. Another framing element is the notion that the legal underpinnings of nitrogen legislation are not appropriate, both past and future policies. The frame aims to invoke doubt about the proposed policies, and that another PAS might happen. This can be seen in the quote found below. The prognostic framing elements mainly consist out of suggestions for nitrogen legislation and how these can be legally sound.

*“The Law nitrogen reduction and nature improvement is a legal monstrosity that will just create more victims under Dutch farmers. A law that should be taken into the environmental code, which is already appearing to be a legal cadaver. Legal experts are insisting that this law will not sustain. They advise us to stop with the new environmental code under the notion of, ‘better to turn around halfway than stray wholly’. This law will, according to an article published in the Financial Newspaper, cause an interesting parliamentary inquiry. The Hague will unleash this legislation upon the farmers of the Netherlands. PAS 2.0 in the making! Even more victims, and more trouble.*

*(Farmers Defence Force, Article 35, Line 8)*

Frame is used by FDF, Agractie and Agrifacts, with 30, 22, and 11 quotations, respectively. FDF places emphasis on the mistreatment of farmers who complied with PAS, and attributes blame on the government, who ignored signals that this policy was not legally sound. FDF also states that the Aerius model is not accurate, with deviations up to a 100%. They then follow this statement up with the concern that this will cause new nitrogen legislation to also not be legally sufficient. Alongside these concerns, FDF also states that the parliament is not taking socio-economic side effects into account with their nitrogen policies, also making these policies less legally solid. Finally, they state that even though all the legal uncertainties, the parliament is committed to continuing the policy process on this path, endangering legal certainty for farmers. Agractie mainly proposes adjustments to policies, and tries to provide the government with concrete suggestions to make future policies more legally sound. Agrifacts places a lot of emphasis on the complexity of the legislation surrounding nitrogen policies, stating that legislation has become too complex for the government to be able to provide a solid legal framework for these policies. Alongside this concern, Agrifacts mentions a mismatch between EU objectives and Dutch policy plans. It also voices concerns about Aerius, similar to FDF.

The goal of this frame is to invoke doubt towards new government policies by drawing on missteps from the government in past nitrogen policies. It also aims to question the ways in which the government works, by drawing attention to the complexity of legislation, which is not a problem exclusive to nitrogen policies. This frame also supports the frame of moral corruption and incompetence, by bringing up the fact that the government ignored warnings about PAS by legal experts.

## **Ineffectiveness of policies – Past and future policies are ineffective**

The ineffectiveness of policies frame places emphasis on the supposed inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the proposed nitrogen policies. The nitrogen policies which are contingent on shrinking the amount of livestock and extensification of the agricultural sector are disregarded as not being grounded in economic reality. Rather, the movement entrepreneurs are vocal proponents of technical solutions and innovation to reduce the amount of nitrogen emissions stemming from livestock agriculture.

The following diagnostic framing elements have been identified in the texts. First, attention is given to past policies, which did not improve nature in a significant way, then attention is given to proposed policies, like feed measures and free trade agreements. These are said to be harmful to the environment and animal health. The movement entrepreneurs also touch upon the notion that Dutch agriculture is the most efficient and sustainable in the world, and following from this argue that shrinking the livestock pile in the Netherlands will result in more environmental damages in other countries. The main message of this frame is that past and future policies do not fulfil their intended purpose, and will only serve other parties which can keep polluting. The prognostic framing element found in the texts mainly concern the adaptation of the agricultural collective plan, the voicing of discontent towards proposed policies, and the proposing of more technical solutions, which should safeguard the Dutch livestock sector, and alleviate some of the environmental damage caused by it.

This frame has been used by FDF, Agractie and Agrifacts, with 117, 107 and 54 quotations, respectively. Agrifacts and Agractie places more emphasis on the lack empirical underpinnings in policies, and places less on the consequences on these shortcomings, below a quote can be found which shows Agractie questioning the shrink of livestock amounts. FDF places emphasis on how the policies will never result in an improvement for nature, rather, they broadcast their belief that the government is not creating these policies to improve nature, but to rid the Netherlands of farmers.

*“The appearance of the alternative plan from professors Lindeboom and Sanders, from the D66 Focusgroup Nitrogen, makes many things clear. The livestock pile does not have to drastically shrink. These scientists have found that a significant reduction can be achieved with innovation and technical measures.”*

*(Agractie, Article 38, Line 3)*

The goal of this frame is to gather attention around supposed shortcomings in proposed nitrogen policies. It clearly draws upon the perceived unequal treatment between industry and agriculture to try and explain why the government is making the decision to secure nitrogen reductions mainly through agriculture. It also draws attention to trade agreements which are believed to have a negative impact on the environment and animal welfare. It also creates an expectation concerning the duration of this policy process or the nitrogen crisis as a whole, because the proposed policies will not fix it according to the movement entrepreneurs.

## **Broken promises – The government is breaking its promises to farmers**

The broken promises frame places urgency on the farmers who have lost their permit due to PAS, and calls upon a sense of righteousness, stemming from the opinion that a permit should be binding and irrevocable. This is illustrated in the quotation below.

*"We will not accept that! We have bought an irrevocable permit from the government! The Hague must deliver."*

(Farmers Defence Force, Article 26, Line 10)

It also covers the lack of permits as seen in other businesses, that according to the movement entrepreneurs, should have one, as they also emit nitrogen. This frame emphasizes the importance of legality, in terms of having a permit. And it tries to imply that because farmers have (or had) permits, their businesses are just and reasonable. The diagnostic framing elements are as follows; the farmers who were promised long-term certainty by the government have lost it, because the government was not doing its due diligence when designing the PAS. Besides this, there are companies which emit nitrogen, who are not required to have a nature conservation permit, while every farmer which emits nitrogen is required to have one. The prognostic framing elements are related to this, in the sense that they answer to the perceived injustice mentioned above. For example, one salient prognostic framing element is that no one should touch farmers' permits, and that farmers who lost their permits to PAS should be the number one priority when nitrogen space becomes available. This is illustrated in the quotation below.

*"We want to do everything we can to get the KDW out of the law, to legalize PAS detectors and to get a realistic nitrogen policy. But also to get the best out of it for the longer term and to work for long-term clarity."*

(Agractie, Article 42, Line 8)

Besides the farmers themselves, attention is placed on the companies who do not have a nature conservation permit, stating that they should have one, even calling upon readers to file complaints against these companies.

This frame was used by Agractie, FDF and Agrifacts, with 33, 16 and 2 quotations, respectively. Overall, the use of framing elements between these movement entrepreneurs is very similar, and no notable differences have been found.

The goal of this frame seems to be to invoke anger against the government, for not holding up their end of the bargain. When the government proceeded with PAS, farmers went along with it with the expectation that these permits would not be nullified. However, the government ignored the legal uncertainties associated with PAS, endangering the long-term certainty of these permits. This frame also aims to gather attention on the situation of these PAS farmers, stating that providing them with a new permit should be a number one priority.

## **Unequal treatment – Farmers are being treated unequally compared to other parties**

The unequal treatment frame concerns the perceived unequal treatment farmers are receiving, as compared to other businesses, like aviation and non-food industries. This is a common frame, often in combination with the science is wrong frame, which is often used in a way that tries to discredit the scientific institute RIVM for keeping industrial emissions out of the picture. The most salient diagnostic framing elements are the following: Other nitrogen emitting industries, like airports, steel production and the construction of housing are kept out of sight, and do not need to have a nature conservation permit. They are even subsidized, and the government is trying to get rid of farmers to give them space to emit. Farmers are the only ones who have actually complied with environmental goals, and are now sacrificed to ensure growth for airports, industry and energy. The main prognostic framing element is as follows: Farmers should not be sacrificed for other industries, and other industries should be kept to the same standards as farmers.

This frame is employed by both Farmers Defence Force and Agractie, with 40 and 15 quotations, respectively. Similar use of framing elements between FDF and Agractie. FDF is more antagonistic towards the government in its use of the frame, focusing on the lack of government intervention in other sectors, stating that their interests are being taken into consideration to a larger extent than farmers. Agractie places more emphasis on what they have done as farmers to reduce emissions, but they also pay attention to the influence these other industries have on the government, alongside the allegation that they have caused the RIVM to adjust their methods in their favor. The following quotation is from Agractie, and displays their feeling of injustice, saying that the agricultural sector has already shrunk significantly, but the government is still trying to further reduce the size of the sector. It states that the sector should not be sacrificed for industry, aviation and other polluters, and that these sector should reduce their emissions by themselves.

*"In recent years there have been considerably fewer animals, there are many natural stoppers, and this year there will also be remediation, we want to do everything we can to reduce our emissions where possible and affordable!! But don't sacrifice us for industry, air traffic and all the polluting shit! Let those sectors arrange their own reduction!"*

(Agractie, Article 9, Line 2)

The goal of this frame is to invoke feelings of injustice, by pointing out unequal treatment, and presenting the government as a party which favors multinationals, the economy, and the industry over farmers.

## **Lack of agency – Farmers are experiencing a lack of agency in running their businesses**

The agency frame places emphasis on the felt lack of agency within the agricultural sector. Main grievances entail the feeling that the sector is being submitted to measures which they did not have a say over, restricting the amount of agency a farmer still has over their own business and practices. Another salient grievance in this category is the perceived silencing, through being ignored in the policymaking process, but also through the limitations instated by local governments regarding protests and demonstrations.

Salient diagnostic framing elements include the experience of agency being taken away due to silencing, in terms of demonstrations being forbidden by courts and mayors. Another way in which the movement entrepreneurs say their agency has been taken away is through the perceived non-inclusion in the policy process. Besides these grievances, the movement entrepreneurs feel like farmers' agency is also taken away due to the proposed feed policies, dictating how and what farmers feed their livestock. The prognostic framing elements in answer to these grievances is as follows, farmers should be given all of the decision power when it comes to their businesses, and should be listened to during the policy process. The government should make farmers' rights and agency a number one priority.

This frame has been employed by FDF and Agractie, with 64 and 7 quotations, respectively. FDF is more radical in its messaging, with them implying that the people in power are out to harm whole demographic groups. They pull attention to the identity of farmers, and how government overreach impedes on their ability to express their identity freely. Agractie is more concerned about the measures included with new nitrogen policies, it fears that if farmers do not get to decide how to reach goals, they will not be able or be motivated to chase these goals. So they are more concerned about the outcomes of the policy process and the lack of influence farmers experience in this process. The following quote illustrates this frustration, also touching upon the want to fight back against the government, for the bettering of the country as a whole.

*"They tell us to behave, to do what we are told. They bet on that. On years of our obedience. Let all those treacherous politicians, rulers and charlatans know that we are here. Also in 2021. That we won't be silenced, that we won't be broken or thrown back into isolation. We fight for the soul of this country: for our landscape, our sector, our companies."*

(Farmers Defence Force, Article 32, Line 6-7)

The goal of this frame is to invoke anger towards the government, and to make the reader feel like they have no say over their own future anymore.

## **Discontinuation and decline – Proposed policies will cause many farmers to go out of business**

The discontinuation frame places emphasis on the worries that the movement entrepreneurs have about the continuation of their businesses. They state that their livelihoods, their way of life, their dignity and pride are being destroyed. In doing so, they place emphasis on the link between their businesses and their identity. The following quote from Farmers Defence Force perfectly encapsulates this notion.

*“Our companies, our way of life, our dignity and our pride is being taken from us”*

*(Farmers Defence Force, Article 11, Line 5)*

Diagnostic framing elements found within this frame include the following: The government has caused farmers and their families great uncertainty about their companies, and following from this their future. Further statements include the fear that the continuation of the agricultural sector as a whole is threatened by the governments proposed buyout policies. Measures to reduce nitrogen emissions will impede farmers’ ability to run their businesses in a sufficient manner. Buyouts will rid whole rural areas of economic activity, and accelerate the socioeconomic decline of the countryside. Alongside these concerns FDF also states that this is a threat to the identity of farmers, and the rural regions they are located in. Prognostic framing elements stay relatively limited, with movement entrepreneurs stating that there should be no forced buyouts, and that farmers should not be sacrificed so that industry can keep expanding and polluting. The following quote from Farmers Defence Force illustrates their stance on the forced buyouts, something that concerns them and that they want to avoid.

