

The chaos of large-scale projects - How Dutch news media present the debate about the future development of Twente Airport between 2007 and 2010

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19-09-2019

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Abstract

Making of informed decisions by stakeholders for or against large projects requires an effective information transition. News media are one of the common channels in which information transition takes place. The transparency, quality, and characteristics of the information are essential for the stakeholders to create their own opinion on the subject.

This paper analyzes frames, arguments, and the related stakeholders in the debate on the area development plans of Airport Twente in the Netherlands in the period of four years (2007-2010). Based on the results of the media analysis on 270 Dutch newspaper articles it is advised to improve and motivate citizen participation in public affairs. For this purpose, information needs to be transparent and easily accessible for the stakeholders. Furthermore, it is advised to focus on cocreation between different interest groups to reduce criticism and enable

Introduction

Every person has to make decisions daily. In the case of large-scale projects, these decisions can lead to far-reaching consequences, both positive and negative. Examples of negative consequences in large-scale decisions are development plans for regions such as the German airport BER in Berlin or the central train station Stuttgart 21. Before any plan is implemented, development plans need to be accepted by the involved stakeholders as well as the final decision-makers. Collier, Bates, Wood, and Linkov (2014) emphasize the importance of informed decision making, which might prevent negative consequences. In debates concerning large scale projects, many stakeholders are involved who represent many different interests. A debate like that influences the concluding decisions. The decisions are also based on the exchange of information during the debate. This exchange can be in the form of discussions and arguments between stakeholders. Debates thereby have a function to give all stakeholders and decision-makers a collective understanding of the issue and the involved interests regarding this issue.

News media have an essential role in the information transition between the stakeholders involved, and especially for the general public, as they can facilitate and influence the debate. From the agenda-setting theory, it is known that the public agenda can be influenced by news media. Specifically, the way information is presented can influence how it is understood. The influencing of the public is thereby done with the help of framing, which is making specific arguments more salient and more appealing to the receiver of the information (Entman, 1993). Therefore, the framing of information employed by news media has an impact on the stakeholders and their understanding of the debate. Casadevall (2016) adds that in this regard stakeholders want to be adequately addressed and engaged. The importance of the stakeholder engagement through media is to inform the public of the complete situation. The use of framing entails the risk of not presenting the whole information but only a selective of the information, which might not represent the stakeholder interests adequately.

The aim of this study is to understand which kind of arguments and frames were mainly used in presenting the stakeholders' interests, regarding the area development in the case of Twente Airport in the period 2007 until end 2010. This research is supposed to help understand how news media coverage can help the process of information transition between stakeholders with the goal to enable informed decision making. As a result, this research is advising on how the information transition can be further improved with the help of news media. This research will look to answer the following question:

Which frames and arguments are used by news media to present the interests and opinions of stakeholders regarding the area development plans of Twente Airport in the Netherlands from 2007 to 2010?

To gain a better understanding of the information presented by news media in this debate, a media analysis will be conducted to analyze the frames and arguments which were presented concerning the stakeholder interests. In the following the case of Twente Airport will be introduced followed by the theoretical frameworks and the analysis.

Case Description Twente Airport

One of many examples of debates for large-scale projects is the area development in the region of Twente in the Netherlands. The region of Twente made development plans for 2020 in which the region should be developed into a leading international knowledge region. "Twente Airport" was a crucial part of this plan (Rijksoverheid, 2009). The former military airbase is located in the north of Enschede in the region of Twente in the Netherlands. This airport was founded in 1931 and further expanded during world war 2 (Lamberts, n.d.). In 2003 it was decided that the military airbase in Twente was to be closed; this happened end 2007 and begin 2008.

In March 2007, the municipality Enschede and region Overijssel started to design area development plans for the former military airbase (Lamberts, n.d.). Two area development plans had been designed end of 2008. While plan A included the total restructuring of the area into nature and agriculture reservoirs without an airport, plan B aimed for the transformation of the former military airport into a civil airport (Vliegwielen Twente Maatschappij, 2009). In plan A the northern part of the area was supposed to focus on tourism, including elements such as a park, whereas in plan B the airport facilities and leisure facilities were planned. The southern part was envisioned in both plans A and plan B to include thematically living and commercial leisure facilities.

Both plans had been presented to the general public and other regions for debate begin 2009. In 2010 the decision for plan B, the area development with a compact civil airport was made (Lamberts, n.d.). The debate and decision created much unrest in Enschede and neighboring regions which led to conflicts on regional, national, and international levels.

For the analysis of news media coverage of the debate of a large-scale project the clear definition of the phase between the beginning of the planning in 2007 until the decision in 2010 for the case of Twente Airport has been chosen as the time period of interest. This allows to analyze a debate from beginning to a clear defined end. More debates regarding the airport development started after the decision in 2010, but as the first decision was made in 2010 this is assumed as the end of the first large debate on the development plans for Twente Airport.

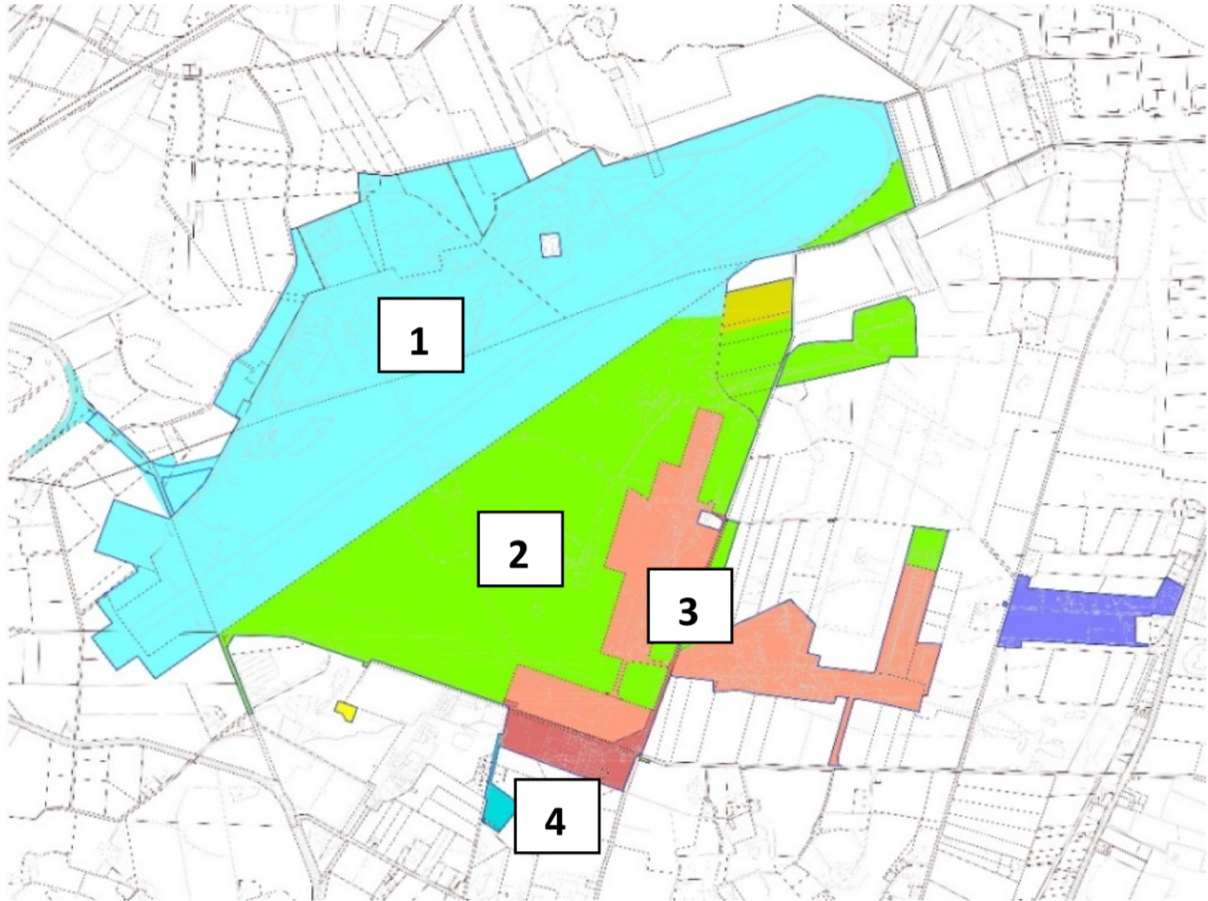


Figure1: Map of the former military airbase Twente (Enschede, 2016)

1. Technology Base Twente
2. Nature Netwerk Nederland
3. Leisure Park
4. Deventerpoort

Theoretical Framework

News Media

For a debate, such as the debate about the area development plans on Airport Twente analyzed in this paper, the informational purpose of news media can be said to be most important. Journalism as a part of news media can be seen as a periodic communication mode which belongs to mass communication (De Melo & de Assis, 2016). Newspapers are thereby used for informational, educational, cultural, and entertainment purposes (Errami, 2016). For an efficient and effective communication in a debate on any project, it is necessary to understand the influence news media, specifically newspapers, have on the general public, and how this can influence the debate in general as well as the final decisions.

