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Report **Final case report of analysis of newspaper editorials**

Case report **The Netherlands**

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PART I Analytic Summary

1 Introduction

This study is an analysis of the place of Europe in editorials of some Dutch newspapers between 2000 and 2002. According to conventional wisdom, Dutch newspapers pay much more attention to European integration and bring in much more sophistication here than Dutch television. Dutch television journalists tend to see the deficit of drama in European politics as the main reason for commercial and paternalist neglect here. Likewise, European items are supposed to contain much less news value than domestic items or global items. The Netherlands is both an old nation state and an old capitalist economy with open contacts and relations with other states and economies (globalisation as a way of survival). This explains the higher news value of domestic and global items. Furthermore, it is often argued that Dutch newspapers converge toward similar substantive views with respect to European integration, due to the collapse of the segmented news market dating back to the era of pillarisation (with catholic, protestant, socialist and neutral media) as well as the general agreement and lack of polarisation among Dutch political parties with respect to the European course of the Dutch government. Finally, conventional wisdom suggests that the informative function of mass media in domestic politics is crowded out by interpretative journalism as well as the critical function (criticisms of state power and private powers in civil society) and the forum function (media as democratic forums next to parliaments and parties or in place of these traditional forums), while all three media functions are weak in the case of domestic coverage of European news.

This study examines 732 editorials on European integration in general and on specific fields of European policy, including monetary policy and agricultural policy (old fields of European regulation), pensions and education (new fields) and immigration and troops deployment (intermediate fields). Editorials constitute a set of data with which the above mentioned conventional ideas about the role of printed media in European integration of an old and small member state such as the Netherlands can be tested.

Editorials not only indicate the role of newspapers as chroniclers but also reveal something about the role of newspapers as political actors in civil society. Dutch newspapers take their editorials very seriously, as do core readers and political leaders. Generally, the daily editorial – a special, often anonymous column with one, two or three comments on topical events and trends, seldom more than three comments - is prepared by special teams of prominent journalists. It is supposed to be explicitly political, clear, coherent (as to the point of view of the newspaper over the years), and characteristic and recognisable in the eyes of the readers and the public at large.

This study focuses on a left-wing quality journal oriented toward the middle class and social democratic or progressive since the 1960s (*de Volkskrant*); a right-wing quality journal oriented to lower classes or the so-called ordinary people and prominent in the Rotterdam area (*Het Algemeen Dagblad*); a tabloid in a Dutch sense, that is, a popular journal oriented to a mass public as well as conservative (*De Telegraaf*); and a regional newspaper with high and traditional standards of quality and strong views about regional and national identity and sovereignty (*De Leeuwarder Courant*). Our sample does not include the liberal quality paper that is widely seen as the frontrunner in European news making, the *NRC Handelsblad*. We assume without further research that *de Volkskrant* and *NRC Handelsblad* are virtually equivalent here.

The study applies claims analysis. It conceives editorials as structures of events, commentators with claims triggered by such events, actors addressed by such commentators (including supporters and opponents of claims), policy fields as scopes of comments, actors affected according to the argument of commentators (object actors), and frames of commentators and their newspapers.

2 Main results

The Dutch newspapers in our sample are stable in their daily rhythm of editorials and the number of topics (often two different ones). The Dutch quasi-tabloid De Telegraaf contains most commentaries, followed by the left-wing quality paper De Volkskrant, the right-wing quality paper Het Algemeen Dagblad and, finally, the regional paper De Leeuwarder Courant. The tabloid's editorials sometimes contain less prominent parts. The regional paper does not contain a separate op-ed page. Dutch newspapers do *not* campaign for or against certain views and proposals, neither in national issues nor in European ones, such as the introduction of the Euro. They try to live up to the ideal of specialisation of labour between professional politics and professional journalism.

2.1 Initiating events

Most commentaries are triggered by Dutch events (59,5%), followed by EU events (22,2%). This holds for all newspapers under study (table 2.2a). The tabloid focuses most on Dutch events, followed by the regional paper, the left-wing quality paper and the right-wing quality paper. The right-wing quality paper focuses most on EU events, followed by the tabloid, the left-wing paper and the regional paper. Conventional wisdom suggests that De Telegraaf is more parochial than all other national papers. This is confirmed by the gap between domestic events (71,4%) and European events (22%). Yet it is contradicted by the relatively high level of initiating European events.

Initiating EU events are important in traditional fields of European integration such as monetary policy (56,6%), agricultural policy (27%) and European integration policy in general (51,3%) (table 2.2b). They are surprisingly present in a new field such as pensions (8,3%, yet irrelevant in fields such as immigration, troops deployment and education (the lowest score of 0,6%).

Which types of events are commented upon? Most initiating events are political decisions (26,5%), followed by non-specific statements, events partly directed to the media themselves, and meetings. All newspapers stick to this pattern, except for Het Algemeen Dagblad that responds to meetings in 20,4% of all its editorials (table 2.1a). Political decisions are the most important initiating event in all policy fields, except for pensions policy where non-specific statements come first, and education where non-specific statements and communicative events partly directed to the media come first (table 2.1b). Political decisions are followed by non-specific statements in monetary policy, agricultural policy and immigration policy. They are followed by executive action in troops deployment policy and by meetings in European integration policy. Political decision comes second in pension policy. Communicative events related to the media constitute 17,7% of all initiating events (taken together), which implies a third place after political decisions and non-specific statements. So publicity strategies do matter in the Dutch case. Natural crisis is an important category of initiating events in agriculture (23,6%), while external political crisis is important in troops deployment (10,4%) and elections are important in European integration (12,7%).

2.2 Commentators as claimants (claim-makers)

A feature of editorials in the Netherlands is their call for change (52,7%, compared to 28,7% of no such calls, 12,4% of neutral messages and 6,2% of calls not to change). Hence, the critical function of mass media is clearly active here. Most calls for change are made in the tabloid, which may be related to concerns about the protection of national interests and the rise of bureaucratic waste in European politics.

Although the volume of conflict lines (128) is not large, there is a pattern (table 3.3a). The four most important conflict lines concern widening (19,5%), deepening and relations between EU and member states (both 11,7%) and values (10,9%). Deepening of European institutions is most important for the left-wing quality paper; EU values are most important for the right-wing paper, the future of Europe is most important to the regional paper, and

widening of EU membership is most important for the tabloid. Commentators in Dutch newspapers identify widening as the main conflict line in European integration (23,2%). In monetary politics, deepening is the most important conflict line (28,6%)(table 3.3b). In the field of European integration political dispute is the aspect commented upon rather than substantial issues (60,8% compared to 39,2%). In monetary politics, agriculture, pensions and education substantial issues are the most frequent aspect (table 9.2).

Overall, Dutch newspapers are supportive of the European project (an average of +0,31 on a scale from -1 to +1), ranging from +0,46 of De Volkskrant to neutrality of De Leeuwarder Courant (+0,3)(table 3.4a). However, all newspapers gravitate towards more negative positions and attitudes since 2000, except for the tabloid, which moved from a negative stance towards a neutral one. Hence, the general score deteriorated from +0,48 in 2000 to +0,20 in 2002. Positions and attitudes became negative in the field of immigration (from +0,75 in 2000 to -0,10 in 2002!) and less positive in agriculture and European integration (table 3.4b). They were stable and mildly positive in monetary politics, and stable and neutral in troops deployment.

Journalists' subjective attitudes regarding European integration have become less positive, but still supportive (from +0,52 in 2000 to +0,46 in 2002). This result is caused by two right-wing papers, namely Het Algemeen Dagblad and De Telegraaf (table 3.5a) In the field of European integration subjective attitudes of journalists remained quite positive (from +0,65 in 2000 to +0,59 in 2002). Yet in monetary politics and immigration the development of such attitudes has been erratic, with a peak in 2001.

2.3 Addressees, supporters, opponents

Newspapers address Dutch actors most often in their editorials (66,9% in table 4.3a). Actors from the EU are on the second place (19,5%), whereas American actors are third (2,5%), almost on a par with German actors (2,4%). This suggests vertical Europeanisation (increase of direct references to European authorities, rather than to member states (horizontal Europeanisation)). The left-wing quality paper and the regional paper address more European actors than the right-wing quality paper and the tabloid, while the tabloid *and* the regional paper address more Dutch actors. So there is no clear-cut difference between the quality press and the regional/tabloid newspapers in the Dutch case. Overall, though, the tabloid is most oriented towards the domestic situation.

The European scope of addressees is highest in European integration (46,5%), monetary politics (43,4%) and agriculture (21,6%) and lowest in immigration (9,8%), pensions (8,3%), troops deployment (1,1%) and education (0,6%). The domestic scope of addressees is highest in education (96,9%) and pensions (86,1%), intermediate in immigration (78,4%), agriculture (70,5%) and troops deployment (65,6%) and lowest in monetary politics (38,2%) and European integration (36,8%). By and large, editorials seem to reflect the shift of policy competences from the national level to the European one (table 4.3b). However, the domestic scope of addressees in general is *increasing* from 66,7% in 2000 to 67,4% in 2002, while European addressees are *fluctuating* from 21,5% in 2000 to 14,7% in 2001 and 23,3% in 2002. So the Dutch case of Europeanisation of editorials is a mixed one.

Dutch journalists direct their claims mainly towards state and party actors (87,8%), followed by civil society actors (6,6%) and economic interest groups (4,9%) (table 4.2a). Government is the most frequent addressee, on average and in the quality papers. The tabloid is the newspaper that takes employers' associations most seriously as addressees (5,8%). In the field of European integration the government is the most frequently addressed actor (79,4%). In monetary politics, however, the government is less dominant (51,3%); in agriculture it is even more dominant (80,7%). Other important addressees in monetary politics are employers' associations (10,5%) and consumers' associations (3,9%). Other important addressees in agriculture are farmers (10,2%)(table 4.2b). Over the years, Dutch editorials are quite stable as far as addressees are concerned. State and party actors cover more than 85% in the period 2000-2002. Economic interest groups are addressed in almost

5% of the cases. There is a slight *decline* in addressing civil society actors from 7,2% in 2000 to 5,6% in 2002.

The Dutch tabloid is most positive with regard to domestic addressees (81,7%), while the left-wing quality paper is least positive here (57,1%). However, the left-wing quality paper is most positive with regard to EU addressees (20,4%), while the right-wing quality paper is least positive here (11,6%) (table 5.2a). The tabloid is also most negative with regard to domestic addressees (75,5%), while the right-wing quality paper is least negative here (57,4%)(table 6.2a). However, the left-wing quality paper is most negative with regard to EU addressees (24,4%), while the tabloid is least negative here (17,9%). There is *no* clear pattern here in the sense that quality papers are more friendly towards the European project than regional papers and tabloids; that some newspapers are more outspoken in their evaluations than others, or that some newspapers are more critical towards the addressees they identify themselves with than others.

The domestic scope of supported addressees in Dutch editorials is highest in education (100%), pensions (90,9%) and immigration (83,3%). It is intermediate in agriculture (72,2%) and troops deployment (61,3%) and low in monetary politics (23,1%). The European scope of supported addressees is highest in monetary politics (50%) and European integration (38,9%), intermediate in agriculture (11,1%) and zero in all other fields (table 5.2b). The domestic scope of opposed addressees in Dutch editorials is highest in pensions (100%), education (96%), and immigration (78,2%). It is intermediate in agriculture (69,1%) and troops deployment (64%) and low in monetary politics (48,3%) and European integration (33,3%) (table 6.2b). The European scope of opposed addressees is highest in European integration (46,2%) and monetary politics (44,8%), intermediate in agriculture (25,5%) and immigration (12,7%) and low in troops deployment, pensions and education. As in a number of other tables, the oldest fields of European policy-making seem to engender more Europeanisation than the younger fields, *except for agriculture, which seems subject to a modicum of renationalisation of political communication.*

2.4 Policy fields

The top three policy fields in Dutch editorials are education (22,7%), European integration (21,6%) and immigration (14,3%). The two least important fields are pensions (5%) and monetary politics (11%) (table 7.1). The right-wing quality paper attains the highest score in the number of comments on European integration (36%), while the tabloid attains the lowest score here (14,9%). The left-wing quality paper attains the highest scores in troops deployment and education. It comments a lot on general immigration politics in immigration, on peace keeping in troops deployment, and on demographic changes and private pension schemes in pensions. The right-wing quality paper did best in education as well. It comments a lot on EMU convergence criteria and the stability pact in monetary politics, as well as retirement ages in pensions. The regional paper did best in agriculture. It comments a lot on Foot and Mouth disease in agriculture and on curricula in education. The tabloid did best in monetary politics and pensions. It comments a lot on Foot and Mouth Disease in agriculture and peace keeping in troops deployment. The left-wing quality paper focuses on enlargement in its editorials on European integration (28%)(table 7.2g). The right-wing quality paper shares this focus (28,2%). The regional paper focuses on the role of specific countries in the EU (31,3%), while the tabloid also focuses on enlargement (27,1%).

The most frequent issue scope in Dutch editorials is European (41,2%), then domestic (39,4%) and finally United Nations (6,4%). This is one of the strongest indicators of (vertical) Europeanisation, surpassing the Europeanisation of actor scopes (table 7.3). The right-wing paper and the regional paper comment most on European issues (respectively 46,7% and 45,1%), while the left-wing paper leads in comments on supranational issues (10,3%) and the tabloid leads in comments on domestic issues (49,1%).

Issues with a EU scope in Dutch editorials are dominant in the fields of European integration (99,4%) and monetary politics (83,5%), important in agriculture (52,3%), present in immigration (19,4%) and pensions (16,7%), and marginal in troops deployment and

education. Issues with a domestic scope are dominant in education (95,1%) as well as pensions (80,6%), important in immigration (54,4%) and agriculture (39,8%), and marginal in troops deployment, monetary politics, *and* European integration (respectively 0%, 10,1% *and* 0%)(table 7.4). Again, our study shows that Europeanisation of political communication is most advanced in European integration, monetary politics and, to a lesser extent, agriculture.

2.5 Object actors

The object actors of editorials are all actors whose interests are at stake in the claims of journalists. This category allows us to understand the role of journalists as spokespersons in society and politics. Almost all Dutch editorials bring in object actors (94,6%). 38,7% of all these actors are civil society actors, such as students (11,3%), immigrants (12,8%) and educational professionals (8,7%)(table 102a). 13% of all object actors are state and party actors, such as the government (6,2%). 9,4% of all object actors are economic interest groups. Media and journalists themselves are irrelevant here. Whole politics are addressed in 25,3% of all editorials, whole economies in merely 7,1% and the general public in merely 6,3%. Differences between newspapers are limited here. It is surprising, however, that the tabloid is a bit more of a guardian in the vase of civil society actors (44,1%) and economic interest groups (14%).

Roughly 65% (357) of object actors are conceived as “winners”, that is, as actors who will benefit if proposals of the editorials would be realized. Most object actors have a domestic scope (55,7%). Yet a substantive number of object actors are European (27,7%). The tabloid is relatively more focused on Dutch winners (67,8%), whereas the right-wing quality paper is relatively more focused on European winners (33,3%). The regional paper is relatively more focused on Dutch “losers”(58,3%), whereas the left-wing quality paper is relatively more focused on European losers (28%) (tables 10.3a and 10.4a).

Our overall impression is that Dutch journalists in editorials try to influence state and party actors by pointing at forgotten interests of civil society actors, such as farmers, immigrants, the military, the elderly, students and the national government itself in European integration as a meta-issue (13,3% in table 10.2b).

2.6 Frames

Almost two thirds of all editorials on European integration included certain frames (74,1%, compared to 68% of all editorials)(tables 11.1a,b). The left-wing quality paper comes first here (77,6%), the regional paper comes last (61,2%). Frames were captured according to the following categories: identity frames (what is the EU and what does it stand for?), instrumental frames (what is the EU good for?), historical frames (what does the EU bring about compared to the past?), and frames internal to the European integration process itself (what does the EU actually do?).

Economic frames are most frequent in Dutch editorials (28,4%), followed by constitutional and administrative frames (27,9%), and identity and ethical frames (21,6%). Historical frames are least important (4,8%). The left-wing quality paper is most focused on constitutional and administrative frames. The regional paper is most focused on identity and ethical frames; the right-wing quality paper is most focused on constitutional and administrative frames. The tabloid is most focused on economic frames (table 11.2a).