*“FORCED BUYOUT = NON-NEGOTIABLE”*

*(Farmers Defence Force, Article 32, Line 6)*

This frame has been used by FDF, Agractie and Agrifacts, with 61, 30 and 3 quotations, respectively. They all share a similar use of framing, with Agrifacts placing emphasis on the fact that farmers will be bought out, but refraining from statements referring to the decline of agriculture as a whole.’

The goal of the frame is to make the reader feel fearful about the possible loss of their businesses, or livelihood that depends on farming activities. It also aims to make people fearful about the further decline of socioeconomic circumstances in the countryside with the disappearance of farms. And subsequently their identity as agricultural entrepreneurs.

## **False depictions – Farmers are being discredited**

The false depiction frame places emphasis on the supposed false depiction of the agricultural sector by politicians, media and activists. The common narrative found within this frame is abovementioned actors have the goal of demonizing the agricultural sector, and that they spread misinformation to achieve this.

The diagnostic framing elements associated with this frame are as follows: Government actors are actively trying to demonize farmers, and the farmers movement as a whole. Animal rights activists are doing the same, making recordings within farms to document the mistreatment of animals. FDF says these animal rights activists are even mistreating animals themselves to put farmers in bad light. This can be seen in the quote found below. Media is complicit in these activities, by not critically reflecting on the messaging the government and animal rights activists are pushing.

*"In addition, FDF has received information from an anonymous source that shows that activists are not afraid to play an active role themselves: animals are said to be deliberately tormented by activists in order to collect images. In the recent past, activists have not felt too bad to set fire to stables and slaughterhouses, a direct attack on innocent human and animal lives."*

(Farmers Defence Force, Article 71, Line 6)

The prognostic framing elements are as follows: FDF proposes to physically defend their farms from animal rights activists, and to spread information about these activists within anti-animal rights activists groups. The former can be seen in the quote below. Agractie proposes to file complaints against an NGO which is concerned with animal rights, stating that they are responsible for libel and slander. Agrifacts has filed many complaints against organisation and people making statements about the sustainability and animal welfare associated with bioindustry.

*"The activists are committing illegal activities and it is time for enforcement. Otherwise, FDF fears that it is only a matter of time before casualties fall in the human sphere. The first eco-terrorist to get a bar of iron in the neck seems in this way unavoidable."*

(Farmers Defence Force, Article 71, Line 5)

FDF, Agrifacts and Agractie have used this frame, with 52, 24 and 17 quotations, respectively. They all share similar use of diagnostic framing elements, but they differ in terms of their proposed answers to these grievances, as seen above.

The goal of the frame is to invoke feelings of anger with the reader, it aims to do so by stating that people are spreading lies about farmers' work, both in terms of damage it does to the environment, and how animals suffer from large-scale livestock keeping. It aims to villainize the government, the media, NGOs, animal rights activists, and anyone who has something negative to say about farmers.



## Exploitation – Farmers are being exploited

The exploitation frame places attention onto the economic exploitation farmers in the Netherlands are experiencing. The costs for farmers keep rising, due to policies from the government, and demands from retail. However, the prices that farmers receive for their products do not increase at the same rate, resulting in thinner margins. This is a very pronounced theme, especially at the beginning of the protests.

The following diagnostic framing elements have been identified: Farmers are being exploited by big corporations who do not want to pay a sufficient price for products, the government is burdening farmers with extra costs, stemming from regulations. This belief can be found in the quote below. Margins have become thinner over the past years and farmers can not pay for technical solutions to reduce nitrogen emissions. Prognostic framing elements related to these grievances are as follows: The government should stop implementing new regulations that increase costs for farmers, the government should subsidize farmers who wish to reduce their nitrogen emissions through technical measures and innovations, and supermarkets should start paying farmers better prices for their products.

*“Burden us with increasingly higher demands, drive up the costs for the farmers and do not want to pay anything extra for this. No cost-covering prices for the farmers. Farmers have been receiving the same proceeds for thirty years, for their milk, their meat, their agricultural products.”*

*(Farmers Defence Force, Article 5, Line 10)*

FDF and Agractie made use of this frame, with 53 and 25 quotations, respectively. FDF more antagonistic in its use of the frame, calling out supermarkets for their greed, and the government being complicit in this by not helping farmers. Agractie is more constructive in its messaging, calling for policies which help farmers achieve more favorable margins. It also states that it will not participate in the policy process if the government is not willing to do this, as can be seen in the quote below.

*“Dairy farmers' wallets are empty, even more tax increases are not acceptable in this situation! For these reasons, we will withdraw from discussions about the reduction measures and also call on the other sector parties to do the same!”*

*(Agractie, Article 22, Line 2)*

The goal of this frame is to place attention on the fact that farming, as a business, is not very profitable anymore, and many farmers operate on very thin margins. It attempts to invoke anger towards the government and retail parties.

### 5.3 BBB frame adaptation into party program

This section answers the third and final research question: How has the BBB used frame alignment processes to adapt collective action frames from the farmers movement into their party program? This research question was answered by taking the frames found in the movement entrepreneurs texts, and deductively apply them to the BBB party program of the parliamentary and provincial elections, of 2021, and 2023, respectively.

The frames the BBB has employed in their electoral program are similar to the ones seen from the movement entrepreneurs, however, the BBB has not mentioned the PAS program, or any of the topics related to the Broken Promises frame. In general, the BBB takes the frames, and adjusts these to achieve resonance with a wider audience. They mainly do this through frame extension, for example with the non-inclusion frame, where they extend the frame and apply it to non-inclusion of citizens (especially those living in rural areas) in all kinds of decision making processes. They propose to have more moment of democratic participation outside elections, giving citizens a voice in how their surroundings are organised and managed. They also employ a form of frame (de)amplification, using similar frames to the farmers movement, while taken attention away from the “evil” perpetrators of grievances, and focusing more on the supposed negative consequences and possible solutions of these problems. An overview of the frames used by the BBB can be found in TABLE X, also containing the type of frame alignment process the BBB has employed to adapt the frame.

Table 4: Overview of frames used by the BBB, and the frame alignment process applied.

Frame	Present in election program	Frame extension	Frame amplification	Frame de-amplification
Non-inclusion	X	X		
Lack of morals and competence	X	X		X
Getting rid of farmers	X			X
Empirical shortcomings	X			X
Illegality of policies	X	X		
Ineffectiveness of policies	X			X
Broken promises				
Unequal treatment	X			
Lack of agency	X			X
Discontinuation and decline	X			X
False depictions	X	X	X	
Exploitation	X			

While employing these two frame alignment processes, the BBB attempts to paint an idyllic version of the rural life, and tries to put emphasis on how status quo politics does not acknowledge the unique characteristics and challenges of the countryside. A large part of the provincial election program is centred around public depiction and perception of the agricultural sector and rural regions.

### **Non-inclusion – Rural citizens are not feeling represented by politicians in the Hague**

The frame of non-inclusion is present in the provincial election program, it is mainly used through the lens of rural citizens, not necessarily from the farmers point of view in the policy process. It makes use of the notion that people in rural areas do not feel represented by politicians in the Hague. It states that politicians in the Hague are not in touch with rural reality, and that these politicians speak about rural citizens, not with them. The BBB employs frame extension in this instance, with the victims of non-inclusion being all rural citizens, and not just farmers who are not being sufficiently involved in the policy process. This is captured in the quote below.

*"Rural residents feel more and more alienated from the rules made in the Hague that are devised by people who are too far removed from the countryside or the regions"*

(BBB, Provincial Elections Party Program, Page 2)

### **Lack of morals and competence – Politicians and lawmakers lack a good understanding of rural areas and agriculture**

The frame of lack of morals and competence is also employed in the BBB election program. However, the BBB employs the frame in a less accusatory manner. Where the FDF and Agractie speak very clearly about the lack of knowledge in politicians and lawmakers concerned with the nitrogen crisis, the BBB proposes measures that can be taken to ensure a better understanding of rural areas and agriculture for politicians. The BBB also broadens the scope of a lack of knowledge, not regarding who lacks knowledge, but what knowledge is lacking. The BBB uses the angle of politicians not being well informed about the unique characteristics of rural regions, and them not being able to form sustainable and long-term vision on rural policies. They make an appeal to common sense, and propose interesting solutions to achieve more of this in parliament, which is placing more plants in parliament, which would promote common sense through fresh air and oxygen.

*"Houseplants will be returned to the House of Representatives and all other government buildings. For more fresh air and oxygen. That promotes common sense."*

(BBB, Provincial Elections Party Program, Page 6)

They also call for a change in the ministry of agriculture, changing it into a ministry of the rural, and relocating it at least 100 kilometers from the Hague. Alongside these changes, the BBB wants all 150 members of parliament to follow a farmers integration course (inboeringscursus), to ensure that every MP is informed about rural life, and all facets of working and living relevant to it. Regarding morality, the BBB calls for a change in the values of current politics. They state that a government should be serving its citizens and should be honest and transparent about their work. In their use of this frame, the BBB employs frame de-amplification and frame extension, because they refrain from making statements about the moral corruption of status quo politicians, which the FDF does. The BBB extends the frame by making proposals about how to ensure that politicians are knowledgeable about rural reality, instead of stating they do not and will never know.

*"The Ministry of Agriculture must remain, but will become a Ministry of the Countryside. This will be located at least 100 kilometers from The Hague. Food production, recreation, housing, nature and quality of life go hand in hand. This requires a major change in mentality and culture from the current civil servants"*

*(BBB, Provincial Elections Party Program, Page 52)*

### **Getting rid of farmers – Policies directed at rural areas do not sufficiently take into account the value of farmers for these areas**

Regarding the getting rid of farmers frame, the BBB refrains from making diagnostic statements about the intentions of the current status quo with farmers in the Netherlands. Rather, they make prognostic statements about rural policies, and the valuation of farmers in the cultural landscape. They mainly speak on preserving rural green space as a means to conserve the environment, by means of curbing the development of housing, industry and sustainable energy sources within rural green space. They also pay attention to the role Dutch farmers play in food supply, not only on a national, but also on a global scale. The main message of their prognostic framing element within this topic is that farmers should be given the opportunity to develop their businesses, from a technological perspective, but also spatially. The main frame alignment process the BBB employs here is frame de-amplification, which they use to make the frame more appealing to the general public, by reducing the accusatory tone seen in the messages of the movement entrepreneurs.

*"The buyout of farmers to exchange the green economy (agriculture) for the gray economy (industry) will be stopped. Farmers do not make luxury products, but necessary products: food. This is a basic necessity of life besides water and oxygen. You do not chase food producers away from the Netherlands, you keep them for the Netherlands."*

*(BBB, Provincial Election Party Program, Page 34)*

## **Empirical shortcomings – Legislation has to be made based on practical experiments in representative businesses**

Regarding empirical shortcomings, the BBB refrains from employing significant diagnostic framing elements. They place more emphasis on what has to change to ensure a more empirically sound rural policy. They call for a more evidence based approach, with results from practical tests in representative businesses being most important, rather than models and assumptions. Alongside abovementioned changes, the BBB also states that the N2000 areas in the Netherlands should be recalibrated, because these areas have (according to the BBB) not been determined with a good justification, which causes some areas to have unrealistic goals. Besides changes in the N2000 areas, the BBB states that farmers should not be expected to reduce nitrogen emissions any further than what the EU nitrogen limits require. In making these propositions, the BBB implies that current agricultural policies are not based in empirical truth, while not explicitly calling the science wrong. In this sense, the BBB has employed another case of frame de-amplification.