"The media's agenda is the pattern of news coverage for the major issues of the day." (McCombs & Guo, 2016; pp. 251-252) In agenda-setting theory, it is explained that the news coverage is focusing on specific key issues (McCombs & Guo, 2016). It focuses the attention of the public on certain topics, emphasizing specific events while neglecting others (McCombs & Guo, 2016). Means used to highlight elements and events are the frames and arguments presented regarding the topic in relation to the stakeholder whose interests are presented with those. These will be discussed in the following sections.

As news media are used for information transition, the effects of Agenda setting have influence in public debates. McCombs and Guo (2016) found in their research that agenda setting has three levels of effects, which "demonstrate a key social role of news media in citizen participation in public affairs" (p. 265). Firstly, news media focus the public attention on specific "major" issues and topics, thereby influencing how the public consider and perceive the issue. Secondly, it presents the public with knowledge, by highlighting or adding attributes regarding these particular topics. Thirdly, the news media influence the "integrated picture" the public creates of the topic. In other words, by employing different ways of presenting and highlighting information, the public knowledge and opinion on a particular topic can be influenced. This on the other hand might influence the debate and decision that is made.

For direct differentiation between news articles, the different genres or text types can be used to determine the information contained within the articles. Specific genres are better used to present certain topics or events than others (Errami, 2016). The orientations of the journalistic genres are either seeking truth or reporting facts (Errami, 2016). This influences the nature of the message, as well as the choice of words in an article (Errami, 2016). Errami divides the genres into four kinds of purposes, for which the news articles are created. Genres to report events, genres to explain events, genres to comment on events, and interactive genres. These genres can be understood as an indicator for the depth of the information of a news media article. The depth of information ranges thereby from pure reporting (one directional communication), in which the news media only inform the recipient of the information, to real interaction (two-directional communication), in which the news media creates a sort of interactive ground also for the recipient, as for example in forms of surveys or a letter of editor.

Table 1

News article genres used in the codebook

Genres	Description/Examples
Genres to report events	Articles purely reporting events and situations with no further or in-depth explanation on the background of the events
Genres to explain events	Articles including descriptions of the background of events and situations
Genres to comment on events	Articles which discuss the topic going further than just reporting by adding opinions
Interactive genres	Articles which engage the public by for example including interviews or letters from readers

For this research it is assumed due to agenda-setting theory that news media present situations and events. Therefore, they transmit information to which increases the knowledge on the situation or event. Furthermore, the news media also influence the opinions of the general public towards the development plans. This together has influence on the citizen participation in public affairs. Erami's four genre types (Table 1) are suitable to gain an indication for the depth of information as well as the degree to which the public is engaged in the information transition and will therefore be implemented in the media analysis of this research.

Framing

Media shift the attention of the public towards selected information and influence their knowledge and opinions. This can be done by framing. Framing is about how an issue is presented to others (Vliegenthart, 2012). Generally, framing is done by every social entity (Vliegenthart, 2012). The use of framing is thereby either intentional or not. Of primary interest in this research are the intentional choices media make to present events, as this deliberate framing in media directs the public opinion on topics and its resulting debate and can itself be influenced.

Different definitions can be found about frames and framing. Goffman (1974, as cited in Snow, Worden, & Benford, 1986) defines frames as "schemata of interpretation" (p. 21). Snow and his colleagues (1986) add to this that frames organize the events and experiences to make better sense of them. One frequently cited definition is from Entman (1993), in which framing is "... to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and or treatment recommendation" (p. 52). Making the information more salient to promote it, is the crucial aspect of framing in Entman's definition. Griffin, Ledbetter, and Sparks, (2015) emphasize as well the aspect of making issues more salient and further state that specific attributes will be added to objects of interest, utilizing the methods of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration. The working definition for frames regarding this project is based on the frameworks above:

Frames are schemata for the interpretation of a particular event, process, or object of interest. These are constructed of statements, which make this particular event, process, or object of interest more salient, by the promotion of selected elements of the content.

Framing has an impact on the attitudes and behavior of recipients (Vliegenthart, 2012). Hamilton (2016) adds to this that the norms, values, and beliefs of recipients can be influenced through the use of frames. The influence of framing on the recipient is moderated by the personal characteristics of the recipients (Schuck & de Vreese, 2006). Knowledge is one example, as more knowledge on the presented topic allows for a more critical view of the information.

Of importance to the process of framing is the theme, as well as the time and space in which the information is presented (Zeng, Zhou, & Li, 2015). Themes define the subject or issue of the presented information. Common themes named by Semetko and Valkenburg (2006) are the issues of responsibility, ongoing conflicts, economic consequences, human interests, and morality. The time and space explain the context of the presented information. Chyi and McCombs (2004) state in this regard that time explains the when, and space answers the questions where, who, what, and why something is the case.

A general distinction by Goffman (1974) is that frames can be natural or societal. Natural frames are non-intentional as the frame is created due to 'natural' or 'physical' occurrences and not attributed to social causes. The emphasize lies on the non-intentional as every communication process includes framing based on individual comprehensions, and knowledge towards a topic, and each different situation influences the way of presentation and

understanding in another way. As an example, the emotional state of mind of the presenter or recipient of information can make considerable differences in how information is presented or understood even though it is not deliberately indented in any way. In contrast, societal frames are presenting events in a certain way due to socially driven interests. Drivers are, for example, the goals and interests an individual or party wants to achieve by sharing certain information. This deliberate framing is, for example, used a lot in marketing activities towards customers or the process of convincing stakeholders of specific ideas and interests, which is essential in debates.

Gregorio, Price, Saunders, and Brockhaus (2012) name four aspects of issues that a frame can have. Frames can be diagnostic, prognostic, symptomatic, or motivational. A frame is diagnostic when it identifies a situation, problem or issue, and its causes (Di Gregorio et al., 2012). Frames which propose solutions to a problem, or discuss strategies for those problems are defined as prognostic (Di Gregorio et al., 2012). A frame is symptomatic when it identifies why an issue is a problem, discussing the consequences of these problems (Di Gregorio et al., 2012). Lastly, motivational frames focus on motivational and moral reasons for the concern on the problem (Di Gregorio et al., 2012).

Another general differentiation is between issue-specific and generic frames (De Vreese, 2005). Generic frames are linked to the nature and content of a frame (De Vreese, 2005). They can be applied irrespective of the topic or context (Vliegenthart, 2012), as they are transcending thematic limitations, in some cases, even time and cultural context (De Vreese, 2005). Iyengar (1991 as cited in Vliegenthart, 2012) and Semetko and Valkenburg 2000) name respectively thematic and episodic news frames, and responsibility, human interest, conflict, morality, and economic consequences as common generic frames.

The wide variety of different issue-specific frames makes a systematic comparison of those difficult (Vliegenthart, 2012). The focus on frames concerning a particular theme in a debate leads to the definition of issue-specific frames (De Vreese, 2005; Semetko, & Valkenburg, 2006). The airport metropolis model (see figure 2), which had been developed on experience from the management of Australian airports by Stevens, Baker, and Freestone (2010), shows four major domains of interest regarding airports. These four domains are the infrastructure, governance, land use, and economic development and can be seen as the major concerns in the debate about airport Twente as these are the domains that directly impact the development of Twente Airport and are directly impacted by the development of Twente Airport. Therefore, the issue-specific frames will be partly based on these four domains for this research.

Di Gregorio, Price, Saunders, and Brockhaus (2012) described in their guide for media analysis seven issue-specific frames directed towards deforestation. This issue is concerned with environmental development which shows parallels with other regional development projects as deforestation and urbanization are often closely related. Furthermore, concerns for nature are held by a strong lobby which is active in large scale projects as well. The frames used by Di Gregorio et al. (2012) are ecology, economics and markets, politics and policymaking, civil society, governance context, science, and culture. Most of the topics these frames address fit as well into the Airport Metropolis Model of Stevens and his colleagues. Di Gregorio et al. (2012) defined these frames as follows: First, ecology describes statements on ecological or 'green' issues, i.e., nature conservation, air pollution (emissions). Second,

economics and markets describe statements on economic issues and their impact on society, i.e., industry, commerce, markets. Third, politics and policymaking describe statements about government activities and other political actors (parties), both international and national, as well as about oppositions, civil services, political organizations or local authorities. Fourth, civil society describes statements on civil law and rights, as well as public opinions and reports. Fifth, the governance context describes statements on general governance conditions such as corruption or law enforcement. Sixth, science describes statements on scientific discoveries or research and studies. Seventh, culture describes statements on lifestyles, individual or community living practices i.e., consumption patterns.

