

Media Study

A study on the effect of media attention and framing on political agenda-setting and policy outputs

Author: Maud Christina Virginie Smeets

Student number: 426771

Program: MSc Governance of Complex Networks

University: Erasmus University Rotterdam

Supervisor: dr. ir. J. Eshuis

Second reader: L. Vandenbussche

Word count: 26,362

Date: July 31, 2017

ABSTRACT

An investigation of the media's role and framing in promoting social problems, more specifically immigration, on the political agenda and consequent policy outputs in the Netherlands.

Foreword

As part of the MSc Management of Governance Networks program at the Erasmus University in Rotterdam, I followed a wide range of courses that gave me an insight into the complex and diverse world of public administration. The course 'Media and Politics' immediately hooked my interest, incorporating a political aspect to the ever-growing and changing study in the field of media. After the first class I immediately knew that I wanted to focus on this aspect for my thesis.

Seeing as I had little to no experience in research prior to starting the thesis trajectory, it has certainly been a steep learning curve, with high-highs and low-lows. Special thanks go out to my friends, Jacqueline Klug and Xandra Daswani, who took their time to read my thesis and give me feedback when I thought I was not making any sense anymore. Cassandra de Jong, my deadline and study mate, also deserves a special thank you for keeping me focused and driven when I started questioning myself and bringing me coffee when I needed it most. Additionally, I would like to thank my parents for always supporting me and being patient and understanding when it came to me figuring out what I want to do. Finally, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude towards dr. ir. Jasper Eshuis for his guidance as a supervisor throughout the process. Your patience and tips helped me make the best of this thesis and I really appreciate your input on all aspects of this study. As the second reader Lieselot Vandebussche provided me with plenty of useful feedback for me to sharpen my outlook and complete the research to round off the thesis trajectory successfully.

Summary

This master thesis combines media attention, framing in the media and on the political agenda, and policy outputs into one study in the field of immigration policy. Building on theoretical insights from the field of media studies, governance, and public administration, this work examines the relationship between the four elements to gain an insight into the relationship between and the dynamics of media attention, framing, the political agenda-setting and policy outputs. Within the context of a single case study of the Mauro Manuel event in the Netherlands, an in-depth analysis on media attention and the political agenda and a three-fold investigation of framing on the macro (master-frames), meso (purposes of frames), and micro (framing devices) is conducted. Furthermore, the policy output of the political agenda-setting process is studied in order to discern whether the frames used therein reoccur in the output.

Table of Contents

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES	6
1. INTRODUCTION.....	7
1.1. THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF IMMIGRATION POLICY IN THE MEDIA.....	7
1.2. GOAL AND RESEARCH QUESTION	9
1.3. RELEVANCE.....	9
1.4. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS	10
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	11
2.1. THE MEDIA AND MEDIA ATTENTION.....	11
2.1.1. <i>The Role of the Media Today</i>	11
2.1.2. <i>Media Attention</i>	13
2.1.3. <i>Conclusions on Media Attention</i>	14
2.2. FRAMES AND FRAMING	14
2.2.1. <i>Master-Frames in Migration</i>	15
2.2.2. <i>Functions of Frames</i>	17
2.2.3. <i>Framing Devices</i>	18
2.2.4. <i>Interaction between the Media and Frames</i>	19
2.2.5. <i>Conclusions on Frames</i>	21
2.3. POLITICAL AGENDA-SETTING.....	21
2.3.1. <i>Agenda-Setting Processes</i>	22
2.3.2. <i>Agenda-Setting Effects</i>	23
2.3.3. <i>Conclusions on Agenda Setting</i>	24
2.4. POLICY OUTPUTS.....	24
2.4.1. <i>The Public Policy Process</i>	24
2.4.2. <i>Outputs vs. Outcomes</i>	25
2.4.3. <i>Studying Policy Outputs</i>	26
2.3.4. <i>Conclusions on Policy Outputs</i>	27
3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS	28
3.1. CONCEPTUAL MODEL.....	28
3.2. OPERATIONALIZATION.....	29
3.2.1. <i>Media Attention</i>	30
3.2.2. <i>Framing</i>	31
3.2.3. <i>Political Agenda-Setting</i>	32
3.4.4. <i>Policy Output</i>	33
3.3. RESEARCH DESIGN, STRATEGY, AND METHODS.....	33
3.4. DATA COLLECTION & ANALYSIS.....	34
3.4.1. <i>Research Strategy: Single Case Study</i>	34
3.4.2. <i>Data Collection: Content and Discourse Analysis</i>	35
3.4.3. <i>Source Selection</i>	36
3.4.4. <i>Data Analysis</i>	38
3.5. REFLECTION ON METHODS	40
3.5.1. <i>Reliability</i>	41
3.5.2. <i>Validity</i>	41
4. CASE STUDY CONTEXT	43
4.1. MAURO MANUEL & THE KINDERPARDON	43
5. EMPIRICAL FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS.....	46
5.1. MEDIA ATTENTION.....	46

5.2. FRAMING	50
5.2.1. <i>Studying the Master-Frames by Purpose</i>	50
5.2.2. <i>Studying the Master-Frames by Framing Devices</i>	54
5.3. POLITICAL AGENDA-SETTING.....	61
5.3.1. <i>Political Document Content and Framing Analysis</i>	61
5.3.2. <i>Comparing Media Attention to Political Agenda Attention</i>	67
5.4. POLICY OUTPUT	69
6. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION	74
6.1. CONCLUSIONS	74
6.2. CONSEQUENCES FOR THE LITERATURE.....	76
6.3. LIMITATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND AVENUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	77
BIBLIOGRAPHY	79
APPENDICES	84

List of Tables and Figures

Tables

2.1.1. Three roles of media in governance processes.....	12
2.2.1. Overview of framing elements.....	21
2.4.1. Policy instruments.....	27
3.2.1. Operationalization of ‘media attention’.....	30
3.2.2. Operationalization of ‘framing’.....	31
3.2.3. Operationalization of ‘political agenda-setting’.....	32
3.2.4. Operationalization of ‘policy output’.....	33
3.4.1. Selection of media types and source of information.....	37
3.4.2. Criteria for frame analysis.....	39
5.2.1. Mauro-related devices in analysis of media articles.....	56
5.2.2. Mauro-related devices in analysis of political agenda.....	58
5.4.1. Master-frames by framing purpose for each variable.....	72

Figures

3.1.1. Conceptual model.....	28
5.1.1. Attention for Mauro in the media by article.....	48
5.1.2. Attention for Mauro in the media by word count.....	49
5.3.1. Word count and keywords in discussions and legislation proposals.....	62
5.3.2. Attention for Mauro on the political agenda.....	63
5.3.3. Media attention and agenda-setting comparison.....	67

1. Introduction

1.1. The Growing Importance of Immigration Policy in the Media

Immigration is an extremely contentious policy area that catches the attention of the media frequently, especially given the recent influx of immigrants and the accompanying distrust and suspicion that many residents have regarding them. As recent history has shown, immigration is a topic that is central to public concern and is thus quite present in the media. The media offers a medium through which individual actors or a group thereof can plead their case and bring their matter to the forefront. Narratives presented in the media are often accompanied by various metaphors as well as dramatized and personalized stories. As media scholars have shown, this leads to the public merely being informed of the most sensationalized matters, frequently giving them a heightened conceptualization of the issue (Bennett, 2015). In turn, these dynamics may create specific pressures to conserve or change particular aspects of policies on a larger political scale. Thus, increased media attention can also have an impact on the political agenda-setting process (Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006) and ultimate policy output.

By designating and allocating time to given issues through media attention, the media captures the attentiveness and responsiveness from the public as well as politicians. In order to retain the public's attention, framing, a mechanism used to ensure issue salience (Entman, 1993), is used to influence the extent to which and how issues resonate with politicians, stakeholders, and the public. Additionally, these frames also have an influence on the perceptions people hold and thus serve as a mechanism of steering public opinion (see Watson, 2008; Rein and Schön, 1996; Snow et. a, 1986). The concept of framing in the media is complex and driven by various factors, actors, and interests. Here, the cluster of stakeholders expands beyond those of media producers themselves and includes political parties, interest groups, institutions, private actors, and politicians themselves to name a few. Each of these actors aim to influence the way an issue is portrayed and framed in the media in order to disseminate their desired narrative and point of view.

The combination of media attention and framing has a significant impact upon political agenda-setting, a concept that will be discussed in detail in this work. Despite the fact that agendas are extremely hard to grasp in our world driven by complexity and variety, it is possible to discern a relationship between media attention and the political agenda. Agendas matter and are important because they signify priorities (Jennings et al., 2011: 3) and give an indication of which matters will or will not be addressed. Hence, the agenda-setting process

defines and clarifies which issues enter the political discourse at a given time. As Jones and Baumgartner (2005: 38) state: “agenda setting is the organizational analogue to attention allocation at the individual level. Agenda setting is the process by which the organization comes to pay attention to some issues rather than others.” In today’s world that is characterized by increasing digitization and access to information, the media, the public, and politicians are tasked with prioritizing and channeling their attention to certain matters. Thus, simply put, agenda-setting is the process by which the previously described scarce attention is allocated.

Once issues have reached the political agenda and have been discussed in settings such as parliament, there is frequently a tangible form of policy output, be it a bill, legislation, or law. These are considered policy outputs as they shape the actions taken or items produced by government. By studying policy outputs, we can see what aspects brought about by media attention and framing actually made it through the governmental process after having been discussed as part of the political agenda. Seeing as the agenda-setting process is relatively malleable and subject to frequent change, the impact of media attention and framing on the parliamentary agenda and policy output is thought to be significant, albeit the research on this remains limited (see Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006). Combining the four elements described above to gain an understanding of the dynamics of media attention, the accompanying frames applied, and how this impacts the political agenda-setting process and output provides us with a noteworthy and remarkable relationship to be studied.

An exemplary case in which the media has played a significant role as public attention-grabber, political agenda-setter, and policy-facilitator is the affair surrounding Mauro Manuel and the Kinderpardon in the Netherlands. As more and more media attention was granted to Mauro’s case, the plight of young adults in similar situations became a salient one in the political realm as well. Furthermore, using the empathy generated around Mauro, the media used a combination of sympathy, public momentum, and framing to impact the agenda-setting process in order to drive social and political reform in terms of the policy output. The concepts briefly explained above will be applied in an analysis of the use of media attention and framing in the Netherlands and their effects on political agenda-setting and policy output. The case is highly informative of the media’s power to mobilize, generate support, and influence the political agenda and policy outputs, making a further examination of the media’s role both interesting and valuable.

1.2. Goal and Research Question

Goal

The goal of this research is to gain an in-depth insight into the way in which media attention and framing affect the political agenda and policy output by studying an extreme case in Dutch immigration. By examining the relationship between the media and the political agenda and framing and the political agenda, this research aims to explain the relationship between these variables and how they may influence and/or lead to a policy output.

Central Research Question

How do media attention and framing influence the political agenda setting process and eventual policy output in the context of the Mauro Manuel case in the Netherlands?

Sub-questions

Questions based in theory:

- What insights does the existing literature provide on media attention?
- According to theory, what types of frames exist?
- What does the literature say about the agenda setting process?
- How are policy outputs operationalized according to the literature?
- In which way can theoretical insights relating to media attention and framing explain the development of the agenda setting process and policy output?

Questions based in the research:

- What and how much media attention is granted to Mauro Manuel?
- In the case of Mauro Manuel, how are the main issues framed over time in the media?
- How is the Mauro Manuel issue framed on the political agenda?
- Is there an overlap in the framing done by the media and on the political agenda?
- How (through which process) do media attention and framing have an impact on the political agenda?
- Does the presence of the issue on the political agenda lead to a policy output?

1.3. Relevance

To date, the literature and research has largely agreed upon the fact that media attention and framing are influential factors in governance processes (see Cook, 2005; Hajer, 2009; Bekkers et.al., 2009; Korthagen, 2015). More specifically, political agenda-setting process and eventual policy outputs are increasingly becoming areas of interest for this research arena. Media and political agenda-setting studies are slowly gaining momentum and

prominence in the fields of governance and public administration. While most researchers agree on the fact that media attention and framing have an impact on the political agenda and policy output, there is no consensus on the extent on how and to what degree this influence extends. This presents us with a knowledge problem that will be addressed in this thesis through the means of an extreme case study. Gaining an understanding of how the media and framing contribute to the governmental feedback system in terms of the political agenda and policy output is therefore very relevant to today's world. By using an extreme case in which media attention is heightened significantly, this study aims to answer the question of how media attention and frames influence the political agenda setting process and policy output.

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is comprised of a theoretical part and an empirical part. In the former, the existing literature on media attention, frames and framing, and agenda-setting, and policy outputs is examined and outlined. The relevant concepts are then translated into variables and brought together and operationalized in the conceptual framework in chapter three. Then, the methodology applied in the research is explained and elucidated, ending with a reflection on the research design and strategy. This is followed by an explanation and brief summary on the background of the case, providing readers with an insight into the context of the research. Chapter five outlines the empirical findings and analysis of the data that was collected as part of this research. Finally, the thesis is rounded off with conclusions on the topic and recommendations for further research in the future.

2. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, readers will be provided with an introduction and overview to the essential literature and theories on media attention, framing, political agenda-setting, and policy outputs.

2.1. The Media and Media Attention

2.1.1. The Role of the Media Today

The role of the media in today's world is one that can be characterized by versatility and significant power. The media has an impact on the public, politicians, and governance processes.

The media covers a broad range of issues to be divulged by the public, allowing them to take in different forms of media on a daily basis. Everyone takes part in the media, be it by watching television, reading newspapers or following articles online, making it omnipresent in our lives. Additionally, the media also serves as a signaling mechanism for politicians. By following what the media reports on and how these matters are portrayed, politicians are able to adjust their strategies, frames, and attention allocation (Veltmer and Koch-Baumgarten, 2010: 3) to certain issues. Korthagen (2015: 29) adequately summarizes the role and power of the media to both the public and politicians by stating that

[...] in many cases the public and even some actors involved in the political processes perceive political reality through the media. Mediatized realities, consequently, become their reality, which they use as a basis for the opinions, decisions, and actions.

This statement shows that through the wealth of information that it carries and its wide accessibility, the media is important in today's world.

With regard to governance process, Korthagen (2015; 17-18) has categorized the media's role in terms of three dimensions. As a democratic platform, the media is able to provide packaged information in the form of news reports and stories. Secondly, the media also offers a strategic element through which it can be used as an instrument to sell messages to the public. Finally, and also of most interest to this study, the media can act as a political agenda-setter. This manifests itself in the fact that it can have various effects on the processes as well as the content of governance activities themselves. As previous research has proven, news media is able to impact which issues are put on the agenda of decision-makers and how the issues are handled (Cobb & Elder, 1983; Baumgartner & Jones, 2009; Korthagen, 2015).