## **Illegality of policies – Not all policies introduced are constitutional**

Regarding the frame of the illegality of policies, the BBB only employs one prognostic framing element. The BBB wants to introduce a constitutional court, which should determine whether proposed policies can be deemed constitutional or not. In proposing this, they imply that the current status quo is implementing policies that are not compatible with the constitution. In this case, the BBB employs frame extension, calling upon the constitution, to signal to the reader that current legislation being passed generally can't always be considered constitutional, as opposed to just nitrogen related policies being deemed illegal by court, and that this should change.

*“Strangely enough, as a Dutch citizen with voting rights you can currently do little if parliament passes a law that is contrary to the Constitution. With the establishment of a Constitutional Court, citizens can have it assessed whether a law is contrary to the Constitution. The Constitutional Court checks whether a law or rule does not conflict with the fundamental rights and freedoms or with the principle of equality as laid down in the Constitution.”*

(BBB, Provincial Election Party Program, Page 32)

## **Ineffectiveness of policies – Current and proposed policies aimed at reducing nitrogen emissions have negative consequences**

Within this frame, the BBB mainly finds common ground with the farmers movement on the following topic. The BBB and the movement entrepreneurs both state that there is an unjustified focus on reducing the number of animals in farms. Rather, they propose that real sustainability is not reducing animals, but innovation and technological development to reduce nitrogen emissions. Both parties also place emphasis on the bureaucratic hurdles currently experienced in environmental legislation, and call for a simplification of rules and procedures. Besides these business oriented topics, the BBB also calls for a recalibration and reevaluation of N2000 areas, similarly to the movement entrepreneurs. The BBB also calls for evaluation on the measures taken in N2000 areas to determine whether they have been effective. What the BBB does not do is bring up the notion that measures taken will only be used to give other parties the opportunity to pollute more. In this case, the BBB once again employs some form of frame de-amplification, by not stating that politicians are only reducing nitrogen so other industries can pollute more.

## **Unequal treatment – Farmers are being treated unequally compared to other parties**

There is only one case of the BBB using the Unequal Treatment frame as done by the movement entrepreneurs. The BBB employs this frame in relation to the Lelystad Airport, stating that the project should be cancelled, so the commitment to nitrogen and climate goals can be reached. The BBB does not employ any frame alignment processes in this case, as this is a point that has also been made by the movement entrepreneurs.

"As far as BBB is concerned, it would be better to build houses on that site or give it back to agriculture. Given the nitrogen targets imposed by the government itself and the climate objectives, fewer flights should be flown anyways, which makes Lelystad is redundant as an airport."

(BBB, Provincial Election Party Program, Page 47)

## **Lack of agency – The knowledge of farmers is not being respected sufficiently**

Regarding the lack of agency frame, the BBB uses the frame through appreciating the knowledge of farmers themselves, stating that they should be the ones in charge of when and how to spread manure, feed their animals and treat them with antibiotics. The BBB also states that camera supervision in livestock barns is not necessary, due to the strict rules and regulations farmers have to comply with already. In doing so, the BBB employs a form of frame de-amplification, by placing attention on the competency of agricultural entrepreneurs, instead of the evil intentions of status quo politicians.

*"We are introducing a practical manure policy. Spreading manure will be weather-dependent instead of calendar-dependent. The manure policy puts the craftsmanship, knowledge and experience of the food producer first."*

(BBB, Provincial Election Party Program, Page 4)

## **Discontinuation and decline – Farmers have the right to produce food, and their socio-economic benefits should be acknowledged**

The BBB uses the discontinuation and decline frame in a manner that is more attentive to the benefits of agriculture as they perceive it. Rather than focus on the supposed decline of the rural as a result of buyouts, the BBB places emphasis on the right of our food producers to produce food, and the supposed cultural, environmental and socio-economic benefits that they provide to the rural. They propose to give agricultural entrepreneurs long term security in whether they can continue in running and expanding their businesses. In doing this, the BBB extends and de-amplifies the frame. Where the movement entrepreneurs are more vocal about the destruction of rural communities, and spread fear about the consequences of government policies, the BBB refrains from doing this, and proposes to create rural policies with rural communities in mind, not necessarily only agricultural entrepreneurs.

## **False depictions – Education on and depiction of agricultural sector is outdated and wrong**

The false depictions frame is also present within the BBB party program, it differs from the one pushed by the movement entrepreneurs though. The BBB proposes many different PR measures to improve public opinion on agriculture in the Netherlands, mainly aimed at educating people about the agricultural sector at various stages of their education. Alongside education, the BBB also proposes to cut tax benefits of organisations who lobby against the interests of farmers and fishers. If the BBB version of the frame is compared to the frame of the movement entrepreneurs, the following frame alignment processes can be observed: Frame amplification, where the movement entrepreneurs call for more sympathy and awareness about the farmers situation, the BBB proposes a full fledged propaganda campaign to better the agricultural industries' image. The BBB also makes use of Frame Extension, because they include fisheries into the group which is misrepresented. They also make use of Frame Extension when talking about the culprits of misrepresentation. Where the movement entrepreneurs mainly speak about politicians, media and activists, the BBB places its focus on education first and foremost, and from education argues that abovementioned groups are not educated, and thus spreading misinformation about the agricultural industry.

*"False or suggestive information about any sector or group of people is disappearing from schoolbooks. Schoolbooks that still discuss methods that no longer apply in the Netherlands, such as battery cages and veal crates, are being removed from education or adapted. Before textbooks and teaching packages are offered to students, an expert committee from various sectors tests the teaching material for factual inaccuracies and propaganda."*

(BBB, Provincial Election Party Program, Page 21)

## **Exploitation – Farmers are being exploited**

The exploitation frame is used similarly by the BBB as by the movement entrepreneurs. They present the same struggles farmers have been having with making a profit, and how the government has made this extra difficult for them through cost-increasing legislations. They also mention the role of the retail sector in the exploitation of farmers, and propose to put an end to this. Besides retail, they also question the role of the Food Authority, and the costs associated with the routine checks taking place in livestock farms. Alongside the similar framing elements as seen with the movement entrepreneurs, they also state that farmers having to diversify their income is a bad thing, as farmers should be only occupied with providing food. In this case the BBB does not employ any frame alignment processes, as the framing elements pushed by the BBB are similar to those pushed by the movement entrepreneurs.

*"The government must ensure fewer rules and laws (starting by removing the jungle of bureaucratic regulations), so that the cost price for farmers to produce their food and flowers is reduced and brought in line with their European colleagues. This is how we keep food farmers and they do not have to become energy farmers"*

*(BBB, Provincial Election Party Program, Page 5)*



## 6. DISCUSSION

This thesis aimed to explore how the movement entrepreneurs of the Dutch farmers movement have framed the developments in the policy process, responses to demonstrations and media coverage of the farmers protests over the course of the protest cycle, and how the movement has positioned itself within the mainstream political arena, as seen in the establishment of the BBB. Previous literature has covered part of the frames of the farmers movement, by picking examples and reflecting on them. This thesis uncovered the frames used by the movement entrepreneurs in its totality. This research also uncovered the similarities and differences between the frames from the movement entrepreneurs and the BBB, and subsequently what frame alignment processes have been employed by the BBB to adapt the frames of the farmers movement to their provincial election program. Besides this empirical research gap, this thesis has led to three main findings that I will discuss here.

### 6.1 Electoral success of the BBB in relation to framing activities

The first main finding concerns the framing activities of the BBB. Reflecting back to the theory used on frame alignment processes, literature states that participating in elections might force social movements to moderate their positions to reach a broader audience, which the BBB effectively has done (Heaney, 2013; Kruszewska, 2015). However, the reader must know that the BBB is not the same as the farmers movement. The BBB has attached itself to the farmers movement, by attending protests, advertising using imagery associated with the farmers movement and generally being associated with the movement. In addition, the BBB has used similar frames as pushed by the movement entrepreneurs of the farmers movement, although different, due to the de-amplification and extension of the frames.

The BBB has used de-amplification of the frames of the movement entrepreneurs to reach a broader audience, toning down the critique on political parties, governmental organizations, individual politicians, journalism and activists. The notion of frame de-amplification is not one found in literature, but which makes sense considering the radical messaging of the farmers movement. Potential voters might have been deterred voting for the BBB if they would have adapted the frame without de-amplifying the vilification of actors as seen in the movement entrepreneurs messaging. Instead the BBB attempts to provide solutions to the problems framed by the movement entrepreneurs, and extends the frames by making most of the problems the farmers are facing a problem for rural society in its totality, and even the Netherlands as a whole. This is an example of frame extension.

In terms of reaching a broad electorate, the BBB has achieved this during the provincial elections of 2023. The BBB won the provincial elections with a landslide victory, becoming the biggest party in all 12 provinces. They won 16 out of 75 seats in the Senate, becoming the biggest party there, while they did not occupy any seats in the previous Senate (NOS, 2023a). Due to voters' preference for predictable parties, an issue-specific party connected to a social movement needs to create a broader and coherent program. The BBB has not done this since they entered parliament in 2021. Rather, they have used the same party program in the 2023 provincial elections, while still achieving a major victory.

Snow et al. (2019), describes crises of representation, which appears when there are unstable patterns of representation, and when citizens no longer believe they are well represented by the political elites. Crises of representation relate to attitudinal factors like increasing political distrust and dissatisfaction with the functioning of a democracy, but also with behavioural factors, like low turnouts at polls, increasing electoral volatility, and protest behaviour. These crises provide opportunities for social movements and new parties, challenging the political status quo. During crises of representation, new parties can emerge from social movements, as a response to indecisiveness or disinterest from the political status quo in relation to the issue of the social movement. The situation with the BBB and the farmers movement can be seen as an example of a social movement and political party making use of a crisis of representation, which during the provincial elections was centred around the nitrogen crisis.

For the parliamentary elections of 2023, one of the movement entrepreneurs, FDF, has partnered with right-wing populist party BVNL. The FDF has rejected the BBB, for not being pro-farmer enough to deserve their support. The FDF even has written the BVNL election program section on agriculture. Why the FDF has chosen to do so remains a question, but it could be seen as a signal that the BBB has lost at least part of their original constituency, as the movement entrepreneurs were initially very supportive of the BBB.

During the parliamentary elections of 2023, the BBB has acquired 7 seats in parliament, a 6 seat increase compared to the elections of 2021. While this is still a significant increase, the BBB has not “won” the elections like they did during the provincial elections. A possible explanation to this can be found in the salience of the nitrogen issue. Where in the provincial elections nitrogen policy was the main topic of interest, during the parliamentary elections immigration was the main topic. While the BBB does have strong opinions on immigration, it is not the main identifying aspect of the party. Meanwhile, PVV, the absolute winner of the elections, has immigration as its main concern. This shows how agenda setting for elections can influence the salience of issues in a way that parties can have difficulty adapting to, especially if there is little time in between elections to rebrand a party.

## **6.2 The farmers movement, populism and the environment**

The farmers movement seems to be a populist agrarian movement, based on the fact that the messaging of the movement entrepreneurs clearly positions “regular people” as being disadvantaged by the “elite”, in this case the government and its institutions. The farmers movement has aggregated farmers who are discontent with the situation at hand regarding the nitrogen crisis, and the BBB has aggregated regular rural citizens, and even urban citizens who feel underrepresented by the political status quo, against the government. While the populist nature of the farmers movement and their entrepreneurs was not the main focus of this study, populism and its associated characteristics can be useful to explain some of the sentiments found in the messaging of the movement entrepreneurs pertaining to environmental issues.

Literature on the anti-environmentalist nature of right-wing populist politics generally agrees that these parties attempt to undermine the legitimacy of environmental problems. According to Ofstehage et al. (2022), the elimination and attack of environmental data and science is commonplace with right-wing populist strategies. They generally do this through “othering” narratives, placing environmental experts and or regulators in the category of “other” or “elite” (Fisher, 2019). This can also be seen in the messaging of the movement entrepreneurs, for example with the framing elements pushed by the FDF, which question the motives of the RIVM, floating the idea that they have been influenced by the government to alter the science on the nitrogen crisis to further the interests of the political status quo. Agrifacts broadens the scope further on who is not to be trusted when it comes to environmental research, stating that universities, provinces and municipalities are collaborating with the government due to campaigns aimed at educating people on the health consequences of meat consumption, with the goal of reducing meat consumption.