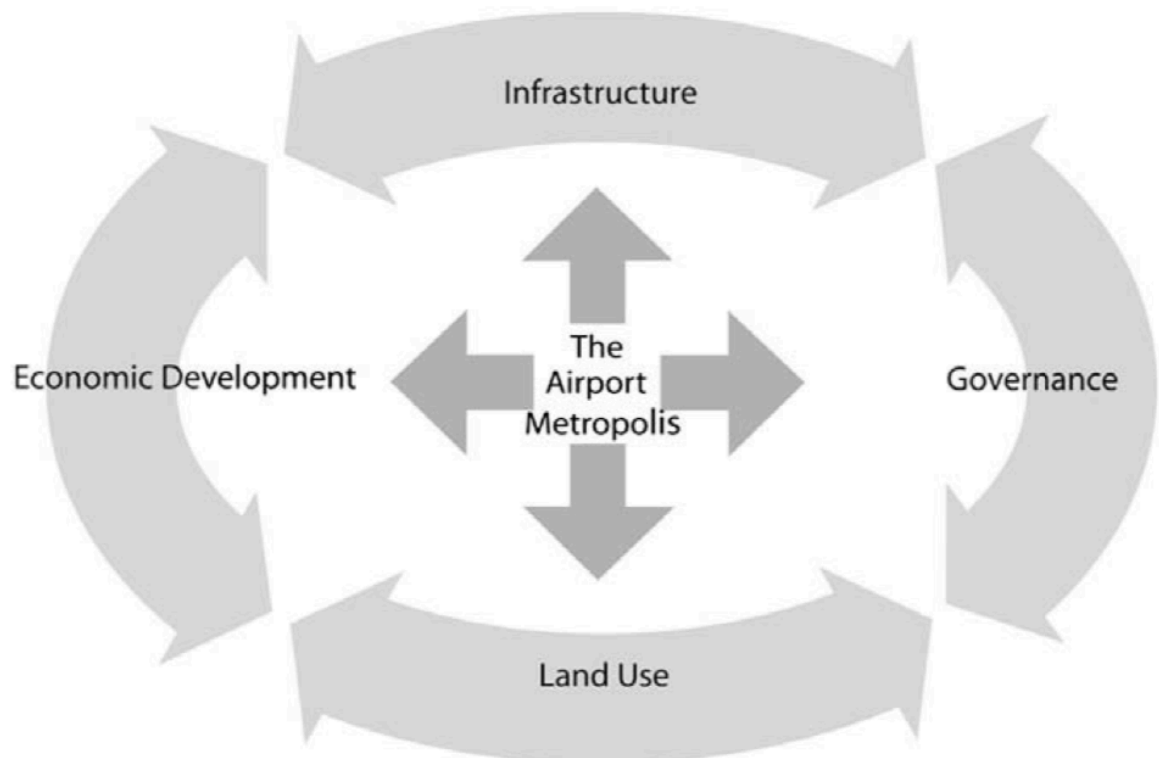


Figure 2: The Airport Metropolis Model (Stevens et al., 2010)

Table 2
Frames used in the codebook

Ecology
Economics and markets
Politics and policymaking
Civil society
Governance context
Science
Culture

For this research, it is assumed that the frames used by the media are chosen deliberately, which implies the intentional influencing of the recipient by selective information presentation. Therefore, the frames can be attributed to societal causes.

Because of the fit between the four major domains of the airport metropolis model and the seven frames used by Di Gregorio and his colleagues (Table 2), these frames are suitable for the analysis on the news media coverage of the case Twente Airport. These frames can give thereby an indication on what the main topic of information presented in the news media articles is. As these frames are quite generic they also make the comparisons with other similar studies possible. For the analysis the definitions of these frames have been further specified for this research to make them more issue-specific (see Appendix A).

Arguments

Debates are constructed from different parties that argue for their interests. These interests are presented in the form of arguments. An argument can be defined as a claim which is supported by one or more reasons on a specific issue (Rapanta, & Macagno, 2016). The nature of arguments can be analyzed through its structure. Toulmin's structure of components for arguments is at the basis of other argumentation theories (Hitchcock & Verhij, 2005). Following Toulmin's theory (1958 as cited in Hitchcock & Verhij, 2005), arguments consist of facts or data, warrants, backings, rebuttals, and claims. Salder and Fowler (2006) describe a claim as one or more statements. For this research, claims are defined as statements that declare that something is the case or that an action should be done based on supportive statements and facts. Facts or data are the basis for claims. Warrants have a bridging function, connecting facts and data with claims (Salder & Fowler, 2006). In the case that warrants are questioned a backing can support the warrant (Salder & Fowler, 2006). Backings are, similar to facts, giving the background for warrants and claims. Rebuttal statements, as opposed to the claim, warrant, or backing, can also be seen as counterarguments (Salder & Fowler, 2006). This implies that arguments are not only used to support specific claims but can also be used to attack other claims (Toulmin 1958 in Hitchcock & Verhij, 2005).

The framework for arguments used by de Vries, Lund, and Baker (2002) is comparable to Toulmin's model. Arguments in this framework are divided into thesis, attack, defense, concession, compromise, and outcome. The thesis is equal to Toulmin's claim and is the subject of the debate. A rebuttal or the attack is a counterclaim consisting of statements that are against a particular claim. The defense can be compared to warrants and backings, as it is supposed to support the claim. In addition to these similarities of Toulmin's framework, de Vries, et al. (2002) added to their framework, the components concession, compromise, and outcome. The concession describes statements that admit to a claim. A compromise is when an idea is proposed, which combines conflicting claims. Lastly, the outcome represents a decision.

Evas (2007) used four types of distinctions to analyze claims in her research. In this framework, claims (that include counterclaims or rebuttals) are divided into definitive, designative, evaluative, and advocative statements as proposed by Brockriede and Ehninger (1960 as cited in Peters, 2012). Peters (2012) used in her research, additionally the framework of Verschuren and Doorewaard (1999 as cited in Peters, 2012), which adds "explanatory claims" and "predictive claims" as two additional types. Definitive statements define characteristics of actions, conditions, entities, or concepts (Kumar & Pallathucheril, 2004; Peters, 2012). Designative statements declare if something exists (Kumar & Pallathucheril, 2004; Peters, 2012). Evaluative statements judge actions, conditions, entities, or concepts and give it some value (Kumar, & Pallathucheril, 2004; Peters, 2012). The advocative statements give directions for the next course of action (Kumar & Pallathucheril, 2004; Peters, 2012). Explanatory statements elaborate on why something is the case (Peters, 2012). Lastly, predictive statements picture how something will develop (Peters, 2012).

Arguments can be justified and strengthened with the use of topoi. These are used in the different components of arguments such as claims or conclusions and warrants. A widely used definition topoi is from Kienpointer (as cited in Žagar, 2010; p. 194) and describes topoi as "...content-related warrants or 'conclusion rules' which connect the argument or arguments

with the conclusion, the claim. As such, they justify the transition from the argument or arguments to the conclusion". Kwon et al. (2014) used in their framework the topoi of authority, burden, reality, threat, and urgency. Topoi can, therefore, be used to analyze the structure of claims and warrants more in-depth. First, claims and warrants which are legitimized due to burdens, challenges or problems are defined as topos of burdening. Second, the topos of reality includes statements which are based on real situations. Third, the use of numbers or statistics as a means for legitimation is defined as topos of numbers. Fourth, statements from authorities or based on authorities are defined as topos of authority. Fifth, when dangers or threats are used to legitimize a statement, it is defined as topos of threat. Sixth, when statements are legitimized due to the need for quick actions, it is defined as topos of urgency.

Table 3
Topoi used in the codebook

Topos of burdening
Topos of reality
Topos of numbers
Topos of authority
Topos of threat
Topos of urgency

For this study, the framework of topoi is most interesting as it gives an idea about the characteristics of the arguments, which describe the type of words used in the argument as well as emotional connotations of these words. The other frameworks are more general as they categorize arguments in more generic components that only explain the different elements an argument consists of, but do not analyze the content of the argument. Therefore, it has been decided to use the framework of topoi (Table 3) for the analysis of the arguments.

Stakeholders

Many different interests are discussed and coordinated in great projects such as the development of the Airport Twente. These interests are represented and come from Stakeholders. A stakeholder is following Freeman's (1984, p. 278 as cited in Olander, 2007) definition "any group or individual who can affect, or is affected by the achievement of a corporation's purpose." Clarkson (1995) as well as Midley (Midley as cited in Gasparski, 2009), emphasize that a stakeholder is someone who either benefits or is harmed by a particular situation, and second, someone who can influence the perspective of other stakeholders. Therefore, a stakeholder is someone who is, or ought to be, involved in any way by a particular situation (Midley as cited in Gasparski, 2009). Furthermore, stakeholders who have similar interests or share characteristics can be classified to be part of a specific stakeholder group (Clarkson, 1995).