This differentiation has been clearly summarized in the table below from Korthagen’s (2015) research.

Table 2.1.1. Three roles of media in governance processes¹

	News media as democratic fora	News media as strategic communication instruments	News media as agenda setters
<i>Main Origin</i>	Democratic theory and political communication	Political communication, public relation literature (and political marketing and branding)	Political science literature about agenda-setting
<i>Focal point</i>	Environment (the democratic forum)	Organization	Issue (and decision-making process)
<i>Focus</i>	Information and debate for deliberative processes	Communicating messages using media	Affecting agendas of decision-makers, resulting in changes in the content and process of decision-making
<i>Mechanisms</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Media select and frame governance issues in news reports - Media reports affect public opinion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relations with an audience are built through the media - Images and brands simplify information - Actors feed media with information subsidies and brands with the aim of shaping the news 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Struggles between various actors to increase media attention for certain problem formulations - Media add issues to the political agenda leading to changes or postponement - Media reports affect the context in which actors negotiate and make decisions

To conclude, the public and politicians are regularly presented with stories that can range from single-phenomena, events that can be classified as passing fads, to more noteworthy news information that remains in the headlines for several days, weeks, or even months. In this day and age, the media is extremely accessible and saturated with information, making them a pivotal actor in formulating, influencing, and determining what matters are emphasized in governance processes. While still recognizing and acknowledging the role of the media as democratic forum and instrument for strategic communication, this research

¹ Source: Korthagen, 2015: 42

focuses on the role of the media as an agenda-setter. Having described the imperative role of news media, we now turn to media attention.

2.1.2. Media Attention

When examining media attention, social scientists often refer to the issues that are reported on as being part of the media. This is especially common in studies examining the agenda-setting influence of news media. It is important to keep in mind that the news agenda in this context does not imply that the media is pursuing a certain goal i.e. ‘has an agenda’ that is pursued deliberately. Rather, “the agenda of a news organization is found in its pattern of coverage on public issues over a given period of time” (McCombs, n.d.: 2). As these days, weeks, months, or even years pass, a few issues are emphasized while others are rarely brought to light. It is the day-to-day decisions made by journalists, editors, and their supervisors that form the news of that moment, comprise the agenda, and signal which issues are granted media coverage and attention.

News media attention is frequently operationalized and can accordingly be defined as the amount of time allocated to and reports published about a particular subject or topic in the media (see Korthagen, 2015; Dekker & Scholten, 2015: 15). Media attention enables all interested actors and stakeholders to become informed about specific matters and, as previously outlined, helps spur the debate and discussion on issues. Prolonged media attention over time “define[s], describe[s], and delimit[s]” as Watson (2008: 59) explains. The first two components, defining and describing, entail a conceptualization of the issue at hand and what components are involved. This allows the readers to focus on specific aspects of a matter. Delimiting encompasses what is and is not possible to say and do with regard to the issue (ibid: 59). The combination of the 3 components leads to the conclusion that media attention is thus a means by which information and ideas are defined and presented to create preferred meanings (ibid:154) and opinions about news topics.

This is where framing, discussed in section three of the theoretical framework, comes in. Generally speaking, however, media attention plays an important role in strengthening the frames that are published by giving them a platform to be absorbed by an audience (Korthagen, 2015: 167). Sequentially, this helps to draw in political attention and opens up an opportunity for matters to be picked up in the political agenda (see Bekkers et. al., 2009).

News media coverage can be seen as a power resource with regard to the governance process as it offers actors a means through which certain viewpoints can be brought to light. This power not only lies with the media itself, but also with the public and politicians who are

able to bring certain issues to journalists' attention. These journalists, in turn, are able to formulate news reports in a certain manner, which can significantly influence the context in which policies and decisions are made (Cook, 2005; Korthagen, 2015: 40). While unpredictable in its effects, media attention has the ability to construct the discourse around issues and influence how actors react to reports (Korthagen, 2015: 40) and whether or not issues may be picked up in the political agenda. Previous research (see Cobb & Elder, 1983; Baumgartner & Jones, 2009; Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006; Korthagen, 2015) has shown that decision-making processes have been influenced by increasing news media's attention for certain issues and problem formulations. Consequentially, it is expected that news media coverage is indeed a powerful tool and indicator of whether or not matters make it to the political agenda.

2.1.3. Conclusions on Media Attention

By and large, the role of the media in capturing attentiveness and facilitating public discourse is a complex one. The media does not only have the power to report on certain issues, but more importantly, it influences the way we see the world. By dedicating specific periods of time to certain matters through news media attention, the media can influence who, what, how, and when information is brought to light. Additionally, media attention also impacts the political agenda-setting process. Thus, media attention not only provides us with the tools we need to make sense of our surrounding world and public affairs, but it also influences the agenda setting process.

2.2. Frames and Framing

The literature on frames and framing is vast. Therefore, it is essential to establish how researchers treat the topic and how they define the matter. Feldman's (1995: 267-268) use of frames in the context of measuring public opinion defines them as instruments that aid focusing attention on specific dimensions and explanations for understanding issues. In addition to this, and also in line with Bennett's (2015) conceptualization, it is said that frames serve as organizing themes that highlight connections between issues and considerations (Bennett, 2015: 42; Feldman, 1995: 267-268) so that linkages can be established. Similarly, departing from the assumption that every story has its own narrative format or frame, Watson describes the power of frames as stemming from "its capacity to exclude and to structure the storyworld" (2008; 187). Frames are not only a means to focus on (certain aspects of) issues, but more importantly, they are also organizing themes. This is summarized by Hoyt and Garrison (1997) who state that "framing also involves the manner in which information is

presented...and which items of information are emphasized over others.” Issues subject to media attention and frames go beyond merely entertaining the public, offering us with a structured way in which the flux of events are organized and ordered, so that meaning and value can be conferred to issues (Watson, 2008; 180).

Frames allow people to “locate, perceive, identify, and label” (Goffman, 1974: 21) events that occur in their surroundings so that meaning and value can be assigned to them. Thus, frames enable a mental appreciation of issues and serve to organize experiences and guide actions (Snow et al., 1986: 464). What makes frames so versatile and applicable to present day situations is the fact that they allow individuals to store knowledge in their memory so that it can be retrieved later and be applied to new situations in the cognitive context (DeWulf e al., 2009: 160).

The tradition of looking at frames as mental structures that are flexible and adaptive facilitators for organizing, interpreting, and adapting already-learned schema (ibid: 158) still holds true today and has formed the groundwork for the framing literature. By combining the previously described aspects used in the available literature, we can summarize the function of frames to condense oftentimes complex and large chunks of information into more understandable terms. Frames also gear focus on specific aspects or elements, encouraging viewers, readers, and the like to focus their attention on the elements emphasized in the frame and pay less attention to the outside (Bennett, 2015: 42; Rein and Schön, 1996: 89). Thus, the power of frames lies in their ability to put certain features in the forefront while omitting others in a way that makes issues comprehensible so that people can decide how to evaluate and act upon the information they are presented with.

To conclude, the definition of framing that captures all the aforementioned elements that will be used in this work 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 for the item described (Entman, 1993; 52).

2.2.1. Master-Frames in Migration

The research on the impact of framing is one that has blossomed since the turn of the century (see D’Haenens & De Lange, 2001; El Rafeie, 2001; Nickels, 2007; Dekker & Scholten, 2015), which has led to a differentiation between four master-frames: human-interest frame, threat frame, administrative frame, and economic frame (Dekker & Scholten, 2015: 18-19). This typology is broad enough that it can be applied to various cases, while still being specific enough to be applicable to the topic of migration policy. Hence, they are not so

general that they are applicable to and suitable for other policy domains (Dekker & Scholten, 2015: 18). Additionally, frames are not mutually exclusive meaning that articles may contain framing elements from multiple master-frames.

The human-interest frame portrays the subjects in the light of being a victim of the government or governmental policy, thus appealing to the audience's morality. Referring to the vulnerability and innocence of the migrant, this frame elicits feelings such as sympathy and need for protection, frequently shifting the blame to external actors (ibid: 19). By appealing to ethos, the human-interest frame calls upon the citizen's moral duty to help their fellow residents in times of need (ibid).

Standing in stark contrast to the human-interest frame, the threat frame portrays migrants in the light of being a menace to the society they live in. According to Baker and McEnergy (2005), this usually takes place on the group level, targeted at people from specific countries or religions. For example, in Germany this is often employed vis-à-vis the Turkish migrants while Latin Americans are frequently portrayed in this light in the United States. This type of framing is commonly associated with xenophobia and a call to protect one's 'own' people (Dekker & Scholten, 2015: 20) from foreign intruders.

The administrative frame leaves all moral and emotional appeals at the door and solely deals with the policy issue as is. Hence, the issue is depoliticized, focusing on questions such as how the issue can be controlled adequately, who is responsible for addressing the issue (ibid), and which concrete (policy) steps ought to be taken next.

Finally, the economic master-frame focuses on the wins and losses a country may face due to immigration (D'Haenens & De Lange, 2001; Dekker & Scholten, 2015: 20). There are two aspects to this type of frame: the pressure on the government due to increasing numbers of immigrants and the economic motivations rather than immediate need of these individuals (Dekker & Scholten, 2015: 20). In the first instance, the economic frame is straightforward: immigration forces governments to redistribute their already scarce resources. The costs hereof are immediately felt by the society, who, for example, has less access to public goods as a consequence. The second economic frame, referred to as the authenticity frame by Nickels (2007), questions the legitimacy of the motivations of migrants, distinguishing between real political asylum seekers and spurious economic refugees (Dekker & Scholten, 2015: 20). Hence, this frame questions the economic motivations of these individuals which makes it part of the economic master-frame.

2.2.2. Functions of Frames

Within master-frames, one can gain a detailed insight into what these frames do. This is the function of frames. In line with Entman's (1993) definition, the most simplistic way of summarizing the functions of frames is by saying that they define problems, diagnose causes, and suggest remedies.

First and foremost, frames define problems. This entails determining the cause of an issue and the associated costs and benefits of the matter (ibid: 52). They also diagnose causes in an attempt to pinpoint the source(s) of issues. Finally, frames have the capacity to suggest remedies, offering means by which problems can be alleviated and effects can be predicted (ibid: 52). What is notable about Entman's purposes of frames is that they align quite well with Watson's components of prolonged media attention described in section 2.1. This proves how closely media attention and framing are intertwined in the process of selecting and highlighting specific elements of stories in order to construct a narrative.

A widely cited example from a study conducted by Kahneman and Tversky (1984) that allows us to discern the functions of frames and serves as a testament to the power of frames goes as follows:

Imagine that the U.S. is preparing for the outbreak of an unusual Asian disease, which is expected to kill 600 people. Two alternative programs to combat the disease have been proposed. Assume that the exact scientific estimates of the consequences of the programs are as follows: If Program A is adopted, 200 people will be saved. If Program B is adopted, there is a one-third probability that 600 people will be saved and two-thirds probability that no people will be saved. Which of the two programs would you favor? (Kahneman & Tversky, 1984: 343)

The outcome of the experiment was that 72 percent of the participants chose Program A whereas 28 percent elected Program B. Now the researchers posed another problem in which the same cover story was followed by a different description of the prospects associated with the two programs:

If Program C is adopted, 400 people will die. If Program D is adopted, there is a one-third probability that nobody will die and a two-thirds probability that 600 people will die (ibid: 343).

In this case, the percentage choosing Program C was 22 percent while 78 percent selected D. Upon reflection, it is evident that the percentages choosing the options were reversed despite the fact that they have the same consequence (Program C and A are identical as well as Program D and B). The respondents answered the two questions about the programs conflictingly which can be attributed to the manner in which the proposals are framed. In the

first suggestion, the programs are framed in terms of saving lives, whereas Programs C and D are framed in terms of deaths.

This example illustrates how frames operate by selecting and highlighting certain components. More specifically and in relation to Entman's purposes of frames, this example diagnoses a cause (the Asian disease) while also suggesting a remedy through the "Programs". Kahneman and Tversky (1984) demonstrate how certain aspects can be made more salient and memorable through framing, proving the power of frames.

2.2.3. Framing Devices

With the functions of frames in mind, we now introduce elements through which one can discern the type of device used in a frame on a micro-level. When talking about frames in the media, Van Gorp (2007: 64) talks about frame packages, defined as a "cluster of logical organized devices that function as an identity kit for a frame". By distinguishing the elements that comprise the frame package that are used as framing devices, we can pick apart frames. Seeing as Gamson and his colleagues (Gamson and Lasch 1983; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989) have set the groundwork on empirical framing literature, it seems natural that the explanation of framing devices relies heavily on the conceptualization provided by these authors. The following elements constitute framing devices: (a) metaphors, (b) exemplars, (c) catch-phrases, (d) depictions, (e) visual images (ibid).

The conventional definition of a metaphor is describing one thing in terms of something else. Krippendorff (1993: 3) defines them as "linguistic vehicles through which something new is carried." The purpose of a metaphor is to enhance the reader's understanding of given topic so that they can attach meaning to it. The structure of a metaphor is so that there is always a familiar component that is being compared with another topic that requires clarification (Krippendorff, 1993: 2). For example, the metaphor 'cold as ice' uses ice as a point of reference to explain how cold something is. Thus, the emphasis is placed upon imagery and items of the imagination in order to frame the main subject.

Exemplars, on the other hand, rely on real-life events that have taken place in the past (Gamson and Lasch, 1983: 4) to frame the principal subject. This is often done in a dramatized manner (Johnson-Cartee, 2005: 169) to evoke a usually negative memory from the past to be used in reference to a current situation or event. By nature, metaphors and exemplars are quite similar and are mainly distinguished by the fact that the former uses imagined items while the latter is reality-based. A common factor to both metaphors and

exemplars is that they organize their user's perceptions (Krippendorff, 1993: 3) and give meaning to the topic, thus becoming part of frames.

The third item, catch-phrases, are frequently found in terms of statements, tag lines or slogans used to summarize the subject (Gamson and Lasch, 1983: 4-5). Catch-phrases may initially start out as headlines or statements that attract attention that consequently develop to become "a word or phrase that is easy to remember and is commonly used to represent or describe a person, group, idea, etc." (*Merriam-Webster*, "catch-phrase"). What makes catch-phrases such appealing framing devices is the fact that they are recognizable, subliminal, reusable, and applicable to various contexts. For example, Donald Trump's slogan "Make America Great Again" is a catch-phrase.