The number one item in Dutch editorials is democracy (7,7%), which is part of the constitutional frame. Number two is efficiency (6,8%), part of the administrative frame. Numbers three, four and five are economic stability, inflation, and prices, all part of the economic frame (table 11.3).

According to Dutch editorials the EU should not lead to inflation (19,2) and other economic bads (loss of exports, rising costs, rising prices). Furthermore, the EU should lead to more democracy (11.1%), efficiency (11,1%) and credibility (7,9%) (tables 11.4a,d).

By and large, these results confirm the hypothesis that journalists assess the European ideal, the European project, European institutions and European politics in a pragmatic sense.

3 Conclusion

This case study of Dutch editorials allows for a number of interesting conclusions about the place of Europe in Dutch journalism. Firstly, editorials pay a lot of attention to the EU. Secondly, Dutch newspapers do function here with respect to the informative role of the press, its critical role and its forum role. Generally, the editor wants to influence state and party actors on behalf of concrete interests of ordinary citizens and weakly represented actors in the European setting. Thirdly, the support of EU is substantive, yet decreasing. Fourthly, the dominant conception of the EU is economism (Europe as an economic space for trade and prosperity), mixed with worries about good governance and related to a pragmatic approach of editors. Fifthly, Europeanisation is most advanced in European integration, monetary politics, and, to a lesser extent, agriculture (mostly vertical Europeanisation). Finally, the differences between quality papers, regional papers and tabloids are important yet limited. The tabloid is most oriented towards domestic society and politics.

Part II: Country report the Netherlands

1 Article level: general overview

The following detailed analyses is based on 732 editorials in four different Dutch newspapers. Editorials are opinion articles written by the editor and his or hers team of special journalists that represent the official point of view of the newspaper. The editorials are supposed to express the characteristic and coherent line of the newspaper with respect to the substance of national and international politics. Although Dutch newspapers are less part and parcel of certain social constituencies in society as in the decades of pillarisation (such as the 1950s), the respective profiles of these newspapers are still common knowledge in Dutch civil society. De Volkskrant is middle-class, left-wing and social democrat. De Telegraaf is popular, right-wing and conservative. Het Algemeen Dagblad is popular (in particular in the Rotterdam area) and middle of the road in a political sense. De Leeuwarder Courant is regional and neither left nor right.

Table 1.1: Number of commentaries coded per year and paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total (n)
2000	32,8%	40,1%	19,5%	36,8%	241
2001	35,9%	33,8%	43,6%	34,2%	267
2002	31,3%	26,1%	36,9%	28,9%	224
Total	100% (n=198)	100% (n=157)	100% (n=149)	100% (n=228)	732

These Dutch newspapers are stable in their daily rhythm of editorials and the number of editorials (De Telegraaf has two topics each day, De Volkskrant sometimes even more than two topics). In the Dutch sample the tabloid contains most commentaries, followed by the left-wing quality paper, the right-wing quality paper and, finally, the regional paper.

Table 1.2: Number of commentaries coded per section and paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total (n)
Mixed international/national news section	0	0	100%	28,9%	215
Commentary pages	100,0%	100,0%	,0%	71,1%	517
Total	100% (n=198)	100% (n=157)	100% (n=149)	100%(n=228)	732

The regional paper (De Leeuwarder Courant) does not contain a separate op-ed page.

Table 1.3: Number of main commentaries coded per paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
No	6,1%	1,9%	,7%	15,8%	7,1%	52
Yes	93,9%	98,1%	99,3%	64,9%	86,9%	636
Not identifiable / not applicable	,0%	,0%	,0%	19,3%	6,0%	44
Total	100,0% (N=198)	100,0% (N=157)	100,0% (N=149)	100,0% (N=228)	100,0%	732

The tabloid's editorials sometimes contain some less prominent part.

Table 1.4: Number of newspapers' own campaigning in commentaries per paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
No	99,5%	98,7%	100,0%	100,0%	99,6%	729
Yes	,5%	1,3%	,0%	,0%	,4%	3
Total	100,0% (N=198)	100,0% (N=157)	100,0% (N=149)	100,0% (N=228)	100,0%	732

Dutch newspapers do *not* campaign for or against certain views and proposals, neither in national issues nor in European ones (such as the euro).

Table 1.5: Number of commentaries with and without claims

	Frequency	Percent
No	14	1,9
Yes	718	98,1
Total	732	100,0

2 Article level: initiating events

Table 2.1a: Types of initiating events per paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
political decision	26,8%	29,3%	20,1%	28,6%	26,5%	194
executive action	3,5%	5,1%	3,4%	7,0%	4,9%	36
judicial action	,5%	,0%	,7%	1,3%	,7%	5
non-specified statement	13,6%	14,6%	20,8%	22,9%	18,2%	133
meeting	12,6%	20,4%	10,7%	8,4%	12,6%	92
direct-democratic action	1,5%	,6%	1,3%	,4%	1,0%	7
protest action	1,0%	1,3%	2,0%	3,5%	2,1%	15
com. events partly directed to the media	15,7%	8,9%	17,4%	15,4%	14,5%	106
com. events directed only to the media	1,5%	1,9%	2,0%	,4%	1,4%	10
com. events initiated by the media	3,0%	1,9%	2,7%	,0%	1,8%	13
external political crisis	4,0%	1,9%	2,7%	,4%	2,2%	16
natural crisis	2,0%	3,8%	5,4%	2,2%	3,1%	23
economic developments	,5%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	,5%	4
societal developments	,0%	,6%	,7%	,4%	,4%	3
biographical political events	,0%	,6%	,0%	,4%	,3%	2
elections	5,6%	5,7%	5,4%	,9%	4,1%	30
other objective extra-discursive events	8,1%	3,2%	4,7%	6,2%	5,7%	42
Total	100,0% (N=198)	100,0% (N=157)	100,0% (N=149)	100,0% (N=227)	100,0%	731

Most initiating events are political decisions (26,5%), followed by non-specified statements (“someone has said something”), events that are partly directed to the media, and meetings. All newspaper stick to this pattern, except for Het Algemeen Dagblad (meetings come second here). Protest actions are almost irrelevant (2,1%).

Table 2.1b: Types of initiating events per issue fields

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total frequency
political decision	30,1%	27,0%	28,3%	30,2%	27,8%	22,1%	25,3%	26,5%	194
executive action	14,5%	3,4%	,9%	14,6%	,0%	1,8%	1,9%	4,9%	36
judicial action	,0%	1,1%	,9%	,0%	,0%	,6%	1,3%	,7%	5
non-specified statement	16,9%	13,5%	20,8%	12,5%	30,6%	23,9%	14,6%	18,2%	133
meeting	6,0%	9,0%	13,2%	11,5%	8,3%	8,6%	23,4%	12,6%	92
direct-democratic action	2,4%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	3,2%	1,0%	7
protest action	1,2%	6,7%	,9%	1,0%	,0%	3,1%	,6%	2,1%	15
com. events partly directed to the media	10,8%	11,2%	11,3%	11,5%	25,0%	23,9%	10,1%	14,5%	106
com. events directed only to the media	1,2%	2,2%	2,8%	1,0%	2,8%	1,2%	,0%	1,4%	10
com. events initiated by the media	,0%	1,1%	3,8%	1,0%	,0%	4,3%	,0%	1,8%	13
external political crisis	2,4%	,0%	1,9%	10,4%	,0%	,6%	,6%	2,2%	16
natural crisis	,0%	23,6%	,9%	,0%	,0%	,6%	,0%	3,1%	23
economic developments	3,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,8%	,0%	,0%	,5%	4
societal developments	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	1,3%	,4%	3
biographical political events	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	,3%	2
elections	4,8%	,0%	4,7%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	12,7%	4,1%	30
other objective extra-discursive events	6,0%	1,1%	9,4%	5,2%	2,8%	8,6%	3,8%	5,7%	42
Total	100,0% (N=83)	100,0% (N=89)	100,0% (N=106)	100,0% (N=96)	100,0% (N=36)	100,0% (N=163)	100,0% (N=158)	100,0%	731

In the field of monetary politics political decisions are the most important initiating events (30,1%), followed by non-specified statements and executive actions. In agriculture, political decisions are the most important initiating events (27%), followed by natural crises (23,6%) and non-specified statements. In immigration, political decisions are first (28,3%), non-specified statements second, and meetings third (13,2%). In troops deployment political decisions are first (30,2%), executive actions second, and non-specified statements third. In retirement and pensions schemes non-specified statements are first (30,6%), political decisions second, and events partly directed by the media third

(25%). In education non-specified statements and events directed by the media are first (23,9%), political decisions are third. In European integration political decisions are first (25,3%), meetings second, and media directed events third. The importance of meetings (12,6%) suggests that European integration is still an intergovernmental matter.

Table 2.2a: Scopes of initiating events per paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total per- centage	Total frequency
supranational: UN	,0%	,0%	,7%	,9%	,4%	3
other supranational	1,0%	,0%	1,3%	,4%	,7%	5
EU	20,7%	26,8%	19,5%	22,0%	22,2%	162
Multilateral	6,6%	5,7%	5,4%	3,1%	5,1%	37
Bilateral	3,5%	3,8%	1,3%	,0%	2,1%	15
Germany	3,0%	2,5%	4,0%	,4%	2,3%	17
France	1,0%	,6%	,7%	,0%	,5%	4
Uk	1,0%	2,5%	3,4%	,0%	1,5%	11
Italy	,5%	1,3%	1,3%	,0%	,7%	5
Netherlands	53,5%	51,0%	58,4%	71,4%	59,5%	435
other EU- members	4,5%	1,9%	2,0%	1,3%	2,5%	18
upcoming enlargement countries	,5%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
other european countries ex CIS	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,3%	2
Turkey	,5%	,6%	,0%	,0%	,3%	2
USA	2,0%	2,5%	1,3%	,0%	1,4%	10
Rest of the world	,5%	,6%	,7%	,4%	,5%	4
Total	100,0% (N=198)	100,0% (N=157)	100,0% (N=149)	100,0% (N=227)	100,0%	731

The domestic scope of initiating events is largest in Dutch newspapers: 59,5% on average (with De Telegraaf above average, Het Algemeen Dagblad and De Volkskrant below average, and De Leeuwarder Courant nearly on average). However, the EU scope is second (22,2% on average, with Het Algemeen Dagblad above average and the other papers nearly on average). Conventional wisdom in the Netherlands suggests that De Telegraaf (the tabloid in the Dutch context) is more parochial than other papers, particularly De Volkskrant. Our results confirm conventional wisdom here, notwithstanding the average score of European events of De Telegraaf .

Table 2.2b: Scopes of initiating events per issue fields

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total frequency
supranational: UN	,0%	,0%	,9%	2,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,4%	3
other supranational	,0%	1,1%	,0%	3,1%	2,8%	,0%	,0%	,7%	5
EU	56,6%	27,0%	3,8%	2,1%	8,3%	,6%	51,3%	22,2%	162
Multilateral	7,2%	1,1%	2,8%	24,0%	2,8%	,0%	1,9%	5,1%	37
Bilateral	,0%	1,1%	5,7%	6,3%	,0%	,6%	,6%	2,1%	15
Germany	,0%	4,5%	2,8%	1,0%	2,8%	,0%	5,1%	2,3%	17
France	,0%	,0%	1,9%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	,5%	4
Uk	4,8%	2,2%	2,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	1,5%	11
Italy	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	3,2%	,7%	5
Netherlands	21,7%	61,8%	77,4%	53,1%	83,3%	98,8%	24,1%	59,5%	435
other EU-members	3,6%	,0%	,0%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	8,9%	2,5%	18
upcoming enlargement countries	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	,1%	1
other european countries ex CIS	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	,3%	2
Turkey	1,2%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	,3%	2
USA	4,8%	,0%	,9%	5,2%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,4%	10
Rest of the world	,0%	1,1%	,9%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	,5%	4
Total	100,0% (N=83)	100,0% (N=89)	100,0% (N=106)	100,0% (N=96)	100,0% (N=36)	100,0% (N=163)	100,0% (N=158)	100,0%	731

The largest Dutch scopes of initiating events concern the fields of education (98,8%), retirement and pension schemes (83,3%) and immigration (77,4%). The smallest ones are monetary politics (merely 21,7%) and European integration (24,1%). Vice versa, the largest EU scopes of initiating events are in the fields of monetary politics (56,6%) and European integration (51,3%).

3 Claim level: commentators as claimants

Table 3.1a Names of commentators per paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percen- tage	Total frequency
None	100,0%	100,0%	4,9%	100,0%	80,9%	581
DG	,0%	,0%	2,1%	,0%	,4%	3
HW	,0%	,0%	4,9%	,0%	1,0%	7
J	,0%	,0%	27,8%	,0%	5,6%	40
Mulder, Rimmer	,0%	,0%	44,4%	,0%	8,9%	64
Sijpersma, Pieter	,0%	,0%	1,4%	,0%	,3%	2
VdM	,0%	,0%	14,6%	,0%	2,9%	21
Total	100,0% (N=196)	100,0% (N=150)	100,0% (N=144)	100,0% (N=228)	100,0%	718

De Leeuwarder Courant prints articles with signatures of the authors.

Table 3.1b Names of commentators per issue field

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total frequency
None	84,8%	72,7%	79,6%	81,9%	86,1%	84,0%	79,4%	80,9%	581
DG	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,8%	,0%	,4%	3
HW	1,3%	1,1%	2,9%	,0%	,0%	,6%	,6%	1,0%	7
J	1,3%	1,1%	7,8%	7,4%	,0%	4,9%	9,7%	5,6%	40
Mulder, Rimmer	7,6%	13,6%	8,7%	7,4%	8,3%	7,4%	9,7%	8,9%	64
Sijpersma, Pieter	1,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	,0%	,3%	2
VdM	3,8%	11,4%	1,0%	3,2%	5,6%	,6%	,6%	2,9%	21
Total	100,0% (N=79)	100,0% (N=88)	100,0% (N=103)	100,0% (N=94)	100,0% (N=36)	100,0% (N=163)	100,0% (N=155)	100,0%	718

Rimmer Mulder, the journalist who wrote most signed editorials (64!), is the editor we have interviewed.

Table 3.2a Calls for change per paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
no call for change/not to change expressed by journalist	25,1%	32,0%	35,5%	25,4%	28,7%	204
call for change	52,3%	47,3%	53,6%	56,1%	52,7%	375
neutral/ambivalen t attitude as to whether change is needed	17,4%	13,3%	6,5%	11,0%	12,4%	88
call for the situation to remain as it is	5,1%	7,3%	4,3%	7,5%	6,2%	44
Total	100,0% (N=195)	100,0% (N=150)	100,0% (N=138)	100,0% (N=228)	100,0%	711

Most calls for change come from the most Eurosceptic newspaper of the Netherlands, namely De Telegraaf (56,1% compared to a Dutch average of 52,7%). Calls for no-change are the smallest category (De Telegraaf also makes most calls for no-change).

Table 3.2b Calls for change per issue field

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total frequency
no call for change/not to change expressed by journalist	28,2%	33,3%	23,8%	50,0%	25,0%	19,6%	27,3%	28,7%	204
call for change	44,9%	60,9%	58,4%	25,0%	50,0%	62,6%	55,2%	52,7%	375
neutral/ambivalent attitude as to whether change is needed	16,7%	3,4%	11,9%	21,7%	16,7%	9,2%	12,3%	12,4%	88
call for the situation to remain as it is	10,3%	2,3%	5,9%	3,3%	8,3%	8,6%	5,2%	6,2%	44
Total	100,0% (N=78)	100,0% (N=87)	100,0% (N=101)	100,0% (N=92)	100,0% (N=36)	100,0% (N=163)	100,0%	100,0%	711

Most calls for change arise in education (62,6%), agriculture (60,9%) and European integration (55,2%). Calls for no-change plus neutrality constitute 35% in troops deployment and 27% in monetary policy.