The interests of stakeholders as well as the involved stakeholders can change throughout the debate, as during a debate stakeholder might be convinced by other stakeholders, issues might be solved, or awareness is raised of other related issues (Mitchell, Agle, & Wood, 1997). This explains that the importance of stakeholders for a specific cause can change in the different stages of debate. A way to analyze this is given with the power interest matrix and the stakeholder salience model. The outcome of a debate is therefore closely related to the stakeholders of an issue. Wijnen, Walker, and Kwakkel, (2008) name public campaigns, lobbying, or appealing to court as methods that stakeholders can use to exert their influence on an issue.

Stakeholders can be differentiated in internal and external stakeholders (Cuppen, Bosch-Rekvelde, Pikaar, & Mehos, 2016), or other terms as primary and secondary stakeholders (Clarkson, 1995). A primary stakeholder is essential for the survival of any organization. Stakeholders which count as primary stakeholder are typically shareholders, investors, employees, customers, suppliers, and public stakeholders such as the government communities and institutions. A secondary stakeholder, on the other hand, influences or is influenced by the organization but is not essential for the organization's survival. Secondary stakeholders include interest groups that can influence the opinion of the general public in any way, for example, by the use of media. Another method to differentiate stakeholders is by classifying which stakeholders as internal or external for an organization. In the case of an airport, internal stakeholders are those who are directly involved in the functioning of the airport, such as the airport operator's including managers, and employees (Wijnen, Walker, & Kwakkel, 2008). Extern stakeholders are groups that have a stake in the airport and its development, conflicting goals with the development or any objective concerning it (Wijnen, Walker, & Kwakkel, 2008).

As stakeholder involvement received more attention over the last decades, research has been conducted on stakeholder engagement in grand scale construction projects, and airport construction and management in specific. The airport metropolis interface model from Stevens et al. (2010; see figure 1) can also be used to define where stakeholders regarding airports can be found. The domains, as described previously, include infrastructure, governance, land use, and economic development. This economic development is of importance for the region of Twente general and in specific the workforce, organizations, and industry. On the other hand,

this change in land use also has 'negative' implications for the residents and the environment in the vicinity of the airport. This can i.e., be due to noise, which is limiting the residential use of the area (Stevens et al., 2010), and the impact an airport has for nature due to air pollution. In the case of the region Twente, which has a strong stand in agriculture, air pollution has a huge impact. The impact an airport has on the infrastructure of a region has implications on the social, technical, and political levels (Stevens et al., 2010). Lastly, the government is essential in all operations of the airport, as it is involved in all decision-making processes as with airport operators and administrative authorities (Stevens et al., 2010). An essential issue arising from an airport for the government is the conflict between potential land-use changes and its impact on society and nature with the economic possibilities (Stevens et al., 2010).

Many studies have been conducted to analyze stakeholder engagement in construction projects as well as on the management of airports (see table 4 and 5). The following tables show a summary of the stakeholders which have been found in six different case studies about stakeholder groups of construction projects and airport management, which may be of interest to the debate about Airport Twente. The generalization of stakeholder groups regarding airports and construction projects as shown in the first column in table 4, 5a, and 5b are based on the findings in other researches and therefore used as the list of codes for the media analysis (see Appendix A for the stakeholder and their definitions in the code book).

Table 4

Internal Stakeholders

Internal Stakeholder for Airports used in the codebook	Stakeholder for Airport projects (Mohd Isa, Hamid, & Leong, 2016)	Stakeholder for Airports (Offerman, 2001)	Stakeholder for Construction projects (Olander, 2007)	Airport Stakeholder (Shaar & Sherry, 2010)	Stakeholder for Airport management (Wijnen, Walker, & Kwakkel, 2008)
Employees	Airport Employees	-	-	Airport Employees	-
Owner/Management	Board of Directors	Airport Authority	-	Airport Owners/ shareholders	CEO
Airport operators	Internal departments and subsidiaries	Airport Operators	-	Airport Organization	Airport operator
Financial community	Major Shareholders	-	-	-	Airport operator
	Minority Shareholders	-	-	-	-

Table 5

External Stakeholders

Stakeholder for Airports used in the codebook	Stakeholder for Airport projects (Mohd Isa, Hamid, & Leong, 2016)	Stakeholder for Airports (Offerman, 2001)	Stakeholder for Construction projects (Olander, 2007)	Airport Stakeholder (Shaar & Sherry, 2010)	Stakeholder for Airport management (Wijnen, Walker, & Kwakkel, 2008)
Suppliers	Concessionaires (Retail, Hotel)/ Fuel Suppliers, Ground Handlers/ Car Park, Bus & Taxi Operator	Air traffic service provider	-	Organization/ Suppliers/Vendors/ Concessionaires/Airport Service providers/ Public Transport & Car Park Operator	Airport navigation service providers (ANSP)
Airlines	Airlines	Airlines	-	Airlines	Airlines
General public	Communities	General public	Residents in the vicinity	Local Communities	Community
Passengers	Passengers	-	-	Passengers	Passengers
Competitors	-	-	-	-	-

Table 5

External Stakeholders

Stakeholder for Airports used in the codebook	Stakeholder for Airport projects (Mohd Isa, Hamid, & Leong, 2016)	Stakeholder for Airports (Offerman, 2001)	Stakeholder for Construction projects (Olander, 2007)	Airport Stakeholder (Shaar & Sherry, 2010)	Stakeholder for Airport management (Wijnen, Walker, & Kwakkel, 2008)
Government	Local Council and Authorities Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Home Affairs, Department of Civil Aviation	Regulatory Authorities -	National government The Municipality/ Country Administrative Board/ Board of Housing	Local Government Federal Government	Aviation authorities -
Politicians and political groups	-	-	Politicians in the municipality	-	Politicians
Interest groups	-	Interest groups for the preservation of the historical city image/ interest groups for senior citizens	NGOs	-	-
Media	-	-	Media	-	-

In this research it is of interest to link frames and arguments with the stakeholders who were involved in the debate of development plans on Twente Airport. Therefore, research on large scale construction-sides, as well as projects on airports are suitable examples to find relevant stakeholders which have influenced the debate (Table 4, 5a, and 5b). The first column in the tables shows generic terms for the different stakeholders named in the articles, to enable better comparison with other studies.

Methodology

Research design

This research analyzed the debate about the plans of Twente Airport. Therefore, a media analysis was conducted on existing news media footage of this case. In this media analysis, the frequencies and co-occurrences of the codes were analyzed and are shown in the results section.

Corpus

Creation of the search query:

The Corpus for the media analysis consists of articles which are related to the debate about the area development of Twente Airport. A first view on the Dutch news media articles regarding Twente Airport was conducted in Lexis Nexis with the search query "Airport Twente" OR "Twente Airport" OR "vliegveld Twente" OR "Twente vliegveld" for the period 2007 until end 2010. A total of 583 articles were found with the setting that doubled documents are grouped. Since many articles seemed to be irrelevant, this output was used to create a more specific search query. To find more relevant articles, a random sample of 50 relevant articles of the 583 had been selected, and the most frequent relevant words (see table 6) were found with Atlas.ti to create the new search query. Articles were said to be relevant if they were concerned with the debate on Twente Airport. The most frequent words were filtered on the premise that they were used frequently, are relevant for the case or can be linked with other already selected words in the context of the debate on Twente Airport. They should further cover names such as Twente Airport or the regions which are involved as well as topics of concern.

Table 6:
Frequently used words in 50 relevant articles

Word	Count
Twente	25,2% (n=273)
Luchthaven	21,0% (n=228)
Vliegveld	14,2% (n=154)
Enschede	11,2% (n=121)
Airports	6,4% (n=69)
Overijssel	5,3% (n=57)
Airport	4,1% (n=44)
Provincie	3,6% (n=39)
Gemeente	3,4% (n=37)
Economie	2,3% (n=25)
Vliegbasis	2,1% (n=23)
Natuur	1,4% (n=15)
Total	100% (n=1085)

Search query and filter:

For the final corpus, the search query was made based on the frequently used words in table 6. Lexis Nexis further offers the use of filters. It was aimed for a corpus of 200 to 300 articles, without further sampling. The search query created was (luchthaven OR vliegveld OR vliegbasis OR airport OR airports) AND (Enschede OR Overijssel OR Twente) AND (provincie OR gemeente). Additionally, to the search query the articles were filtered for only newspapers (selecting only de Twentsche Courant Tubantia, Trouw, de Volkskrant, de Telegraaf, and Nederlands Dagblad). This search query and filter (Table 7), resulted in 300 articles, which fulfills the required number of articles without further sampling. The criteria for the filter on the newspapers was, to cover the media footage of the region in which the debate took place (Twentsche Courant Tubantia), as well as the media footage of the debate on the national level (Trouw, de Volkskrant, de Telegraaf, and Nederlands Dagblad). Since in proportion many more articles have been found regarding Twente Airport in the regional newspaper, than for each national newspaper these several national newspapers have been chosen together to give a more complete image of the media footage on the national level. These newspapers have been chosen in specific as they are well known in the Netherlands and together amounted to the exact 300 articles for the corpus.