Another commonplace tactic in right-wing populist messaging is the practice of building disinformation campaigns, which aim to explain complex realities with common sense, which more often than not favors the interests of big industry (Ofstehage et al., 2022). This is especially true for the messaging by the movement entrepreneurs, whom place great emphasis on common sense, specifically when talking about politicians and civil servants tasked with solving the nitrogen crisis. The building of a disinformation campaign is most evident in Agrifacts, as they function like an “independent” knowledge broker, providing the other movement entrepreneurs with “empirical evidence” supporting their frames. Often, when trying to further economic interests, environmental regulation is an easy topic for right-wing populists to create panic on, especially when environmental regulations would cause harm to the economy (Fisher, 2019). This is an obvious frame that the farmers movement has pushed, especially in relation to the economy of rural regions specifically, which has also been identified in literature concerning populist rhetoric (Ofstehage et al., 2022). Also related to the notion of economic interests, Agractie states that the government is trying to rid the Netherlands of farmers, in the name of the environment, while actually doing so to let the rest of the economy develop further. Another common theme found in right-wing populist rhetoric regarding the environment is the belief that technology should be used to resolve environmental problems, and that these technologies are preferable to societal changes and or regulations aimed at solving environmental problems (Gemenis et al., 2012). This is a theme that does arise quite often in the BBB party program, but remains relatively absent in the messaging of the movement entrepreneurs.

Taking all of these positions regarding the environment commonly found in right-wing populist movements, it is apparent that economic growth takes priority over the environment. This is a response to financial hardships experienced by farmers, who are now presented with the “choice” of environment or making a living. As Mamonova & Franquesa (2020) argue, the root cause of the current political climate, with right-wing populist parties gaining traction in Europe, in urban areas, but specifically rural areas, is globalised neoliberal capitalism. Neoliberalism has exacerbated inequalities, commodified nature, limited the power of democracies, and eroded the social fabric upon individuals depended, leaving people to fend for themselves. This leaves many people no other option than to be against environmental measures, if these measures means they will take yet another hit to their finances.

### **6.3 Wicked problems, sustainable agriculture and biases**

Based on the wide range of grievances found in the texts of the movement entrepreneurs, it is evident that there are many issues with the current status quo of agriculture in the Netherlands, ranging from economic, to environmental and subsequently societal challenges. When taking into account the urgency of the nitrogen crisis the Netherlands is currently facing, it seems useful to place the findings of this research into a broader perspective of public administration, specifically concerning agricultural policy in the Netherlands.

There are many different problem definitions when it comes to sustainable agriculture, which adds difficulty when consulting different actors on how to move towards a more sustainable food system. Examples of these problem definitions can be found in planetary boundaries, like water quality, methane and nitrogen emissions and biodiversity; but also in other ways, like profit margins, food security and culture. The cause of this lies in the fact that different parties define problems within the current agricultural system differently. This makes solutions to problems incredibly diverse, with the solution and the problem being different, depending on which actor you ask. Some actors will state that we should embrace sustainable technological advancements, while others will be of the opinion that switching to a plant based diet would solve our problems (Termeer & Candel, 2023).

The truth is that agricultural practices are embedded in incredibly complex systems, where problems will always be symptoms of problems happening at another scale (Termeer & Candel, 2023). This can be seen in the grievances of the farmers movement, for example in the notion that farmers are being exploited. The movement entrepreneurs complain about the lack of profitability, which they state is caused by the retail sector and feed producers, while abovementioned parties have an obligation to their shareholders to reach the largest profits possible. This makes it so that these parties, which are mutually dependent on each other, end up having very different goals. To take it into a wider context even, when looking past the food chain and at society as a whole, the interests of society are very different from abovementioned actors, only really needing the agricultural sector to produce food according to societies needs, contrary to the efficiency, up-scaling, profit-driven status quo of contemporary agriculture.

When zooming out even further, looking at the global food system, it is important to realise how interconnected the world is in terms of agricultural trade, and how important agriculture and food are in our economies. Prices are largely determined by global markets, and prices have been showing a downward trend. In well-developed countries with wealthy consumers, there has been a push for food grown with less inputs, in a more local manner. This can create opportunities for local farmers to supply these products at higher prices. Of course, there is little market for these higher priced products in developing countries, but debates surrounding our food system conflate all food production into one basket, which is counterproductive (Giller et al., 2021). This tendency can also be seen in the communication of the farmers movement and the BBB, stating that Dutch farmers provide the whole world with affordable, healthy and safe food. This is a misconception though, as it is mainly intensive livestock farming that is causing nitrogen emissions, and the majority of it being exported to countries like Germany, the United Kingdom, and China, all of which should be able to provide themselves with food (Centraal Bureau Statistiek, 2021).

Taking this into consideration, one can wonder why such narratives are being pushed, with the Netherlands being presented as responsible for the luxury food items of other countries, while we have to deal with a housing crisis, nature being put under pressure and farmers being exploited by feed producers and retail. One reason for the prevalence of these narratives can be found in the funding of the parties pushing the narratives, with the movement entrepreneurs and the BBB being financed by companies heavily invested in the status quo of capital intensive agriculture. Of course, these financing parties do not solely decide what kind of rhetoric and talking points are being pushed. Another factor for the prevalence of these ideas might be that the Dutch agricultural sector has been pushed, by policy and market forces, into investing in capital intensive livestock farming. The policy process was generally only accessible to actors whom shared goals of efficiency and scale. This has created cognitive and social fixations in farmers and other stakeholders involved in the policy process, as described by (Termeer & Candel, 2023).

Amongst barriers of cognitive and social fixations, there are a multitude of other barriers holding the agricultural sector back in creating a nature-inclusive model. One example of this is in the finance sector: banks play a large role in enabling agricultural businesses to acquire capital, and subsequently land for their activities. However, there are problems with financing models, which favour conventional agriculture due to environmental and social risks not being taken into account properly. Solutions for these problems are there, yet have not been implemented (D. Bosma et al., 2022)

To solve problems with the agricultural system, a few guidelines should be adhered to. An attempt should be made to formulate new problem definitions, like the waste of useful minerals in manure. In this way a coalition can be formed between two different configurations, like the environment and agricultural interests. Besides new problem definitions, actors who can connect the different configurations, and actors who provide with unconventional ideas and initiatives are needed. The people in charge of interactions between the different stakeholder should also make sure the bringers of bad news are included in these interactions, and to try and create a climate in which reflection is seen as something positive. It is important to avoid social and cognitive fixations, and to not create rigid singular problem definitions, and to keep an open mind about who gets to share their opinion on these problems (Termeer & Candel, 2023).

## **6.4 Limitations**

This research only made use of posts from the movement entrepreneurs themselves, which they published on their own website. Whether these posts contain the exact frames that the followers of the farmers movement ascribe to is unclear. The same goes for the election programme of the BBB. This could be alleviated by taking into account the speeches and appearances both the movement entrepreneurs and the BBB have done over the span of the study. These might come closer to what their followers actually get to hear, and in extent of that, what frames they actually internalise as a way to view the world.

When considering the effect of the frames pushed by the farmers movement and the BBB on the election results, it is important to remember that framing effects alone do not determine the outcome of an election. There is a multitude of factors influencing the results of elections and it would be reductive to solely ascribe the success of the BBB to their framing activities.

Another limitation in this research is the amount of texts analysed. With only 39% of total articles used for analysis, there is an opportunity to create an even more comprehensive account of what frames are being pushed. However, due to time constraints, the decision was made to pick articles based on a few criteria. This has still provided with detailed descriptions of the frames, but it also means that there might still be significant amount of framing elements to be found which might differ from the ones found during this research.

## **6.5 Implications**

One main finding of this study concerns the frames pushed by the movement entrepreneurs of the farmers movement. These frames can be used as insights into the grievances the farmers movement was trying to address during the timeframe of the study. Another main finding of this study is the frame alignment processes which the BBB has used to adapt the frames of the farmers movement to their own election program for the provincial elections of 2023. This finding provides insight into the manner in which the BBB has attempted to make use of the momentum behind the farmers movement, and how they have made efforts to make the messaging of the farmers movement suitable for an electorate broader than the original supporters of the farmers movement.

The findings of this study largely match the existing research on this topic, with similar positions found in other contemporary right-wing populist frames (Fisher, 2019; Mamonova & Franquesa, 2020; McCarthy, 2019). One major contradicting finding is the one of frame de-amplification. This phenomenon was found to take place with the BBB employing it to make the messaging of the farmers movement more digestible to voters, and it was not found in literature covering framing of social movements, and their interactions with political parties. One possible explanation for this could be found in the fact that the literature researching these interactions largely cover more left-leaning populist movements, which might have framing elements which are more accessible to the general population in the first place.

Furthermore, the results of this research should be seen as an inventory of the grievances of farmers, and subsequently what they deem to be appropriate solutions for their grievances. While often the solutions to problems do not match each other in a meaningful way, the grievances the farmers movement has brought up are very real and concrete, and are in some sense a signal to the outside world that the agricultural sector of the Netherlands is indeed in bad shape. Politicians, policymakers, journalists and executives of the agro-industrial complex should take these grievances seriously, and reflect on their role in the shaping of these grievances.

## 6.6 Recommendations

In this section, I will give recommendations based on this research. These recommendations have been split up into practical recommendations and recommendations for future research.

### Practical recommendations

My first recommendation is towards the farmers movement, and concerns whether they want to have a long-lasting influence on the Dutch political landscape. BVNL has not reached enough votes to enter parliament during the elections of 2023, in some sense taking away voice from the farmers movement. If the farmers movement wants to have a more lasting voice in parliament, they should aim to partner with parties who appeal to a larger part of Dutch society, and stay away from reactionary right-wing populist parties who mainly serve as an agent of capital.

Another recommendation I would like to make to the farmers movement, specifically the movement entrepreneurs would be to refrain from using right-wing populist talking points and rhetoric, and to instead, focus on building a broad left-wing coalition that defends the interests of farmers, rural citizens, and society as a whole. In doing so, the farmers movement should absolutely make use of populist rhetoric, otherwise right-wing populist ideas will have a monopoly over what is in fact a very useful tool in animating support for people left behind by the political establishment, as described by Borras (2020).

Lastly, I would give the following recommendations regarding the policy process: Include activists and scientists in coalitions, even though they do bring the bad news, they can help in making the farmers movement more aware of the shortcomings and strengths of the Dutch agricultural sector. These actors can also help alleviate cognitive fixations, by providing alternative perspectives the sector itself might not realize by itself. Finally, to avoid social fixations, I would recommend the agricultural sector to acknowledge that everyone in the Netherlands should have a say in how we organise ourselves, regarding all societal questions, not only agriculture. Farmers do not have the sole right to determine how the Dutch agricultural sector is run, because the consequences in how we decide to do this are for society as a whole.



## **Recommendations for future research**

For future research, I would give the following recommendations: A longer timespan, with the last elections having taken place, an additional period could be added, to observe how the frames of the BBB have changed from the provincial to the parliamentary elections. Additionally, the articles that were found but not taken into analysis could be coded as well. This could provide with a thicker description of the frames and how they are constructed, in addition to the possibility of finding other frames.

Another recommendation I would make to researchers concerning themselves with this topic is to include a wider range of sources for texts, like social media platforms like X (Twitter), Youtube, Facebook and Instagram. This can allow the researchers to have a more complete overview of the frames being pushed by the movement entrepreneurs. Additionally, these platforms could have a bigger reach than the websites of the movement entrepreneurs themselves. If this is the case, the frames pushed on these platforms would be more indicative of the frames the followers of the farmers movement ascribe to.

Additionally, when taking social media as a source, research could be done on how the followers of the farmers movement respond to, adjust and spread frames related to the farmers movement and the nitrogen crisis. This could provide an interesting opportunity to see how ideas from movement entrepreneurs are received and adopted by their followers.