Table 3.3a Conflict lines of commentator per paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
Leadership in Europe	2,5%	5,1%	5,3%	10,0%	5,5%	7
Involvement in the European Project	,0%	,0%	5,3%	,0%	,8%	1
Future of Europe	15,0%	2,6%	15,8%	10,0%	10,2%	13
Political levels	,0%	,0%	5,3%	3,3%	1,6%	2
Decision making within EU	5,0%	,0%	10,5%	3,3%	3,9%	5
EU reform	5,0%	2,6%	,0%	3,3%	3,1%	4
Values	5,0%	23,1%	5,3%	6,7%	10,9%	14
Citizenship	7,5%	,0%	10,5%	,0%	3,9%	5
Political information	2,5%	,0%	,0%	3,3%	1,6%	2
Deepening	22,5%	10,3%	5,3%	3,3%	11,7%	15
Widening	20,0%	20,5%	10,5%	23,3%	19,5%	25
Relations between EU MS	5,0%	12,8%	10,5%	20,0%	11,7%	15
Type of entity	,0%	2,6%	10,5%	6,7%	3,9%	5
EU influence in the world	,0%	2,6%	,0%	,0%	,8%	1
Europe and the USA	,0%	2,6%	5,3%	,0%	1,6%	2
Reforms and enlargement	7,5%	5,1%	,0%	,0%	3,9%	5
Level of problem solving	2,5%	10,3%	,0%	6,7%	5,5%	7
Total	100,0% (N=40)	100,0% (N=38)	100,0% (N=19)	100,0% (N=30)	100,0%	128

This table is based on small numbers, which does not permit sound generalizations. Deepening of European institutions is the most important conflict line according to commentators of De Volkskrant (left-wing newspaper), values are most important here according to Het Algemeen Dagblad (right-wing), the future of Europe is most important according to De Leeuwarder Courant (regional), while widening is most important according to De Telegraaf (right-wing, elements of tabloid). Generally, the three most important conflict lines are widening (19,5%), deepening and relations between EU and member states (both 11,7%). Perhaps the focus on values of Het Algemeen Dagblad is related to the Haider-conflict in 2000.

Table 3.3b Conflict lines of commentator per issue field

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total frequency
Leadership in Europe	,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	6,1%	5,5%	7
Involvement in the European Project	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,0%	,8%	1
Future of Europe	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	13,1%	10,2%	13
Political levels	,0%	20,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,0%	1,6%	2
Decision making within EU	,0%	,0%	14,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	4,0%	3,9%	5
EU reform	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	4,0%	3,1%	4
Values	,0%	,0%	42,9%	,0%	,0%	100,0%	10,1%	10,9%	14
Citizenship	7,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	4,0%	3,9%	5
Political information	7,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,0%	1,6%	2
Deepening	28,6%	,0%	14,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	10,1%	11,7%	15
Widening	7,1%	20,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	23,2%	19,5%	25
Relations between EU MS	14,3%	20,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	12,1%	11,7%	15
Type of entity	14,3%	,0%	14,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,0%	3,9%	5
EU influence in the world	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,0%	,8%	1
Europe and the USA	14,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,6%	2
Reforms and enlargement	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	5,1%	3,9%	5
Level of problem solving	7,1%	40,0%	14,3%	,0%	100,0%	,0%	2,0%	5,5%	7
Total	100,0% (N=14)	100,0% (N=5)	100,0% (N=7)	100,0% (N=1)	100,0% (N=1)	100,0% (N=1)	100,0% (N=99)	100,0%	128

Commentators in Dutch newspapers identify widening as the main conflict line in the general field of European integration (23,2%), followed by the future of Europe (13,1%) and relations between the EU and member states (12,1%). In monetary politics, deepening is the most important conflict line (28,6%). Note the low volume of cases, except for European integration.

Table 3.4.a Positions and Subjective Attitudes towards EU integration (only for those cases with a European issue scope)

Paper	Year	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
De Volkskrant	2000	,61	28	,497
	2001	,41	27	,636
	2002	,35	26	,689
	Total	,46	81	,613
Het Algemeen Dagblad	2000	,61	23	,722
	2001	,35	26	,629
	2002	,32	19	,478
	Total	,43	68	,630
Leeuwarder Courant	2000	-,17	12	,577
	2001	,16	25	,473
	2002	,00	27	,920
	Total	,03	64	,712
De Telegraaf	2000	,54	26	,647
	2001	,07	14	,730
	2002	,18	33	,584
	Total	,29	73	,656
Total	2000	,48	89	,659
	2001	,27	92	,613
	2002	,20	105	,699
	Total	,31	286	,668

All newspapers gravitate towards more negative positions and attitudes since 2000, except for De Leeuwarder Courant, which moved from a negative stance towards a neutral one. Hence, the general score changed from +0,48 in 2000 to +0,20 in 2002. De Telegraaf is the least positive one of the national newspapers with regard to European integration (an average of + 0,29 compared to +0,46 of De Volkskrant and +0,43 of Het Algemeen Dagblad) on a continuum from -1 to +1.

Table 3.4b Position regarding European integration by policy field and year

	Year	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Monetary politics	2000	,35	20	,587
	2001	,64	14	,497
	2002	,11	28	,629
	Total	,31	62	,616
Agriculture	2000	,75	8	,463
	2001	,19	27	,483
	2002	-,20	10	,789
	Total	,20	45	,625
Immigration	2000	,75	4	,500
	2001	,50	4	,577
	2002	-,10	10	,568
	Total	,22	18	,647
Troops deployment	2000	,00	1	.
	2001	,00	1	.
	Total	,00	2	,000

Retirement and pension schemes	2000	1,00	2	,000
	2001	1,00	2	,000
	2002	1,00	2	,000
	Total	1,00	6	,000
Education	2000	,50	2	,707
	2002	-1,00	1	.
	Total	,00	3	1,000
European Integration	2000	,46	52	,727
	2001	,16	44	,680
	2002	,37	54	,681
	Total	,34	150	,703
Total	2000	,48	89	,659
	2001	,27	92	,613
	2002	,20	105	,699
	Total	,31	286	,668

Positions and attitudes became negative in the field of immigration (from +0,75 to -0,10!) and less positive in agriculture (from +0,75 to -0,20) and European integration (from +0,46 to +0,37). They were stable and mildly positive in monetary politics, and stable and neutral in troops deployment.

Table 3.5a Subjective attitude regarding European integration by paper and year

Paper	Year	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
De Volkskrant	2000	,71	28	,460
	2001	,63	27	,565
	2002	,81	26	,402
	Total	,72	81	,480
Het Algemeen Dagblad	2000	,70	23	,559
	2001	,50	26	,510
	2002	,47	19	,513
	Total	,56	68	,529
Leeuwarder Courant	2000	-,33	12	,651
	2001	,08	25	,572
	2002	,56	27	,577
	Total	,20	64	,671
De Telegraaf	2000	,54	26	,582
	2001	,23	13	,439
	2002	,09	33	,723
	Total	,28	72	,655
Total	2000	,52	89	,642
	2001	,38	91	,573
	2002	,46	105	,636
	Total	,45	285	,618

Again, (subjective) attitudes regarding European integration have become less positive in Dutch newspapers (from +0,52 in 2000 to +0,46 in 2002). In this table such a result is caused by Het Algemeen Dagblad and De Telegraaf (both right-wing), since De Volkskrant and De Leeuwarder Courant became much more positive recently (De Volkskrant scored +0,81 in 2002, which is very high). Perhaps the negative 2000-score of De Leeuwarder Courant is a coding error.

Table 3.5b Subjective attitude regarding European integration by policy field and year

Policy field	Year	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Monetary politics	2000	,25	20	,716
	2001	,57	14	,514
	2002	,36	28	,488
	Total	,37	62	,579
Agriculture	2000	,63	8	,518
	2001	,26	27	,594
	2002	,30	10	,823
	Total	,33	45	,640
Immigration	2000	,00	4	,816
	2001	,75	4	,500
	2002	,20	10	,632
	Total	,28	18	,669
Troops deployment	2000	,00	1	.
	2001	,00	1	.
	Total	,00	2	,000
Retirement and pension schemes	2000	,50	2	,707
	2001	,50	2	,707
	2002	,00	2	1,414
	Total	,33	6	,816
Education	2000	,50	2	,707
	2002	1,00	1	.
	Total	,67	3	,577
European Integration	2000	,65	52	,590
	2001	,37	43	,578
	2002	,59	54	,630
	Total	,55	149	,609
Total	2000	,52	89	,642
	2001	,38	91	,573
	2002	,46	105	,636
	Total	,45	285	,618

In the field of European integration the general subjective attitudes of Dutch commentators remained quite positive (from +0,65 in 2000 to +0,59 in 2002). Yet in monetary politics and immigration, the development of such attitudes has been erratic, with a peak in 2001. Overall, the general claims with respect to European integration are stable and positive.

Table 3.5c Subjective attitude regarding European integration by paper and commentator

Paper	Name	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
De Volkskrant		,72	81	,480
	Total	,72	81	,480
Het Algemeen Dagblad		,56	68	,529
	Total	,56	68	,529
Leeuwarder Courant	HW	,67	3	,577
	J	,45	20	,605
	Mulder, Rimmer	-,11	28	,629
	Sijpersma, Pieter	,00	1	.
	VdM	,42	12	,669

	Total	,20	64	,671
De Telegraaf		,28	72	,655
	Total	,28	72	,655
Total		,52	221	,584
	HW	,67	3	,577
	J	,45	20	,605
	Mulder, Rimmer	-,11	28	,629
	Sijpersma, Pieter	,00	1	.
	VdM	,42	12	,669
	Total	,45	285	,618

Rimmer Mulder of De Leeuwarder Courant is the only journalist with a negative opinion.

4 Addressees, supporters and opponents

To simplify the analysis and presentation, information from addressees, opponents and supported actors will be combined.

Table 4.1a: Presence of addressee by paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
no indirect object	1,0%	,0%	1,4%	1,3%	1,0%	7
addressee	96,4%	95,3%	97,2%	97,4%	96,7%	694
supported actor	2,6%	4,0%	,0%	1,3%	1,9%	14
Opponent	,0%	,7%	1,4%	,0%	,4%	3
Total	100,0% (N=196)	100,0% (N=150)	100,0% (N=144)	100,0% (N=228)	100,0%	718

Most editorials of Dutch newspapers concerning European society and politics are addressed (96,7%), with only a few of them specified in terms of support and opposition of named actors (1,9% supported actors; 0,4% opposed or criticized actors).

Table 4.1b: Presence of addressee by issue field

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total frequency
no indirect object	3,8%	,0%	1,0%	1,1%	,0%	1,2%	,0%	1,0%	7
addressee	92,4%	97,7%	96,1%	97,9%	97,2%	96,9%	97,4%	96,7%	694
supported actor	3,8%	1,1%	1,9%	1,1%	2,8%	1,8%	1,9%	1,9%	14
opponent	,0%	1,1%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	,4%	3
Total	100,0% (N=79)	100,0% (N=88)	100,0% (N=103)	100,0% (N=94)	100,0% (N=36)	100,0% (N=136)	100,0% (N=155)	100,0%	718

The general pattern (almost all editorials addressed, yet few of them formulated in terms of support and opposition of the newspaper's view by named actors) is repeated in different fields, except perhaps of the higher share of supported actors in monetary politics (3,8%) and retirement and pension schemes (2,8%).

Table 4.2a: Addressees by paper

		De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarde r Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percent age	Total frequen cy
State and party actors	politicians	4,1%	2,0%	6,3%	3,6%	3,9%	28
	former states(wo)men	,0%	,0%	,0%	,4%	,1%	1
	government/exec utive	70,1%	70,7%	62,7%	63,6%	66,7%	474
	legislative	6,7%	8,7%	3,5%	4,0%	5,6%	40
	judiciary	,0%	,0%	1,4%	,0%	,3%	2
	police and internal security agencies	,0%	,0%	,0%	,9%	,3%	2
	military	1,0%	,7%	2,1%	,0%	,8%	6
	central banks	3,6%	3,3%	2,1%	3,1%	3,1%	22
	social security executive organizations	,0%	,0%	,0%	,9%	,3%	2
	other state executive agencies	3,6%	4,7%	1,4%	4,4%	3,7%	26
	political parties	4,1%	2,0%	3,5%	2,2%	3,0%	21
subtotal		93,3% (N=181)	92,0% (N=138)	83,1% (N=118)	83,1% (N=187)	87,8%	624
Economic and interest groups	unions and employees	1,0%	,0%	1,4%	1,3%	1,0%	7
	employers organizations and firms	,5%	,7%	2,1%	5,8%	2,5%	18
	farmers and agricultural organizations	,5%	,7%	3,5%	,9%	1,3%	9
	economists and financial experts	,0%	,0%	,0%	,4%	,1%	1
subtotal		2,1% (N=4)	1,3% (N=2)	7,0% (N=10)	8,4% (N=19)	4,9%	35
Media and journalists							
Other civil society actors	educational professionals and organizations'	1,5%	2,0%	3,5%	2,7%	2,4%	17
	other scientific and research professionals and institutions	3,1%	1,3%	1,4%	,9%	1,7%	12
	students, pupils, and their parents	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,8%	,6%	4
	other professional organizations and groups	,0%	2,0%	,0%	,9%	,7%	5
	consumer organizations and groups	,0%	,0%	,7%	1,3%	,6%	4
	migrant organizations and groups	,0%	,7%	,7%	,0%	,3%	2
	organizations and groups of the elderly	,0%	,0%	,7%	,0%	,1%	1

	environmental organizations and groups	,0%	,0%	,7%	,0%	,1%	1
	other civil society organizations and groups	,0%	,0%	,0%	,4%	,1%	1
subtotal		4,6% (N=9)	6,0% (N=9)	7,7% (N=11)	8,0% (N=18)	6,6%	47
General unknown/unspecified	whole polities	,0%	,7%	2,1%	,4%	,7%	5
subtotal		,0%	,7% (N=1)	2,1% (N=3)	,4% (N=1)	,7%	5
Total		100,0% (N=194)	100,0% (N=150)	100,0% (N=142)	100,0% (N=225)	100,0%	711

State and party actors are by far the largest category of the addressees in Dutch editorials (87,8%), followed by civil society actors (6.6%) and economic interest groups (4,9%). Government is the most frequent addressee (66,7%). De Volkskrant and Het Algemeen Dagblad – the so-called quality papers - are slightly more government-orientated than De Leeuwarder Courant and De Telegraaf. De Telegraaf is the newspaper that takes employers' associations most seriously as addressees (5,8%).

Table 4.2b: Addressees by issue field

		Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total frequency
State and party actors	politicians	,0%	1,1%	9,8%	2,2%	,0%	2,5%	7,1%	3,9%	28
	former states(wo)men	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,8%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
	government/executive	51,3%	80,7%	61,8%	68,8%	58,3%	57,8%	79,4%	66,7%	474
	legislative	,0%	,0%	2,9%	19,4%	2,8%	5,6%	5,8%	5,6%	40
	judiciary	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	,3%	2
	police and internal security agencies	,0%	1,1%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,3%	2
	military	,0%	,0%	,0%	6,5%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,8%	6
	central banks	25%	,0%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	3,1%	22
	social security executive organizations	,0%	,0%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	,0%	,3%	2
	other state executive agencies	1,3%	3,4%	5,9%	1,1%	5,6%	8,1%	,0%	3,7%	26
political parties	1,3%	,0%	9,8%	2,2%	,0%	2,5%	2,6%	3,0%	21	
subtotal		78,9% (N=60)	86,4% (N=76)	93,1% (N=95)	100,0% (N=93)	69,4% (N=25)	77,0% (N=124)	97,4% (N=151)	87,8%	624
Economic and interest groups	unions and employees	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	4,3%	,0%	1,0%	7
	employers organizations and firms	10,5%	,0%	2,0%	,0%	16,7%	1,2%	,0%	2,5%	18
	farmers and agricultural organizations	,0%	10,2%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	9
	economists and financial experts	1,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
subtotal		11,8% (N=9)	10,2% (N=9)	2,0% (N=2)	,0% (N=0)	16,7% (N=6)	5,6% (N=9)	,0% (N=0)	4,9%	35
Other civil society actors	educational professionals and organizations'	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	10,6%	,0%	2,4%	17

	other scientific and research professionals and institutions	1,3%	,0%	2,0%	,0%	8,3%	2,5%	1,3%	1,7%	12
	students, pupils, and their parents	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,5%	,0%	,6%	4
	other professional organizations and groups	2,6%	1,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,2%	,0%	,7%	5
	consumer organizations and groups	3,9%	1,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	4
	migrant organizations and groups	,0%	,0%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	,0%	,3%	2
	organizations and groups of the elderly	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,8%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
	environmental organizations and groups	,0%	1,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
	other civil society organizations and groups	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,8%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
subtotal		7,9% (N=6)	3,4% (N=3)	2,9% (N=3)	,0%	13,9% (N=5)	17,4% (N=28)	1,3% N=2)	6,6%	47
General/unknown/unspecified	whole polities	1,3% (N=1)	,0%	2,0% (N=2)	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,3% (N=2)	,7%	5
Total		100,0% (N=76)	100,0% (N=88)	100,0% (N=102)	100,0% (N=93)	100,0% (N=36)	100,0% (N=161)	100,0% (N=155)	100,0%	711

The most frequently addressed actor in European integration in Dutch editorials is the government (79,4%). Politicians are second here (7,1%), and the legislative branch is third (5,8%). In monetary politics, however, the government is less dominant (51,3%); in agriculture it is even more dominant (80,7%). Other important addressees in monetary politics are employers' associations (10,5%) and consumers' associations (3,9%). Other important addressees in agriculture are farmers (10,2%).