Table 7

Corpus resulting from different search query and filter

Search Query	Period	Filter	Number of articles
(luchthaven OR vliegveld OR vliegbasis OR airport OR airports) AND (Enschede OR Overijssel OR Twente) AND (provincie OR gemeente)	1.1.2007-31.12.2010	Only Newspaper (de Twentsche Courant Tubantia; Trouw; de Volkskrant; de Telegraaf; Nederlands Dagblad)	300

Note: Double documents have been grouped

Analysis of the Corpus

The relevance of the articles regarding the topic of the area development of Twente Airport can be seen in table 8. From 300 articles, the analysis of the relevance of these articles for the debate showed, that 174 articles of the sample were directly related to the topic of the area development of airport Twente. Ninety-six articles were indirectly related, either focusing mainly on other topics with only a brief section regarding the airport Twente or focusing on elements that are related to the *area* of the airport Twente. A total of 30 articles were found to be irrelevant and were therefore excluded from further analysis leaving a corpus of 270 relevant articles. This analysis further showed that the sample included only seven relevant articles from 2007 and 13 from 2008. In 2009 and 2010, respectively, 127 and 123 relevant articles could be found. This suggests that the debate on the area development plans started in 2009 when the plans were presented and that only a few information exchanges regarding the area development plans happened during the phase in which these plans were created.

Table 8
Number of relevant articles per year

Year of publication	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total
Directly related articles	1,7% (n=5)	2,0% (n=6)	29,3% (n=88)	25,0% (n=75)	58,0% (n=174)
Indirectly related articles	0,7% (n=2)	2,3% (n=7)	13,0% (n=39)	16,0% (n=48)	32,0% (n=96)
Irrelevant articles	1,0% (n=3)	0,3% (n=1)	5,7% (n=17)	3,0% (n=9)	10,0% (n=30)
Total Corpus	3,3% (n=10)	4,7% (n=14)	48,0% (n=144)	44,0% (n=132)	100% (n=300)
Corpus used in the final Analysis	2,6% (n=7)	4,8% (n=13)	47,0% (n=127)	45,6% (n=123)	100% (n=270)

The corpus analyzed in this research is skewed towards the years of 2009 and 2010 as the most publications of newspaper articles found, were in these years, with 47,0 and 45,6 percent respectively (Table 8). This is a trend which can also be seen when looked at the total amount of news media articles in this period as from a total of 5.998 news media articles found by using the same search query, 797 newspaper articles have been found between 01.01.2007 and 31.12.2010. For the year 2007, a total of 78 (9,8%) articles have been found, similar a total of 89 (11,1%) newspaper articles have been found for the year 2008. In contrast, 2009 a total of 317 (39,8%), and for 2010 a total of 313 (39,3%) newspaper articles have been found.

Coding and coding procedure

The codebook consisted of general aspects and case-specific aspects (Table 9). General aspects included the year and month of publication, the name of the newspaper, the news genre, disposition of the content, the sentiment of the frames, sentiment of the whole article, and relevance of the article. The specific aspects included frames, topoi, and stakeholder which were the main elements of interest for this research.

For the validity of the coding, an intercoder reliability test was conducted, which resulted in substantial agreement on all codes which were used (see Table 9). The intercoder reliability was based on ten percent (n=30) of the original corpus (n=300).

During the coding procedure, few codes were added to the codes of the frameworks as they helped to further specify the findings. These included the topos of possibility and the topos of emotions under topoi, as well as unions, stakeholder in favor of the airport, stakeholder against the airport, and stakeholder in for nature.

The general codes have been generally applied on the whole text in general while the sentiment per frame was used per frame. The specific codes were all applied per frame. In indirectly related articles only the relevant frames have been analyzed.

Procedure for Analysis and findings

The program intern tools of Atlas.ti have been used to create tables of code frequencies, and code co-occurrences presented in the results of this research. A general analysis of the corpus and relevant articles has been made, followed by the analysis of the issue specific codes about frames, topoi, and stakeholder. The issue-specific codes have further been analyzed in co-occurrence correlation with other general codes.

Table 9
Overview Codes in the Codebook

General codes	Specific codes
Year of publication	Frames (Cohens Kappa = 0.748)
2007	Ecology
2008	Economics and markets
2009	Politics and policymaking
2010	Civil society
Month of publication	Governance context
January	Science
...	Culture
December	Topoi (Cohens Kappa = 0.685)
Newspaper	Topos of burdening
De Twentsche Courant Tubantia	Topos of reality
Trouw	Topos of numbers
De Volkskrant	Topos of authority
De Telegraaf	Topos of threat
Nederlands Dagblad	Topos of urgency
Sentiment per frame (Cohens Kappa = 0.809)	Topos of possibility
Positive	Topos of emotions
Negative	Stakeholder (Cohens Kappa = 0.686)
Ambiguous	Employees
Neutral	Owner
Sentiment per article (Cohens Kappa = 0.812)	Management
Positive	Airport operators
Negative	Financial community
Ambiguous	Suppliers
Neutral	Airlines
Disposition (Cohens Kappa = 0.725)	General public
In favor of the airport	Passengers
Against the airport	Competitors
In favor and against the airport	Government
In favor of nature preservation	Politicians and political groups
Other area uses	Interest groups
Relevance (Cohens Kappa = 0.656)	Union
Article directly related	Media
Article indirectly related	Stakeholder in favor of the airport
Article not related	Stakeholder against the airport
Genre (Cohens Kappa = 0.691)	Stakeholder for nature
Genre to report events	
Genres to explain events	
Genres to comment on events	
Interactive genres	

Results

Publications of newspaper articles about Twente Airport

In total, 270 relevant articles about the debate of the area development of Twente Airport have been found over the four years (Table 8). In 2007 and 2008, the period in which the two area development plans were created, there was little news activity compared to the years 2009 and 2010. The number of newspaper articles were respectively 7 (2,6%) in 2007, 13 (4,8%) news articles in 2008, 127 (47,0%) news articles in 2009, and 123 (45,6%) news articles in 2010.

The number of articles published per month (Table 10 and Figure 3) show that the newspaper publications in 2007 and 2008 were equally distributed over the years. In 2009 the most articles were published in the second half of the year with the highest number of publications in December 2009 with 39 articles (14,4%), while in 2010 the highest number of articles were published in the first half of the year with the highest number of 17 articles in February and June 2010.

Table 10
Number of articles per month

	January	February	March	April	May	June
2007	0,4% (n=1)	0,0% (n=0)	0,4% (n=1)	0,0% (n=0)	0,0% (n=0)	0,0% (n=0)
2008	0,0% (n=0)	0,0% (n=0)	0,0% (n=0)	0,4% (n=1)	0,0% (n=0)	0,0% (n=0)
2009	2,6% (n=7)	2,6% (n=7)	1,1% (n=3)	0,7% (n=2)	0,4% (n=1)	1,5% (n=4)
2010	5,6% (n=15)	6,3% (n=17)	5,2% (n=14)	3,7% (n=10)	2,6% (n=7)	6,3% (n=17)
	July	August	September	October	November	December
2007	0,0% (n=0)	0,0% (n=0)	0,7% (n=2)	0,0% (n=0)	0,4% (n=1)	0,7% (n=2)
2008	0,4% (n=1)	0,4% (n=1)	0,0% (n=0)	0,0% (n=0)	1,9% (n=5)	1,9% (n=5)
2009	3,3% (n=9)	4,1% (n=11)	5,2% (n=14)	4,1% (n=11)	7,0% (n=19)	14,4% (n=39)
2010	1,1% (n=3)	1,1% (n=3)	2,6% (n=7)	2,6% (n=7)	3,7% (n=10)	4,8% (n=13)