The function of depictions is to characterize subjects in a way so that a certain image is evoked in the readers (Johnson-Cartee, 2005: 170). This can either serve in a positive way so that the principal becomes relatable to the reader but it may also take on a negative shape whereby the principal becomes singled out and portrayed in an undesirable light. A prominent example of a depiction is Hitler's characterization of Jewish people as an evil, money-greedy race during the Nazi regime.

Finally, visual images are based in graphic representations used to illustrate issues within the package (ibid: 170). These are often found in terms of icons (Gamson and Lasch, 1983: 5) such as flags that symbolize a certain nation or ideology. Johnson-Cartee (2005: 170) uses the example of a flag-draped coffin leaving a military airplane as a visual image of war. Visual images serve the function of bringing matters closer to home for the readers, giving them the impression that it has a direct or personal effect on them. When frames in the form of visual images are employed, it is likely an attempt to appeal to the ethos and when you identify closely with something, you are more likely to live through it vicariously, making this framing device an impactful mechanism.

2.2.4. Interaction between the Media and Frames

The relation between framing and the media largely depends on which approach one takes to the media: are they a powerless *or* a powerful actor?

In the first approach, the media is situated between the initiators of frames and the public. According to this viewpoint the media's role is to take the information packages given to them at face value and publish the content without much further investigation. As previously outlined, the initiator of a frame in the political context is generally a leader or someone in power. Thus, they are the actors that would supply the information to the media.

This angle supposes that there is very little own exploratory work and reporting done by the media.

However, the media is not just a mute actor that follows the stream blindly. As societies expand, become more complex, and technologies improve, the media “continuously take on more and more unique information functions: information gathering, processing, and delivery” (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976: 6). While initiators often bring matters that have already been framed in a certain way to the media’s attention, the media has a great deal of influence over what and how content is published. Through investigative and their own framing work, the media can “highlight some attributes and underweight others... [limiting] the bound of what makes up the set of feasible alternatives” (Wolfe, Jones and Baumgartner, 2013: 183) and actions available for other stakeholders and actors. Thus, the media have the power to generate their own frame or contribute to attempts to counter-frame certain situations either purposefully or involuntarily (Mintz & Redd, 2003: 198).

What makes pinpointing the scope of the media’s impact so difficult is the fact that the media is such an integral part of society. Beyond the economic tasks of persuading and entertaining, the media serves as an information system that maintains a balance between the political and societal realm (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976: 4-5) that almost everyone depends on. Individual people or leaders can only reach a limited audience without the help of the media, making the former extremely dependent. Therefore, the success or failure of framing attempts frequently depend on whether the media approves or opposes the proposed frame (Mintz & Redd, 2003: 198). Ultimately, the media holds significant power over what is published and the eventual outcome thereof is often a combination of the frame introduced by initiators and the media’s own work.

Regarding the relation between framing and the media, this work prefers referring to the media as a powerful actor. In this role, the media takes on an active role in the shaping of information and frames. This interactive relationship is mainly manifested in the interplay between the initiator of the frame, the media’s own interpretation and investigation, and the audience. Notwithstanding the role of individual actors, the media’s weight exceeds that of singular person. With the extensive reach the media has, they are able to do things like resolve ambiguity, help in attitude and opinion formation, stimulate policy change, and also influence political agenda-setting (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976: 9-11). The latter will be discussed in more detail in the succeeding section.

2.2.5. Conclusions on Frames

The theory has leans itself to a differentiation between macro, meso, and micro levels of framing. At the macro scale, one encounters the master frames. Next, one can pick apart the frame at the meso level by differentiating between the different functions. Finally, a study of the framing devices constitutes the micro level, as it picks apart the frame in the most detailed manner possible.

Seeing as the literature on framing is so vast and diverse, drawing from various authors who have dealt with the topic frequently and in-depth, offers a wide insight into the world of framing. In order to give the readers an overview of the concepts addressed in the previous sections, the table below serves as a summation of the main components.

Table 2.2.1. Overview of framing elements

Master-Frames in Migration²	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Human interest frame <li style="padding-left: 20px;">- Threat frame - Administrative frame - Economic frame 	
Functions of Frames³	Framing Devices⁴
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Define problems - Diagnose causes - Suggest remedies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Metaphors - Exemplars - Catch-phrases - Depictions - Visual images

2.3. Political Agenda-Setting

The question of why political actors and governments devote attention to some issues, ignore others, and pursue the policies that they do is a question that is ridden by complexities and intricate rationalizations. Jones and Wolfe (2010: 18) define the agenda-setting role of the media in the policy process as the media telling the politicians and public what to think *about*. The words ‘setting the agenda’ are now commonplace in discussions over what ought to be at the center of public attention and political action (Mccombs, 2004: viii). The Chapel Hill study formed the groundwork for agenda-setting theory studies and over time it has blossomed and become vastly researched which has led to the development of an immense amount of literature on the topic (Mccombs, 2004: ix, 4). Given the immense portfolio of

² Source: Dekker & Scholten, 2015: 18-21

³ Source: Entman, 1993: 52

⁴ Source: Gamson & Lasch, 1983; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989

issues that governments face brought about by media attention, the question that lies at the heart of the agenda-setting theory literature with regard to media attention is: is there a transmission of issue salience from media agenda (manifested through media attention) to the political agenda (ibid: 20)?

2.3.1. Agenda-Setting Processes

As past research has confirmed, agenda-setting is primarily about organizing, focusing, and funneling attention in the context of competing interests, issues, ideas, and information asymmetries (Wolfe, Jones, Baumgartner, 2013: 177; Jones, 2001; Jones and Baumgartner, 2005). Initial attention is often distributed across a wide range of issues and this may consequently lead to a diversity which is “not only related to the set of issues government attends to, but also affects representation of other actors, such as organized interests and the public, in the governmental process” (Jennings et al., 2011: 2). This variety is a necessary component of democracy. However, as Kingdon’s agenda-setting theory argues, a combination of policies, problems, and politics determines which issues ultimately receive the attention of the government and which remain unattended to (Holzer & Schweser, 2011: 149-151).

Previous research outlines two conditions that must be in place in order for the mass media to be able to shape and direct the course of the agenda. First of all, there ought to be a reasonably open political system (Mccombs, 2004: 37). In addition to this, the media ought to be able to act openly and freely (ibid: 37). When these two conditions are fulfilled and issues are noteworthy enough to have gained sufficient momentum, problems may find their way to the political agenda and can thus have an effect on the agenda. By definition, these two components are fundamental elements of democracy, making them inherent assumptions for this research.

What follows from this is that the agenda forming process can be characterized by continuous struggles between various actors, each of whom aim to (re)formulate policy issues (Korthagen, 2015: 39). As problems, actors, strategies, the media, and internal and external events come into contact with each other throughout this process, it is extremely hard to predict the outcomes of political agenda-setting processes (ibid: 40). There are two related propositions that the literature has posed with regard to the relationship between media, the attention it designates, and political agenda-setting:

[...] (a) the media control the agenda by selecting broad issue topics for prominent coverage, and (b) prominence subsequently determines which issues are judged as important (McLeod, Kosicki & McLeod, 2009: 229; Mccombs 2004)

These propositions are in line with the idea that media attention is seen as a powerful resource and determinant of the political agenda as outlined in earlier sections. Furthermore, they offer a point from which this research can depart in order to examine the role of the media on agenda-setting, specifically focusing on the political agendas of parliamentary meetings and the policy outputs thereof.

2.3.2. Agenda-Setting Effects

Agendas matter because they indicate priorities (Jennings et al., 2011: 3) that are made based on the continuous flow of information that is processed and ranked by both the public and politicians. Issues are brought up in great abundance. The complex environment we like to call our governmental system deals with various policy questions, problems, and conflicts (Carmines and Stimson, 1993: 152). Additionally, numerous actors struggle to attain media attention for given problem formulations in the hope that they will make it to the political agenda (Korthagen, 2015, 47). What follows from this is that some of the issues make it to the political agenda while others merely pass without notice by the polity. Hence, agenda-setting is considered a zero-sum game (Mccombs, 2004: 38). The intense competition that characterizes the battle to make it to the political agenda means that whenever one issue wins and makes it to the agenda, another loses because it is not addressed.

One of the news' main characteristics, that it is event-driven, also has an effect on the way agendas are formed. Albeit occasionally unintentionally, this feature "provides issue advocates opportunities to introduce and/or amplify new frames or definitions to the issue agenda" (Wolfe, Jones, Baumgartner, 2013: 181). Through its ability to elevate issues to the agenda, the media holds significant power to increase the chances of matters receiving consideration on institutional agendas (Cobb & Elder, 1971: 909). This interplay is what makes studying the combined relationships between the concepts media attention, framing, agenda-setting, and policy outputs so interesting.

In the discussion on the political agenda, one refers to agenda-setting effects as a way of talking about whether or not media attention has any influence on the political agenda. Mccombs (2004:37) defines agenda-setting effects as the "successful transfer of salience from the media agenda to the agenda." Therefore, what follows from this is that the logical empirical approach to determine whether or not media attention has any effects on the political agenda is to study the media attention first and see if that is reflected in the political agenda. To conclude, agenda-setting effects are crucial in describing the transfer of issues from the media agenda to the political agenda (ibid: 60, 66).

Furthermore, there has to be a clear differentiation between what agenda-setting and framing is. Price and Tweeksbury succinctly summarize this distinction as:

Agenda setting [sic] looks on story selection as a determinant of public perceptions of issue importance and, indirectly through priming, evaluations of political leaders. Framing focuses not on which topics or issues are selected for coverage by the news media, but instead on the particular ways those issues are presented (Scheufele & Tweeksbury, 2007: 15 citing Price & Tweeksbury 1997: 184).

These differences are important to keep in mind when talking and reading about the concepts in relation to each other.

2.3.3. Conclusions on Agenda Setting

As a central process in any political system, clarifying and defining which issues ought to be at the center of political attention is a fundamental aspect of agenda-setting. As the literature on agenda setting is widespread and dense in its different conceptualizations, the accepted definition here will be: “the process by which problems become salient as political issues meriting the attention of the polity” (Cook et al., 1983: 17). This research will measure the political agenda-setting effect on the basis of communication, discussions, and motions in parliamentary meetings. Korthagen (2015: 40) describes the process of agenda building as a complex system of actors, institutions, and issues in an environment that can be characterized by stability as well as sudden change mainly brought about by issue formulation, media attention, and actor participation. Seeing as media attention is of undeniable importance, what follows from this is that one of the pivotal components of agenda-setting is the “transfer of media priorities to political priorities” (Van Aelst et. al., 2013: 1). This is not to say that media attention is a silver bullet and that the public and politicians are regarded as mindless robots waiting to be fed with information. Actors and stakeholders are not defenseless and are very capable of filtering and compartmentalizing information, “even in the face of continuous mass media barrages about a topic” (Mccombs, 2004: 59). This work thus places a focus on the effect of media attention on agenda setting, intertwining these two elements integrally (Wolfe, Jones, Baumgartner, 2013: 179).

2.4. Policy Outputs

2.4.1. The Public Policy Process

In order to be able to talk about policy outputs, we first address what public policy entails. Hofferbert (1974) talks about public policy as the “framework of governmental formation and deliberation, the intentions of decision-makers, the formal statement of public

activity, or the consequences of that activity for the public". More specifically, Lynn (1978: 239) takes the following approach on public policy:

Public policy can be characterized as the output of a diffuse process made up of individuals who interact with each other in small groups in a framework dominated by formal organizations. Those organizations function in a system of political institutions, rules and practices, all subject to societal and cultural influences.

This definition captures the aspect that public policy is an *output* of governmental processes as well as the fact that it takes place in an elusive manner through internal political and bureaucratic processes that are hard to grasp (Hughes, 2012: 106). Furthermore, it gives room for societal and cultural influences, which, amongst other things, include media attention and framing. Hence, it includes the actions of governments and their decisions on the laws and rules that affect the public's lives. These actions that governments take within the context of public policy are normally designed to address the demands of citizens to resolve social issues. Therefore, it can be said that policies emerge in response to policy demands. In relation to the thesis, policy demands are said to be created under the influence of media attention and framing, which leads to issues being discussed in the political agenda. The result thereof is a policy output.

2.4.2. Outputs vs. Outcomes

The differentiation between outputs and outcomes is essential. The former measures what an organization, government or business actually does or produces in a physical, virtual, or tangible form in response or relation to a specific issue or request. Outcomes, on the other hand, represent the effect or the difference something makes. When talking about policy outcomes, the focus is placed upon a policy's societal consequences and impacts it has once it has been implemented. In relation to public policy, policy outputs are found in what the government delivers in terms of documents in order to alleviate an issue that has been formulated in the first stage of the policy-making process (Sanchawa, 2015). Policy outputs are the actions taken following the agenda-setting process and deliberations that take place in governmental settings. Seeing as outputs are more tangible and quantifiable than outcomes, they will be used in the thesis.

The specific definition of policy output relied on for this research is: a tangible result in terms of a policy document (such as a law or regulation) that the government produces and publishes publicly in response to an issue. More precisely, the Kinderpardon will be studied as the policy output in the Netherlands. In addition to this, policy outputs can be broken down according to the policy instruments used. The concept of a policy instrument will be

addressed in the next section, but broadly stated, policy instruments are the means through which a policy is introduced to the public, how it will be carried out, and what the scope thereof will be. By gaining an understanding of the policy instruments, we can give a more detailed and refined picture of the policy output generated by certain media attention and as a result of the agenda-setting process.

2.4.3. Studying Policy Outputs

In order to study the policy outputs more specifically, we will use three of Entman's (1993) elements that have previously come up in the framing section. These are: define problems, diagnose cause, and suggest remedies. First of all, we can ask ourselves: if present, what is defined as the problem in the output itself? Does this match the definition offered through the use of frames in the media? This allows us to compare the problem definition presented in the media through frames and throughout the political agenda-setting process in order to see if there is any correspondence between them. Additionally, a policy output may diagnose a cause in terms of pinpointing the source(s) of a particular issue. Finally, a policy output will frequently incorporate some sort of remedy or multiple remedies for the problem. These solutions are the changes themselves and can be classified according to the threefold typology of policy instruments offered below.

Before turning to the typology of policy instruments, we first define what they are. According to Lascombes and Le Gales (2007: 4) a public policy instrument

[...] constitutes a device that is both technical and social...It is a particular type of institution, a technical device with the generic purpose of carrying a concrete concept of the politics/society relationship and sustained by a concept of regulation.