Table 4.2c: Addressees by year

		2000	2001	2002	Total percentage	Total frequency
State and party actors	Politicians	2,1%	3,5%	6,5%	3,9%	28
	former states(wo)men	,0%	,0%	,5%	,1%	1
	government/executive	69,2%	66,8%	63,7%	66,7%	474
	Legislative	7,2%	4,6%	5,1%	5,6%	40
	Judiciary	,4%	,0%	,5%	,3%	2
	police and internal security agencies	,0%	,4%	,5%	,3%	2
	Military	,0%	1,9%	,5%	,8%	6
	central banks	4,6%	1,9%	2,8%	3,1%	22
	social security executive organizations	,8%	,0%	,0%	,3%	2
	other state executive agencies	,8%	6,2%	3,7%	3,7%	26
	political parties	1,3%	2,7%	5,1%	3,0%	21
Subtotal		86,5% (N=205)	88,0% (N=228)	88,8% (N=191)	87,8%	624
Economic and interest groups	unions and employees	2,1%	,4%	,5%	1,0%	7
	Employers organizations and firms	2,5%	1,5%	3,7%	2,5%	18
	farmers and agricultural organizations	,8%	2,7%	,0%	1,3%	9
	economists and financial experts	,0%	,0%	,5%	,1%	1
Subtotal		5,5% N=13)	4,6% (N=12)	4,7% (N=10)	4,9%	35
Other civil society actors	Educational professionals and organizations'	1,7%	3,1%	2,3%	2,4%	17
	other scientific and research professionals and institutions	3,0%	1,5%	,5%	1,7%	12
	students, pupils, and their parents	,8%	,4%	,5%	,6%	4
	other professional organizations and groups	,4%	,8%	,9%	,7%	5
	consumer organizations and groups	,0%	,8%	,9%	,6%	4
	migrant organizations and groups	,4%	,0%	,5%	,3%	2
	Organizations and groups of the elderly	,4%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
	environmental organizations and groups	,4%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
	other civil society organizations and groups	,0%	,4%	,0%	,1%	1
Subtotal		7,2% (N=17)	6,9% (N=18)	5,6% (N=12)	6,6%	47
General/unknown/unspecified	whole polities	,8% (N=2)	,4% (N=1)	,9% (N=2)	,7%	5
Total		100,0% (N=237)	100,0% (N=259)	100,0% (N=215)	100,0% (N=711)	711

Dutch editorials are quite stable as far as addressees are concerned. State and party actors cover more than 85% in the period 2000-2002. Economic interest groups are addressed in almost 5% of the cases. There is a slight

decline in addressing civil society actors (from 7,2% in 2000 to 5,6% in 2002). The shift from government/executive in 2000 to politicians may indicate personalization of party politics and politics of policy-making.

Table 4.3a: Addressee scope by paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
supranational: UN	,5%	1,3%	,0%	,9%	,7%	5
other supranational	1,0%	,0%	,7%	,9%	,7%	5
EU	23,7%	19,3%	20,4%	15,6%	19,5%	139
Multilateral	2,1%	2,0%	1,4%	,0%	1,3%	9
Bilateral	,5%	1,3%	,7%	,0%	,6%	4
Germany	2,1%	3,3%	4,2%	,9%	2,4%	17
France	1,5%	2,0%	,0%	,4%	1,0%	7
Uk	1,0%	2,0%	2,1%	,0%	1,1%	8
Italy	,0%	2,7%	,0%	,0%	,6%	4
Spain	,5%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
Netherlands	59,3%	60,0%	64,8%	79,6%	66,9%	476
other EU-members	1,0%	1,3%	,7%	1,3%	1,1%	8
other european countries ex CIS	,5%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
Turkey	,5%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
USA	4,6%	2,7%	2,8%	,4%	2,5%	18
Middle East	,0%	1,3%	1,4%	,0%	,6%	4
Rest of the world	1,0%	,7%	,7%	,0%	,6%	4
Total	100,0% (N=194)	100,0% (N=150)	100,0% (N=142)	100,0% (N=225)	100,0%	711

The scope of addressees in Dutch editorials is mainly domestic (66,9%), then European (19,5%), and finally American (2,5%). This is a nice indicator of Europeanisation. De Volkskrant (23,7%) and De Leeuwarder Courant address more European actors than Het Algemeen Dagblad and De Telegraaf (15,6%). Furthermore, De Telegraaf (79,6%) and De Leeuwarder Courant address more domestic actors than Het Algemeen Dagblad and De Volkskrant (59,3%). The performance of the left-wing quality paper and the tabloid confirm general expectations.

Table 4.3b: Addressee scope by issue field

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total frequency
Supranational: UN	,0%	,0%	2,9%	2,2%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,7%	5
other supranational	,0%	1,1%	,0%	3,2%	2,8%	,0%	,0%	,7%	5
EU	43,4%	21,6%	9,8%	1,1%	8,3%	,6%	46,5%	19,5%	139
Multilateral	6,6%	,0%	1,0%	2,2%	,0%	,6%	,0%	1,3%	9
Bilateral	,0%	2,3%	,0%	2,2%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	4
Germany	,0%	4,5%	2,0%	1,1%	2,8%	,0%	5,8%	2,4%	17
France	1,3%	,0%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	3,2%	1,0%	7
Uk	5,3%	,0%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,9%	1,1%	8
Italy	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,2%	1,3%	,6%	4
Spain	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	,0%	,1%	1
Netherlands	38,2%	70,5%	78,4%	65,6%	86,1%	96,9%	36,8%	66,9%	476
other EU-members	2,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	3,9%	1,1%	8
other European countries ex CIS	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	,1%	1
Turkey	1,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
USA	1,3%	,0%	2,0%	16,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,5%	18
Middle East	,0%	,0%	,0%	4,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	4
Rest of the world	,0%	,0%	2,0%	2,2%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	4
Total	100,0% (N=76)	100,0% (N=88)	100,0% (N=102)	100,0% (n=93)	100,0% (N=36)	100,0% (N=161)	100,0% (N=155)	100,0%	711

The domestic scope of addressees in Dutch editorials is highest in education (96,9%) and retirement and pension schemes (86,1%), intermediate in immigration (78,4%, a surprising result), agriculture (70,5%) and troops deployment (65,6%) and lowest in monetary politics (38,2%) and European integration (36,8%). The European scope is highest in European integration (46,5%), monetary politics (43,4%) and agriculture (21,6%) and lowest in immigration (9,8%), retirement and pension schemes (8,3%), troops deployment (1,1%) and education (0,6%). In troops deployment the American scope of addressees is prominent (16,1%).

Table 4.3c: Addressee scope by year

	2000	2001	2002	Total percentage	Total frequency
supranational: UN	,0%	1,9%	,0%	,7%	5
other supranational	,4%	1,5%	,0%	,7%	5
EU	21,5%	14,7%	23,3%	19,5%	139
Multilateral	,8%	1,9%	,9%	1,3%	9
Bilateral	,4%	1,2%	,0%	,6%	4
Germany	2,5%	2,7%	1,9%	2,4%	17
France	,8%	,8%	1,4%	1,0%	7
Uk	,4%	2,3%	,5%	1,1%	8
Italy	,8%	,4%	,5%	,6%	4
Spain	,0%	,0%	,5%	,1%	1
Netherlands	66,7%	66,8%	67,4%	66,9%	476
other EU-members	2,5%	,0%	,9%	1,1%	8
other european countries ex CIS	,4%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
Turkey	,0%	,4%	,0%	,1%	1
USA	1,3%	4,2%	1,9%	2,5%	18
Middle East	,4%	,8%	,5%	,6%	4
Rest of the world	,8%	,4%	,5%	,6%	4
Total	100,0% (N=237)	100,0% (N=259)	100,0% (N=215)	100,0%	711

The domestic scope of addressees in Dutch editorials is slightly increasing from 66,7% in 2000 to 67,4% in 2002, while the European scope went down from 21,5% in 2000 to 14,7% in 2001 and up to 23,3% in 2002.

Table 4.3d: Addressee scope by broad addressee category

	state and party actors	economic interest groups	other civil society actors	general/unknown/unspecified	Total percentage	Total frequency
supranational: UN	,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,7%	5
other supranational	,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,7%	5
EU	21,8%	2,9%	,0%	40,0%	19,5%	139
multilateral	1,0%	2,9%	2,1%	20,0%	1,3%	9
Bilateral	,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	4
Germany	2,7%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,4%	17
France	1,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,0%	7
Uk	1,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,1%	8
Italy	,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	4
Spain	,2%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
Netherlands	63,5%	94,3%	97,9%	20,0%	66,9%	476
other EU-members	1,1%	,0%	,0%	20,0%	1,1%	8
other european countries ex CIS	,2%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
Turkey	,2%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
USA	2,9%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,5%	18
Middle East	,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	4

Rest of the world	,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	4
Total	100,0% (N=624)	100,0% (N=35)	100,0% (n=47)	100,0% (N=5)	100,0%	711

Addressees with a domestic scope in Dutch editorials are most frequent among civil society actors (like churches) (97,9%) and economic interest groups (94,3%). European addressees are most frequent among state and party actors (21,8%). Europeanisation does not start at home but at the level of central government.

5 Positively evaluated addressees and opponents

Table 5.1a: Positively evaluated addressees per paper

		De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
State and party actors	politicians	,0%	2,3%	3,0%	3,3%	2,2%	4
	former states(women)	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,7%	,5%	1
	government/executive	61,2%	60,5%	39,4%	71,7%	60,5%	112
	legislative	8,2%	11,6%	3,0%	3,3%	6,5%	12
	judiciary	,0%	,0%	6,1%	,0%	1,1%	2
	military	2,0%	,0%	6,1%	,0%	1,6%	3
	central banks	8,2%	9,3%	3,0%	3,3%	5,9%	11
	other state executive agencies	8,2%	4,7%	3,0%	3,3%	4,9%	9
	political parties	4,1%	,0%	9,1%	1,7%	3,2%	6
subtotal		91,8% (N=45)	88,4% (N=38)	72,7% (N=24)	88,3% (N=53)	86,5%	160
Economic interest groups	unions and employees	,0%	,0%	3,0%	,0%	,5%	1
	employers organizations and firms	,0%	,0%	3,0%	5,0%	2,2%	4
	farmers and agricultural organizations	,0%	,0%	3,0%	,0%	,5%	1
	economists and financial experts	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,7%	,5%	1
subtotal		,0%	,0%	9,1% (N=3)	6,7% (N=4)	3,8%	7
Other civil society actors	educational professionals and organizations'	2,0%	2,3%	6,1%	,0%	2,2%	4
	other scientific and research professionals and institutions	6,1%	4,7%	6,1%	,0%	3,8%	7
	students, pupils, and their parents	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,7%	,5%	1
	other professional organizations and groups	,0%	2,3%	,0%	,0%	,5%	1
	consumer organizations and groups	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,7%	,5%	1

	migrant organizations and groups	,0%	2,3%	3,0%	,0%	1,1%	2
subtotal		8,2% (N=4)	11,6% (N=5)	15,2% (N=5)	3,3% (N=2)	8,6%	16
general/unknown/unspecified	whole polities	,0%	,0%	3,0% (N=1)	1,7% (N=1)	1,1%	2
Total		100,0% (N=49)	100,0% (N =43)	100,0% (N=33)	100,0% (N=60)	100,0%	185

Positive evaluation of addressees in Dutch editorials about Europe focuses on the government (60,5%), the legislative branch (6,5%) and central banks (5,9%). De Telegraaf is surprisingly positive with regard to the government (71,7%), while De Leeuwarder Courant is least positive here (39,4%), which is less surprising for a regional paper. Political parties do not seem to play a positive role except for immigration (16,7%).

Table 5.1b Positively evaluated addressees per issue field

		Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total frequency
State and party actors	Politicians	,0%	,0%	8,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	5,6%	2,2%	4
	former states(wo)men	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	9,1%	,0%	,0%	,5%	1
	Government/executive	38,5%	83,3%	58,3%	61,3%	63,6%	51,3%	75,0%	60,5%	112
	Legislative	,0%	,0%	,0%	22,6%	,0%	7,7%	5,6%	6,5%	12
	Judiciary	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	5,6%	1,1%	2
	Military	,0%	,0%	,0%	9,7%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,6%	3
	central banks	38,5%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,8%	5,9%	11
	other state executive agencies	,0%	5,6%	8,3%	3,2%	,0%	12,8%	,0%	4,9%	9
political parties	,0%	,0%	16,7%	3,2%	,0%	2,6%	,0%	3,2%	6	
Subtotal		76,9% (N=20)	88,9% (N=16)	91,7% (N=22)	100,0% (N=31)	72,7% (N=8)	74,4% (N=29)	94,4% (N=34)	86,5%	160
Economic interest groups	unions and employees	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,6%	,0%	,5%	1
	employers organizations and firms	7,7%	,0%	,0%	,0%	9,1%	2,6%	,0%	2,2%	4
	farmers and agricultural organizations	,0%	5,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,5%	1
	economists and financial experts	3,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,5%	1
Subtotal		11,5% (N=3)	5,6% (N=1)	,0%	,0%	9,1% (N=1)	5,1% (N=2)	,0%	3,8%	7
Other civil society actors	educational professionals and organizations'	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	10,3%	,0%	2,2%	4
	other scientific and research professionals and institutions	3,8%	,0%	4,2%	,0%	18,2%	5,1%	2,8%	3,8%	7
	students, pupils, and their parents	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,6%	,0%	,5%	1

	other professional organizations and groups	,0%	5,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,5%	1
	consumer organizations and groups	3,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,5%	1
	migrant organizations and groups	,0%	,0%	4,2%	,0%	,0%	2,6%	,0%	1,1%	2
Subtotal		7,7% (N=2)	5,6% (N=1)	8,3% (N=2)	,0%	18,2% (N=2)	20,5% (N=8)	2,8% (N=1)	8,6%	16
general/unknown/unspecified	whole polities	3,8% (n=1)	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,8% (N=1)	1,1%	2
Total		100,0% (N=26)	100,0% (N=18)	100,0% (N=24)	100,0% (N=31)	100,0% (N=11)	100,0% (N=39)	100,0% (N=36)	100,0%	185

In monetary politics, the ranking of positively evaluated addressees in Dutch editorials on Europe includes the government and central banks (both 38,5%), employers' associations (7,7%), and farmers' associations, scientific and research institutes, and consumer associations (all 3,8%). In agriculture, such ranking includes the government, other state executive agencies, farmers, and professionals. In immigration, the list includes the government, politicians and other state executive agencies. In troops deployment the list includes the government and the legislative branch. In retirement and pension schemes the list includes the government, professionals, former states (won)men and employers. In education the list includes the government other state executive agencies, and educational professionals. In European integration the list includes the executive branch, the other two branches of government and politicians. Positive evaluation of the government as addressee is highest in agriculture (83,3%) and European integration (75%); intermediate in retirement and pension schemes (63,6%), troops deployment (61,3%), immigration (58,3%) and education (51,3%); and lowest in monetary politics (38,5%). Other interesting positive scores entail central banks (38,5%) in monetary policy and the legislative branch in troops deployment (22,6%).