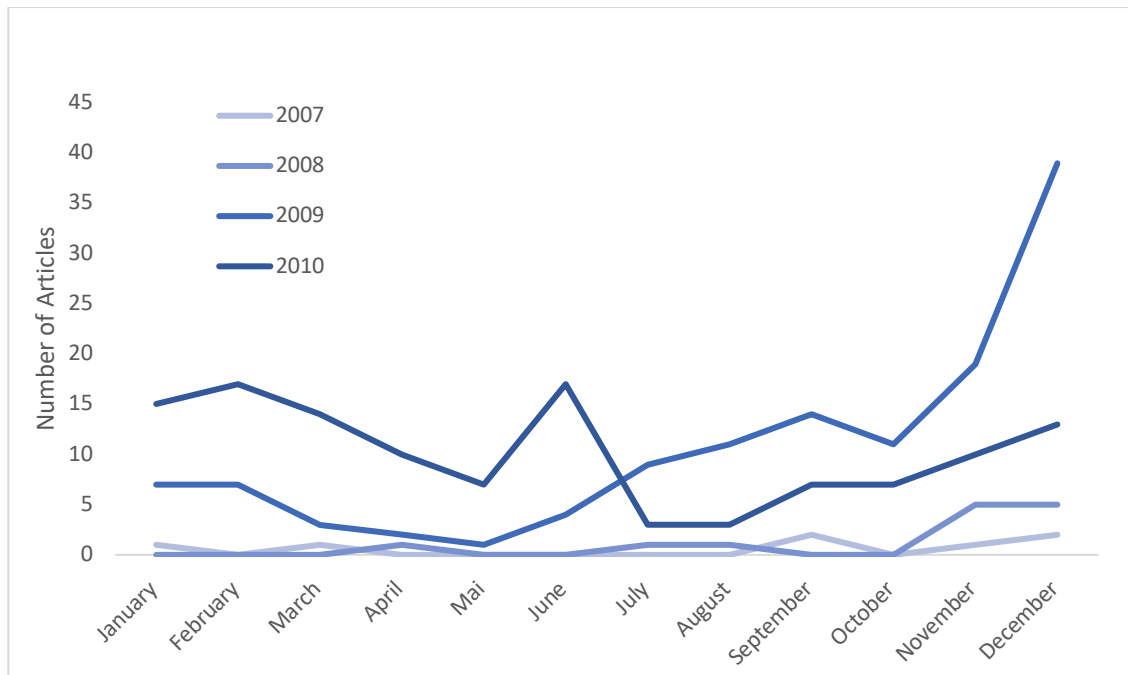


Figure 3: Comparison of the news media activity from 2007 until 2010 per month

Articles Sentiment

Table 11 shows the sentiment related to the articles per year. From a total of the 270 relevant articles, 75 articles (27,8%) were neutral. The minority of 23 articles (8,5%) had a positive sentiment. More than three times as many as positive articles had a negative sentiment with a total of 71 (26,3%). Compared to each of the 3 sentiments individually the most articles had an ambiguous sentiment. As ambiguous articles include both positive and negative elements it can be argued that the newspaper mostly presented information in an evaluative way, since 72,22 percent of the articles include either positive, negative, or both connotations. As significantly more articles have a negative sentiment than positive sentiment, the content of the debate shows a clear tendency to negative framing and argumentation. None, the less 27,8 percent of the articles, have been neutral, which purely presents the information without further evaluations.

Table 11

Article sentiment per year

Sentiment	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total
Positive	0,4% (n=1)	1,5% (n=4)	1,9% (n=5)	4,8% (n=13)	8,5% (n=23)
Negative	0% (n=0)	1,1% (n=3)	14,8% (n=40)	10,4% (n=28)	26,3% (n=71)
Ambiguous	0,4% (n=1)	1,1% (n=3)	12,6% (n=34)	13,7% (n=37)	37,4% (n=101)
Neutral	1,9% (n=5)	1,1% (n=3)	17,8% (n=48)	16,7% (n=45)	27,8% (n=75)

Article Genre

Table 12 shows that the majority of the articles with a total of 196 is using the report genre. The second most used genre is the genre to comment events with 37 times. The genre to explain events is used 22 times, and the interactive genre 15 times.

Table 12
Article genre

Report genre	72,6% (n=196)
Genre to comment events	13,7% (n=37)
Genre to explain events	8,1% (n=22)
Interactive genre	5,6% (n=15)

Article disposition

From table 13 can be found in which interest the different articles present. The majority with 96 (35,6%) articles were in favor of the development of an airport in Twente. In contrast, only 51 (18,9%) articles were directly against an airport in Twente. A total of 78 (28,9%) articles were presenting both oppositions, including arguments for and against an airport in Twente. Three articles are focused on topics regarding the preservation of the nature of the area neither arguing for or against an airport itself. The position for nature preservation also appears in the combinations of in favor of airport development six times, in combination with against airport development four times and with both oppositions four times. Lastly, in 28 (10,4%) of the articles, the topic was regarding other developments of that area which did neither argue for or against an airport but were nonetheless related to the area development.

Table 13
Article Disposition

In favor of airport development	35,6% (n=96)
For and against airport development	28,9% (n=78)
Against airport development	18,9% (n=51)
For other area uses	10,4% (n=28)
Against airport and for nature	1,5% (n=4)
For and against the airport and for nature	1,5% (n=4)
For nature preservation	1,1% (n=3)

Frames

Table 14 shows the total distribution of frames in comparison with the sentiment per frame. From 1293 frames found in the relevant articles the politics and policymaking frame has been found most frequently with 28,8 percent. The economics and market frame, as well as the governance context frame, were both found 24,1percent from all frames. Together these three frames presented the most frequently used frames with 77 percent of all frames found. Frames regarding ecology followed by culture, civil society, and science are in the minority.

Table 14:
Sentiment per Frame

	Politics and policymaking	Governance context	Economics and markets	Ecology	Culture	Civil society	Science	Total
Positive	2,20% (n=29)	1,2% (n=16)	4,3% (n=56)	1,2% (n=15)	1,7% (n=22)	0,5% (n=7)	0,2% (n=2)	11,4% (n=147)
Negative	9,1% (n=118)	3,9% (n=51)	6,7% (n=86)	3,5% (n=45)	1,8% (n=23)	1,9% (n=24)	0,9% (n=12)	27,8% (n=359)
Ambiguous	6,70% (n=86)	3,7% (n=48)	4,6% (n=60)	2,5% (n=36)	0,7% (n=9)	0,8% (n=10)	0,5% (n=7)	19,8% (n=256)
Neutral	10,8% (n=139)	15,2% (n=197)	8,4% (n=109)	2,8% (n=36)	1,2% (n=15)	1,5% (n=19)	1,2% (n=16)	41,1% (n=531)
Total	28,8% (n=372)	24,1% (n=312)	24,1% (n=311)	10,2% (n=132)	5,3% (n=69)	4,6% (n=60)	2,9% (n=37)	100% (n=1293)

Topoi

The total distribution of topoi in comparison to the sentiment per frame is shown in table 15. The most frequently used topos is the topos of reality with 31,7 percent. This shows that most often elements and arguments have been used which are facts or relate to a situation that has happened. This is followed by the topos of burdening with 23,9 percent and the topos of possibility with 18,2 percent. All other topoi have been used less frequently than 10 percent. From those are the topos of number, emotions, and authority the highest with respectively 8,3 percent, 8,0 percent, and 7,8 percent.

Table 15:

Sentiment per Topoi

	Topos of reality	Topos of burdening	Topos of possibility	Topos of numbers	Topos of emotions	Topos of authority	Topos of threat	Topos of urgency	Total
Positive	3,2% (n=44)	0,6% (n=8)	4,7% (n=64)	1% (n=13)	0,7% (n=10)	0,7% (n=9)	0,1% (n=1)	0,1% (n=2)	11,1% (n=141)
Negative	4,2% (n=57)	12,6% (n=171)	2,8% (n=35)	2,2% (n=30)	4,4% (n=59)	1,3% (n=18)	1% (n=13)	0,1% (n=1)	28,4% (n=325)
Neutral	20,1% (n=272)	4,7% (n=63)	6,9% (n=93)	3,7% (n=50)	1% (n=13)	4,3% (n=58)	0,1% (n=2)	0,2% (n=3)	40,9% (n=541)
Ambiguous	4,2% (n=57)	6,0% (n=81)	4,9% (n=26)	1,4% (n=19)	1,9% (n=26)	1,5% (n=20)	0,4% (n=5)	0,2% (n=3)	19,6% (n=239)
Total	31,7% (n=430)	23,9% (n=323)	18,2% (n=246)	8,3% (n=112)	8,0% (n=106)	7,8% (n=105)	1,6% (n=21)	0,7% (n=9)	100% (n=1354)

Stakeholder disposition

Definitive Stakeholders

In table 16, the stakeholders who were directly involved in the decision-making process are presented in correlation with the disposition of the article in which they are named or present their statements. The Government has with 48,1 percent been the most frequently mentioned and represented stakeholder in all articles. In the majority, the government had been for the airport. It can also be seen that the government was involved in nearly as many contradictory statements which both represented the oppositions for and against the airport. The second most frequently named stakeholder are politicians and political groups with 27,9 percent. The majority of the articles in which the politicians were named are in controversial articles were both for and against the airport has been argued. This is the case because both oppositions had been presented in political groups. The third most frequently represented stakeholder is the general public with 13,1 percent. The majority of the general public was included in articles that both presented arguments for and against the airport. The split of the general public into the two oppositions can also be seen from the fact that an equal number of articles included the general public when arguing for the airport as well when arguing against the airport. The rest of the stakeholders were mentioned in less than 5 percent of the frames.