Hence, these are various tools that the government has at its disposal when devising solutions to specific issues. Policy instruments can range from more symbolic mechanisms to ones that carry direct legal clout such as laws. The former are less coercive while the latter are a representation of the authority of the government. "As basic tools of governing, each of the instruments represents a different degree of application of the legitimate powers of the state" (Doern, 1981: 22) which may be classified according to three main types reviewed in the table below.

Table 2.4.1. Policy instruments⁵

Policy Instruments			
	Exhortation	Expenditure	Regulation
<i>Definition</i>	Efforts by politicians to persuade individuals, interests, or groups to support or comply with government policies.	Monetary means that can take both positive (e.g. allocating grants) and negative (e.g. taking away of a subsidy) forms.	A direct coercive instrument of government as it sets rules of behavior supported directly by the sanctions of the state.
<i>Scope</i>	Activities that call upon the public.	Largely in the economic realm to levy financial resources.	Authority to act is delegated to governmental branches or bodies such as the judiciary.
<i>Examples</i>	Ministerial speeches Conferences Information Advisory and consultative bodies Studies/research Royal commissions Reorganizing agencies	Grants Subsidies Conditional grants Block grants Transfer payments	Taxes Tariffs Guidelines Rules Fines Penalties Laws (can include a statute itself)

2.3.4. Conclusions on Policy Outputs

Public policy and the policy-making process offer us with a framework in which issues are deliberated on, decisions are reached, and policies are made. This context is important so that policy outputs can be discerned and consequently studied. It is essential to keep in mind the difference between an output and outcome. Policy outputs can be studied by discerning their content in terms of whether it defines a problem, diagnoses cause(s), and suggests solution(s). The remedies can furthermore be classified and broken down according to three policy instruments: exhortation, expenditure, and regulations.

⁵ Vendung, 1998; 30-33 citing Doern, 1981: 22-25

3. Research Design and Methods

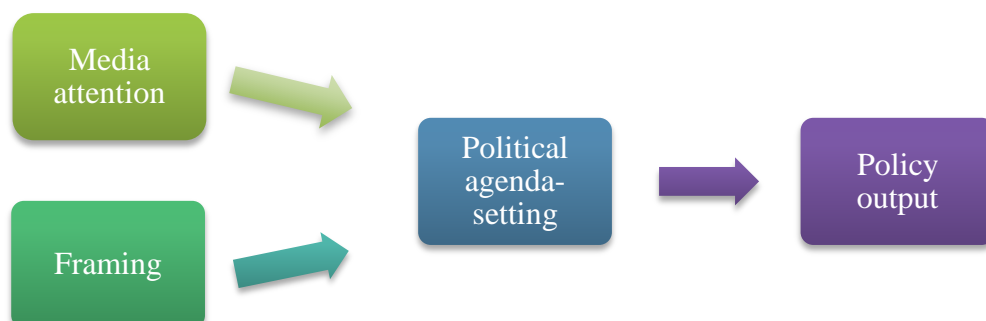
This chapter starts out by compiling and incorporating the concepts addressed in the theoretical framework into a conceptual model, hypotheses, and operationalization. By bringing the variables out of the theoretical section into a large causal body, the conceptual framework, which can consequently be operationalized, is formed. The operationalization of the variables is found in section 3.2., which is followed by an explanation of the research design and methods used in this thesis. This is done to give the readers an insight into how the topic will be examined empirically.

3.1. Conceptual Model

This research aims to discern if media attention and framing have an effect on the political agenda-setting process and policy outputs. Hence, media attention and framing are considered the independent variables as they are malleable and changeable over time and it is expected that they have an impact on the policy output. The dependent variable, then, will be the policy output as the anticipation is that it will be influenced by the first two variables. Political agenda-setting, then, is the mediator as it affects the outcome of the policy output.

The previously described variables are consolidated into the conceptual model, which serves as the framework and anchor for the research. This model not only identifies what/who will and will not be included in the study, but it also describes the relationships that may be present according to theory. Simultaneously, it gives the readers and researcher the opportunity to filter the information into categories through the use of variables (Miles & Huberman, 1994: 18).

Figure 3.1.1 Conceptual Model



In relation to the research and based on the information gathered in the theoretical framework, the following hypotheses/expectations have been formulated:

H1: Increases in the level of media attention will be associated with increases in discussion of the topic on the political agenda.

H2: Extensive framing of an issue will lead to these frame(s) being encountered in parliamentary agendas.

H3: Elaborate discussion of the issue on the political agenda will be linked to a specific policy output on the matter.

With these expectations in mind, we turn to the operationalization of the variables, which will consequently be followed by an insight into and reflection upon the research design and methods.

3.2. Operationalization

The conceptual model (see section 3.1.) outlines the four variables of essence to this research: media attention, framing, the political agenda-setting process, and policy outputs. Previous sections assigned meaning to the constructs in theoretical and abstract terms. However, in order to be able to measure these variables empirically and conduct research on their effects, they need to be made tangible and translated into measurable items. Thus, we must operationalize them. This entails concretizing the intended meaning of the concepts in relation to the study and providing criteria for measuring the empirical existence of the concepts (Berg, 2009: 39 citing Frankfort-Nachmais & Nachmais, 2007; Leedy & Ormrod, 2004). By strictly defining terms according to what the researcher wants them to mean throughout the research and designating particular measurements to represent the concept, one can ensure explanatory power, applicability, robustness, and replicability of the study. In the following sections the relevant variables are operationalized.

3.2.1. Media Attention

Using the information gathered in the theoretical framework on media attention is operationalized as follows:

Media Attention			
<i>Definition</i>	<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Indicator</i>	<i>Item</i>
The amount of time allocated to a topic in terms of word count and number of articles published about a particular subject in classic news media.	Number of articles	Articles that come up upon entering certain keywords on the topic	‘Mauro Manuel’ ‘Angolese asielzoeker’ ‘Kinderpardon’ ‘Mauro’ ‘Maurowet’
	Priority or importance	Placing of the article in the paper	Front or title page is weighted as 2x Body article is weighted as 1x
	Word count	How many words does each article use to report on/discuss the issue?	Hard numerical value from 1 to x

3.2.2. Framing

The operationalization of the terms used to study framing stems largely from Dekker & Scholten’s (2015) research on framing, with the addition of some supplementary concepts introduced in the theoretical framework. To reiterate, the definition of framing that will be used is: “to select some aspects and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 1993: 52).

Master-Frame Dimensions	Indicators							
	Purpose of Frames			Framing Devices				
	Define problems	Diagnose causes	Suggest remedies	Metaphor	Exemplar	Catch-phrase	Depiction	Visual image
Human interest frame	Individual or group of people being wronged; people are framed as villain versus the good ones.	Current policy provides inadequate or the policy itself has caused distress.	Exemption for individual cases or specific groups or policy change in general.	Describing x in terms of y .	Using real-life example (s) from the past to refer to a current event.	Statements; tag lines; slogans; headlines used (repeatedly) to catch attention.	Characterization of x in terms of y .	Illustrations; photographs; icons.
Threat frame	Specific group or policy is a threat to society.	Uncontrollable circumstances or misguided policy.	Restrictive (new) policy.					
Administrative frame	An administrative challenge that needs to be addressed and managed as effectively as possible.	Changing (inter)national circumstances and	Adequate action around a new situation; political win or loss.					
Economic frame	Economic gains or losses.	Economic impact of the case around immigration such as brain gain or labor displacement.	Seize the economic opportunities or reduce the losses; give migrants shelter elsewhere.					

3.2.3. Political Agenda-Setting

In order to determine whether media attention has had any effect on the political agenda, this research will study the agendas of parliamentary meetings over a given period of time. In addition to this, we will also draw from the information gathered on frames in order to discern if politicians refer to the frames applied in the media in their discussion(s) of the issue.

Political Agenda-Setting			
<i>Definition</i>	<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Indicator</i>	<i>Item</i>
The process by which problems become salient as political issues meriting the attention of the polity in parliamentary settings.	Content analysis	Mentioning of the following keywords:	‘Mauro Manuel’ ‘Angolese asielzoeker’ ‘Kinderpardon’ ‘Mauro’ ‘Maurowet’
	Word count	How many words does each discussion on the issue encompass?	Hard numerical value from 1 to x.
	Framing	Use of frame from media report(s) in dialogue about the issue.	See coded data for type of frames that may be used.

3.4.4. Policy Output

Policy Output			
Definition	Dimensions	Indicator	Item
A result in terms of a policy document (such as a law or regulation) that the government produces and publishes publicly in response to an issue.	Content of output	Define problem	What is defined as the problem in output? Does the problem definition match the one(s) offered through framing in the media or in the political agenda-setting process?
		Diagnose cause	Pinpointing source(s) of the issue.
		Suggest remedies	Solutions or changes in terms of policy instruments.
	Policy instruments (that suggest remedies)	Exhortation	Activities that call upon the public to persuade compliance.
		Expenditure	Economic means to levy financial resources.
		Regulations	Delegating authority to act (with regard to a law, regulation, etc.) to governmental branches or bodies.

3.3. Research Design, Strategy, and Methods

This investigation is based in empirical research, meaning that empirical evidence is used. Such evidence is knowledge or source knowledge acquired by observation or experimentation (*Merriam-Webster*, “empirical”) and the common ways of recording and analyzing empirical information is either through quantitative or qualitative means. Quantitative research refers to counts and measures of things, relying on numbers. In contrast, qualitative research “refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things” (Berg, 2009: 3). The distinction between the two main research traditions lies in the reliance on numbers versus an assessment of the quality of things using words, images, and descriptions. Oftentimes, qualitative research is not considered empirical or scientific, but as Berg (2009: 15) puts it, “*science* is defined as a specific and systematic way of discovering and understanding how social realities arise, operate, and impact on individuals and organizations of individuals.” Therefore, through a clear conceptual model, operationalization, and a rigorously conducted research design and strategy, qualitative methods can be equally telling as quantitative ones.

The context within which this research is conducted is through the use of an extreme case study. The data will be collected and analyzed largely through qualitative means, while

there is hint of quantitative analysis. The latter can be found in the assessment of media attention, which is largely studied by word count and placing. Conversely, the framing, agenda-setting, and output components will be carried out through content analysis and the use of coding (see Appendix A and B). The combination of qualitative and quantitative means makes for a study based on mixed methods. This comprises the research design, defined as “a plan for collecting and analyzing evidence that will make it possible for the investigator to answer whatever question he or she has posed” (Ragin, 1994: 26).

To summarize, in order to collect data, analyze it, and see if the research is in line with the hypotheses that have been postulated, this thesis will apply mixed methods. As a whole, this comprises the research strategy. In doing so, the social environment for a given period of time will be dissected in order to discern media attention and framing effects on political agenda-setting and policy outputs. A social environment can best be observed through qualitative means, thus justifying the choice of strategy and design. The following section on data collection and analysis gives a more in-depth account of this.

3.4. Data Collection & Analysis

The following section will outline which choices were made regarding data collection and analysis and how this will be used to fulfill the research goals.

3.4.1. Research Strategy: Single Case Study

The context within which the data will be collected is within a singular case study. Case studies enable an investigation of contemporary phenomena in the real world and allow the researcher to focus on a specific setting. Berg (2009: 317) describes the use of case studies as entailing a “method involving systematically gathering enough information about a particular person, social setting, event, or group to permit the researcher to effectively understand how the subject operates or functions.” Hence, case studies give researchers a context in which the research will take place, playing a supportive role in facilitating our understanding while also presenting us with the prospect of learning something (see Flyvberg, 2006). In addition to this, it should be noted that the case selected for this study can be classified as an extreme case. As Flyvberg (2006: 229) states, “atypical or extreme cases often reveal more information because they activate more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situation studied”. Due to the high media coverage allotted to the case (see chapter 4 for more details on the specific case study context) one can discern the processes that take place, enabling us to obtain deeper and more detailed behind the issue, rather than a mere outline of its symptoms (ibid).

Finally, an essential element regarding case study selection is that it is imperative that the case is chosen carefully. The intention behind using the given cases is to help the researcher gain a better understanding of external questions, issues, or problems (Berg, 2009: 326), thus making it essential that the case's properties align with the variables used in the research. More specifically, the case study will aid in giving focal points in order to discern how the processes of framing and media attention affect the political agenda and (may) lead to policy outputs. Using a case study is the appropriate approach for this work as it provides the researchers with detailed, rich, and in-depth setting so that information on the subject can be gathered. This will help in uncovering "the manifest interaction of significant factors characteristic of the phenomenon" (ibid: 318) within the case's natural context.

3.4.2. Data Collection: Content and Discourse Analysis

The data for this research will be collected via two main methods: content and discourse analysis. The former will be applied in the examination of media attention and the political agenda-setting process while the latter will be used to discern framing.

Content analysis provides researchers with a method to systematically evaluate large quantities of data by compressing many words into fewer content categories by coding or categorizing the information (Berelson, 1952; Krippendorff, 1980; Weber 1990; Stemler, 2001). In this case, content will be discerned through the use of various keywords that have been outlined in the operationalization. By systematically examining and interpreting a given body of material, one can identify recurring key themes and patterns, supporting Holsti's (1969: 14) definition of a "technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages." When the textual material is categorized and reduced to more relevant and manageable sections of information, one can infer quite a bit of information about a text, be it about the sender(s), the message itself, or the audience of the message (Weber, 1990: 9). In this work, the function of the content analysis is to use specific keywords to examine a large amount of communication and narrow this information down so it is specifically related to the topic of the work.

Discourse analysis, as Johnstone (2003) conceptualizes it, can be understood as the study of language used in the everyday sense: the words we use to talk, read, write, etc. With regard to framing, studying the discourse is attractive as it offers an insight into the vocabulary used in relation to certain issues. Berg (2009: 353) makes the following statement about discourse analysis that captures why discourse is such a stimulating matter to study:

[...] to the social scientist...the interesting aspect of this discourse is not merely what is said, or which words are used, but the social construction and apprehension of meaning thus created through this discourse.

Thus, here the focus is placed upon studying language, how it is used, and the societal associations made with those words. The relation of discourse to framing is that former makes up the frame, which is why this study makes use of the words and way in which things are said in the article to discern how it is framed. This forms the discourse analysis and will be achieved by the use of a coding scheme outlined the appendix.