Table 5.2a Scope of positively evaluated addressees per paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total per- centage	Total frequency
supranational: UN	2,0%	4,7%	,0%	,0%	1,6%	3
Other supranational	2,0%	,0%	3,0%	,0%	1,1%	2
EU	20,4%	11,6%	15,2%	15,0%	15,7%	29
Multilateral	4,1%	2,3%	3,0%	,0%	2,2%	4
Germany	6,1%	7,0%	9,1%	,0%	4,9%	9
Uk	2,0%	2,3%	,0%	,0%	1,1%	2
Netherlands	57,1%	60,5%	60,6%	81,7%	66,5%	123
other EU- members	2,0%	,0%	3,0%	1,7%	1,6%	3
USA	4,1%	9,3%	,0%	1,7%	3,8%	7
Middle East	,0%	2,3%	3,0%	,0%	1,1%	2
Rest of the world	,0%	,0%	3,0%	,0%	,5%	1
Total	100,0% (N=49)	100,0% (N=43)	100,0% (N=33)	100,0% (N=60)	100,0%	185

De Telegraaf is most positive with regard to domestic addressees (81,7%), while De Volkskrant is least positive (57,1%). However, De Volkskrant is most positive about European addressees (20,4%), while Het Algemeen Dagblad is least positive (11,6%). The performance difference between the left-wing quality papers and the tabloid again confirms general expectations.

Table 5.2b Scope of positively evaluated addressees per issue field

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total frequency
supranational: UN	,0%	,0%	4,2%	6,5%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,6%	3
other supranational	,0%	5,6%	,0%	3,2%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,1%	2
EU	50,0%	11,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	38,9%	15,7%	29
multilateral	11,5%	,0%	,0%	3,2%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,2%	4
Germany	,0%	11,1%	4,2%	,0%	9,1%	,0%	13,9%	4,9%	9
Uk	7,7%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,1%	2
Netherlands	23,1%	72,2%	83,3%	61,3%	90,9%	100,0%	44,4%	66,5%	123
other EU-members	7,7%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,8%	1,6%	3
USA	,0%	,0%	8,3%	16,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	3,8%	7
Middle East	,0%	,0%	,0%	6,5%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,1%	2
Rest of the world	,0%	,0%	,0%	3,2%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,5%	1
Total	100,0% (N=26)	100,0% (N=18)	100,0% (N=24)	100,0% (N=31)	100,0% (N=11)	100,0% (N=39)	100,0% (N=36)	100,0%	185

The domestic scope of positively evaluated addressees in Dutch editorials is highest in education (100%), retirement and pension schemes (90,9%), and immigration (83,3%). It is intermediate in agriculture (72,2%) and troops deployment (61,3%) and low in monetary politics (23,1%). The European scope (the second important category) is highest in monetary politics (50%) and European integration (38,9%), intermediate in agriculture (11,1%) and zero in all other fields. German and American addressees also matter. As in a number of other tables, the oldest fields of European integration, such as monetary politics, seem to engender more Europeanisation of communication than the younger fields, such as retirement and pension schemes and education – with intermediate outcomes in fields at an intermediate age (such as immigration and troops deployment), *except for agriculture. Agriculture seems subject to a modicum of renationalisation of political communication.*

6 Negatively evaluated addressees and opponents

Table 6.1a: Negatively evaluated addressees per paper

		De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarde r Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percenta ge	Total frequenc y
State and party actors	politicians	6,1%	2,9%	11,0%	5,7%	6,4%	21
	government/executive	74,4%	75,0%	69,9%	55,7%	67,5%	222
	legislative	1,2%	2,9%	4,1%	5,7%	3,6%	12
	police and internal security agencies	,0%	,0%	,0%	,9%	,3%	1
	Military	,0%	1,5%	,0%	,0%	,3%	1
	central banks	1,2%	1,5%	,0%	2,8%	1,5%	5
	social security executive organizations	,0%	,0%	,0%	,9%	,3%	1
	other state executive agencies	2,4%	4,4%	,0%	5,7%	3,3%	11
	Political parties	6,1%	4,4%	1,4%	2,8%	3,6%	12
subtotal		91,5% (N=75)	92,6% (N=63)	86,3% (N=63)	80,2% (N=85)	86,9%	286
Economic interest groups	unions and employees	2,4%	,0%	1,4%	2,8%	1,8%	6
	employers organizations and firms	1,2%	1,5%	2,7%	7,5%	3,6%	12
	farmers and agricultural organizations	1,2%	1,5%	2,7%	1,9%	1,8%	6
subtotal		4,9% (N=4)	2,9% (N=2)	6,8% (N=5)	12,3% (N=13)	7,3%	24
Other civil society actors	educational professionals and organizations'	2,4%	1,5%	2,7%	3,8%	2,7%	9

	other scientific and research professionals and institutions	1,2%	,0%	,0%	1,9%	,9%	3
	students, pupils, and their parents	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,9%	,6%	2
	other professional organizations and groups	,0%	1,5%	,0%	,0%	,3%	1
	consumer organizations and groups	,0%	,0%	1,4%	,0%	,3%	1
	environmental organizations and groups	,0%	,0%	1,4%	,0%	,3%	1
subtotal		3,7% (N=3)	2,9% (N=2)	5,5% (N=4)	7,5% (N=8)	5,2%	17
general/unknown/unspecified	whole polities	,0%	1,5% (N=1)	1,4% (N=1)	,0%	,6%	2
	Total	100,0% (N=82)	100,0% (N=68)	100,0% (N=73)	100,0% (N=106)	100,0%	329

Negative evaluation of addressees in Dutch editorials about Europe mainly concerns the government (67,5%). Other relatively high scores here involve politicians (6,4%), the total of economic interest groups (7,3%) and the total of civil society actors (5,2%). Het Algemeen Dagblad is much more critical about the European course of governments (75%) than De Telegraaf (55,7%), which is a surprising result.

Table 6.1b Negatively evaluated addressees per issue field

		Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total frequency
State and party actors	politicians	,0%	1,8%	14,5%	4,0%	,0%	5,3%	9,0%	6,4%	21
	government/executive	55,2%	78,2%	63,6%	72,0%	50,0%	54,7%	80,8%	67,5%	222
	legislative	,0%	,0%	1,8%	16,0%	,0%	4,0%	5,1%	3,6%	12
	police and internal security agencies	,0%	1,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,3%	1
	military	,0%	,0%	,0%	4,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,3%	1
	central banks	17,2%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,5%	5
	social security executive organizations	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	,0%	,3%	1

	other state executive agencies	3,4%	3,6%	5,5%	,0%	8,3%	5,3%	,0%	3,3%	11
	political parties	3,4%	,0%	7,3%	4,0%	,0%	4,0%	3,8%	3,6%	12
subtotal		79,3% (N=23)	85,5% (N=47)	92,7% (N=51)	100,0% (N=25)	58,3% (N=7)	74,7% (N=56)	98,7% (N=77)	86,9%	286
Economic interest groups	unions and employees	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	8,0%	,0%	1,8%	6
	employers organizations and firms	20,7%	,0%	3,6%	,0%	33,3%	,0%	,0%	3,6%	12
	farmers and agricultural organizations	,0%	10,9%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,8%	6
subtotal		20,7% (N=6)	10,9% (N=6)	3,6% (N=2)	,0%	33,3% (N=4)	8,0% (N=6)	,0%	7,3%	24
Other civil society actors	educational professionals and organizations'	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	12,0%	,0%	2,7%	9
	other scientific and research professionals and institutions	,0%	,0%	1,8%	,0%	8,3%	1,3%	,0%	,9%	3
	students, pupils, and their parents	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,7%	,0%	,6%	2
	other professional organizations and groups	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	,0%	,3%	1
	consumer organizations and groups	,0%	1,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,3%	1
	environmental organizations and groups	,0%	1,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,3%	1
subtotal		,0%	3,6% (N=2)	1,8% (N=1)	,0%	8,3% (N=1)	17,3% (N=13)	,0%	5,2% 17	17
general/unknown/unspecified	whole polities	,0%	,0%	1,8% (N=1)	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,3% (N=1)	,6%	2
Total		100,0% (N=29)	100,0% (N=55)	100,0% (N=55)	100,0% (N=25)	100,0% (N=12)	100,0% (N=75)	100,0% (N=78)	100,0%	329

In monetary politics the three leading addressees which elicit negative evaluations in Dutch editorials on Europe are the government (55,2%), employers' associations (20,7%) and central banks (17,2%). In agriculture, this particular ranking includes the government (78,2%), farmers' associations (10,9%) and other state executive agencies (3,6%). In immigration, the ranking involves the government (63,6%), politicians (14,5%) and political parties (7,3%). In troops deployment, the ranking involves the government (72%), the legislative branch (16%), and the politicians plus the military (both 4%). In retirement and pension schemes, the ranking involves the government (50%), other state executive

agencies and scientific and research institutions (both 8,3%). In education, the ranking involves the government (54,7%), educational professionals (12%) and unions (8%). Finally, the list of negatively evaluated addressees in European integration includes the government (80,8%), politicians (9%) and political parties (3,8%). Negative evaluation of addressed governments is highest in European integration and lowest in retirement and pension schemes.

Tabel 6.2a Scope of negatively evaluated addressees per paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total per- centage	Total frequency
supranational: UN	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,9%	,6%	2
other supranational	,0%	,0%	,0%	,9%	,3%	1
EU	24,4%	23,5%	21,9%	17,9%	21,6%	71
multilateral	,0%	1,5%	,0%	,0%	,3%	1
bilateral	,0%	2,9%	1,4%	,0%	,9%	3
Germany	,0%	2,9%	1,4%	,9%	1,2%	4
France	3,7%	2,9%	,0%	,9%	1,8%	6
Uk	1,2%	,0%	1,4%	,0%	,6%	2
Italy	,0%	4,4%	,0%	,0%	,9%	3
Spain	1,2%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,3%	1
Netherlands	61,0%	57,4%	71,2%	75,5%	67,2%	221
other EU- members	1,2%	2,9%	,0%	1,9%	1,5%	5
USA	4,9%	,0%	1,4%	,0%	1,5%	5
Middle East	,0%	,0%	1,4%	,0%	,3%	1
Rest of the world	2,4%	1,5%	,0%	,0%	,9%	3
Total	100,0% (N=82)	100,0% (N=68)	100,0% (N=73)	100,0% (N=106)	100,0%	329

Negative evaluation of addressees with a European scope is highest in De Volkskrant and lowest in De Telegraaf. Negative evaluation of addressees with a Dutch scope is highest in De Telegraaf and lowest in Het Algemeen Dagblad.

Table 6.2b Scope of negatively evaluated addressees per issue field

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total frequency
supranational: UN	,0%	,0%	3,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	2
other supranational	,0%	,0%	,0%	4,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,3%	1
EU	44,8%	25,5%	12,7%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	46,2%	21,6%	71
multilateral	3,4%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,3%	1
Bilateral	,0%	3,6%	,0%	4,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,9%	3
Germany	,0%	1,8%	1,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,6%	1,2%	4
France	3,4%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	6,4%	1,8%	6
Uk	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,6%	,6%	2
Italy	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	2,6%	,9%	3
Spain	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	,0%	,3%	1
Netherlands	48,3%	69,1%	78,2%	64,0%	100,0%	96,0%	33,3%	67,2%	221
other EU-members	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	6,4%	1,5%	5
USA	,0%	,0%	,0%	20,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,5%	5
Middle East	,0%	,0%	,0%	4,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,3%	1
Rest of the world	,0%	,0%	3,6%	4,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,9%	3
Total	100,0% (N=30)	100,0% (N=54)	100,0% (N=55)	100,0% (N=25)	100,0% (N=12)	100,0% (N=75)	100,0% (N=78)	100,0%	329

In European integration European addressees (46,2%), Dutch addressees (33,3%), French addressees and addressed smaller member states (both 6,4%) elicit most negative evaluations in Dutch editorials. In monetary politics there is a balance between Dutch and European addressees (48,3% and 44,8%), together with a small share of multilateral and French addressees. Agriculture and immigration elicit negative evaluations of Dutch and European addressees. In the other fields Dutch addressees are dominant. Generally, tables 5 and 6 do reveal that there is *no simple* pattern with respect to the over-all evaluation by newspapers and of policy fields.

7 Issues and aims per paper

Table 7.1 Policy field per paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
Monetary politics	8,7%	10,7%	8,3%	14,9%	11,0%	79
Agriculture	8,2%	13,3%	17,4%	11,8%	12,3%	88
Immigration	9,2%	18,7%	15,3%	15,4%	14,3%	103
Troops deployment	16,8%	12,7%	12,5%	10,5%	13,1%	94
Retirement and pension schemes	2,6%	4,0%	4,2%	8,3%	5,0%	36
Education	29,1%	14,7%	20,1%	24,1%	22,7%	163
European Integration	25,5%	26,0%	22,2%	14,9%	21,6%	155
Total	100,0% (N=196)	100,0% (N=150)	100,0% (N=144)	100,0% (N=228)	100,0%	718

The top three policy fields in Dutch editorials includes education (22,7%), European integration (21,6%) and immigration (14,3%). De Volkskrant attains the highest scores in troops deployment and education. Het Algemeen Dagblad attains the highest scores in immigration and European integration. De Leeuwarder Courant attains the highest score in agriculture, while De Telegraaf attains the highest scores in monetary politics and retirement and pension schemes. European integration is the least important field in a comparative sense in De Telegraaf (14,9%).

Table 7.2a Sub issues within policy fields per paper, monetary politics

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
Interest Rate Adjustments	5,9%	25,0%	8,3%	8,8%	11,4%	9
EMU Convergence criteria and stability pact	29,4%	31,3%	16,7%	8,8%	19,0%	15
EMS ERM	,0%	6,3%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	1
Exchange rate intervention	23,5%	6,3%	,0%	8,8%	10,1%	8
Independence Central Banks	5,9%	,0%	8,3%	2,9%	3,8%	3
Eurozone - outsiders insiders	5,9%	,0%	16,7%	,0%	3,8%	3
Common currency	23,5%	31,3%	50,0%	70,6%	49,4%	39
Other Specific	5,9%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	1
Total	100,0% (N=17)	100,0% (N=16)	100,0% (N=12)	100,0% (N=34)	100,0%	79

The top three of issues in monetary politics according to Dutch editorials are common currency (49,4%), EMU convergence and the stability pact (19%) and interest rate adjustment (11,4%). De Volkskrant pays relatively more attention than other newspapers do in a comparative sense (percentages) to exchange rate interventions than others. Likewise, Het Algemeen Dagblad is more focused on issues such as interest rate adjustment and EMU convergence; De Leeuwarder Courant on central bank independence and outsiders/insiders in the euro zone, and De Telegraaf on the common currency. Of course, the small numbers and the overweight of De Telegraaf have to be taken into account in tables 7.

Table7.2b Sub issues within policy fields per paper, agriculture

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
Reform of the system of subsidies	18,8%	10,0%	4,0%	3,7%	8,0%	7
subsidies and enlargement of the European Union	18,8%	,0%	8,0%	7,4%	6,9%	7
subsidies and international trade	6,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,1%	1
BSE	18,8%	20,0%	16,0%	18,5%	18,4%	16
Foot and Mouth Disease	37,5%	40,0%	60,0%	51,9%	49,4%	43
other diseases	,0%	30,0%	8,0%	11,1%	12,6%	11
quotas for livestock and dairy production	,0%	,0%	4,0%	3,7%	2,3%	2
Other Specific	,0%	,0%	,0%	3,7%	1,1%	1
Total	100,0% (N=16)	100,0% (N=20)	100,0% (N=25)	100,0% (N=27)	100,0%	88

The top three issues in agriculture according to Dutch editorials are Foot and Mouth Disease (49,4%), BSE (18,4%) and other diseases (12,6%). De Volkskrant pays relatively more attention to the issue of subsidy reform than other newspapers. Likewise, De Volkskrant is more focused on subsidies in the setting of Eastern enlargement; Het Algemeen Dagblad on BSE and other diseases; and De Leeuwarder Courant on Foot and Mouth Disease and quotas.