Table 16

Definitive stakeholders

	Govern ment	Politicia ns and political groups	General public	Union	Competitors	Media	Interest group
In favor of airport development	19% (n=282)	9,8% (n=146)	2,6% (n=39)	0,8% (n=12)	0,7% (n=11)	0,8% (n=12)	0,3% (n=4)
Against airport development	6,6% (n=98)	4,2% (n=63)	2,8% (n=41)	1,5% (n=22)	1,5% (n=22)	0,3% (n=4)	0,1% (n=2)
For and against airport development	18% (n=267)	12,1% (n=180)	1,1% (n=80)	1,3% (n=19)	1,1% (n=16)	1,1% (n=16)	0,7% (n=11)
For nature preservation	2,4% (n=36)	1,3% (n=19)	0,8% (n=12)	0,1% (n=2)	0,1% (n=2)	0,0% (n=0)	0,0% (n=0)
For other area uses	2,2% (n=32)	0,4% (n=6)	1,5% (n=23)	0,1% (n=1)	0,0% (n=0)	0,3% (n=5)	0,0% (n=0)
Total	48,1% (n=715)	27,9% (n=414)	13,1% (n=195)	3,8% (n=56)	3,4% (n=51)	2,5% (n=37)	1,1% (n=17)

Internal Stakeholder

Table 15 shows the internal stakeholders of an airport that have been named next to the for the debate relevant stakeholders shown in table 14. The airport operators are named the most with 42,4 percent. They have mainly been included in articles which only argued for the airport, while they were also included in a minority of articles that both argued for and against the airport. The financial communities are following with 21,7 percent. They are represented mainly in the articles which are arguing for the airport. The third most frequently named internal stakeholder is the owner of the airport and land with 19,7 percent. The employees are named in 10,3 percent of the cases of internal stakeholders. The management is only named with 5,90 percent.

Table 15

Internal stakeholder of an Airport

	Airport operators	Financial community	Owner	Employees	Management	Total
In favor of airport development	32,5% (n=66)	18,7% (n=38)	9,4% (n=19)	4,9% (n=10)	4,90% (n=10)	70,4% (n=143)
For nature preservation	1,00% (n=2)	0,00% (n=0)	2% (n=4)	0,50% (n=1)	0,00% (n=0)	3,40% (n=7)
Against airport development	1,00% (n=2)	0,00% (n=0)	0,50% (n=1)	1,00% (n=2)	1,00% (n=2)	3,40% (n=7)
For and against airport development	7,9% (n=16)	3,00% (n=6)	7,4% (n=15)	3,90% (n=8)	0% (n=0)	22,2% (n=45)
For other area uses	0,00% (n=0)	0,00% (n=0)	0,50% (n=1)	0,00% (n=0)	0,00% (n=0)	0,50% (n=1)
Total	42,4% (n=86)	21,7% (n=44)	19,7% (n=40)	10,3% (n=21)	5,90% (n=10)	100% (n=203)

External Stakeholders

Table 16 shows the external stakeholders of the airport, which have been named next to the for the debate relevant stakeholders shown in table 14. Most frequently named are the suppliers with 46,6 percent. They have been mainly named in articles that are for the airport, while they are also named in nearly as many controversial articles that represent both oppositions for and against the airport. Next, the suppliers are passengers with 33,7 percent. They are mainly assumed to be for the airport as the passengers were named hypothetically as the future passengers who will use the airport. They are also represented nearly as often in controversial articles used as arguments for or against the airport. Lastly, the airlines have been mentioned in 23,3 percent of the cases. They were mainly represented in articles for the airport, but there have also been some cases in which they rejected the idea of the airport and are therefore also relatively controversial towards Twente Airport.

Table 16
External stakeholders

	Suppliers	Passengers	Airlines	Not defined stakeholders	Total
In favor of airport development	20,2% (n=33)	15,3% (n=25)	12,9% (n=21)	2,5% (n=4)	38,0% (n=62)
For nature preservation	2,5% (n=4)	0,6% (n=1)	0,6% (n=1)	1,2% (n=2)	4,3% (n=7)
Against airport development	4,3% (n=7)	3,7% (n=6)	3,1% (n=5)	3,1% (n=5)	11,0% (n=18)
For and against airport development	17,8% (n=29)	14,1% (n=23)	6,7% (n=11)	2,5% (n=4)	34,4% (n=56)
For other area uses	1,8% (n=3)	0,0% (n=0)	0,0% (n=0)	10,4% (n=17)	12,3% (n=20)
Total	46,6% (n=76)	33,7% (n=55)	23,3% (n=38)	19,6% (n=32)	100% (n=163)

Discussion

This study examined the frames, arguments, and related stakeholders in the debate of Twente Airport presented by Dutch newspapers. The question researched in this analysis was:

Which frames and arguments are used by news media to present the interests and opinions of stakeholders regarding the area development plans of Twente Airport in the Netherlands from 2007 to 2010?

From the media analysis of newspaper articles of the case Twente Airport, it was found that the highest amount of news media publications regarding the development plans of Twente Airport in the analyzed period from 2007 until end 2010 has been in the years 2009 and 2010.

The lower rate of publications originates probably from the fact that the plans were first publicized for debate in 2009. The significantly lower media activity is striking as this implies that there was basically low engagement through newspapers in the first two years, in which the plans for the area development were created. This phenomenon of late, little, or noninvolvement of stakeholders during the planning phase is also discussed in other research. As an example, in the research of Stevens and Bakker (2013) it has also been found that the coordination between general public, state territory and government is problematic and needs improvement in its coordination. Furthermore, Irvin and Stansbury (2004) reviewed research articles, and also emphasized the importance of citizen participation.

During the debate there were three times as many negative articles as positive articles. Negative means in this regard that the choice of arguments in those articles had in the majority negative connotations. One reason for this might be that often arguments were used in those to strengthening one's own position by criticizing the opposition. This emphasizes the lack of cocreation between the oppositions to make the most suitable plans and decisions together.

The focus of the majority of the articles was on promoting plan B, the development plan in favor of a civil airport. This seems to be an imbalance in the representation of the two oppositions. This is also in line with the findings of use of frames, arguments and the analysis on the related stakeholders.

The frames that were found the most are respectively covering political, governmental or economic topics which all focused on the chances for the development that a civil airport would bring to the region Twente. It is interesting that in the political frames there is a huge disparity between the number of positive and negative frames while in the governmental and economic frames this disparity is significantly smaller. It can probably be explained by that the politicians and political parties need to get attention which is easier done by creating emotions, while the input from government and economy is found more in the aim of informing and presenting facts. The clear focus on these three frames indicates that low importance is given to the other frames which are more directed towards the general public and their opinion which are not related to the economic development of the region.

From the analysis on the topoi it is evident that many words used in the arguments, hold negative connotations. These show the discontent and disunity of the involved stakeholders and also shows the lack of cooperation to find an optimal solution for all parties.

The fact that the stakeholders that have been mostly presented by news media were the governmental stakeholders, politicians or political groups, and significantly less frequent the stakeholders from the general public is in line with the findings of the frames. This is the case as the plan in favor for an airport was mainly promoted by most of the governments and political parties presented in the newspapers. The opposition was significantly less frequent presented and included the government of the neighboring regions as well as politicians of the opposition, and mainly the general public which was not as frequently presented by the newspapers.

The findings of this research that the frames as well as stakeholders regarding government, politics, policymaking, and economics are the most presented in the newspapers is in line with the Airport Metropolis Model of Stevens and his colleagues (2010), which is a heuristic device to help in sustainable decision-making regarding airport development.

Conclusion and Advice

In conclusion, it can be said that the first and most common found element which might be cause for a less effective decision-making process is that the general public seems to be not much involved in the decision-making process. This starts especially already in the early phase in which the plans had been made.

Therefore, from the findings of this research, it is advised to use the news media to keep the general public more directly involved in the decision process to make cocreation possible. This can help to lower the unrest in the general public and other stakeholders as they are directly involved in the process.

Another recommendation is that the information regarding such projects should be transparent to all necessary parties and easy to access to prevent withholding of information which might lead to misunderstanding and hampers the objectivity of the debate and lastly the decision.

The input of diverse stakeholders should be seriously considered. This can, on the one hand, raise the citizen participation in public affairs and be an opportunity to find innovative ideas and solutions for the topics in the debate; on the other hand, it can ensure that the stakeholders feel more involved and valued increasing their satisfaction and lowering their protest against the final decision. In this regard, it is also of importance that the decisions which are made for or against an idea or opinion are clearly explained as this ensures that the party from which the input came is not offended or at least knows the reason for the decision.