Content and discourse analyses can provide an understanding of public administration and stakeholder incentives by scrutinizing the communication techniques used regarding issues. Through these forms of investigation, one can examine large quantities of data to determine if there are any patterns to describe any trends in message content. Additionally, analyzing the media attention and frames through these two means give us an insight into how issues are presented and framed. A guiding thread that carries itself through the use of content and discourse analyses is that they are virtually unobtrusive means (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, and Sechrest, 1981) through which processes, that may reflect trends in society, can be studied over long periods of time (Babbie, 2007).

3.4.3. Source Selection

Media Attention

Media attention will be discerned through content analysis using keywords. These keywords allow us to filter through the articles and collected the relevant ones. Through using these keywords, the aim is to ensure that all relevant messages are picked up, while irrelevant messages are ignored (Dekker & Scholten, 2015: 28). Consequently, the number of articles will be quantified in numerical terms to establish a timeline of media attention for both cases.

In order to gain an overall picture of media attention, the starting point for the research is two months before the first critical event took place causing media attention for the case. Hence, for the Mauro Manuel case this will be May 15, 2011. This allows us to show what the 'normal' state of affairs regarding the issue is compared to the situation with increased media attention. In order to gather an overall picture of the rise and fall of media attention, media attention will be studied over the course of a year's news cycle. Thus, the endpoint of the case and also the study of media attention is one year after the starting point. In addition to this, a fundamental aspect that requires clarification is how media attention will

be quantified so that it can be put on a timeline. Media coverage for each case will be measured per week, extending from Monday until Sunday.

As this research aims to analyze the full media coverage for the case in classic news media, we have made the distinct choice to select classic media and two sources within that medium. These are summarized as followed:

Table 3.4.1. Selection of media types and source of information

Case	Classic News Media	Source of Information
Mauro Manuel	De Volkskrant De Telegraaf	Academic database LexisNexis ⁶

The two biggest newspapers have been selected due to their respective size, circulation, and familiarity factor in the Netherlands, making them representative of what is reported in the country's news outlets. Furthermore, they are from different political affiliations in order to avoid skewing the data in favor of one membership over another.

Political Agenda-Setting

The Dutch government allows public access to a wide range of parliamentary documentation⁷. Therefore, the focus will be placed on plenary meeting agendas and reports (*plenaire agenda and verslagen*), motions (*moties*), and parliamentary questions (*kamervragen*). The operationalization above gives a more detailed account of the keywords that will be searched for within these documents.

The scope of political agenda-setting research will be the same time frame as for media attention. We expect that in the beginning phases of media attention there will be little activity in the political agenda with regard to the issue. This is due to the fact that it takes a bit of time for issues to reach the political agenda and because the polity often waits to react to a situation to see if it is truly worth allocating time and resources to.

Policy Output

Once the media attention, framing, and political agenda elements have been analyzed, we expect to be able to determine whether or not a policy output on the matter can be located. The potential policy output will be searched for in the same databases as the political agenda

⁶ Source: <http://academic.lexisnexis.nl/>

⁷ Source: <https://www.tweedekamer.nl/>; <https://zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/>

setting elements are found in. In specific, this will enable us to determine a relation between the discussion of the matter on the political agenda and the policy output.

3.4.4. Data Analysis

Analysis of Media Attention

To quantify media attention, articles will be searched for according to certain key words or phrases. This will supply the researcher with a number of articles to examine. Next, the priority and placing of the article is considered by assigning either a weight of one or two to the article. A body article will receive a weight of one. However, should an article be placed on the front page of the newspaper or magazine, the score will be doubled seeing as front-page articles are deemed most important and readers are confronted with these immediately. Additionally, the number of words allocated per week for both newspaper outlets will also be included in the numerical representation of media attention. This is a means by measuring the time allocated to the issue.

Graphically, media attention will be represented by two charts: one that takes account the placing of the articles over time and another that denotes word count of all the articles written on the topic per week. This will be done in weekly phases ranging from Monday until Sunday. Since the study is carried out over a timeline of a year, this will result in 52 data sets, giving a broad overview of the rise and fall in media attention over time per case.

Frame Analysis: Discourse Analysis via Coding Scheme

The data collection phase to study framing uses discourse analysis, more specifically through codes, to analyze these frames so that each framing element is coded according to its respective indicator. “The central purpose of [coding] is to openly inquire widely” (Berg, 2009: 353). Herewith the aim is to:

- (1) ask the data specific and consistent set of questions, (2) analyze the data minutely, (3) frequently interrupt the coding to write a theoretical note, and (4) never assume the analytic relevance of any tradition variable until the data show it to be relevant (Strauss, 1987: 30)

Open coding starts with a wide opening to determine the concepts that fit the data (ibid: 358) to offer copious amount of information, which can later be narrowed down throughout the body. This enables the researcher to find substantial backing for the data that is collected and present a refined conclusion (ibid: 355). The general rule of thumb is that “the more organized and systematic the coding schemes, the easier it is to allow the data to *talk to you* and inform you about various research-related questions you might have” (ibid: 356). To

conclude, the steps outlined above, in combination with a cautious approach, help the researcher ensure that the coding process runs smoothly and is not subject to questions of validity and reliability.

More specifically, the qualitative frame analysis is based on the content articles gathered in the media attention research stage described above. Additionally, visual images, such as pictures and cartoons, and their corresponding captions will be considered as well. Hence, the articles subject to framing analysis are identical with the ones found in researching media attention to ensure that these two components overlap and that the researcher is not studying two different things. Seeing as frames are intrinsically subject to cultural and personal sensitivity and frames of reference, making annotating the types of framing and devices difficult. In order to warrant objectivity and ensure that the frame analysis is carried out with transparency, validity, and reliably, Dekker & Scholten, (2015: 34) drew up guidelines that will also be used for this research. These are described in the box below.

Table 3.4.2. Criteria for frame analysis⁸

- Base the annotation of the article on the part of the message in which an interpretation of the case is given. Usually this is the whole message but in some instances the case is merely an afterthought, then framing is not considered present.
- Note the presence of framing devices in the written text or image.
- If purpose of frames can be explicated and the text fits within multiple master-frames, determine if one frame dominates. This includes observing:
 - The frequency of the occurrence of reasoning and framing devices in the message: numerical dominance is an indication of a dominant frame.
 - Placing of device: if they are present in the title or the opening or closing sentence of the article, they are more prominent and thus weighed more heavily.
 - Do not attach greater importance to certain actors e.g. politicians versus general public. The dominance of the frame is not determined by *who* said it.
- If there are neither visible reasoning nor framing devices in the article, it will be classified as an “unclear frame” (denoted by UF).
- Should one identify a reasoning or framing device not outlined in the operationalization, the message is annotated as “other” (denoted by OT).
- When multiple frames are identified, yet it cannot be determined which one dominates, the message is denoted as “multiple frames” (assigned code MF).

⁸ Source: Dekker & Scholten, 2015: 34

The coding scheme applied to the frame analysis is largely drawn from Dekker and Scholten's (2015) work and can be found in the Appendix A.

Political Agenda-Setting Analysis

Furthermore, the political agenda is analyzed to discern if media attention and framing have any effect on it. There are three elements according to which the political agenda documents will be studied. Firstly, the documents will be broken down according to their keywords and word counts. This will take the form of a graphical representation comparing the two. The second dimension will compare the word counts for media attention and the political documents graphically by week. This could, for example, help us find out if a peak in media attention is also met with a rise in discussions on the political agenda. While the previously described aspects are quantitative, there is also an integral qualitative part to the agenda-setting research. This will be carried out by studying the actual content of what has been said in the discussions. In doing so, we can discern if the frames previously used in the media also arise in parliamentary/congressional debates.

Policy Output Analysis

Finally, in order to study the policy output. This will take place in a two-step process whereby content of the output itself and the policy instruments applied will be studied. For the first dimensions, we will use the elements "define problem, diagnose cause, and suggest remedies" by Entman that have also been employed in discerning frames used in the media attention and on the political agenda. This way, a direct relation may (or may not) be made between the policy output and the variables that precede it. The coding scheme found in Appendix B gives a more detailed insight into the way in which the content and discourse analysis is carried out for the policy output.

3.5. Reflection on Methods

The strengths of content and discourse analyses lie in the fact that one can study the social world and phenomena without interfering in it. Furthermore, these two means are very useful for analyzing and interpreting messages in communication, especially given the concentrated context of case studies. Nevertheless, reliability and validity of the information must be warranted. In order to ensure that these requirements are met, the research ought to construct a coding set that corresponds with the research question. Furthermore, objectivity in coding is essential and researchers must heed that there is no coder bias. By consistently providing justifications for interpretations made throughout the coding process, researchers

can verify that the research is indeed reliable and internally valid. The following sections will reflect on these two characteristics.

In addition to this, a strength of this research is that it uses both quantitative and qualitative means. Although the most significant part of the research is carried out qualitatively, the use of quantitative data can reinforce (or also weaken) the findings of such research. Using mixed methods not only increases comprehensiveness and expands the dimensions of the research, but it also adds rigor to the findings.

3.5.1. Reliability

Reliability entails whether or not the same findings can be obtained when the researcher or someone else were to replicate the research in the same way (Kirk & Miller, 1986: 20). Hence, consistency and stability, in the form of giving the same answer over time, is central to reliability. Perkäkylä (2004: 288) outlines some key aspects involved in ensuring this: “selection of what is recorded, the technical quality of recordings, and adequacy.” What follows from this is that one would want to minimize the possibility for researcher error in order to ensure that the measuring procedure yields the same answer on repeated trials.

Researcher error could, for example, be unintentionally introduced throughout the coding progress because the researchers own judgment is involved and required in the use of the codes. In order to safeguard this, clear coding schemes with precise definitions have been established to ensure reliability. The combination of careful documentation of information and constant review minimizes the chances of researcher error being introduced while also allowing for all involved parties to make adjustments throughout the process should they be necessary.

3.5.2. Validity

The goal of this research is to demonstrate a cause and effect relationship between the independent and dependent variables. At its core, validity is concerned with the relationship between dimensions of concept itself and indicator used to measure it. This can consequently be characterized by internal and external measures.

External validity, also referred to as generalizability of the research, concerns the degree to which the conclusions reached in the study hold true for other settings, places, and times. Thus, the questions to ask here is how well the data and theories from one setting apply to another and are legitimately applicable across groups. Claims that one cannot generalize on the basis of one case study are frequently made, but according to Flyvbjerg (2006) this is a misunderstanding seeing as case studies can contribute to theory building

through falsification (ibid: 228). The research on framing and media attention is relatively young; the insights from this case study can contribute on that level. Thus, as Yin (1984) outlines, one can make theoretical (not empirical) generalizations, which then need to be tested empirically in further research on the basis of case studies. Hence, single cases studies can serve as a prime example for other cases, especially given the fact that the case for this study is an extreme one.

Internal validity questions whether the research measures what it means or says it will measure. This entails a correspondence between components incorporated the theoretical paradigm and the observations made by the research (Perkäkylä, 2004: 294). Another aspect to consider is if the researcher is calling what is being measured by the correct name (Kirk & Miller, 1986: 69). Hence, internal validity is used to question the extent to which research findings are truly representative of reality rather than being the effects of extraneous events. These extraneous events are called confounding variables, making a research study with high internal validity one that lets you choose one explanation over another with a lot of confidence because it avoids confounds. In order to minimize the risks of jeopardizing internal validity, this research outlines a clear conceptual model and framework with a detailed operationalization. Furthermore, the conscious selection of specific methods to conduct the research reinforces the work's internal validity.

4. Case Study Context

Average teenagers across the developed world have very similar daily routines: they go to school, talk and laugh with their friends, go to class, take part in after school (sports) activities, and then go home to their parent(s). As expected, nothing seems to be out of the ordinary but once you take a closer look into the background of some of these kids, you come to realize that once they turn eighteen or graduate from high school, their lives may just be turned around completely.

Many families and individuals come to the Netherlands aspiring for better futures. Little do they know that although it may be easy to become accustomed-to and integrate-into Dutch society, immigration regulations are complex and very strict. In the process of becoming assimilated into the new society, young adults pick up on cultural norms and values and start identifying themselves with the country they are growing up in. Hence, they have little attachment to their country of birth despite the fact that they may not necessarily be residing there legally. These young adults with diverse dreams of becoming teachers, soccer stars, and doctors, for example, are restricted in their daily lives and face uncertain futures due to their immigration status. At any time, these individuals can be, and sometimes are, faced with being put out of the nation they call home and deported back to countries they barely know and have no connection with. Consequently, the question of what happens to individuals such as these is one of economic, social, political importance.

This issue has come to the forefront in the Netherlands with the public case of Mauro Manuel in 2011. This case has captured extensive media attention in recent history, which has propelled it forward and lead to reforms, especially in the political realm. The Mauro case represents an instance with high media coverage, attention, and framing, which allows it to be classified as an extreme case (described in 3.4.2.). These characteristics are what makes a study of how these elements affect the political agenda and policy output feasible and interesting. In the following section, readers will be presented with a brief contextual summary about the case before the empirical findings and analysis are discussed.

4.1. Mauro Manuel & the Kinderpardon

The Kinderpardon was presented in early 2012 (UNICEF, 2012) after significant debate regarding asylum-seeking children had taken place in both the political and social realm during much of 2011. Targeted at children who have spent the majority of their formative years in the Netherlands and have consequently become rooter there, the Kinderpardon represents an attempt to look for a long-term solution to the prolonged uncertainty that many

of these young individuals face. Before turning to the law itself, the background, context in which, and debate regarding the deportation issue is elucidated.

The phenomena of children, occasionally accompanied by their parents, coming to the Netherlands is not necessarily a new one to the small European nation, whose immigration policies have proven to be quite strict. In the last decade, the issue of children, who have spent a majority of their lives in the Netherlands only to be deported once turning eighteen, has been brought to light once in a while. However, these merely gathered the attention of the media momentarily, fading away just as quickly as they surfaced. With the introduction of VARA's the Netherlands Says Goodbye (*Nederland Zwaait Uit*) segment on youngsters facing deportation in 2011, this broadcasting agency attached a human face to the consequences of the strict Dutch asylum policy, making them public stars overnight. One of these individuals is Mauro Manuel, whose segment aired on April 15, 2011 (VaraOmbudsman, 2011). The minute-long clip features Mauro narrating about his school, family, friends, and life in the Netherlands, concluding with the statement: "I feel completely at home in Limburg but the minister, who does not seem to think so, is sending me back to Angola" (translated from Dutch).