Table7.2c Sub issues within policy fields per paper, immigration

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
general Immigration politics	33,3%	32,1%	31,8%	17,1%	27,2%	28
institutional framework	22,2%	,0%	,0%	17,1%	9,7%	10
entry and border controls	5,6%	10,7%	22,7%	5,7%	10,7%	11
expulsions	5,6%	17,9%	4,5%	17,1%	12,6%	13
migration programs and quotas	22,2%	17,9%	22,7%	28,6%	23,3%	24
role of third parties in preventing migration	,0%	3,6%	,0%	,0%	1,0%	1
visa and consular policy	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,9%	1,0%	1
actions relating to smuggling	5,6%	17,9%	18,2%	11,4%	13,6%	14
other specific issues	5,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,0%	1
Total	100,0% (N=18)	100,0% (N=28)	100,0% (N=22)	100,0% (N=35)	100,0%	103

The top three issues in immigration according to Dutch editorials are general immigration politics (27,2%), migration programs and quotas (23,3%) and actions relating to smuggling (13,6%). De Volkskrant pays relatively more attention to general immigration policies, the institutional framework, and other specific issues. Likewise, Het Algemeen Dagblad is more focused on expulsions; De

Leeuwarder Courant on entry and border controls and actions relating to smuggling, and De Telegraaf on migration programmes and quotas.

Table 7.2d Sub issues within policy fields per paper, troops deployment

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
general reference to deployment of troops	3,0%	,0%	5,6%	,0%	2,1%	2
deployment for military aggression	12,1%	10,5%	16,7%	,0%	9,6%	9
deployment for invasion of foreign sovereign territory	3,0%	15,8%	,0%	8,3%	6,4%	6
deployment in covert aggressive operations	24,2%	15,8%	16,7%	4,2%	16,0%	15
deployment for peace keeping	45,5%	42,1%	55,6%	66,7%	52,1%	49
deployment to rescue civilians	12,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	4,3%	4
deployment in the context of military alliances	,0%	15,8%	5,6%	20,8%	9,6%	9
Total	100,0% (N=33)	100,0% (N=19)	100,0% (N=18)	100,0% (N=24)	100,0%	94

The top three issues in troops deployment according to Dutch editorials are peace keeping (52,1%), covert aggressive operations (16%) and military aggression and alliances (both 9,6%). De Volkskrant pays relatively more attention to deployment in covert aggressive operations and in rescuing civilians. Likewise, Het Algemeen Dagblad is more focused on invasion of foreign sovereign territory; De Leeuwarder Courant on general reference and military aggression, and De Telegraaf on peace keeping and alliances.

Table 7.2e Sub issues within policy fields per paper, retirement and pension schemes

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
general reference to pension schemes	,0%	,0%	,0%	5,3%	2,8%	1
demographic changes	40,0%	,0%	16,7%	31,6%	25,0%	9

retirement ages	20,0%	83,3%	33,3%	10,5%	27,8%	10
state versus private pension schemes	,0%	,0%	16,7%	,0%	2,8%	1
state pension scheme	,0%	,0%	33,3%	10,5%	11,1%	4
private pension scheme	40,0%	,0%	,0%	15,8%	13,9%	5
other specific	,0%	16,7%	,0%	26,3%	16,7%	6
Total	100,0% (N=5)	100,0% (N=6)	100,0% (N=6)	100,0% (N=19)	100,0%	36

The top three issues in retirement and pension schemes according to Dutch editorials are demographic change (25%0, retirement age (27,8%) and other specific issues (16,7%). De Volkskrant pays relatively more attention to demographic change and private pension schemes. Likewise, Het Algemeen Dagblad is more focused on retirement age and De Leeuwarder Courant on state pensions.

Table 7.2f Sub issues within policy fields per paper, education

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
general education politics	7,0%	4,5%	,0%	1,8%	3,7%	6
structural issues	12,3%	9,1%	13,8%	9,1%	11,0%	18
resource allocation and salaries	22,8%	22,7%	24,1%	20,0%	22,1%	36
private education	3,5%	,0%	10,3%	1,8%	3,7%	6
administrative power allocation	12,3%	,0%	10,3%	5,5%	8,0%	13
curriculum	7,0%	18,2%	31,0%	14,5%	15,3%	25
scholarships and fees	1,8%	,0%	,0%	9,1%	3,7%	6
problems at school	15,8%	13,6%	10,3%	12,7%	13,5%	22
other specific issues	17,5%	31,8%	,0%	25,5%	19,0%	31
total	100,0% (N=57)	100,0% (N=22)	100,0% (N=29)	100,0% (N=55)	100,0%	163

The top three issues in education according to Dutch editorials are resource allocation and salaries (22,1%), other specific issues (19%) and the curriculum (15,3%). De Volkskrant pays more relative more attention to general education politics, administrative power allocation and problems at school. Likewise, De Leeuwarder Courant is more focused on structural issues, resource allocation and salaries, private education and the curriculum (the role of the Frisian language comes to mind here), while De Telegraaf is more focused on scholarships.

Table 7.2g Sub issues within policy fields per paper, European integration

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
general European integration	10,0%	7,7%	6,3%	,0%	6,5%	10
shared values and Identity	8,0%	10,3%	6,3%	2,9%	7,1%	11
role of a specific country in the EU	18,0%	20,5%	31,3%	2,9%	18,1%	28
relationship between EU and national levels	12,0%	2,6%	15,6%	11,8%	10,3%	16
institutional structure	8,0%	,0%	3,1%	2,9%	3,9%	6
defining the EU core tasks	,0%	5,1%	,0%	2,9%	1,9%	3
relationship between EU institutions and public	6,0%	,0%	3,1%	8,8%	4,5%	7
enlargement	28,0%	28,2%	21,9%	29,4%	27,1%	42
budget	4,0%	5,1%	6,3%	11,8%	6,5%	10
other specific EU integration	2,0%	2,6%	,0%	14,7%	4,5%	7
associational agreements between the EU and non EU countries	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,9%	,6%	1
personnel issues	4,0%	17,9%	6,3%	8,8%	9,0%	14
Total	100,0% (N=50)	100,0% (N=39)	100,0% (N=32)	100,0% (N=34)	100,0%	155

The top three issues in European integration according to Dutch editorials are enlargement (27,1%), the role of small and large countries in the EU (18,1%) and the relation between national and European levels of policy-making (18,1). De Volkskrant pays relatively more attention to general European integration and institutional structure. Likewise,

Het Algemeen Dagblad is more focused on shared values and identity, the EU core tasks and personnel issues, while De Leeuwarder Courant is more focused on the role of small and large countries and the two levels of policy-making (a regionalist concern), and De Telegraaf is more focused on the relation between EU institutions and the public, enlargement, and the budget (a populist concern in the Dutch setting).

Table 7.3 Issue scope by paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
supranational: UN	7,7%	4,7%	6,9%	6,1%	6,4%	46
other supranational	2,6%	2,0%	1,4%	1,3%	1,8%	13
EU	41,8%	46,7%	45,1%	34,6%	41,2%	296
other European supranational	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,3%	2
multilateral	5,6%	7,3%	5,6%	6,1%	6,1%	44
Bilateral	3,1%	4,7%	4,9%	2,6%	3,6%	26
Germany	,0%	,0%	2,1%	,0%	,4%	3
Uk	,0%	,7%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
Spain	,0%	,7%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
Netherlands	37,2%	32,7%	34,0%	49,1%	39,4%	283
Turkey	,5%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
USA	,5%	,7%	,0%	,0%	,3%	2
Total	100,0% (N=196)	100,0% (N=150)	100,0% (N=144)	100,0% (N=228)	100,0%	718

The most frequent issue scope in Dutch editorials is European (41,2%), then domestic (39,4%) and then the United Nations (6,4%). This is one of the strongest indicators of Europeanisation of Dutch news coverage. De Volkskrant pays relatively more attention to issues with a UN scope than others in a comparative sense (percentages, here 7,7%). Likewise, Het Algemeen Dagblad is more focused on issues with a EU scope, while De Telegraaf is more focused on issues with a domestic scope.

Table 7.4 Issue scope per policy field

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total frequency
supranational: UN	,0%	,0%	1,9%	46,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	6,4%	46
other supranational	,0%	1,1%	,0%	11,7%	,0%	,0%	,6%	1,8%	13
EU	83,5%	52,3%	19,4%	1,1%	16,7%	1,8%	99,4%	41,2%	296
other European supranational	,0%	,0%	1,0%	1,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,3%	2
multilateral	3,8%	2,3%	4,9%	33,0%	,0%	1,8%	,0%	6,1%	44
Bilateral	,0%	2,3%	14,6%	6,4%	2,8%	1,2%	,0%	3,6%	26
Germany	,0%	1,1%	1,9%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,4%	3
Uk	,0%	1,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
Spain	,0%	,0%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
Netherlands	10,1%	39,8%	54,4%	,0%	80,6%	95,1%	,0%	39,4%	283
Turkey	1,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
USA	1,3%	,0%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,3%	2
Total	100,0% (N=79)	100,0% (N=88)	100,0% (N=103)	100,0% (N=94)	100,0% (N=36)	100,0% (N=163)	100,0% (N=155)	100,0%	718

Issues with a EU scope in Dutch editorials are dominant in the fields of European integration (99,4%) and monetary politics (83,5%), important in agriculture (52,3%), present in immigration (19,4%) and retirement and pension schemes (16,7%) and marginal in troops deployment and education. Issues with a domestic scope are dominant in education (95,1%) as well as retirement and pension schemes (80,6%), important in immigration (54,4%) and agriculture (39,8%), and marginal in troops deployment, monetary politics, and European integration (respectively 0%, 10,1% and 0%).

Table 7.5a: Issue scope per paper, separate for each policy field, monetary politics

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentag e	Total frequency
EU	82,4%	81,3%	100,0%	79,4%	83,5%	66
Multilateral	5,9%	12,5%	,0%	,0%	3,8%	3
Netherlands	,0%	6,3%	,0%	20,6%	10,1%	8
Turkey	5,9%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	1
USA	5,9%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	1
Total	100,0% (N=17)	100,0% (N=16)	100,0% (N=12)	100,0% (N=34)	100,0%	79

Issues with a European scope are dominant in the field of monetary politics (83,5%). In the regional Dutch newspaper these issues crowd out all other issues, a nice example of Europeanisation. The tabloid De Telegraaf is the only newspaper with a substantive share of issues with a domestic scope here (20,6%). De Telegraaf is most focused on Dutch issues in other fields as well (tables 7.5b-f). However, note the low volume of editorials here.

Table 7.5b: Issue scope per paper, separate for each policy field, agriculture

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percen- tage	Total frequency
other supranational	6,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,1%	1
EU	81,3%	60,0%	48,0%	33,3%	52,3%	46
multilateral	,0%	,0%	8,0%	,0%	2,3%	2
bilateral	,0%	,0%	4,0%	3,7%	2,3%	2
Germany	,0%	,0%	4,0%	,0%	1,1%	1
Uk	,0%	5,0%	,0%	,0%	1,1%	1
Netherlands	12,5%	35,0%	36,0%	63,0%	39,8%	35
Total	100,0% (N=16)	100,0% (N=20)	100,0% (N=25)	100,0% (N=27)	100,0%	88

Issues with a European scope and issues with a domestic scope dominate the field of agriculture in Dutch editorials (respectively 52,3% and 39,8%). All newspapers comment more on issues with a European scope than on issues with a Dutch scope (81,3% in the case of De Volkskrant!), except for De Telegraaf. Again, three examples of Europeanisation.

Table 7.5c: Issue scope per paper, separate for each policy field, immigration

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percen- tage	Total frequency
supranational: UN	,0%	3,6%	,0%	2,9%	1,9%	2
EU	22,2%	17,9%	31,8%	11,4%	19,4%	20
other European supranational	5,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,0%	1
multilateral	,0%	,0%	4,5%	11,4%	4,9%	5
bilateral	16,7%	17,9%	13,6%	11,4%	14,6%	15
Germany	,0%	,0%	9,1%	,0%	1,9%	2
Spain	,0%	3,6%	,0%	,0%	1,0%	1
Netherlands	55,6%	53,6%	40,9%	62,9%	54,4%	56
USA	,0%	3,6%	,0%	,0%	1,0%	1
Total	100,0% (N=18)	100,0% (N=28)	100,0% (N=22)	100,0% (N=35)	100,0%	103

Issues with a domestic scope are dominant in the field of immigration (54,4%), followed by issues with a EU scope (19,4%) and bilateral issues (14,6%). By and large all newspapers reveal this pattern.

Table 7.5d: Issue scope per paper, separate for each policy field, troops deployment

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
supranational: UN	45,5%	31,6%	55,6%	54,2%	46,8%	44
other supranational	12,1%	10,5%	11,1%	12,5%	11,7%	11
EU	3,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,1%	1
other European supranational	3,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,1%	1
multilateral	30,3%	47,4%	22,2%	33,3%	33,0%	31
bilateral	6,1%	5,3%	11,1%	,0%	6,4%	6
Total	100,0% (N=33)	100,0% (N=19)	100,0% (N=18)	100,0% (N=24)	100,0%	94

Issues with a United Nations scope as well as multilateral issues (46,8% and 33%) dominate Dutch editorials in the field of troops deployment. The EU scope is irrelevant here.

Table 7.5e: Issue scope per paper, separate for each policy field, retirement and pension schemes

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
EU	,0%	33,3%	16,7%	15,8%	16,7%	6
Bilateral	,0%	,0%	,0%	5,3%	2,8%	1
Netherlands	100,0%	66,7%	83,3%	78,9%	80,6%	29
Total	100,0% (N=5)	100,0% (N=6)	100,0% (N=6)	100,0% (N=19)	100,0% (N=36)	36

Issues with a domestic scope dominate the field of retirement and pension schemes (80,6%), followed by European issues (16,7%) and bilateral ones (2,8%). De Volkskrant is least Europeanised here; Het Algemeen Dagblad is most Europeanised. Yet the low volume of editorials should be taken into account here.

Table 7.5f: Issue scope per paper, separate for each policy field, education

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total frequency
EU	,0%	,0%	3,4%	3,6%	1,8%	3
multilateral	,0%	,0%	3,4%	3,6%	1,8%	3
bilateral	1,8%	,0%	3,4%	,0%	1,2%	2
Netherlands	98,2%	100,0%	89,7%	92,7%	95,1%	155
Total	100,0% (N=57)	100,0% (N=22)	100,0% (N=29)	100,0% (N=55)	100,0%	163

Issues with a domestic scope all but crowd out other issue scopes in the field of education as covered by Dutch editorials (95,1%).

Table 7.5g: Issue scope per paper, separate for each policy field, European Integration

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentag e	Total frequency
other supranational	,0%	2,6%	,0%	,0%	,6%	1
EU	100,0%	97,4%	100,0%	100,0%	99,4%	154
Total	100,0% (N=50)	100,0% (N=39)	100,0% (N=32)	100,0% (N=34)	100,0%	155

Issues with a European scope crowd out other issue scopes in the field of European integration as covered by Dutch editorials (99,4%).

8 Issues and aims per year

Table 8.1 Policy field by year

	2000	2001	2002	Total percentage	Total Frequency
Monetary politics	10,0%	9,6%	13,9%	11,0%	79
Agriculture	9,1%	21,5%	4,2%	12,3%	88
Immigration	9,1%	21,5%	4,6%	14,3%	103
Troops deployment	10,4%	17,2%	11,1%	13,1%	94
Retirement and pension schemes	5,4%	3,1%	6,9%	5,0%	36
Education	27,4%	19,2%	21,8%	22,7%	163
European Integration	22,8%	17,2%	25,5%	21,6%	155
Total	100,0% (N=241)	100,0% (N=261)	100,0% (N=216)	100,0% (N=718)	718

The top three policy fields in Dutch editorials are education (22,7%), European integration (21,6%) and immigration (14,3%). There are many sharp annual changes here, which may be related to changes in the real world.