## 7. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the main research question will be answered, which is as follows: What frames have the movement entrepreneurs of the Dutch farmers movement constructed, and how has the BBB adapted these frames to into their party program? To answer the main research question, the sub-research questions have been answered as well.

Starting with the first sub-research question: To what extent can Agractie, Agrifacts and Farmers Defence Force be characterized as movement entrepreneurs? Regarding the movement entrepreneurs, all three parties mentioned in the research question can be characterized as movement entrepreneurs. They all have characteristics that align with those defined in literature as movement entrepreneurs, while still being different in terms of their function within the farmers movement.

The section answers the second research question: What collective action frames have been constructed over the course of the protests by the movement entrepreneurs of the farmers movement? Most salient frames found employed within the farmers movement are centered around a feeling of not being included, and not being taken seriously by other actors in the policy process, like the government, retail, NGOs and the media. Frames have also been constructed around the notion that politicians, civil servants and media have an interest in demonizing and undermining the agricultural sector, in its current form. Subsequently, another salient frame is based on this notion, paying attention to the supposed consequences of status quo politics reaching their “goal”. Policy related frames mainly focus on the supposed inefficiencies, illegalities and lack of empirical evidence for the nitrogen crisis as a whole, and subsequent policies. The movement entrepreneurs of the farmers movement also touch on the notion that farmers are being exploited, specifically by retail, while the government is not taking steps to improve the financial situation of farmers. Abovementioned framing activities mainly draw on feelings of injustice, discontent and unfairness. Utilizing these three feelings is an integral part of the messaging of the farmers movement, as a way to animate support and present themselves as victims of abovementioned perpetrators.

This section answers the third and final research question: How has the BBB used frame alignment processes to adapt collective action frames from the farmers movement into their party program? The BBB has adapted all of the selected frames from the farmers movement, except for one, the frame of broken promises, related to the PAS scandal and subsequent revoked permits. The BBB attempts to de-amplify the frames, to an extent where they reach broader electorate than the farmers movement itself has. They have also extended the frames, to achieve relevance for a broader electorate, expanding their reach beyond the scope of just farmers and people involved in the agricultural sector. Alongside these frame alignment processes, the BBB also pays a lot of attention to the image of farmers and the agricultural sector as a whole. They propose a broad range of policies aimed at improving the image of the agricultural sector in the Netherlands.

Finally, answering the main research question: The movement entrepreneurs of the Dutch farmers' movement, have formulated collective action frames emphasizing exclusion, perceived demonization of the agricultural

sector, and policy-related issues like inefficiencies in nitrogen crisis policies. These frames, rooted in feelings of injustice and discontent, constitute the core of the farmers' movement messaging. The BBB has adapted these frames into their party program through frame alignment processes, incorporating most frames while omitting the broken promises frame related to the PAS scandal. Notably, the BBB has engaged in frame de-amplification, strategically reducing the intensity of certain frames to broaden their appeal beyond the farmers' movement. Additionally, the party has extended these frames to address broader concerns and placed a strong emphasis on enhancing the overall image of farmers and the agricultural sector in the Netherlands through proposed policy measures.

The recommendations I have made for the movement entrepreneurs, the farmers movement as a whole, farmers and those tasked with the policy process can be broadly summarized as follows: For the farmers movement to have lasting influence in the Dutch political landscape, I would recommend them to refrain from partnering with reactionary right-wing parties. Similarly, I would recommend the movement entrepreneurs of the farmers movement to stop using right-wing populist talking points and rhetoric, instead using similar populist rhetoric to animate support for a broad left-wing coalition that aims to actually solve the problems they are facing. Finally, I would recommend every actor involved in the policy-making process related to agriculture (not just nitrogen), to avoid social and cognitive fixations and include voices contrary to their own.

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## APPENDIX 1: DATA COLLECTION

Actor	Date	Title of post	Usage
Agractie	06/10/2019	The Day after.	Yes
Agractie	10/10/2019	Misstanden rondom voorgenomen beleid stikstof.	No
Farmers Defence Force	14/10/2019	Actie: de onderste steen moet boven! Demonstreer mee op 16 oktober	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	15/10/2019	Nieuwsbericht 16 oktober	No
Agrifacts	21/10/2019	Aalt Dijkhuizen en Sybe Schaap treden toe tot Raad van Advies STAF	No
Farmers Defence Force	23/10/2019	Weer thuis...	No
Agractie	25/10/2019	Actie Bouw- en aanverwante sectoren 30 oktober.	No
Farmers Defence Force	25/10/2019	Brandbrief agrarische sector aan ZuivelNL/NZO: Code Rood!	No
Agractie	26/10/2019	Even over stikstof toespraak Anja Henken.	No
Farmers Defence Force	07/11/2019	Rechtssysteem in Nederland deugt niet	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	07/11/2019	Persbericht: Landbouw Collectief voortvarend gestart	No
Agractie	20/11/2019	Landbouw Collectief komt met snelle oplossing voor gecreëerde stikstofcrisis	Yes
Agractie	22/11/2019	Informatie en lopende zaken	No
Agrifacts	27/11/2019	STAF-bestuur besluit PBL te dagvaarden	Yes
Agrifacts	02/12/2019	'Noodwet stikstof' in strijd met Habitatrichtlijn EU	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	04/12/2019	Persbericht: Landbouw Collectief verwacht daadkracht van Minister!	No
Farmers Defence Force	08/12/2019	Persbericht: Schouten zet boeren buiten spel	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	09/12/2019	FDF: hier komt de opfrisser!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	10/12/2019	18 december: De Landelijke Actiedag van 2019	No
Farmers Defence Force	11/12/2019	Persbericht: CBL kiest voor bedreiging 11-12-2019	No
Farmers Defence Force	11/12/2019	Persbericht 11 december 2019	No
Farmers Defence Force	12/12/2019	Dit is ons land!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	13/12/2019	Wanneer boeren zich verenigen...	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	13/12/2019	Jess Freedom	No
Farmers Defence Force	14/12/2019	Mededeling bestuur	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	15/12/2019	All 4 one	No
Agractie	16/12/2019	Verslag: Afspraken Kabinet – Landbouw Collectief	No
Farmers Defence Force	16/12/2019	Gedragscode	No

Agractie	18/12/2019	Persbericht: Basis-afspraken Kabinet en Landbouw Collectief over stikstof	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	18/12/2019	Ook dit is ons land!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	18/12/2019	Dit is niet de afspraak!	No
Farmers Defence Force	21/12/2019	Spiegelbeeld vertel eens even	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	31/12/2019	The World is yours!	Yes
Agractie	02/01/2020	Toelichting financiële verantwoording actie 1 oktober 2019	No
Agractie	03/01/2020	Persbericht: Boeren organisaties Belangen Agrarysk Fryslân en Agractie Nederland	Yes
Agractie	09/01/2020	Concept-regeling Spoedaanpak Stikstof Bouw en Infrastructuur	No
Farmers Defence Force	13/01/2020	FDF: State of play	No
Farmers Defence Force	14/01/2020	Info omtrent publicatie fosfaatrechten door Minister van LNV, onvolledig: van publicatie kan afgezien worden!	No
Farmers Defence Force	14/01/2020	Inhoud brief DDB/FDF aan Ministers van LNV en EZ&K	No
Farmers Defence Force	15/01/2020	Publicatie fosfaatrechten opgeschort	No
Agractie	20/01/2020	Kort verslag gesprekken en ontwikkelingen	No
Agractie	23/01/2020	Informatiebericht: Agractie Nederland aangaande het Landbouw Collectief	No
Farmers Defence Force	27/01/2020	Strijders: start de trekkers!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	27/01/2020	Firma List & Bedrog	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	27/01/2020	Collega's: Laat je bedrijf NU taxeren!	No
Farmers Defence Force	27/01/2020	Bespreekpunten Overleg Kabinet – Landbouw Collectief op 05-02-2020	No
Agractie	29/01/2020	Persbericht: Bespreking Landbouw Collectief met Kabinet in volgende fase	No
Farmers Defence Force	31/01/2020	Persbericht 31 januari 2020	No
Agractie	05/02/2020	Persbericht: Landbouw Collectief blijft in gesprek	No
Farmers Defence Force	05/02/2020	Geen verraad!	Yes
Agractie	07/02/2020	Persbericht: Het Landbouw Collectief boekt geringe vooruitgang	Yes
Agractie	08/02/2020	Volgende stap kabinet, stikstof plannen worden langzaam concreter	Yes
Agractie	12/02/2020	Tijd voor actie, Stickeractie!	No
Agractie	13/02/2020	Informatiebericht: Stand van zaken	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	14/02/2020	Een noot te kraken!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	14/02/2020	Keurmerk Farmer Friendly	No
Agractie	16/02/2020	Persbericht: Landbouw Collectief roept Tweede Kamer op NU in actie te komen	No
Agractie	16/02/2020	Position Paper voor Tweede Kamer	No
Farmers Defence Force	29/02/2020	Persbericht: "Assumption is the mother of all fuck-ups"	No
Agractie	02/03/2020	Informatiebericht.	Yes

Farmers Defence Force	03/03/2020	FDF Nieuwsbrief: Update februari 2020	No
Farmers Defence Force	06/03/2020	FDF verenigt veel meer dan actievoeren alleen	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	07/03/2020	Aan eerste boeren de oorlog verklaard?	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	09/03/2020	Olie op het vuur!	Yes
Agractie	13/03/2020	Corona & Acties.	No
Agractie	16/03/2020	Prijs- en levereffecten Corona	No
Agractie	21/03/2020	Bekendmaking datum actie Boerderijprijzen!	No
Farmers Defence Force	21/03/2020	FDF start steunactie: geld en goederen voor mensen in de zorg	No
Agractie	26/03/2020	Infobericht: CPB Scenario's economische gevolgen coronacrisis	No
Farmers Defence Force	27/03/2020	Gevolgen voor de boeren van de Regeling spoedaanpak stikstof	No
Agractie	30/03/2020	Brief aan Carola Schouten	Yes
Agractie	30/03/2020	Mesdagfonds – Stikstof in een verstikkend politiek debat	Yes
Agractie	01/04/2020	Stikstofontwikkelingen.	Yes
Agractie	01/04/2020	Landbouw Collectief zwaar teleurgesteld over overleg met Minister Schouten.	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	07/04/2020	Een opgestoken middelvinger	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	08/04/2020	Nieuwsbrief april: Onderzoek juridische houdbaarheid stikstofbeleid	No
Farmers Defence Force	15/04/2020	Denken in oplossingen	Yes
Agractie	16/04/2020	Informatiebericht Stikstof 16 april 2020!	No
Farmers Defence Force	20/04/2020	COVID-19: Situatie in de Europese zuivelsector	No
Farmers Defence Force	21/04/2020	Extern salderen zonder schotten? No way!	No
Farmers Defence Force	23/04/2020	The World is Yours, Part 2: Extern Salderen	No
Agractie	29/04/2020	Bescherm boeren, werknemers, consumenten, dieren en de planeet tegen de huidige vrijhandelsverdragen	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	30/04/2020	Kamerbrieven tonen doodlopende weg van het Kabinet	No
Agractie	07/05/2020	Ministeriële regeling voer.	No
Farmers Defence Force	08/05/2020	7 mei 2020. De dag van Brabant...	No
Farmers Defence Force	11/05/2020	Opinie: Tjeerd de Groot en integriteit	Yes
Agractie	20/05/2020	Informatiebericht Stikstof 20 mei 2020!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	20/05/2020	De boer als speelbal van de minister. Zijn bedrijf als experiment.	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	20/05/2020	“Klare wijn!”	No
Farmers Defence Force	29/05/2020	Farm to Fork Strategie (F2F): een samenvatting	No
Agrifacts	02/06/2020	Voermaatregel vanwege stikstof niet transparent	No
Agrifacts	04/06/2020	Medialogica beschuldigt wel, maar bewijst niet	Yes