It was this clip that triggered large-scale public commotion and support for Mauro's cause and he soon became the face for unaccompanied minor asylum seekers in the Netherlands (Ruigrok, n.d.). At the age of nine, Mauro was put on a plane by his mother in Angola and he has not turned back since. A Dutch foster family, with whom he lived for eight years, took Mauro in (Pauw & Witteman, 2011). Despite his dark complexion, Mauro speaks perfect Dutch with a southern accent, and in interviews he speaks of things, like soccer and school, that keep most teenagers his age busy. This not only serves as a testament to his full integration into Dutch society, but it is also what makes him so identifiable and relatable to the public.

Supporting Mauro's case, Defence for Children, an organization dedicated to children's rights through lobbying, research, consultancy, information training, and action (Defence for Children, n.d.) stepped in to support the youngster. Soon enough, demonstrations and petitions were circling, media attention was growing, and the matter became a central subject in the political realm. The increased media attention was accompanied by a whirlwind in the Dutch cabinet about what to do about this particular case as well as long-term solutions. It was evident: politicians had received the signal and reform was necessary and imminent. In late 2011 Mauro's case reached a screeching halt when, after great debate, he was denied citizenship but given an opportunity to apply for a student visa to

stay in the Netherlands temporarily. Meanwhile, the parties were working on a new policy, the Kinderpardon, which was introduced in February 2012 (UNICEF, 2012) Mauro's temporary visa was converted into a residence permit under the Kinderpardon in March of 2012 (Beeld en Geluid, n.d.).

The first introduction and overview of the case contains indications that the media may be an important and influential actor in pushing the political agenda and a policy chain. This will be analyzed in this research and the analysis and findings thereof will be presented in the next chapter.

5. Empirical Findings and Analysis

This chapter outlines the findings of the empirical study that was conducted on the basis of the Mauro Manuel case. The information is broken down according to each variable used in the study in order to give the readers a detailed understanding into what information and insights were gathered by the case study.

5.1. Media Attention

The media attention allotted to Mauro Manuel's case starts out as incidental, with one article being published in week 26 as figure 5.1.1 below depicts. Consequently, the word count is low. The first mention of Mauro in the media is connected to an event held on het Plein in The Hague organized by Defence for Children during which a politician injured himself (de Telegraaf 30-04-2011). Here, the focus is placed upon the injured politician while Mauro's plight and the event itself remain in the background. Hence, Mauro is secondary to the article. There are no articles with the selected keywords that come up until twelve weeks later, week 38.

By the thirty-eighth week, Mauro becomes more central to the news narratives. Journalists are starting to draw comparisons between Mauro's case and Sahar, an under aged asylum seeker for whom the minister of immigration made an exception earlier that year. As the framing analysis will show, both the media and politicians themselves frequently refer to Sahar as an exemplar in the debate surrounding Mauro. At the end of October (starting week 43), we witness a dramatic increase in the media attention allotted to the young teenager's case. This holds true for four consecutive weeks, with the word count reaching a peak at 17 articles being published about and 7160 words allotted to Mauro's case in week forty-four (depicted in figure 5.1.1 and 5.1.2). The period between weeks 43 and 48 is defined by much commotion around Mauro and his cause and the media attention is consequences characterized as high.

Towards the end of November (week 48) this dies down, with three articles being published about the case in the last month of the year. Overall, these findings for 2011 show that there is an evident peak in the importance of Mauro's case to the media between weeks 43 and 48 as defined by the attention granted to it in that time period.

In the nineteen weeks of 2012 subject to media attention analysis, it can be seen that there are only three instances in which media designated attention to Mauro's cause, spread out between January, March, and April. The focus of these articles is the 'Kinderpardon', a legislative initiative that stems from Mauro's case. The fact that the media attention is not

focused on Mauro himself, but instead on the Kinderpardon in the first weeks of 2012 shows that the issue is no longer a headliner but that the developments are important enough to be covered on a longer term.

Figure 5.1.1. Attention for Mauro in the media by article

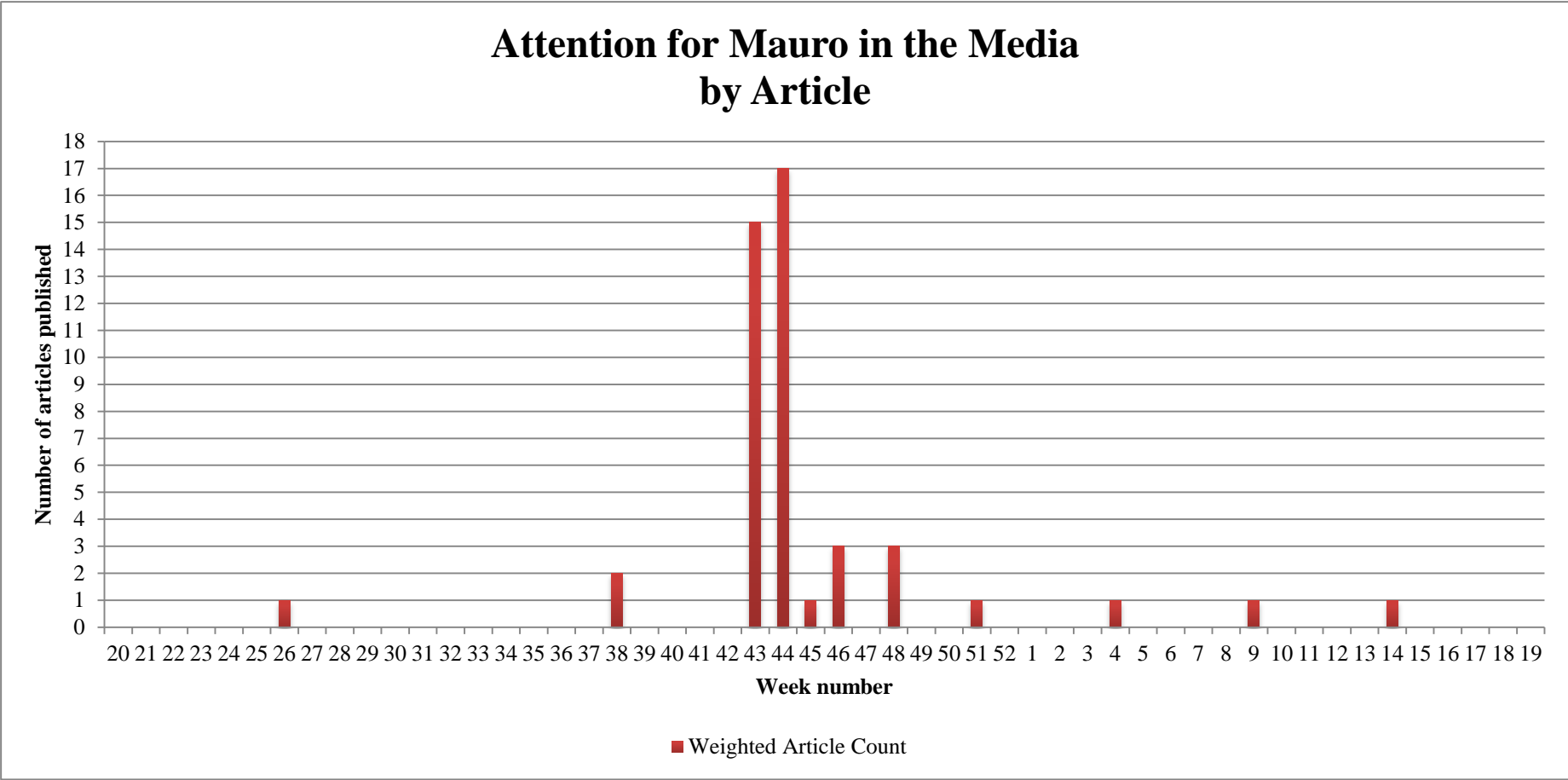
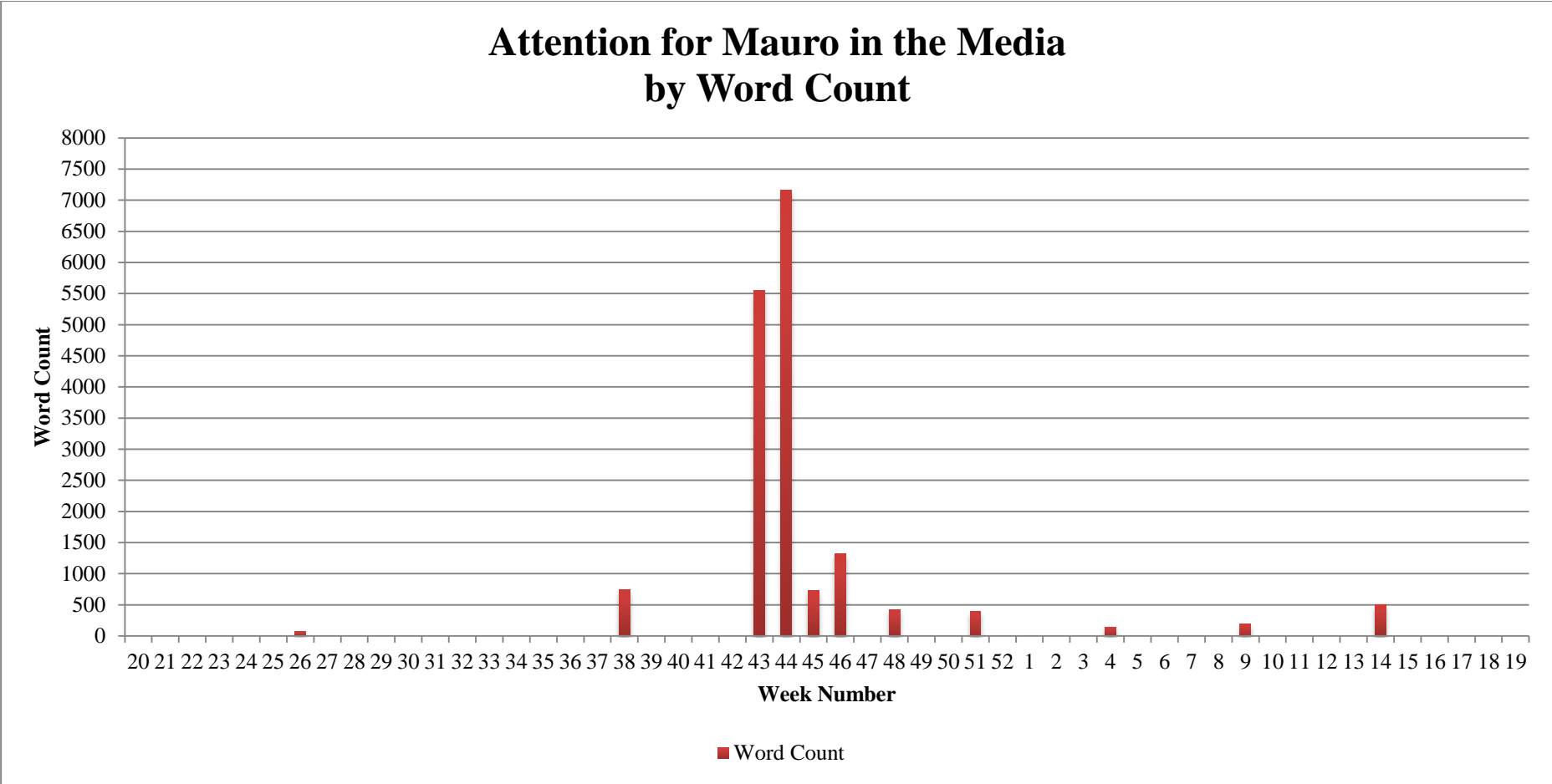


Figure 5.1.2. Attention for Mauro in the media by word count



5.2. Framing

Conceptually, this research makes use of four overarching master-frames to differentiate between the purpose of frames (define problem, diagnose cause, and suggest remedies) and five framing devices (metaphors, exemplars, catch-phrases, depictions, visual images). These master frames consist of human interest, threat, administrative, and economic frames. The following analysis will outline the findings of which frames, how they are employed, and which devices we encounter with regard to Mauro Manuel's case in the media.

5.2.1. Studying the Master-Frames by Purpose

Human-Interest Frame

First, there is the human-interest problem definition that focuses on the impending deportation that the young Angolan faces. As defined in the operationalization, this entails that an individual or group of people are being wronged; people are framed as villain versus the good ones. Here the problem here is the inhumanity of deporting Mauro who has been living in the Netherlands since 2003 and has since then become rooted there. Describing this as a political game at the cost of a young person ("*een politiek spelletje over de rug van een jong person*"; de Telegraaf 29-10-11), journalists problematize Mauro's deportation. Interestingly, the causal explanation for the problem outlined through the use of this human-interest frame is rooted in Dutch immigration policy, thus suggesting an administrative issue. More specifically, journalists shift the blame to the lengthy (application) procedures as being the cause and reason for why Mauro has been in the Netherlands for such a long time. Hence, it is the administration's fault that Mauro's case got held up in the bureaucracy, which led to his lengthy stay and consequent rooting in the Netherlands. Like the cause, the remedies suggested to alleviate Mauro's problem largely take on an administrative nature, focusing on giving him the opportunity to stay. This ranges from calls to the minister to use his discretionary powers (de Volkskrant 29-10-11), to finding a loophole in the law to grant the young Mauro a student visa to finish his studies (de Volkskrant 01-11-11; de Telegraaf 31-10-11), to coming up with new legislation to give individuals in similar circumstances as Mauro the chance to stay in their adopted homeland (de Volkskrant 01-11-11). While the actions themselves are administrative, the frame used to convince these actors to act is a human-interest one, appealing to the politician's ethos to let Mauro stay.

Within the human-interest frame there are two actors who are framed against each other in contrasting lights. First, there is Mauro whose story is personalized and he is framed

as being the victim of immigration policy through the use of various framing devices. Both de Telegraaf and de Volkskrant frequently make use of human-interest depictions so as to bring Mauro closer to the readers and the public. For example, articles talk about his Limburgish accent (de Volkskrant 27-10-11), what he does in his free time, and where he goes to school (de Volkskrant 29-10-11). Furthermore, Mauro's strong bond with his foster parents is frequently mentioned in articles (see de Telegraaf 28-10-11; de Volkskrant 31-10-11). By capitalizing on Mauro's story of having been put on a plane by his mother at a young age, then being taken in by a Dutch family, and consequently becoming fully integrated into the Dutch society, the media makes Mauro relatable and gives him a human face. Though portrayals of Mauro as the typical boy next door through the use of depictions, Mauro's story is made personal and relatable. In addition to this, the media frequently draws parallels with Sahar's story. This exemplar is one that all readers can identify with and relate to as, like with Mauro's case, Sahar's plight dominated the media's attention earlier that year. Furthermore, the ordeal around Mauro's case is often portrayed as a game. Catch-phrases such as Mauro has become a toy ("*Mauro is een speelbal geworden*") and the chess game around Mauro ("*het schaakspel rond Mauro*"; de Volkskrant 01-11-11) appear frequently throughout the various articles thus further expounding on the frame that Mauro is a victim. Finally, this is supplemented by a very strong visual framing device: a close-up photograph of Mauro with a tear on his cheek.