Tables 8.2a Sub-issues within policy fields by year, monetary politics

	2000	2001	2002	Total percentag e	Total Frequency
Interest Rate Adjustments	16,7%	20,0%	,0%	11,4%	9
EMU Convergence criteria and stability pact	4,2%	4,0%	43,3%	19,0%	15
EMS ERM	4,2%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	1
Exchange rate intervention	29,2%	4,0%	,0%	10,1%	8
Independence Central Banks	8,3%	,0%	3,3%	3,8%	3
Eurozone - outsiders insiders	8,3%	4,0%	,0%	3,8%	3
Common currency	29,2%	64,0%	53,3%	49,4%	39
Other Specific	,0%	4,0%	,0%	1,3%	1
Total	100,0% (N=24)	100,0% (N=25)	100,0% (N=30)	100,0%	79

Dutch editorials about monetary politics focus on common currency (49,4%) and EMU convergence and stability pact (19%). 2002 has been special because of the sudden rise of issues concerning EMU convergence and the stability pact (43,3%).

Tables 8.2b Sub-issues within policy fields by year, agriculture

	2000	2001	2002	Total percentage	Total Frequency
reform of the system of subsidies	4,5%	8,9%	10,0%	8,0%	7
subsidies and enlargement of the European Union	,0%	,0%	70,0%	8,0%	7
subsidies and international trade	,0%	1,8%	,0%	1,1%	1
BSE	40,9%	10,7%	10,0%	18,2%	16
Foot and Mouth Disease	4,5%	73,2%	10,0%	48,9%	43
other diseases	40,9%	3,6%	,0%	12,5%	11
quotas for livestock and dairy production	9,1%	,0%	,0%	2,3%	2
other Specific	,0%	1,8%	,0%	1,1%	1
Total	100,0% (N=22)	100,0% (N=56)	100,0% (N=10)	100,0%	88

Dutch editorials on agriculture focus on the Foot and Mouth disease (48,9%) and BSE (18,2%). Again there are some sharp annual changes, such as the 2001 peak concerning Foot and Mouth (73,2%) and the 2002 peak concerning European enlargement subsidies (70%).

Tables 8.2c Sub-issues within policy fields by year, immigration

	2000	2001	2002	Total percentage	Total Frequency
general Immigration politics	19,4%	9,4%	51,4%	27,2%	28
institutional framework	8,3%	12,5%	8,6%	9,7%	10
entry and border controls	2,8%	6,3%	22,9%	10,7%	11
expulsions	16,7%	9,4%	11,4%	12,6%	13
migration programs and quotas	16,7%	53,1%	2,9%	23,3%	24
role of third parties in preventing migration	2,8%	,0%	,0%	1,0%	1
visa and consular policy	2,8%	,0%	,0%	1,0%	1
actions relating to smuggling	27,8%	9,4%	2,9%	13,6%	14
other specific issues	2,8%	,0%	,0%	1,0%	1
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	103

Dutch editorials on immigration focus on general immigration politics (27,2%), migration programs and quotas (23,3%) and actions relating to smuggling (13,6%). Again, there are many sharp annual changes, such as the migration programs and quotas peak in 2001.

Tables 8.2d Sub-issues within policy fields by year, troops deployment

	2000	2001	2002	Total percentage	Total Frequency
general reference to deployment of troops	4,0%	,0%	4,2%	2,1%	2
deployment for military aggression	4,0%	6,7%	20,8%	9,6%	9
deployment for invasion of foreign sovereign territory	,0%	2,2%	20,8%	6,4%	6
deployment in covert aggressive operations	,0%	31,1%	4,2%	16,0%	15
deployment for peace keeping	88,0%	40,0%	37,5%	52,1%	49
deployment to rescue civilians	4,0%	,0%	12,5%	4,3%	4
deployment in the context of military alliances	,0%	20,0%	,0%	9,6%	9
Total	100,0% (N=25)	100,0% (N=45)	100,0% (N=24)	100,0%	94

Dutch editorials on troops deployment focus on peace keeping (52,1%) and also on covert aggressive operations (16%). However, the main focus is steadily decreasing since 2000.

Tables 8.2e Sub-issues within policy fields by year, retirement and pension schemes

	2000	2001	2002	Total percentage	Total Frequency
general reference to pension schemes	,0%	,0%	6,7%	2,8%	1
demographic changes	38,5%	12,5%	20,0%	25,0%	9
retirement ages	30,8%	37,5%	20,0%	27,8%	10
state versus private pension schemes	,0%	,0%	6,7%	2,8%	1
state pension scheme	15,4%	25,0%	,0%	11,1%	4
private pension scheme	15,4%	,0%	20,0%	13,9%	5
other specific	,0%	25,0%	26,7%	16,7%	6
Total	100,0% (N=13)	100,0% (N=8)	100,0% (N=15)	100,0% (N=36)	36

Dutch editorials on retirement and pension schemes focus on retirement age (27,8%) and demographic change (25%). There are annual changes. The volume of editorials is low.

Tables 8.2f Sub-issues within policy fields by year, education

	2000	2001	2002	Total percentage	Total Frequency
General education politics	3,0%	4,0%	4,3%	3,7%	6
Structural issues	9,1%	14,0%	10,6%	11,0%	18

Resource allocation and salaries	30,3%	16,0%	17,0%	22,1%	36
Private education	1,5%	,0%	10,6%	3,7%	6
administrative power allocation	3,0%	10,0%	12,8%	8,0%	13
Curriculum	15,2%	18,0%	12,8%	15,3%	25
scholarships and fees	3,0%	4,0%	4,3%	3,7%	6
problems at school	22,7%	12,0%	2,1%	13,5%	22
other specific issues	12,1%	22,0%	25,5%	19,0%	31
Total	100,0% (N=66)	100,0% (N=50)	100,0% (N=47)	100,0%	163

Dutch editorials on education focus on resource allocation and salaries (22,1%) and other specific issues such as shortage of teachers or elementary schools (19%).

Tables 8.2g Sub- issues within policy fields by year, European Integration

	2000	2001	2002	Total percentage	Total Frequency
general European integration	9,1%	6,7%	3,6%	6,5%	10
shared values and Identity	16,4%	,0%	3,6%	7,1%	11
role of a specific country in the EU	16,4%	24,4%	14,5%	18,1%	28
relationship between EU and national levels	1,8%	15,6%	14,5%	10,3%	16
institutional structure	5,5%	4,4%	1,8%	3,9%	6
defining the EU core tasks	1,8%	,0%	3,6%	1,9%	3
relationship between EU institutions and public	9,1%	2,2%	1,8%	4,5%	7
enlargement	18,2%	17,8%	43,6%	27,1%	42
budget	,0%	20,0%	1,8%	6,5%	10
other specific EU integration	5,5%	2,2%	5,5%	4,5%	7
associational agreements between the EU and non EU countries	1,8%	,0%	,0%	,6%	1
personnel issues	14,5%	6,7%	5,5%	9,0%	14
Total	100,0% (N=55)	100,0% (N=45)	100,0% (N=55)	100,0%	155

Dutch editorials on European integration focus on enlargement (27,1%), certain member states (18,1%) and the relation between the national and European levels of policy-making (10,3%). There are some sharp annual changes here, such as an Eastern enlargement peak in 2002 (43,6%).

9 Main aspect commented upon

Table 9.1 Aspect commented upon per paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total Frequency
no (substantial issue is commented upon)	49,2%	52,4%	57,7%	58,2%	54,4%	376
yes (political dispute is commented upon)	50,8%	47,6%	42,3%	41,8%	45,6%	315
Total	100,0% (N=191)	100,0% (N=143)	100,0% (N=137)	100,0% (N=220)	100,0%	691

Most Dutch editorials does not comment on a substantial political issue in the setting of European society and politics (54,4%). Only in the case of De Volkskrant a majority of editorials concerns political disputes (50,8%).

Table 9.2 Aspect commented upon per issue field

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total Frequency
no (substantial issue is commented upon)	62,0%	64,4%	44,9%	48,4%	84,8%	63,3%	39,2%	54,4%	376
yes (political dispute is commented upon)	38,0%	35,6%	55,1%	51,6%	15,2%	36,7%	60,8%	45,6%	315
Total	100,0% (N=79)	100,0% (N=87)	100,0% (N=98)	100,0% (N=91)	100,0% (N=33)	100,0% (N=150)	100,0% (N=153)	100,0%	691

Dutch editorials do comment on political issues in the fields of European integration (60,8%, the highest score), immigration (55,1%, which is related to a new basic law on Dutch migration policy in 2000 and 2001) and troops deployment (51,6%, at the backdrop of the Srebrenica tragedy of 1995 which involved Dutch military). Political conflicts are more important than substantive issues in the field of European integration.

10 Object actors

Table 10.1a Presence of object actor per paper

presence of object actor	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total Frequency
no	5,1%	7,3%	8,3%	2,6%	5,4%	39
yes	94,9%	92,7%	91,7%	97,4%	94,6%	679
Total	100,0% (N=196)	100,0% (N=150)	100,0% (N=144)	100,0% (N=228)	100,0%	718

Nearly all editorials are explicit about the way in which claims in the setting of European society and politics affect actors, either positively or negatively (94,6%).

Table 10.1b Presence of object actor per policy field

presence of object actor	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total Frequency
No	5,1%	5,7%	3,9%	2,1%	2,8%	1,8%	12,9%	5,4%	39
yes	94,9%	94,3%	96,1%	97,9%	97,2%	98,2%	87,1%	94,6%	679
Total	100,0% (N=79)	100,0% (N=88)	100,0% (N=103)	100,0% (N=94)	100,0% (N=36)	100,0% (N=163)	100,0% (N=155)	100,0%	718

Dutch editorials are explicit about the impact of claims on certain actors in all fields, mostly so in education (98,2%), least so in European integration (87,1%).

Table 10.2a Object actor type per paper

		De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total Frequency
State and party actors	Politicians	,5%	,7%	,8%	,5%	,6%	4
	government/executive	4,8%	7,2%	6,1%	6,8%	6,2%	42
	legislative	,5%	,7%	,0%	,0%	,3%	2
	police and internal security agencies	,0%	,0%	,8%	,0%	,1%	1
	military	4,8%	2,9%	3,8%	5,4%	4,4%	30
	central banks	,5%	,0%	,8%	,5%	,4%	3
	political parties	1,1%	,7%	1,5%	,5%	,9%	6
subtotal		12,4% (N=23)	12,2% (N=17)	13,6% (N=18)	13,5% (N=30)	13,0%	88
Economic interest groups	unions and employees	,5%	,0%	,0%	3,2%	1,2%	8
	employers organisations and firms	,5%	1,4%	1,5%	2,3%	1,5%	10
	farmers and agricultural organisations	2,7%	5,8%	10,6%	8,6%	6,8%	46
subtotal		3,8% (N=7)	7,2% (N=10)	12,1% (N=16)	14,0% (N=31)	9,4%	64
Media and journalists	subtotal	,0%	,0%	,8% (N=1)	,0%	,1%	1
Other civil society actors	churches and religious organizations and groups	,0%	,0%	,8%	,0%	,1%	1
	educational professionals and organizations	14,5%	4,3%	8,3%	6,8%	8,7%	59
	other scientific and research professionals and institutions	1,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,3%	2
	students, pupils, and their parents	10,8%	7,9%	10,6%	14,4%	11,3%	77
	other professional organisations and groups	,0%	1,4%	,8%	,5%	,6%	4
	consumer organizations and groups	1,1%	1,4%	,8%	5,4%	2,5%	17
	migrant organisations and groups	9,7%	18,0%	10,6%	13,5%	12,8%	87
	organizations and groups of the elderly	2,2%	,7%	1,5%	3,2%	2,1%	14
	terrorist groups	,0%	,7%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1

	other civil society organisations and groups	,0%	,0%	,0%	,5%	,1%	1
subtotal		39,2% (N=73)	34,5% (N=48)	33,3% (N=44)	44,1% (N=98)	38,7%	263
	whole polities	36,0%	30,9%	23,5%	14,0%	25,3%	172
	whole economies	5,9%	7,2%	6,8%	8,1%	7,1%	48
	the general public	2,7%	7,9%	9,8%	6,3%	6,3%	43
subtotal		44,6% (N=83)	46,0% (N=64)	40,2% (N=53)	28,4% (N=63)	38,7%	263
Total		100,0% (N=186)	100,0% (N=139)	100,0% (N=132)	100,0% (N=222)	100,0% (N=679)	679

38,7% of all object actors (actors affected by claims in comments on Europe according to Dutch editorials) are civil society actors, such as students (11,3%), immigrants (12,8%) and educational professionals (8,7%). 13% of all object actors are state and party actors, such as the government (6,2%). 9,4% of all object actors are economic interest groups. Media and journalists are irrelevant here. De Telegraaf is a bit more focused on both economic interest groups (14%) and on civil society actors (44,1%). In the view of this journal news coverage should highlight the impact of abstract policies on the life of ordinary people in the real world. Whole polities are addressed in 25,3% of all editorials, whole economies in merely 7,1%, and the general public in merely 6,3%.

Table 10.2b Object actor type by policy field

		Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total Frequency
State and party actors	politicians	,0%	,0%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	1,5%	,6%	4
	government/executive	1,3%	4,8%	3,0%	14,1%	2,9%	1,3%	13,3%	6,2%	42
	legislative	,0%	,0%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,7%	,3%	2
	police and internal security agencies	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
	military	,0%	,0%	,0%	32,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	4,4%	30
	central banks	2,7%	,0%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,4%	3
	political parties	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,9%	,0%	3,7%	,9%	6
subtotal		4,8% (N=3)	4,8% (N=4)	6,1% (N=6)	47,8% (N=44)	5,7% (N=2)	1,9% (N=3)	19,3% (N=26)	13,0%	88
Economic interest groups	unions and employees	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	20,0%	,6%	,0%	1,2%	8
	employers organisations and firms	1,3%	2,4%	3,0%	,0%	5,7%	,6%	,7%	1,5%	10
	farmers and agricultural organisations	,0%	55,4%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	6,8%	46
	churches and religious organizations and groups	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	,0%	,1%	1
subtotal		1,3% (N=1)	57,8% (N=48)	3,0% (N=3)	,0%	25,7% (N=9)	1,3% (N=2)	,7% (N=1)	9,4%	64
Media and journalists	media and journalists	,0%	1,2% (N=1)	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
Other civil society actors	educational professionals and organizations	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	36,9%	,0%	8,7%	59

	other scientific and research professionals and institutions	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	,0%	,3%	2
	students, pupils, and their parents	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	48,1%	,0%	11,3%	77
	other professional organisations and groups	,0%	1,2%	1,0%	,0%	5,7%	,0%	,0%	,6%	4
	consumer organizations and groups	12,0%	7,2%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,5%	2,5%	17
	migrant organisations and groups	,0%	,0%	74,7%	,0%	,0%	8,1%	,0%	12,8%	87
	organizations and groups of the elderly	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	40,0%	,0%	,0%	2,1%	14
	terrorist groups	,0%	,0%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
	other civil society organisations and groups	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,9%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
subtotal		12,0% (N=9)	8,4% (N=7)	76,8% (N=76)	,0%	48,6% (N=17)	95,0% (N=152)	1,5% (N=2)	38,7%	263
general/unknown/unspecified	whole polities	22,7%	10,8%	11,1%	52,2%	2,9%	1,3%	62,2%	25,3%	172
	whole economies	49,3%	3,6%	1,0%	,0%	11,4%	,0%	2,2%	7,1%	48
	the general public	10,7%	13,3%	2,0%	,0%	5,7%	,6%	14,1%	6,3%	43
subtotal		82,7% (N=63)	27,7% (N=22)	14,1% (N=14)	52,2% (N=48)	20,0% (N=7)	1,9% (N=3)	78,5% (N=106)	38,7%	263
Total		100,0% (N=75)	100,0% (N=83)	100,0% (N=99)	100,0% (N=92)	100,0% (N=35)	100,0% (N=160)	100,0% (N=135)	100,0%	679

The most prominent object actors in separate fields are organized farmers in agriculture (55,4%), organized immigrants in Immigration (74,7%), the military in troops deployment (32,6%), the organized elderly in retirement and pension schemes (40%) students in education (48,1%), and the government (13,3%) in European integration. Whole polities are important object actors in European integration (62,2%) and troops deployment (52,2%). Perhaps these last figures indicate that European integration has not been internalised yet.