Farmers Defence Force	06/06/2020	Juridisch onderzoek extern salderen – update	No
Agrifacts	07/06/2020	Natuurmonumenten ziet uitlaatgassen aan voor pesticiden landbouw	No
Agractie	08/06/2020	Remkes zet streep door Extern Salderen.	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	08/06/2020	Reactie FDF op internetconsultatie wet	No
Farmers Defence Force	09/06/2020	Farmers Defence Force – Visie en Doelstelling	No
Farmers Defence Force	11/06/2020	Koning Stratego speelt zijn spel	Yes
Agrifacts	14/06/2020	‘Natuurmonumenten schuift verantwoordelijkheid voor zijn rapport over vondst bestrijdingsmiddelen af’	Yes
Agrifacts	16/06/2020	STAF en Stikstofclaim willen dat LNV onderbouwing voermaatregel openbaar maakt	No
Farmers Defence Force	16/06/2020	Reactie FDF: Wijziging Bgm en Ubm zesde actieprogramma Nitraatrichtlijn	No
Farmers Defence Force	17/06/2020	Reactie FDF: Wetsvoorstel begrip melkvee, vrijstelling jongvee en afromingsvrije lease	No
Farmers Defence Force	19/06/2020	Brief FDF aan varkensslachterijen	No
Agrifacts	30/06/2020	Onderbouwing voermaatregel blijkt niet gedocumenteerd	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	02/07/2020	Reactie FDF: Wet democratisering waterschappen	No
Farmers Defence Force	05/07/2020	Wie wind zaait...	Yes
Agractie	06/07/2020	Ontwikkelingen Friesland.	Yes
Agractie	09/07/2020	Betalen boetes Boerenacties.	No
Farmers Defence Force	15/07/2020	Constructief gesprek CBL en FDF	No
Farmers Defence Force	17/07/2020	Inventarisatie RVO legalisatie PAS meldingen	No
Farmers Defence Force	20/07/2020	FDF Inzamelactie: Echte strijders voeren actie!	No
Farmers Defence Force	21/07/2020	Start de trekkers	No
Farmers Defence Force	21/07/2020	Praktische informatie 22 juli en gedragscode	No
Farmers Defence Force	25/07/2020	22 juli: discipline en vastbeslotenheid bij FDF Strijders. Schouten staat alleen!	No
Farmers Defence Force	28/07/2020	PAS Convenant uit 2014 nog steeds niet opgezegd!	No
Farmers Defence Force	05/08/2020	Overleg FDF en Nevedi: Nevedi wijst voermaatregel af	No
Agrifacts	06/08/2020	Friesland betaalt € 155.545 aan MOB voor behoud afvalverbrander	Yes
Agrifacts	12/08/2020	Gesprek LNV en STAF/SSC over voermaatregel struikelt over voorwaarden	No
Farmers Defence Force	12/08/2020	Firma List, bedrog en Onbehoorlijk Bestuur: Wie stopt de Minister van LNV?	Yes
Agractie	17/08/2020	In actie met Agractie!	Yes
Agractie	18/08/2020	Voermaatregel 2020 van tafel!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	18/08/2020	FDF eist excuus!	No
Farmers Defence Force	19/08/2020	Strijders, the world is yours: De voermaatregel is van tafel!!!	No
Agractie	27/08/2020	Agractie Nederland lanceert educatieprogramma “Boer in de Klas”!	Yes

Agrifacts	29/08/2020	Dieetbedrijf serveert naast Bodyhappiness portie onjuistheden over veehouderij	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	01/09/2020	"It's better to be a pirate, than join the navy"	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	05/09/2020	Pollution Swapping	No
Farmers Defence Force	15/09/2020	Eerbetoon aan de vrijheid versus klasse-justitie!	No
Farmers Defence Force	19/09/2020	Handelsdeal met Canada-CETA: hormonen op je bord!	No
Farmers Defence Force	22/09/2020	Geheim pact: EU wil Mercosur-akkoord doordrukken	No
Farmers Defence Force	29/09/2020	Let op: datum om in aanmerking te komen voor legalisatie PAS-melding uiterlijk 1 oktober 2020!	No
Agrifacts	03/10/2020	STAF-organisatie versterkt met vier nieuwe mensen	No
Farmers Defence Force	03/10/2020	Brief en aanmaning over AVV-heffing voor varkenshouders, roept vragen op 03-10-2020	No
Agrifacts	09/10/2020	Zeeuws Statenlid heeft geen onderbouwing voor 'vissterfte door landbouw'	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	10/10/2020	Den Haag, moet leveren!	Yes
Agrifacts	14/10/2020	Minister Schouten blijft stikstofbeleid ophangen aan één rekenmodel	No
Farmers Defence Force	21/10/2020	FDF Newsflash: Opsporing Verzocht rectificeert!	No
Farmers Defence Force	25/10/2020	De anti-landbouwwet van Minister Schouten 25-10-2020	No
Farmers Defence Force	26/10/2020	Bericht NOS over productie melkkoeien voedt gevoeligheden	No
Agractie	28/10/2020	Informatiebericht Stikstof 28 oktober 2020!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	28/10/2020	Gezond pakket voor Jetten in een ongezond politiek-klimaat	Yes
Agrifacts	31/10/2020	Jan Cees Vogelaar legt adviseursrol STAF neer	No
Farmers Defence Force	03/11/2020	De rovers van Rutte III en de meest achterbakse wetgevingsoperatie ooit	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	04/11/2020	OPROEP 17 NOVEMBER: Deel 1 CODE ORANJE	No
Farmers Defence Force	04/11/2020	Inzamelactie "Code Oranje" 17 november 2020 4-11-2020	No
Farmers Defence Force	05/11/2020	OPROEP 17 NOVEMBER: Deel 2 FarmerFriendly!	No
Agrifacts	10/11/2020	IPO en Provincie Gelderland draaien om hete stikstofbrij heen	Yes
Agrifacts	10/11/2020	Veel stikstofgevoelige natuur bijgetekend in rekenmodel Aerius	No
Farmers Defence Force	10/11/2020	Voorlopig Programma 17 november; CODE ORANJE en FarmerFriendly	No
Farmers Defence Force	11/11/2020	Omgevingswet: welkom in de U.S.S.R!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	11/11/2020	Kom in actie of wordt opgekocht – op naar de 17e!	No
Agrifacts	12/11/2020	Boeren verbijsterd: 'ons land blijkt ingetekend als stikstofgevoelige natuur'	No
Farmers Defence Force	12/11/2020	FarmerFriendly: bekendmaking eerste twee partnerorganisaties	No
Agractie	13/11/2020	Nieuwsbrief november 2020!	Yes
Agractie	13/11/2020	Informatiebericht Stikstof 13 november 2020!	No
Farmers Defence Force	14/11/2020	Nieuwe LTO voorzitter Sjaak van der Tak op de koffie bij Mark van den Oever	No

Farmers Defence Force	16/11/2020	Programma 17 november CODE ORANJE en FARMERFRIENDLY	No
Farmers Defence Force	16/11/2020	Praktische informatie 17 november en gedragscode	No
Farmers Defence Force	19/11/2020	Aanmelden bij de Coöperatie FarmerFriendly	No
Farmers Defence Force	21/11/2020	INSCHRIJFFORMULIEREN FARMERFRIENDLY 17 NOVEMBER	No
Farmers Defence Force	22/11/2020	STATEMENT	No
Agractie	23/11/2020	Brief aan minister van LNV!	No
Farmers Defence Force	23/11/2020	Demonstreren – een in beton gegoten RECHT!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	27/11/2020	FarmerFriendly: de klok loopt! ACM laat van zich horen	No
Farmers Defence Force	10/12/2020	BERICHTGEVING FDF AAN NEDERLANDSE BOEREN	No
Agrifacts	12/12/2020	Albert Heijn gaat foute namen vega-producten aanpassen	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	12/12/2020	Alleen onderhandelen over FarmerFriendly biedt boeren perspectief!	No
Farmers Defence Force	13/12/2020	BERICHTGEVING FDF AAN NEDERLANDSE BOEREN	No
Farmers Defence Force	15/12/2020	”Hoe FarmerFriendly is uw supermarkt?”	No
Agrifacts	17/12/2020	STAF start onderzoek naar relatie uitkomsten stikstofrekenmodel en natuurkwaliteit	No
Farmers Defence Force	23/12/2020	FarmerFriendly, license to sell	No
Farmers Defence Force	29/12/2020	Strijders, bedankt!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	31/12/2020	FDF-2020 Eén jaar ALL4ONE!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	31/12/2020	Jaaroverzicht	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	14/01/2021	14 januari: De Dag voor FarmerFriendly	No
Farmers Defence Force	18/01/2021	Stikstof. Onze Laatste Slag aan Rutte III: Maak Wet Stikstofreductie en natuurverbetering controversieel!	No
Agrifacts	19/01/2021	Gelderland creëert piekbelasters door nieuwe natuur tegen bedrijven aan te plussen	No
Agrifacts	21/01/2021	10 tekortkomingen in het Nederlandse stikstofbeleid	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	24/01/2021	Stikstofwet, Omgevingswet en uitspraak RvS over intrekken natuurvergunningen: Rampscenario voor boeren!	No
Agrifacts	26/01/2021	LNV legt aardappeltelers maatregelen op, waarvan effectiviteit niet is bewezen	No
Farmers Defence Force	26/01/2021	Artikel 6, tweede lid Habitatrichtlijn en ganzenschade Resultaatverplichting voor de overheid	No
Farmers Defence Force	27/01/2021	Lasterlijke smaad: product van media en politiek	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	28/01/2021	Aangetekende brief voor Kaag is thuisbezorgd	No
Agractie	01/02/2021	Informatiebericht stikstof 2021	Yes
Agractie	01/02/2021	Informatiebericht Stikstofwet 2021	No
Farmers Defence Force	01/02/2021	Massale boerensteun voor Raad gemeente Noardeast-Fryslân geeft duidelijk signaal af aan B&W: onderteken de intentieverklaring niet!	No
Farmers Defence Force	03/02/2021	Afrekenen met dubbele agenda's!	Yes