The second group of actors that is also framed frequently within the news narratives is politicians. While Mauro is made approachable and human ("*aaibaar*") in the media, politicians are frequently portrayed as rule abiding, cold, and formalistic individuals (de Volkskrant 27-10-11; 04-11-11). Numerous articles call the minister, his actions, and his decisions into question (see de Volkskrant 29-10-11). An example would be from de Volkskrant (01-11-11) in which claims are made that Minister Leers⁹ could have easily met Mauro halfway and since his actions are being called into question now, Minister Leers is theatrically declaring his impotence. Through the wording 'theatrically displaying his own impotence' ("*theatraal zijn eigen onmacht etaleert*"), the article vilifies Leers. Furthermore, parties as a whole are also portrayed negatively with statements such as 'the letter C in de CDA¹⁰ once means something, right ("*de letter C van het CDA, die stond toch ooit ergens voor*"; de Volkskrant 27-10-11). While a majority of the articles take on a human-interest

⁹ Minister Leers is a former Dutch CDA politician who was the Minister for Immigration, Integration, and Asylum Affairs at the time

¹⁰ CDA is a Dutch party: Christian Democratic Appeal

frame focusing on Mauro's situation, the ones that do focus on politicians often use depictions and metaphors to bring across the image of (specific) politicians as inhumane and stringent rule followers. In addition to this, another negative image of Minister Leers and some of his colleagues that circulated the media during this period portrays them as ones to raise false hopes and unreliable (see de Volkskrant 27-10-11; de Telegraaf 29-10-11 for example). This human-interest frame that depicts politicians in stark contrast to the victim frame employed for Mauro reaches its height in one of de Volkskrant's articles from the 2nd of November 2011. The previously described picture of Mauro with a tear on his face is put next to a picture of a visibly relieved Minister Leers (appendix C). This visual image employed by the Volkskrant is the embodiment of the human-interest frame used to portray politicians as only having eyes for the rules while victimizing Mauro as a sufferer.

Threat Frame

Another frame employed by the media around Mauro is one that portrays asylum seekers as opportunistic happiness pursuers (de Volkskrant 01-11-11; de Telegraaf 01-11-11). In addition to this, organizations such as Defence for Children, the organization that has committed itself to Mauro's plight, are also vilified (de Telegraaf 29-10-11). This is in line with articles that call out the so-called foreigners industry ("*vreemdelingenindustrie*") that are supposedly after their own political gain (de Telegraaf 29-10-11). Together, the group of these individuals and actors are framed as being the problem. According to de Volkskrant's numbers, in 2003 (the year that Mauro entered the Netherlands) there were about 4,500 Angolan unaccompanied minors in the Netherlands with adults also frequently pretending to be minors in order to get residence permits (de Volkskrant 01-11-11). Hence, the diagnosed cause according to the threat frame is the high number of asylum seekers that come to the Netherlands, hoping to make it their home. The threat frame clearly defines who and what the problem is and pinpoints the source thereof as being the numbers of immigrants that want to come to the Netherlands. The suggested remedy according to this frame is to follow the existing immigration policy strictly and continue deporting individuals who are in the country. Consequently, it is also a call to not give in to the media attention and pressure applied by organizations such as Defence for Children.

In broad strokes, the threat frame addresses all asylum seekers. However, with the growth of Mauro's case and the media attention allotted to his plight, this frame makes use of the young Angolan, claiming he is one of many being used by organizations as the most recent exemplar and poster boy for a more lenient immigration policy. Here the claim is that

those organizations supporting asylum seekers are making use of Mauro's case and the media attention it has received in order to reach other political goals. The threat, according to this frame, lies in the magnetic effect ("*aanzuigende werking*") that could occur if Mauro were to be granted an exception (de Telegraaf 29-10-11). Hence there is a sense of fear evoked around the idea of more immigrants coming to the Netherlands (de Volkskrant 01-11-11).

Mauro Manuel himself is also framed as a threat to national politics with depictions and catch-phrases like "Mauromania", the "Mauro-effect", and 'Mauro as pitiful Molotov cocktail ("*Mauro als meelijwekkende molotovcocktail*"; de Telegraaf 01-11-11). This is furthermore exasperated by statements like 'it is only a matter of time before the next Mauro appears with a crowd of Dutch fans' ("*het is dus een kwestie van tijd voor een nieuwe Mauro zich met een schare Nederlandse fans meldt*"; de Volkskrant 27-10-11). Additionally, Mauro is portrayed as a liar and exploiter due to the fact that he allegedly provided false information regarding his name and date of birth (de Telegraaf 03-12-11). Hence, not only Mauro himself, but also organizations dedicated to helping young adults in similar situations, are addressed in the threat frame.

Administrative Frame

In addition to the human-interest and threat frames, we can also discern an administrative frame in the media attention around Mauro's case, focusing on the fact that the parliament should not be debating about single cases but rather about laws as a whole (see de Telegraaf 29-10-11). In addition to this, there is also significant attention granted to the CDA and the internal struggles the party faces regarding their standpoint in Mauro's case. These two components make up the problem definition connected to the administrative frame. First, there is the aspect that sees the discussion of particular instances as a problem that ought to be addressed. Secondly, there is the challenge within political parties that needs to be addressed and managed. The articles outline the cause for both these problems as being rooted in the growth of media attention allotted to Mauro's case, which has, in its turn, lead to a change in the national dialogue and political environment regarding young asylum seekers. With regard to the solution for these issues, the articles call for some sort of political action and adjustment of the current immigration policy. This ranges from calls for mild arrangements for poignant cases such as Mauro's, new procedures, a study visa for Mauro, and finally to calls for Leers to use his discretionary competences (de Volkskrant 27-10-11; 29-10-11; 01-11-11).

The media portrays administrative struggle that the CDA faces as one characterized by the flip-flopping and public dissent of some of its members. While Knops, Ferrier, and Koppenjan¹¹ are found at the center of this criticism, the stability of the party as a whole is brought into question. In the big picture, reports on the internal struggles suggest that there is an internal administrative issue (de Volkskrant 28-20-11). More specifically, Knops' actions are called into question: at first, he was playing soccer with Mauro in The Hague to symbolize his support, but later he changes his standpoint on the issue. Moreover, the media also makes use of the presence of dissidents (Ferrier and Koppenjan) within the party. This frame signals instability to the readers and it is used to portray the government's administrative issues. Additionally, the media also brings the policy and values of the CDA into question. Some articles claim that Mauro's eviction does not flow with the (Christian) principles of the party (de Telegraaf 31-10-11; de Volkskrant 01-11-11). Hence, there is a call to action to address the coherence of the party.

Ultimately, the study visa solution is one that is supported by the CDA but the media also frames this as being a Band-Aid solution for the party (de Volkskrant 02-11-11) and that it is suggested in order to 'save-face' (de Volkskrant 31-10-11). Hence, the narrative portrayed by the media here, once again, is that Mauro's plight revealed how divided the CDA is internally and that it has exposed the fragility of the coalition (ibid). With the CDA being framed in such a light, the media suggests that the party is in trouble and in danger of being politically damaged. Within this frame, Mauro is frequently used as an exemplar, but his plight largely remains in the background, as the focus is on the struggle the party itself faces. Additionally, the media frequently employs metaphors such as 'the tormentors of the CDA (*"de kwelgeest van het CDA"*) to refer to Mauro and the effect his case has had on the party (see de Volkskrant 01-11-11).

5.2.2. Studying the Master-Frames by Framing Devices

As part of the analysis of the media attention and political agenda, we also looked at the framing devices present in both in order to discern if the frames used in two overlap with each other. The previous section discussed the master-frames on a broad scale, but a more detailed investigation of the framing devices themselves (metaphors, exemplars, catch-phrases, depictions, and visual images) can give us an even more detailed picture of the media's influence of the political agenda. In the table below, we offer an overview of the

¹¹ Party members of the CDA (Christian Democratic Appeal)

different framing devices used in the timeframe during which the media and political agenda were studied.

Below there are two tables: the first one outlines the Mauro-related devices in the analysis of the media's articles and the second one outlines these in the analysis of the documents for the political agenda. The quotes are taken out of the context of the newspaper and were coded according to which device(s) is applicable to that account. Furthermore, the boxes with a grey background indicate that the framing device is reoccurring in the media's articles and in the documents studied for the political agenda. Hence, they indicate an overlap between a frame found in the media and in the political agenda. This will be further discussed in the analysis that follows

Table 5.2.1. Mauro-related devices in analysis of media articles (metaphor; exemplar; catch-phrase; depiction; visual image)

Master-frames			
	<i>Administrative frame</i>	<i>Human-interest frame</i>	<i>Threat frame</i>
Framing devices from media articles	Elizabeth Schmitz, PvdA 1994 until 1998 responsible like Leers is today	The dictatorship of feelings (<i>de dictatuur van het gevoel</i>)	Interest clubs and asylum lawyers who swarmed around the child and worked against his departure for years
	Sahar (used multiple times throughout all articles to compare Mauro and Sahar)	<i>Hoog van de toren blazen</i>	...Mauro, who blew up the CDA without the use of bombs nor grenades
	Request that sounds like a bell	...(Leers) put his knife of the throat of the Angolan asylum seeker and almost cut it through	False sentimental crying for own political gains (<i>vals sentimenteel janken voor eigen politiek gewin</i>)
	<i>De vloer aanvegen met</i>	Mauromechandising; Big MacMauro; Mauromoties; Mauromomentjes	Mauromechandising; Big MacMauro; Mauromoties; Mauromomentjes
	The Netherlands has week knees	Sahar	Weeping with gems like Mauro (<i>met pareltjes also een Maurootje wenen</i>)
	Albayrak, Leers' predecessor, who denied Mauro's application twice and refused to make use of her discretionary powers...	A well-meaning young boy; <i>een nette jongen</i> (later also used as catch-phrase)	Mauro as pitiful molotov cocktail (<i>Mauro als meelijwekkende molotovcocktail</i>)
	Murders are also looked at individually	A political game over the back of a young person; <i>speelbal van politiek ; speelbal van mensen</i> (also depiction)	Is it only a matter of time before a new Mauro appears with a crowd of Dutch fans
	<i>Schoon schip maken</i>	Mauro's mediagenic face	Angolan teenagers see the Netherlands as paradise
	Loud cries from all sides that it cannot continue this way	Mauro as textbook example of...; Mauro gives a face to the issue	Soon enough they will all be rowing over the Mediterranean Sea with their study books in hand to ask for a visa
	Pathetic emergency measure	Us Dutch people have a feeling for civility and civilization left in us	

The moral destitution of the party (<i>de morele armoede van de partij</i>)	<i>Kwelgeest van het CDA</i> (also depiction)	
Minister Leers on the PVV's leash	His [Leers'] theatrical displays of his own impotence (<i>theatraal zijn eigen onmacht etaleeren</i>)	
Saving face	It is not a matter of being able to, but wanting to	
The case is a done deal (<i>de zaak al bijna in kannen en kruiken is</i>)	<i>Mauro met zachte 'g'</i>	
<i>Zich in de nesten werken</i>	If you were to talk with him in the dark, you would never know that he is a foreigner	
Rules are rules	<i>Straf vergelijkbaar met die van Tantalus...duurt zijn tantalus kwelling voort</i>	
Glaring case (<i>schrijnend geval</i>) (also depiction)	Maurocratie; dramademocratie	
	<i>Chess game around M. Manuel (schaakspel)</i>	
	<i>Geen humaniteit maar regels</i>	
	Glaring case (<i>schrijnend geval</i>) (also depiction)	

Table 5.2.2. Mauro-related devices in analysis of political agenda (**metaphor**; **exemplar**; **catch-phrase**; **depiction**; visual image)

		Master-frames		
		<i>Administrative frame</i>	<i>Human-interest frame</i>	<i>Threat frame</i>
Framing devices in political agenda documents		A Mauro is not a Sahar	A Mauro is not a Sahar	
		<i>[Voorstel] wordt door de CDA-fractie gepresenteerd als het ei van Columbus</i>	Zwaard van Damocles (used various times in different debates by different party members)	
		<i>Een ander duveltje uit het doosje aanbieden</i>	Here we have a burning ring at 4-6 meters high and if you can jump through it you can enter our country	
		Since the summer colleagues from the leftist parties have been tumbling over each other (<i>vanaf de zomer buitelen de collega's van linkse partijen over elkaar heen</i>) (regarding Mauro's case)	Dropping him like a brick (<i>laten we Mauro vallen als een baksteen</i>)	
		The biggest power machine of the Netherlands ([CDA], <i>de grootste machtsmachine van Nederland</i>)	<i>Limburgser dan vlaai</i>	
		Glaring case (<i>schrijnend geval</i>) (also depiction)	Glaring case (<i>schrijnend geval</i>) (also depiction)	
		Mr. dr. Goos Cardol...wrote in a scientific report that...	Playing political games over the head of an individual (<i>over het hoofd van een individue politieke spellejes uit te spelen</i>)	
			<i>Alsof je iemand een zwemdiploma belooft en hem de eigen verantwoordelijkheid inwrijft dat hij zijn diploma nog moet halen</i>	
			<i>Geknoei en geklungel over de rug van Mauro heen</i>	
			You are putting the knife on Mauro's throat and cutting it half through (<i>u zet het mes op de strot van Maurp en zaagt hem al half door</i>)	

Looking at the overlapping framing devices (in grey), we can see that both the administrative and human-interest master frames make use of Sahar's case as an exemplar. This is not surprising due to the fact that, like Mauro's case, Sahar's plight was one that was extremely present in the media and led to much political turmoil only a year prior to Mauro's case hitting the media. Therefore, it is an exemplar that both journalists and politicians can easily refer to. Similarly, the term 'glaring case' ("*schrijnend geval*") is also encountered as a framing device in the both administrative and human-interest frames. While this is repeatedly encountered in the media's articles as a title (as can thus be categorized as a catchphrase), it can also be classified as a depiction to characterize what type of case Mauro's is. With regard to the administrative frame, the phrase 'glaring case' is often used in a comparative manner in combination with references to Sahar's plight.