Table 10.2c Object actor type by year

		2000	2001	2002	Total percentage	Total Frequency
State and party actors	politicians	,4%	,4%	1,0%	,6%	4
	government/executive	8,1%	4,7%	5,8%	6,2%	42
	legislative	,4%	,4%	,0%	,3%	2
	police and internal security agencies	,0%	,4%	,0%	,1%	1
	military	7,2%	3,4%	2,4%	4,4%	30
	central banks	,4%	,0%	1,0%	,4%	3
	political parties	1,3%	,8%	,5%	,9%	6
Subtotal		17,9% (N=42)	10,2% (N=24)	10,6% (N=22)	13,0%	88
Economic interest groups	unions and employees	,4%	1,3%	1,9%	1,2%	8
	employers organisations and firms	1,3%	1,3%	1,9%	1,5%	10
	farmers and agricultural organisations	3,0%	14,4%	2,4%	6,8%	46
	Subtotal	4,7% (N=11)	16,9% (N=40)	6,3% (N=13)	9,4%	64
Media and journalists	media and journalists	,0%	,4% (N=1)	,0%	,1%	1
Other civil society actors	churches and religious organizations and groups	,0%	,0%	,5%	,1%	1
	educational professionals and organizations	9,4%	5,5%	11,5%	8,7%	59
	other scientific and research professionals and institutions	,4%	,4%	,0%	,3%	2
	students, pupils, and their parents	12,3%	14,0%	7,2%	11,3%	77
	other professional organisations and groups	,0%	,8%	1,0%	,6%	4
	consumer organizations and groups	1,7%	3,4%	2,4%	2,5%	17
	migrant organisations and groups	14,9%	12,7%	10,6%	12,8%	87
	organizations and groups of the elderly	1,7%	1,3%	3,4%	2,1%	14
	terrorist groups	,4%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
	other civil society organisations and groups	,4%	,0%	,0%	,1%	1
	Subtotal		41,3% (N=97)	38,1% (N=90)	36,5% (N=76)	38,7%
general/unknown/unspecified	whole polities	17,4%	25,8%	33,7%	25,3%	172
	whole economies	8,5%	5,9%	6,7%	7,1%	48
	the general public	10,2%	2,5%	6,3%	6,3%	43

subtotal		36,2% (N=85)	34,3% (N=81)	46,6% (N=97)	38,7%	263
Total		100,0% (N=235)	100,0% (N=236)	100,0% (N=208)	100,0%	679

There is a slight decrease of the share of state and party actors as object actors in Dutch editorials, from 17,9% in 2000 to 10,6%. The share of economic interest groups oscillates (with a peak of 16,9% in 2001). The share of civil society actors seems stable.

Table 10.3a Scopes of positively evaluated object actors by paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentag e	Total Frequency
supranational: UN	,9%	,0%	,0%	2,5%	1,1%	4
other supranational	1,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	2
EU	29,2%	33,3%	26,7%	23,7%	27,7%	99
multilateral	1,8%	10,6%	5,0%	2,5%	4,2%	15
bilateral	,0%	1,5%	1,7%	,0%	,6%	2
Germany	,0%	1,5%	1,7%	,8%	,8%	3
France	,9%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,3%	1
Uk	,9%	1,5%	1,7%	,0%	,8%	3
Netherlands	55,8%	31,8%	58,3%	67,8%	55,7%	199
other EU- members	3,5%	1,5%	,0%	,8%	1,7%	6
other european countries ex CIS	,9%	,0%	,0%	,8%	,6%	2
Turkey	,0%	1,5%	,0%	,0%	,3%	1
USA	,0%	3,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	2
Middle East	1,8%	6,1%	1,7%	,8%	2,2%	8
Rest of the world	2,7%	7,6%	3,3%	,0%	2,8%	10
Total	100,0% (N=113)	100,0% (N=66)	100,0% (N=60)	100,0% (N=118)	100,0%	357

The three most important “winners” (positively evaluated object actors of claims) in Dutch editorials in terms of scopes are actors with a domestic scope (55,7%), actors with a European scope (27,7%) and multilateral actors (4,2%). Het Algemeen Dagblad is relatively more focused on winners with a European scope (33,3%), while de Telegraaf is more focused on winners with a Dutch scope (67,8%).

Table 10.3b Scopes of positively evaluated object actors by issue fields

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total Frequency
supranational: UN	,0%	,0%	,0%	11,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,1%	4
other supranational	,0%	,0%	,0%	5,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	2
EU		26,3%	9,7%	,0%	7,1%	,0%	73,4%	27,7%	99
multilateral	2,1%	2,6%	41,9%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	4,2%	15
bilateral	,0%	5,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	2
Germany	,0%	2,6%	,0%	,0%	7,1%	,0%	1,3%	,8%	3
France	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	,3%	1
Uk	4,3%	2,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,8%	3
Netherlands	31,9%	60,5%	32,3%	41,7%	85,7%	100,0%	15,2%	55,7%	199
other EU-members	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,8%	,0%	,0%	6,3%	1,7%	6
other european countries ex CIS	,0%	,0%	,0%	5,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	2
Turkey	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	,3%	1
USA	4,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,6%	2
Middle East	,0%	,0%	,0%	22,2%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,2%	8
Rest of the world	,0%	,0%	16,1%	11,1%	,0%	,0%	1,3%	2,8%	10
Total	100,0% (N=47)	100,0% (N=38)	100,0% (N=31)	100,0% (N=36)	100,0% (N=14)	100,0% (N=112)	100,0% (N=79)	100,0%	357

Winners (positively addressed object actors of claims) in Dutch editorials are predominantly domestic in education (100%), retirement and pension schemes (85,7%), and agriculture (60,5%). Winners are predominantly actors with a European scope in European integration (73,4%).

Table 10.4a Scopes of negatively evaluated object actors by paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total Frequency
EU	28,0%	19,4%	16,7%	13,0%	18,2%	26
multilateral	16,0%	5,6%	8,3%	34,8%	17,5%	25
Germany	4,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,7%	1
France	4,0%	2,8%	,0%	,0%	1,4%	2
Uk	,0%	,0%	2,8%	,0%	,7%	1
Netherlands	28,0%	44,4%	58,3%	47,8%	46,2%	66
other EU- members	8,0%	8,3%	,0%	,0%	3,5%	5
other european countries ex CIS	,0%	2,8%	,0%	,0%	,7%	1
Middle East	12,0%	16,7%	13,9%	4,3%	11,2%	16
Total	100,0% (N=25)	100,0% (N=36)	100,0% (N=36)	100,0% (N=46)	100,0%	143

Negatively evaluated object actors of claims in a European setting in Dutch editorials (“losers”) are mostly domestic (46,2%), followed by actors with a European scope (18,2%) and multilateral actors (17,5%). De Volkskrant is relatively more focused on losers with a European scope (28%), while De Leeuwarder Courant is more focused on Dutch losers (58,3%).

Table 10.4b Scopes of negatively evaluated object actors by issue fields

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total Frequency
EU	46,2%	22,7%	5,6%	,0%	16,7%	,0%	46,2%	18,2%	26
multilateral	7,7%	4,5%	63,9%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	17,5%	25
Germany	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	3,8%	,7%	1
France	,0%	,0%	2,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	3,8%	1,4%	2
Uk	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	3,8%	,7%	1
Netherlands	46,2%	72,7%	25,0%	23,8%	83,3%	100,0%	23,1%	46,2%	66
other EU-members	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	19,2%	3,5%	5
other european countries ex CIS	,0%	,0%	,0%	4,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,7%	1
Middle East	,0%	,0%	2,8%	71,4%	,0%	,0%	,0%	11,2%	16
Total	100,0% (N=13)	100,0% (N=22)	100,0% (N=36)	100,0% (N=21)	100,0% (N=6)	100,0% (N=19)	100,0%	100,0%	143

The domestic scope of losers is predominant in education (100%), retirement and pension schemes (85,7%), and agriculture (60,5%). The European scope of losers in Dutch editorials is predominant in European integration (73,4%).

11 Frames

NOTE: only for cases in the field of European integration or with European issue scope.

Table 11.1a Presence of frame by paper

presence of frame	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total Frequency
No	22,4%	36,0%	38,8%	32,9%	32,0%	98
yes	77,6%	64,0%	61,2%	67,1%	68,0%	208
Total	100,0% (N=85)	100,0% (N=75)	100,0% (N=67)	100,0% (N=79)	100,0%	306

Most Dutch editorials contain frames of European integration (68%). De Volkskrant comes first here (77,6%), De Leeuwarder Courant comes last (61,2%).

Table 11.1b Presence of frame by issue field

presence of frame	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total Frequency
No	35,7%	32,6%	76,2%	,0%	16,7%	,0%	25,9%	32,0%	98
yes	64,3%	67,4%	23,8%	100,0%	83,3%	100,0%	74,1%	68,0%	208
Total	100,0% (N=70)	100,0% (N=46)	100,0% (N=21)	100,0% (N=2)	100,0% (N=6)	100,0% (N=3)	100,0% (N=158)	100,0%	306

The frequency of frames is most striking in troops deployment (100%), education (100%), retirement and pension schemes (83,3%) and European integration (74,1%). The absence of frames is striking in the field of immigration (76,2%).

Note: the following tables only for cases with a frame

Table 11.2a Frame type by paper

	De Volkskrant	Het Algemeen Dagblad	Leeuwarder Courant	De Telegraaf	Total percentage	Total Frequency
identity, normative and value frames	18,2%	20,8%	31,7%	18,9%	21,6%	45
constitutional and governance frames	28,8%	31,3%	26,8%	24,5%	27,9%	58
economic frames	22,7%	22,9%	29,3%	39,6%	28,4%	59
other instrumental frames	6,1%	10,4%	4,9%	13,2%	8,7%	18
historical frames	9,1%	6,3%	2,4%	,0%	4,8%	10
frames internal to the integration process	15,2%	8,3%	4,9%	3,8%	8,7%	18
Total	100,0% (N=66)	100,0% (N=48)	100,0% (N=41)	100,0% (N=53)	100,0%	208

Economic frames are most frequent in Dutch editorials in a European setting of society and politics (28,4%), followed by constitutional and administrative frames (27,9%) and identity and ethical frames (21,6%). De Volkskrant is most focused on constitutional and administrative frames (28,8%). De Leeuwarder Courant is most focused on identity and ethical frames (31,7%), Het Algemeen Dagblad is most focused on constitutional and administrative frames (31,3%), De Telegraaf is most focused on economic frames (39,6%). Historical frames are least important in Dutch editorials (4,8%). Both internal and instrumental frames are more important than historical ones (both 8,7%).

Table 11.2b Frame type by policy field

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troops deployment	Retirement and pension schemes	Education	European Integration	Total percentage	Total Frequency
identity, normative and value frames	15,6%	9,7%	20,0%	,0%	,0%	33,3%	28,2%	21,6%	45
constitutional and governance frames	13,3%	16,1%	80,0%	,0%	,0%	66,7%	35,0%	27,9%	58
economic frames	60,0%	58,1%	,0%	,0%	80,0%	,0%	8,5%	28,4%	59
other instrumental frames	2,2%	12,9%	,0%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	9,4%	8,7%	18
historical frames	6,7%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	6,0%	4,8%	10
frames internal to the integration process	2,2%	3,2%	,0%	,0%	20,0%	,0%	12,8%	8,7%	18
Total	100,0% (N=45)	100,0% (N=31)	100,0% (N=5)	100,0% (N=2)	100,0% (N=5)	100,0% (N=3)	100,0% (N=117)	100,0%	208

The identity and ethical frame is important in education (33.3%) and European integration (28,2%) as topics of Dutch editorials. Constitutional and administrative frames are important in immigration (80%) and European integration as well (35%), Economic frames are important in monetary politics (60%) and agriculture 9558,1%), yet unimportant in European integration (8,5%). Other instrumental frames are unimportant, except for troops deployment (100%!). Frames internal to the integration process constitute 20% of all editorials on retirement and pension schemes, and 12,8% of all editorials on European integration.

Table 11.2c Frame type by year

	2000	2001	2002	Total percentage	Total Frequency
identity, normative and value frames	23,7%	21,2%	20,0%	21,6%	45
constitutional and governance frames	28,9%	28,8%	26,3%	27,9%	58
economic frames	19,7%	32,7%	33,8%	28,4%	59
other instrumental frames	7,9%	9,6%	8,8%	8,7%	18
historical frames	2,6%	5,8%	6,3%	4,8%	10
frames internal to the integration process	17,1%	1,9%	5,0%	8,7%	18
Total	100,0% (N=76)	100,0% (N=52)	100,0% (N=80)	100,0%	208

Frames related to identity, values and norms are decreasing since 2000; frames related to constitutional and administrative issues are also decreasing. Economic frames increase from 19,7% in 2000 to 33,8% in 2002. Other instrumental frames increase as well.

Table 11.3 Twenty-five most often mentioned frames

	Frequency	Percent
democracy	16	7,7
efficiency	12	5,8
economic stability	9	4,3
inflation	9	4,3
prices	9	4,3
institutional reforms before enlargement	8	3,8
costs	7	3,4
national identity	6	2,9
racism	6	2,9
collectivism	5	2,4
unity	5	2,4
credibility	5	2,4
political stability	5	2,4
economic growth	5	2,4
national exports	5	2,4
general spill-over arguments	5	2,4
community of values	4	1,9

equality among countries	4	1,9
rule of law	4	1,9
sovereignty	4	1,9
public sphere	4	1,9
bureaucracy	4	1,9
Relation with USA	4	1,9
other	4	1,9
enlargement before institutional reforms	4	1,9

The number one item in Dutch editorials is democracy (7,7%), which is part of the constitutional frame. Number two is efficiency (6,8%), which is part of the administrative frame. Numbers three, four and five are economic stability, inflation and prices (all 4,3%), which are part of the economic frame.

Table 11.4a What the EU should not be/lead to: ten most often mentioned frames

	Frequency	Percent
Inflation	5	19,2
national exports	3	11,5
costs	3	11,5
prices	3	11,5
racism	2	7,7
free trade	2	7,7
other	2	7,7
national identity	1	3,8
corruption	1	3,8
national economy	1	3,8
wastefulness	1	3,8
Cold War	1	3,8
division of Germany	1	3,8
Total	26	100,0

The number one normative counterview of the European Union in Dutch editorials is the EU as source of inflation (19,2%), an item in the economic frame. The next three items (loss of national export, rising costs, rising relative prices) (all 11,5%) belong to the economic frame as well. The number five item is a mixed one, including free trade and racism, two elements of identity frames and values and norms frames 7,7%). The aversion against a European bloc of free trade is low (2 cases), yet remarkable in the Dutch tradition of free trade.

Table 11.4b What the EU is not be/does not lead to: ten most often mentioned frames

	Frequency	Percent
Racism	4	10,3
Democracy	4	10,3
Efficiency	4	10,3
national identity	2	5,1
Collectivism	2	5,1
Unity	2	5,1
Sovereignty	2	5,1
Cosmopolitanism	1	2,6
Nationalism	1	2,6
Liberalism	1	2,6

The three most important empirical counterviews of the European Union in Dutch editorials are racism, lack of democracy and inefficiency (all 10,3%, all items in constitutional and administrative frames).

Table 11.4c What the EU is/leads to: ten most often mentioned frames

	Frequency	Percent
Democracy	4	8,3
bureaucracy	4	8,3
political stability	4	8,3
Prices	4	8,3
community of values	3	6,3
economic stability	3	6,3
Costs	3	6,3
Unity	2	4,2
rule of law	2	4,2
Inflation	2	4,2
general spill-over arguments	2	4,2

The four most important empirical views of the future of the European Union in Dutch editorials concern the existence or growth of democracy, bureaucracy, political stability and prices (all 8,3%). Two of these items are part of constitutional and administrative frames, two others are economic and instrumental.

Table 11.4d What the EU should be/should lead to: ten most often mentioned frames

	Frequency	Percent
Democracy	7	11,1
Efficiency	7	11,1
Credibility	5	7,9
public sphere	4	6,3

economic growth	4	6,3
economic stability	4	6,3
institutional reforms before enlargement	4	6,3
national identity	2	3,2
Collectivism	2	3,2
equality among countries	2	3,2

The two most important normative views on the future of the European Union in Dutch editorials concern democracy and efficiency (both 11,1%, both part of constitutional and administrative frames). Generally, Dutch editorials are idealist *and* optimistic about the disappearance of the EU' s democratic deficit.