Lastly, the content of the media should also be focused on a more balanced and neutral level for the presentation of a debate on large scale projects. This is important since emotions presented in the news media create unrest in the public and are not beneficial for the purpose of informing and enabling for unbiased and sustainable decision making.

Limitations and recommendations

Neuendorf (2002) states that content analysis is often used in the fields of communication, journalism, sociology, psychology, and business by researchers. Macnamara (2005) adds to this that media content analysis became especially prominent as a research methodology for mass communication. The limiting factor of the media analysis regarding Neuendorf (2002), is the researcher, as the researcher decides the scope and complexity of the analysis. Furthermore, the interpretation and coding of media articles in a content analysis can be seen as subjective (Macnamara, 2015). To ensure objectivity in the coding process, the intercoder reliability test has been done. The codes which have been chosen are based on theories. There exist many different possibilities for coding the articles. For this research relatively, general codes have been used to ensure that these can be used for similar cases for comparison between cases. For further research, it might, therefore, be of interest to use more specific codes to analyze some aspects such as specific frames, arguments, or stakeholders more in detail. An example of differentiating will be the stakeholder groups by, for example naming each political party or institution by its name.

For this media analysis articles of five Dutch newspapers have been collected. For a more complex research further Dutch newspapers, but also other media forms such as newswires, blogs, and any social media, in written or also verbal form could be used for the analysis to get more information.

As a part of Germany also was closely involved in the process and debate about Airport Twente, German newspapers of these regions which were involved are a further recommendation for future research to gain knowledge on the differences in news coverage on the topic in different countries. The choice of Dutch newspapers also brings the limitation that the researcher is not a native Dutch speaker which might influence how the articles were understood. For example, different interpretation of how words and texts have been associated with specific emotions which a native speaker would have. Therefore, the intercoder reliability test included a native Dutch speaker.

As this research is supposed to give insight into frames and arguments which are used by stakeholders to promote their opinions on a large-scale project, it has to be said that this research does not measure how far media influences people and their decisions. It is assumed that media discourse does influence the general public due to existing theories. To find out in how far the content of the media in this specific case had an influence on the individual, further research with interviews and questionnaires is recommended although it has to be reminded that this might not be applicable for the time period of news coverage as was chosen for this case as people might not be able to remember how they felt and reacted on this news precisely.

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Appendix

Appendix A

Table 8:
Codebook

Code	description	Example in the corpus
1. general code		
1.1 Date (Year) of Article	Year of publication	
1.1.1 2007	Published in 2007	
1.1.2 2008	Published in 2008	
1.1.3 2009	Published in 2009	
1.1.4 2010	Published in 2010	
1.2 Genre	Added during coding	
1.2.1 Genre to report events	Reporting, describing, informing with focus on facts	Such as short messages on appointments for open debates or information gatherings
1.2.2 Genres to explain events	Informing about background answering questions such as why	Such as interviews of stakeholder explaining their point of view
1.2.3 Genres to comment on events	Giving evaluations	Use of comments and critiques of different stakeholders to statements
1.2.4 Interactive genres	Letters of readers or other external input	Writings of opinions by different stakeholders
1.3 Sentiment and overall sentiment	Sentiment of the coded text and sentiment of the full text	
1.3.1 Positive	A positive connotation of presented news (only or mostly positive)	The article has only positive frames, or those are in the majority to all other frames Frames are positive if the content is presented in a positive way
1.3.2 Negative	A negative connotation of presented news (only or mostly negative)	The article has only negative frames, or those are in the

		majority to all other frames The content is presented in a negative way
1.3.3 Neutral	A neutral connotation of presented news (neither positive nor negative connotations are present)	The article has only neutral frames, or those are in the majority to all other frames Frames are neutral if the content is presented in a neutral way
1.3.4 ambiguous	Both positive and negative connotations are present in balance	The article has only ambiguous frames or both positive and negative frames Frames are ambiguous if the content is presented in an ambiguous way

2. Specific code

2.1 Frames

2.1.1 Issue-specific frames

2.1.1.1 Ecology	Content on ecological or 'green' issues, i.e., nature conservation, air pollution (emissions). In specific content on changes in land use which impact the natural environment, like building of infrastructure, industry, but also the change of land use towards nature parks or agriculture.	Topics such as noise level regulation and health issues or pollution of the environment
2.1.1.2 Economics and markets	Content on economic issues and their impact on society, i.e., industry, commerce, markets. In specific the economic advantages and	Topics such as the creation of workplaces, unemployment rate, or statements about the economic feasibility of the project such as the

	disadvantages, or consequences of different area development plans and decisions regarding Twente Airport.	number of passengers using the airport
2.1.1.3 Politics and policymaking	Content about government activities and other political actors (parties), both international and national, as well as about oppositions, civil services, political organizations or local authorities. Especially content on the decisions and policies which have been made or discussed about the use of the land around Twente Airport.	Topics which involve decision procedures or actions by politicians or political groups especially the conflict between the political parties of the coalition during this debate
2.1.1.4 Civil society	Content on civil law and rights, as well as public opinions and reports.	Topics involving public activities such as demonstrations or statements from the general public
2.1.1.5 Governance context	Content on general governance conditions such as corruption or law enforcement. In specific statements which question the legitimacy of content in the debate and decisions regarding Twente Airport.	Decisions and statements by government and authorities
2.1.1.6 Science	Content on scientific discoveries or research and studies. In specific all scientific reasoning and research which has been done about	Topics discussing the research which has been done to validate the feasibility of the economic expectations

2.1.1.7 Culture	different area development plans. Content on lifestyles, individual or community living practices. In specific about the usual, historic or traditional use as well as new of the area around Twente Airport.	Topics which include the change of an area or which have impact on habits of the general public
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2.2 Argument

2.2.1 Topoi

2.2.1.1 Topos of burdening	Statements which are legitimized due to burdens, challenges or problems (Kwon et al. 2014).	Conflicts demonstrations noise
2.2.1.2 Topos of reality	Statements which are legitimized due to the situation in reality (Kwon et al. 2014).	Facts
2.2.1.3 Topos of numbers	Statements which are legitimized due to numerical or statistical evidence (Kwon et al. 2014).	Statistics such as the number of possible passengers or numbers of unemployment rate
2.2.1.4 Topos of authority	Statements which are legitimized on basis of authority (Kwon et al. 2014).	Statements from ministers or the country
2.2.1.5 Topos of threat	Statements which are legitimized due to dangers and threats (Kwon et al. 2014).	Statements loss of workplaces, danger for health due to noise or pollution
2.2.1.6 Topos of urgency	Statements which are legitimized due to the need for quick actions or decisions (Kwon et al. 2014).	The Dutch law regarding economic growth after the economic crisis (allowed to quicken the processes of economic projects)

2.2.1.7 Topos of possibility	Statements which are not based on facts but are based on chances and future possibilities	The numbers of passengers are all hypothetical
2.2.1.8 Topos of emotions	Statements containing anger, enthusiasm, disappointment, diselusion	Mr. Finkers or the conflicts between the political parties of the colition
2.3 Stakeholder		
2.3.1 Internal Stakeholder		
2.3.1.1 Employees	All people whose work is or might be impacted by the project	The people who lost their work when the airport was closed as well as those which might get a new work due to the area development
2.3.1.2 Owner	People who own or are shareholder of the	The kingdom of the Netherlands and later Enschede
2.3.1.3 Management	people in the management of the airport	Den Hertog (was manager for projects) Bayer (wants manage the airport)
2.3.1.4 Airport operators	All people and groups or organizations who are needed to run an airport	Ryanair As well as all future candidates which might run the airport
2.3.1.5 Financial community	Parties which will finance the airport project	Turkish group YDA
2.3.2 External Stakeholder		
2.3.2.1 Suppliers	All individuals and groups which will profit from the collaboration with the airport	Organization OAD (transportation)
2.3.2.2 Airlines	Airlines which might use the airport	Ryanair
2.3.2.3 General public	People living in regions which are affected by the airport (this includes areas with airports	People of the region Overijssel and all municipalities close to Twente

	which might be affected)	
2.3.2.4 Passengers	Possible customers of the airport	the project is discussed i.e. the possible number of future passengers using the airport
2.3.2.5 Competitors	Other airports which are affected by airport Twente	Included when other airports such as Eindhoven, Lelystad or Münster/Osnabrück are named
2.3.2.6 Government	Local, regional, national, or international government, municipalities and other regulatory authorities	Overijssel, het Rijk,, municipalities such as Enschede Breda Bentheim Hengelo
2.3.2.7 Politicians and political groups	Regional, national, or international politicians or political parties	VVD, CDA, PvdA, D66
2.3.2.8 Interest groups	Interest groups for and against the project	Mr. Finkers
2.3.2.9 Union	Organization and groups which came to exist to debate	Vereniging Omwonenden Luchtvaart Twente
2.3.2.10 Media	Represented by Journalists and news agencies	Comments of the journalists