Farmers Defence Force	08/02/2021	Avondklok en landwerk: zorg dat je de noodzakelijke verklaringen bij je hebt!	No
Farmers Defence Force	10/02/2021	Nog geen beter voorstel voor verbetering verdienmodel dan	No
Farmers Defence Force	12/02/2021	Welk verdienmodel heeft meerwaarde? Presentaties overleggen FarmerFriendly	No
Farmers Defence Force	17/02/2021	Anti-veehouderij sekte rukt op, trappen we er in? Of rekenen we er mee af, 17 maart?	Yes
Agrifacts	18/02/2021	Ferme uitspraken in persbericht Universiteit Twente over intensieve veehouderij en zoönosen niet te linken aan een deugdelijke wetenschappelijke onderbouwing	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	01/03/2021	FarmerFriendly maakt mooie stappen vooruit: Keurmerk en Coöperatie zijn een feit!	No
Farmers Defence Force	02/03/2021	Mededeling: demonstratie 3 maart RFC Hoofdkantoor AFGELAST	No
Farmers Defence Force	03/03/2021	“Dat is het lekkere van Albert Heijn”	No
Farmers Defence Force	09/03/2021	Persbericht: Statement Weidevogels Omgevingsverordening	No
Farmers Defence Force	10/03/2021	Vertrouwensbreuk tussen Friese boeren en Gedeputeerde Hoogland Uitkomst actie 10 maart: Spoeddebat op 17 maart!	No
Agrifacts	12/03/2021	Aerius tikt er 15.000 ha niet bestaande stikstofgevoelige natuur bij op	No
Farmers Defence Force	12/03/2021	Het Gerecht van FDF Politici en pers op het menu	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	12/03/2021	Verboden toegang tussen zonsopgang en zonsondergang Antwoord boeren op absurde plannen gedeputeerde	No
Agractie	13/03/2021	Stikstofpuinhoop wordt groter	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	15/03/2021	GA STEMMEN!!! En wapen je tegen Haagse corruptie	No
Farmers Defence Force	15/03/2021	FRIESE BOEREN: MAAK BEZWAAR als je baas wilt blijven op eigen land!	No
Agractie	18/03/2021	Nederland heeft gekozen!	Yes
Agrifacts	23/03/2021	Rijksoverheid komt met stikstofvisie mede op basis niet beschikbare ecologische studies	Yes
Agrifacts	24/03/2021	Ook het KDW-model rammelt	No
Farmers Defence Force	24/03/2021	Landbouw Collectief, FDF nodigt uit	No
Agractie	25/03/2021	Welkom op Boerenland!	No
Farmers Defence Force	25/03/2021	1 april 2021 – Houdt CBL woord? De klok tikt...	No
Farmers Defence Force	06/04/2021	Zaak FDF tegen de Nederlandse Staat AVROTROS, uitspraak 20 april	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	06/04/2021	FDF-brief aan alle provincies aangaande randvoorwaarden gezonde natuur	No
Agrifacts	09/04/2021	Provincie Flevoland verwijdert steunbetuiging ‘Week zonder Vlees’ op Twitter	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	14/04/2021	“Verdienen in ketens”	Yes
Agrifacts	15/04/2021	Creatief met stikstof en wetenschap	Yes
Agrifacts	15/04/2021	Minister Schouten komt met hilarisch antwoord op Kamervragen over kritische depositiewaarden	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	20/04/2021	De Nederlandse Staat en AVROTROS ‘op de knieën’ FDF wint rechtszaak	No
Farmers Defence Force	24/04/2021	Hoe FarmerFriendly is de keten? Kijk mee op YouTube en stem mee op 26 april: Wat vinden de FDF leden van Plan-LTO	No
Farmers Defence Force	30/04/2021	Faciliteert Plan LTO verdienmodel Supermarkten?	No

Farmers Defence Force	03/05/2021	FDF stuurt brief aan Informateur Willink en aan landbouwwoordvoerders Tweede Kamer	No
Farmers Defence Force	11/05/2021	Boeren in Nederland opgeruimd ten gunste van groei bedrijven zonder NB-vergunning!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	13/05/2021	Steun de strijd van Wijster Zodat het recht kan zegevieren	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	24/05/2021	Alleen boeren behartigen boerenbelang!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	24/05/2021	Farmers Defence Force betreft opnieuw de Staat in rechte	No
Farmers Defence Force	25/05/2021	LTO-top zadelt leden op met onhaalbare stikstofreductie doelstelling Onbehoorlijk bestuur?!	No
Farmers Defence Force	27/05/2021	Farmers Defence Force wraakt kantonrechter in gerechtelijke procedure tegen (demissionair) minister Kaag	No
Farmers Defence Force	08/06/2021	Enquête Europese consumentenbond bewijst: actievoeren werkt: Nederlandse burgers vinden dat een eerlijke prijs hoort bij "duurzaam voedsel"	No
Agrifacts	10/06/2021	Overheid houdt grootste stikstofbron buiten stikstofbeleid	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	10/06/2021	Boer in Gelderland, én gedreigd met openbaar maken van je dieraantallen? Teken bezwaar aan met de concept zienswijze van FDF!	No
Farmers Defence Force	11/06/2021	Nederland staat massaal achter haar boeren!!! Representatief marktonderzoek pluimveesector en varkenshouderij, levert het bewijs	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	12/06/2021	Kantonrechter in dagvaardingsprocedure tegen Kaag lijkt onwaarheid te verkondigen	No
Farmers Defence Force	14/06/2021	Representatief marktonderzoek toont aan: FarmerFriendly wordt de norm	No
Farmers Defence Force	17/06/2021	Gebiedsgerichte aanpak één grote leugen?	No
Agrifacts	26/06/2021	Veekrimpplan Veerman en Erisman lekt steeds verder uit	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	28/06/2021	FDF start Wob-procedure op naar aanleiding van stikstofadviezen	No
Agractie	30/06/2021	Actie 7 juli: Ruimte voor de boer!	Yes
Agrifacts	30/06/2021	LNV: 'Onderzoek voor beleid hoeft niet altijd transparant'	Yes
Agractie	01/07/2021	Kom nú in actie!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	01/07/2021	Boeren in Nederland opgeruimd ten gunste van groei bedrijven zonder NB-vergunning!	No
Agrifacts	05/07/2021	Is er veel of juist weinig ammoniak op de Veluwe?	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	05/07/2021	7 juli 2021 wordt ACTIEDAG!!!	No
Agractie	06/07/2021	Waarom morgen naar Den Haag?	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	08/07/2021	FDF-actie, bikkelharde rechtvaardigheid!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	09/07/2021	Dit is de weg! Handhavingsverzoeken = Oog om oog! Word lid!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	15/07/2021	Limburg heeft onze hulp nodig: meld je aan!	No
Farmers Defence Force	20/07/2021	Herhaalde oproep: FDF zoekt personen, grondbezitters of bedrijven die direct grenzen aan N2000 gebieden	No
Farmers Defence Force	21/07/2021	Anderhalf jaar verder: Plan Landbouw Collectief blijkt enig werkbaar alternatief stikstofreductie	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	29/07/2021	Jacobskruiskruid, legt niet alleen vee en mensen om, maar veroorzaakt ook sterfte onder bijen!	No



Farmers Defence Force	09/08/2021	LNV Community: niets meer dan een klankbordgroep, maar wekt andere indruk!	No
Farmers Defence Force	10/08/2021	Red de wereld koop een koe	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	12/08/2021	3 september, FDF organiseert: Een Duurzaam Voedselsysteem – A Sustainable Food System	No
Agractie	16/08/2021	Boer & Burger Brunch 2021	No
Agractie	17/08/2021	Kom in actie, dit mogen we niet laten gebeuren!	Yes
Agractie	17/08/2021	Helpt u mee?	No
Farmers Defence Force	21/08/2021	Methaan is de Achilleshiel voor vee-emissies – deel I artikel Dr. Mitloehner	No
Farmers Defence Force	23/08/2021	Een nieuwe manier om de opwarming van broeikasgassen te meten – Artikel II Dr. Mitloehner	No
Farmers Defence Force	30/08/2021	ALV FDF: Programma, Locatie en korte informatie	No
Agrifacts	07/09/2021	Slag om het Wierdense Veld	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	14/09/2021	Rechtstaat wankelt Ongekend onrecht – niemand meer veilig!	Yes
Agrifacts	30/09/2021	Brussel maakte wél verslag van gesprek over 'Wierdense Veld'	No
Farmers Defence Force	11/10/2021	7e Actieprogramma nitraat: volstrekt krankjorum!	No
Agractie	18/10/2021	Waarom de minister het ontwerp 7e actieprogramma Nitraatrichtlijn in de prullenbak moet gooien!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	18/10/2021	Na het ultimatum	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	20/10/2021	Zaak FDF versus Kaag, dient morgen 21 oktober 2021	No
Farmers Defence Force	22/10/2021	Rechtszaak FDF tegen Sigrid Kaag	No
Farmers Defence Force	24/10/2021	Bezoek de FDF-podiumtruck op RMV Hardenberg: zonder QR!	No
Farmers Defence Force	01/11/2021	Zitting Farmers Defence Force tegen de Staat der Nederlanden met betrekking tot het Terrorismerapport	No
Agrifacts	07/11/2021	Stikstofnormen boerensloten veel strenger in Nederland	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	09/11/2021	Mother of all Protests	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	15/11/2021	Mother of all protests 13-14/12/2021 This Green Deal = NO Deal!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	15/11/2021	Het AD publiceert landroofplannen formatiepartijen, reactie FDF	No
Agrifacts	16/11/2021	Waterschap Vechtstromen plust natuurstikstof bij landbouw op de rekening	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	18/11/2021	Tegemoetkoming kosten PAS-meldingen	No
Farmers Defence Force	23/11/2021	13 en 14 December Mega protest door de Europese boeren voor een eerlijk landbouw- en klimaatbeleid	No
Farmers Defence Force	24/11/2021	Twee jaar All4One – De winst van Samen Sterk!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	27/11/2021	Farmers Defence Force introduceert Team Varkens	No
Agrifacts	15/12/2021	STAF dient klacht in bij TU Delft, over opkloppen klimaatwinst vegakantine	Yes
Agrifacts	16/12/2021	Agrifacts breidt onderzoekscapaciteit uit dankzij steun van sponsors	No
Farmers Defence Force	30/12/2021	FDF Jaaroverzicht 2021	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	04/01/2022	Team Varkens FDF warm onthaald door de sector en wekt positieve verwachtingen!	No

Farmers Defence Force	05/01/2022	Rutte IV	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	08/01/2022	Overijssel herroept status openbare hoorzitting	No
Farmers Defence Force	14/01/2022	FDF DEMONSTRATIE IN ASSEN 17 JANUARI: Ambtenaren belazeren de kluit: Stikstofgate!	No
Farmers Defence Force	17/01/2022	Presentatie en sheets 17 januari Demonstratie Assen	No
Farmers Defence Force	17/01/2022	FDF-demonstratie in Assen: groot succes!	No
Agrifacts	19/01/2022	STAF helpt scheldende D66-politicus bij het kuisen van zijn taalgebruik	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	25/01/2022	FDF Team Juridisch start spoedprocedure op tegen de Staat voor PAS-melders	No
Farmers Defence Force	27/01/2022	Steun de Juridische spoedprocedure tegen de Staat voor PAS-melders	No
Farmers Defence Force	31/01/2022	Chinese marktberichten: "Nieuwe varkenscyclus mogelijk pas in de eerste helft van 2023"	No
Farmers Defence Force	01/02/2022	FDF stuurt advies aan gedeputeerde staten en beantwoordt vragen over spoedprocedure	No
Farmers Defence Force	08/02/2022	"Shit is created by assholes"	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	09/02/2022	"De varkensmarkt blijft nog steeds onzeker"	No
Farmers Defence Force	11/02/2022	OPROEP: MAAK FOTO'S IN SUPERMARKTEN EN STUUR ZE OP NAAR FDF!!!	No
Farmers Defence Force	15/02/2022	China slaat varkensvlees op in voorraden na prijswaarschuwing	No
Agrifacts	16/02/2022	Prof. Bas Bloem nuanceert uitspraak over melk en Parkinson	Yes
Agrifacts	18/02/2022	Kritische depositiewaarden niet geschikt voor beschermen natuur	No
Farmers Defence Force	22/02/2022	NCTV rectificeert! FDF verwacht excuses van schreeuwerige politici en media!	No
Farmers Defence Force	23/02/2022	Dikke Van Dale: rechtzetten = rectificeren	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	25/02/2022	Tijd voor regeringsleiders om hoofd- en bijzaken te scheiden!	Yes
Agrifacts	26/02/2022	UTwente zwijgt over enorm aandeel vegetariërs (21%) in burgeronderzoek 'zoönosen en veehouderij'	No
Farmers Defence Force	01/03/2022	Doneer geld voor medische spullen Oekraïne	No
Agractie	12/03/2022	Van Coronacrisis naar Oekraïne-crisis	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	14/03/2022	Onrust door berichten Rabobank over publicatie uitstootgegevens	No
Farmers Defence Force	18/03/2022	FDF Team Varkens presenteert mogelijkheden voor beter verdienmodel	No
Agrifacts	22/03/2022	Gegevens biodiversiteit volop verzameld, maar nauwelijks gebruikt voor stikstofbeleid	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	25/03/2022	De varkensmarkt maakt een draai, regie in eigen hand	No
Farmers Defence Force	29/03/2022	FDF Team Varkens ziet kansen op de markt groeien	No
Agrifacts	30/03/2022	Stikstof die als N2 naar lucht verdween, toch meegeteld als 'bodemoverschot'	No
Farmers Defence Force	30/03/2022	FDF PAS-procedure tegen de Staat in gang gezet Lamelndige houding van de Staat heeft lang genoeg geduurd	No
Farmers Defence Force	31/03/2022	Alice in Wonderland	Yes
Agractie	01/04/2022	Minister draait de duimschroeven aan	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	02/04/2022	'Team Varkens voert overleg direct in de praktijk'	No

Farmers Defence Force	02/04/2022	Es sind Verbrecher! Contracten zijn nog niet opengebroken – boeren krijgen dus geen cent meer!	No
Farmers Defence Force	05/04/2022	Wie leerde de aap klimmen?	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	06/04/2022	We willen antwoorden!	Yes
Agractie	07/04/2022	Dringende oproep aan alle boeren en burgers!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	08/04/2022	Respect!	No
Farmers Defence Force	08/04/2022	Steun FDF: doneer voor onze juridische strijd	No
Agractie	11/04/2022	Brief stikstofimpasse	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	14/04/2022	Ronald van Leeuwen nieuw bestuurslid FDF Team Varkens	No
Agractie	15/04/2022	Informatiebericht actuele ontwikkelingen	No
Farmers Defence Force	23/04/2022	Red de geborgde zetels voor landbouw: stuur een mail naar PVV!	No
Farmers Defence Force	25/04/2022	FDF Team varkens organiseert eind mei een nieuwe bijeenkomst	No
Farmers Defence Force	29/04/2022	Doelstelling Staghouver in Brussel: TERMINATE farms	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	16/05/2022	Druk op VION heeft resultaat: directie distantieert zich van brief aan varkenshouders en houdt de huidige notering van €1,80 in stand	No
Farmers Defence Force	17/05/2022	FDF-Brief aan de Staat: legalisatieprogramma binnen een maand!	No
Farmers Defence Force	23/05/2022	WE GAAN LOS! FDF Team Varkens – FarmerFriendly & Exportslachterij J. Gosschalk en Zn.	No
Farmers Defence Force	30/05/2022	Jumbo en Meat friends BV nemen onaanvaardbare risico's uit winstbejag met betrekking tot dierenwelzijn en varkenssector!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	02/06/2022	Afrikaanse Varkenspest mogelijk vastgesteld op bedrijf in Duitsland – sector roept LNV op strenge maatregelen in te voeren!!!	No
Farmers Defence Force	06/06/2022	Noord-Korea aan de Noordzee?!?	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	07/06/2022	Het beleid raakt kant nog Wal!	Yes
Agractie	10/06/2022	Kom in Actie op 22 juni	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	14/06/2022	Doneer voor strijdkas en boetes	No
Farmers Defence Force	14/06/2022	Team Varkens FDF waarschuwt NVWA voor mogelijkheden AVP – Insleep	No
Agractie	16/06/2022	Informatiebericht acties	No
Farmers Defence Force	16/06/2022	“We dronken een glas, we deden een plas en alles bleef zoals het was “	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	19/06/2022	Gesprek FDF Team Varkens met NVWA & LNV over risico's AVP – Insleep	No
Agrifacts	20/06/2022	Stikstofkaart minister Van der Wal rammelt	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	26/06/2022	FDF wil risico's AVP-insleep verkleinen en begint zelf met PCR testen	No
Agractie	30/06/2022	Geef je mening: Stoppen met leveren?	Yes
Agrifacts	01/07/2022	Onhaalbare norm belangrijke reden slechte stikstoftoestand oppervlaktewater	No

Agrifacts	06/07/2022	Natuur- en milieuorganisaties zetten overheid naar hun hand	Yes
Agrifacts	10/07/2022	Stikstofcrisis brengt voedselaanbod in gevaar: terug naar de stampot	Yes
Agrifacts	14/07/2022	Water kwam bij Limburgse Well hoger dan verwacht	No
Agractie	15/07/2022	Begin van verandering!	Yes
Agractie	01/08/2022	Telefoongesprek Remkes met Agractie	No
Farmers Defence Force	01/08/2022	Statement 'Bal nu bij Remkes en daarna kabinet'	No
Farmers Defence Force	04/08/2022	Meer eenheid dan ooit!	Yes
Agractie	05/08/2022	Bemiddeling Remkes is mislukt	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	06/08/2022	Gesprek "om vertrouwen te herstellen" nietszeggend en teleurstellend	Yes
Agractie	11/08/2022	Kabinet: begin opnieuw!	Yes
Agractie	14/08/2022	Vragen voor opheldering brief 'Stand van zaken stikstof en landelijk gebied'	No
Agractie	19/08/2022	Oproep aan provincies en boeren	No
Agrifacts	22/08/2022	Stikstofneerslag niet maatgevend voor kwaliteit natuurgebieden	Yes
Agrifacts	22/08/2022	Geen verband tussen stikstof en 'staat van instandhouding natuur'	No
Agractie	26/08/2022	Juridische ondersteuning	No
Agractie	30/08/2022	Info-bericht gesprek Remkes/Kabinet	No
Agractie	06/09/2022	Van KDW naar SVI; Naar een evenwichtig stikstof beleid	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	06/09/2022	Verlies van derogatie past in 'landje pik'- agenda!	No
Agrifacts	08/09/2022	Provincies streven natuurdoelen na, die verder gaan dan Habitatrictlijn	No
Farmers Defence Force	13/09/2022	Conferentie in Europees Parlement Straatsburg voor FDF – over de Nederlandse boerenprotesten	No
Farmers Defence Force	16/09/2022	Uitspraak van de rechtbank Den Haag omtrent geuroverlast door (intensieve) veehouderij	No
Agrifacts	21/09/2022	Omzetten boerenland in natuur kan aarde verder opwarmen	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	23/09/2022	Grootmacht pleegt opnieuw contractbreuk	No
Farmers Defence Force	24/09/2022	Afgelopen week ontvingen FDF-leden onderstaand ledenbericht met een nieuws-update	Yes
Agractie	02/10/2022	Remkes en minister LNV 2.0	No
Agractie	05/10/2022	Remkes 'verstandige woorden'	No
Agractie	06/10/2022	Bestuurlijk overleg stikstof, LNV/Kabinet, doelstellingen en opgave.	No
Farmers Defence Force	06/10/2022	Statement FDF rapport Remkes – Wat wel kan "uit de impasse en een aanzet voor perspectief"	No
Agractie	10/10/2022	Informatiebericht actueel	No
Agractie	14/10/2022	Kamerbrief adviezen Remkes	No
Agrifacts	16/10/2022	Aerius dubbel ongeschikt voor opkoop piekbelasters	Yes

Farmers Defence Force	19/10/2022	Mythe ontmaskert: Nederland ondanks titel 'top-exporteur' Nr 8 op lijst met landen met LAAGSTE zelfvoorzieningsgraad voedsel	No
Agractie	21/10/2022	Hoe nu verder?	Yes
Agrifacts	21/10/2022	Onderzoek afname zweefvliegen: harde conclusie, zonder bewijs	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	25/10/2022	FDF presenteert oplossing stikstofproblematiek	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	01/11/2022	"Van Quote 500 naar varkensboer bedonderd"	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	03/11/2022	Statement van de landbouwbelangenorganisaties die samen 95% van de sector vertegenwoordigen	No
Farmers Defence Force	04/11/2022	Nadere uitleg Stikstof Depositie Waarde (SDW) – Factsheet	No
Farmers Defence Force	07/11/2022	Juridisch advies FDF Team Juridisch voor PAS-melders, in het bijzonder in de provincie Overijssel	No
Farmers Defence Force	15/11/2022	FDF praat in Den Haag met Minister Adema	No
Farmers Defence Force	16/11/2022	Nieuwe Richtlijnen 7e Actie Programma Nitraatrichtlijnen desastreus voor opbrengsten! Laatste dag om zienswijze in te dienen!	No
Farmers Defence Force	24/11/2022	FDF spreker op "Conferentie over de toekomst van de Europese Landbouw", in het Europees Parlement	No
Agractie	25/11/2022	Heeft de Nederlandse boer toekomst?	Yes
Agractie	26/11/2022	Informatiebericht zuivelcampagne	No
Agractie	02/12/2022	Agractie vraagt uw mening over deelname aan het Landbouwakkoord	Yes
Agractie	05/12/2022	Eisen landbouwakkoord	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	05/12/2022	Vuil spel door dierenactivisten	Yes
Agrifacts	08/12/2022	Durf kritiek te uiten op werkwijze Raad van State bij stikstof	Yes
Agractie	09/12/2022	Stikstof, Juridisch Fonds, spandoekactie	No
Farmers Defence Force	09/12/2022	Het masker valt: Piet is 'meer van hetzelfde'	Yes
Agrifacts	15/12/2022	Landbouw óók aan de lat voor nitraat uit de stad	No
Agrifacts	15/12/2022	De stikstofdiscussie bekeken vanuit de toegepaste (informele) logica	No
Agractie	24/12/2022	Terugblik op 2022	Yes
Agrifacts	24/12/2022	Europese Commissie komt met ander verslag 'stikstofoverleg' dan Nederland zelf	Yes
Agrifacts	28/12/2022	Europese Commissie: derogatie Nitraatrichtlijn in strijd met ambitieuze Nederlandse stikstofdoelen	No
Farmers Defence Force	29/12/2022	Jaarverslag Farmers Defence Force – 2022	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	03/01/2023	Varkenshouder aan zet bij contractbreuk VION	No
Farmers Defence Force	04/01/2023	"Ontwerp-wijzigingsbesluit habitatrichtlijngebieden vanwege aanwezige waarden" – beroep indienen tot 11 januari 2023	No
Agractie	05/01/2023	Agractie Nederland gaat in beroep tegen Wijzigingsbesluit Habitatrichtlijngebieden en roept belanghebbenden op dat ook zo spoedig mogelijk te doen.	Yes
Agrifacts	05/01/2023	Ministerie wil veel 'natuurkruimels' in slechte staat toevoegen aan N2000-gebieden	Yes

Farmers Defence Force	11/01/2023	VACATURE/GEZOCHT	No
Farmers Defence Force	12/01/2023	Het Beleidsadvies van de Landsadvocaat: selectief en onjuist	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	19/01/2023	Zoek de verschillen: RVO-Exportcijfers vleesvarkens naar Duitsland en Duitse slachtcijfers Nederlandse vleesvarkens	No
Agrifacts	20/01/2023	Zes vragen aan Raad van State over onderbouwing stikstofuitspraken	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	01/02/2023	FDF bezocht op dinsdag 31 januari de Tweede Kamer!	No
Agractie	06/02/2023	Ontwikkeling Landbouwakkoord	No
Farmers Defence Force	06/02/2023	Stem Ze Weg!	Yes
Agrifacts	08/02/2023	Ook Natuurdatabank Vegetatie en Habitats niet openbaar	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	09/02/2023	FarmerFriendly-notering	No
Agractie	10/02/2023	Nieuwe brieven, geen duidelijkheid	Yes
Agractie	14/02/2023	Nationaal Plattelands Debat	No
Farmers Defence Force	15/02/2023	FDF doet niet aan tijdverspilling	No
Agractie	17/02/2023	Uw mening is voor ons leidend!	No
Farmers Defence Force	23/02/2023	FarmerFriendly Varkensnotering: vanaf maandag 27 februari naar een weeknotering	No
Farmers Defence Force	01/03/2023	Stem Ze Weg!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	02/03/2023	FarmerFriendly: Kop boven het maaiveld	No
Farmers Defence Force	07/03/2023	Vuil spel van VVD-burgemeester Van Zanen: Trekkerverbod!	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	07/03/2023	FDF haalt antwoorden op in Den Haag over slachtcijfers varkens	No
Farmers Defence Force	10/03/2023	Praktische informatie zaterdag 11 maart en gedragscode	No
Agrifacts	15/03/2023	Europese Commissie: Stedelijke meetpunten horen niet in landbouwrapportage	Yes
Farmers Defence Force	15/03/2023	15 maart Democratie-Day! #Stemzeweg vandaag en ... ga stemmen-tellen controleren bij het stembureau	Yes