An interesting observation that we can make from this table is that there are significantly more overlapping framing devices that have been used with regard to the human-interest frame compared to the other two master-frames. The 'political game' depiction is one that is present in both the media and political agenda, albeit in different flavors. Both the media and politicians seem to take a liking to referring to what is happening to and around Mauro as a game ("*speelbal van politiek; speelbal van mensen; politieke spelletjes*") that comes at the cost of the young adult. On the 27th of October, a politician made a statement about the 'political games' ("*politieke spelletjes*") that are being played at Mauro's expense. This comes back in the media on the 27th in *de Volkskrant* and on the 29th in the *Telegraaf*. In addition to this, a striking depiction that appears in the media and in one of the political debates in almost exactly the same form is the one that uses a knife (*u zet het mes op de strot van Mauro en zaagt hem al half door*). What is remarkable about this depiction is that it appears twice in the media's articles, once on October 28th (*de Volkskrant*) and once on November 4th (*de Telegraaf*) while it appears in the political discussion documents once, namely on October 27th.

The two devices and references described above provide us with a very striking and interesting observation: namely the transfer of references does not only flow from the media to the politics but also the other way around, from politics to the media. With regard to the game reference, it was first made by a politician and then reproduced in a comparable manner by the media on the same day and two days later. The memorable knife depiction is first used in a political debate on October 27th, while the first reference hereto in the media is one day later (and also a week later in another newspaper). As established by the timeline comparing media and political attention, the political agenda followed the media at the start of this case

but this observation presents us with a confirmation that there is indeed a reciprocal relationship between the media and the polity in terms of who follows whom. In its turn, this has extreme bearing on the potential avenues for further research on this topic.

An additional observation that can be derived from this information is that it seems that de Volkskrant pays more direct attention to what is being said in the meetings, as this newspaper is the first to use the framing devices used in the political discussions in their articles. De Telegraaf, on the other hand, is a few days later with their use of framing devices that have been previously used in political discussions.

Another aspect that is rather notable is that we did not encounter any framing devices that take on the threat-frame in the political agenda-setting documents, while these are abundant in the media's articles. A line of argumentation for this is that politicians are careful with what they say about immigrants posing a 'threat' to their nation out of fear of losing constituents. Seeing as the political agenda documents that were used for this research are all public record, anyone can go back and read what was said in past meetings. Making statements like "it is only a matter of time before a new Mauro appears with a crowd of Dutch fans" as made in the media, could cause severe damage to a politician's career and image. Beyond this, it is no secret that immigration is a sensitive subject in today's reality. Therefore, we believe that, while politicians may be aware of the threat frame that is used in the media, they make the conscious choice to avoid making public statements of such nature. Hence, politicians are cautious about what they say in order to safeguard their own reputation and retain constituents.

When looking at the table on a broad scale, we see that, overall, depictions dominate as the framing device used across the board for all three master-frames. This finding is not necessarily surprising, especially for the media articles, as depictions are able to evoke an image in readers and can thus draw a rapid (emotional) response from them. Furthermore, it is not surprising that the use exemplars is largely found within the administrative frame due to the fact that these are used to refer to events that have occurred in the past that have a political nature and background.

Besides the recurring framing devices that are highlighted in grey, there are also some devices that, while not being directly identical, overlap in terms of content. An example of this would be 'Mauro with a soft g' used in the media and 'more Limburgish than pie' ("*Limburgser dan vlaai*"). Seeing as the soft g is characteristic of the accent that people have from that part of the Netherlands and *vlaai* is a typical dish from the region, these two depictions used to illustrate Mauro can be said to be relatively overlapping in terms of

content. Another similarity between two metaphors used under the human-interest categorization is the reference to Tantalus and Damocles used in the media and a political debate respectively. Although these devices do not necessarily overlap directly in terms of content, it is interesting to note that both references have their roots in Greek mythology.

To conclude, some insights can be drawn from the tables and analysis provided above. The most striking finding that is an addition to hypotheses that have been formulated for this research is that there is a reciprocal relationship between the media and politics in terms of the frames that are used. The research outlines particular occasions in which a specific frame was used first by politicians and then picked up by the media. This insight is very valuable and an addition to the field as it shows that the arrow goes both ways and not just from the media to the political agenda as hypothesized. Furthermore, the at-hand Sahar exemplar used by both the media and politicians shows that both parties make use of devices that can be easily recognized by the readers (in the case of the media) and fellow constituents (in the case of politicians). The continuous parallels drawn between Sahara and Mauro provide these actors with a recognizable way to present the issue, underscoring the reciprocal relationship between the two. Thirdly, politicians did not employ the threat frame regarding Mauro in the studied period, while the media used it abundantly. Finally, we find that the framing device of depiction dominates throughout all master frames and across the media and political agenda.

5.3. Political Agenda-Setting

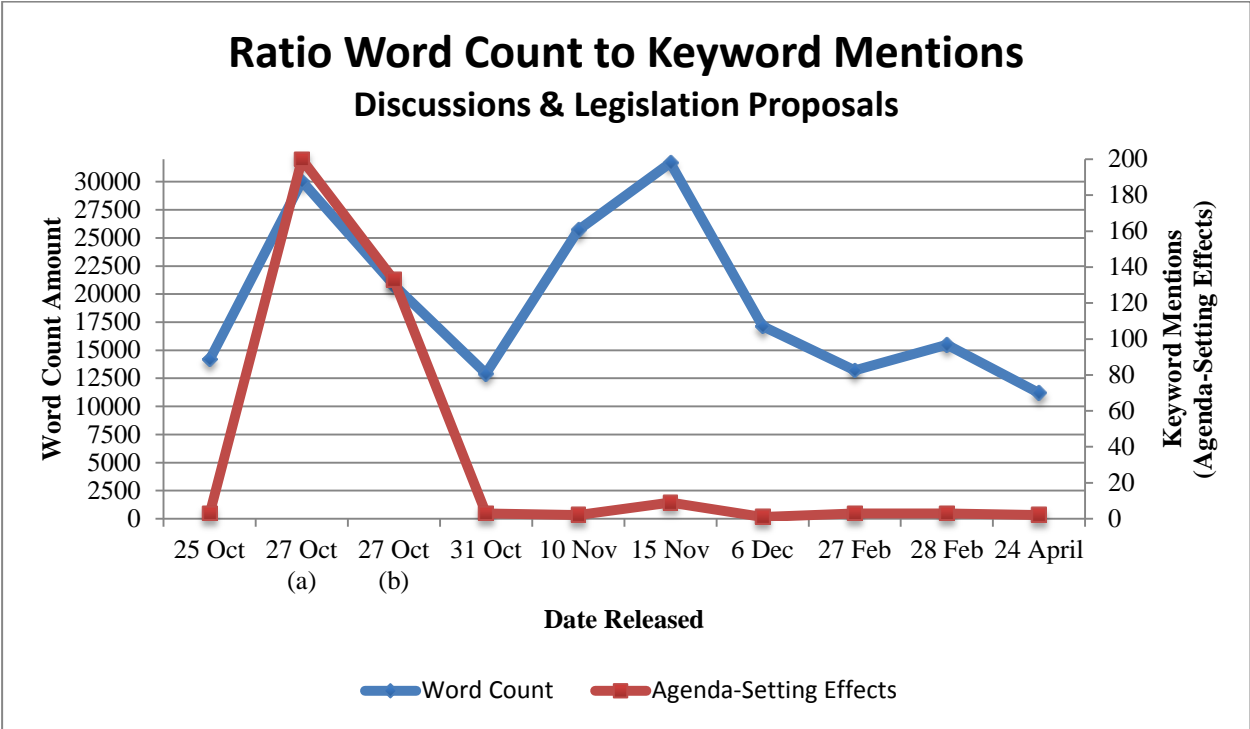
Within the yearlong period of 15 May 2011 to 2012, the analysis is based on the findings of seven motions, three bills that have been proposed (which are almost identical amended versions of each other), and seven discussion reports. For the motions, we also looked at the voting sessions in order to discern if they were accepted or not. This, however, will not flow into the analysis of political agenda-setting as they are primarily a recitation of who voted in favor or against certain proposals.

5.3.1. Political Document Content and Framing Analysis

Before turning to an individual breakdown and analysis of the political documents that were retrieved for this study, we first turn to an overview of the ratio in which we encountered the keywords in relation to the word counts of the discussions and legislation proposals. The motions were excluded from this graphic due to the fact that they are specifically about Mauro, making studying how many times his name or related keywords appear in the motions obsolete. The fact that politicians put in the work to devise motions

specifically related to Mauro is testament of the importance of the young Angolan’s case on the political agenda.

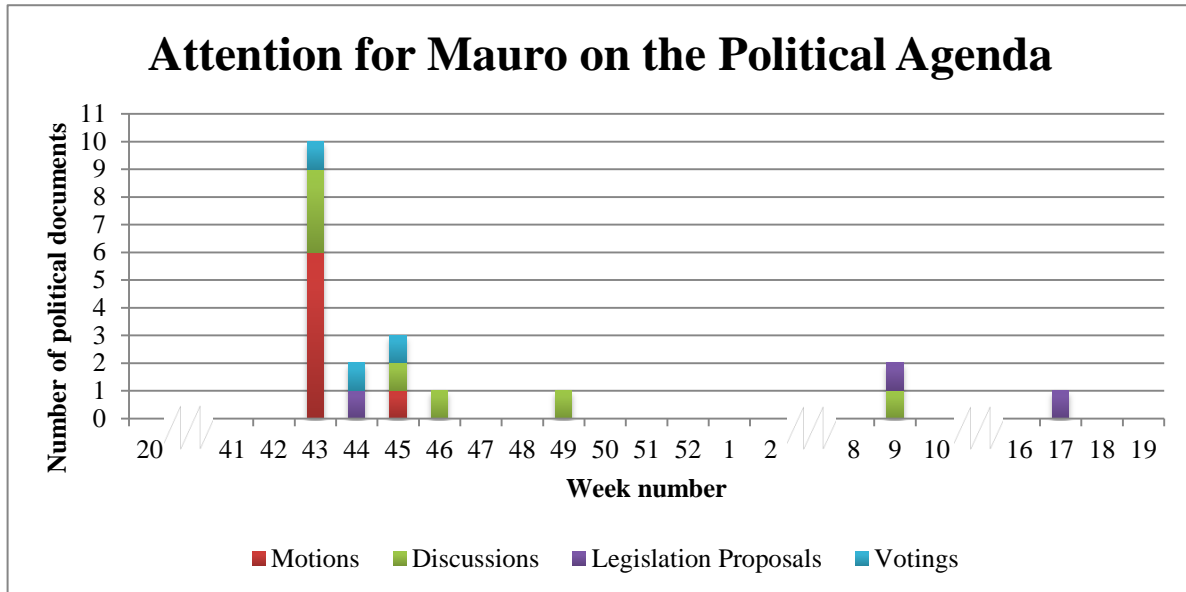
Figure 5.3.1. Word count and keywords in discussions & legislation proposals



There are two points in the figure that are striking: both documents from the 27th of October have an extremely high keyword mention compared to the rest. With values of 200 and 133 on the keyword mention (agenda-setting effects) axis, these are significantly higher than for the other documents, which range between one and nine keyword mentions. Upon closer inspection, this can be explained by the fact that these debates are specifically about Mauro and what ought to be done about his case. The fact that the parliament called a meeting and politicians came together specifically to discuss this particular case is unusual and therefore very significant. Furthermore, it provides support for the fact that this is an extreme case, as parliament does not usually convene to discuss such specific individual matters. In the remaining eight documents (of which three are bill proposals), Mauro is referred to with varying frequency in different contexts. This will be further elucidated in the breakdown that follows. Keeping this figure in mind gives the readers an idea of the frequency with which Mauro is referred to in the meetings and proposals.

Additionally, the figure below captures the attention and in which form that was granted to Mauro’s case in the political arena for the aforementioned period. Furthermore, it aids in understanding the broken-down analysis of the documents that follows.

Figure 5.3.2. Attention for Mauro on the political agenda



Discussion Reports

The first time Mauro’s name appears on the political agenda is in a discussion on the amendment of a law regarding aliens on October 25th, 2011. Here, Schouw (D66¹²) and Dibi (GroenLinks¹³) refer to Mauro and Sahar’s case as exemplars of the fact that immigration law requires a certain degree of an individual, personal, and human approach. Hence, this is a call for a human-interest approach by the two members of parliament (9: 2; 7). Two days later, 27.10.11, there is a general assembly labeled “the possible deportation of a young asylum seeker.” There are two reports stemming from this debate that are of interest to this analysis: the report of a discussion that the public was able to attend and another one that is also a debate that also contains the motions made by the various members of parliament. Immediately, the tone of the debate is very intense and sharp, with a PVV¹⁴ member criticizing the asylum-seeking industry and organizations for being misleading and lying in order to achieve their own political gain (9: 3). Furthermore, there is a reference to the supposed magnetic effect (“*aanzuigende werking*”; 9: 6) of granting exceptions to individual cases and there are calls for remaining stringent and following the current existing policy (9: 7). These arguments are in line with the threat frame also portrayed in the media.

On the other hand, there is the opposition who largely argues based on the human-interest frame, making calls to the minister to use his discretionary power to grant an

¹² D66: social-liberal and progressive party

¹³ Groen Links: center-left party

¹⁴ PVV: right-wing populist party

exception to Mauro. For example, Spekman (PvdA¹⁵) talks about the civility (“*beschaving*”) of the nation (9: 6), questioning the humanity of deporting someone who has made the Netherlands his home. Additionally, other members portray a similar picture of Mauro to their colleagues as the one given in the media: a young boy who is as Dutch as they come, with a Limburgish accent, who built up a life here (9: 10) and has become part of society. The culmination of these factors, according to the SP¹⁶, is what makes deporting this young man unthinkable and inhumane. As in the media, Mauro is portrayed as a victim of the government’s incapacities and actions (9: 21) and his adoptive parents are also introduced to gain sympathy. The use of the human-interest frame is not only found in the purposes of framing, but also in the use of various framing devices by the politicians. Schouw (D66), for example, uses a metaphor with struggling and a swimming certificate (*zwemdiploma*), something almost all Dutch people can relate to, to depict the uncomfortable circumstance in which Mauro finds himself (9: 12). Finally, a metaphor rooted in the human-interest frame used frequently in the dialogue between politicians is the sword of Damocles above his head (“*het zwaard van Damocles boven zijn hoofd*” e.g. 12: 2; 13; 17) in relation to Mauro’s situation.

In contrast to the human-interest frame used by a large number of parties, minister Leers consistently attempts to portray the issue as being an administrative one: an issue that he has no control over and one in which his hands are tied. He consistently refers to the rules and how they cannot be broken just because Mauro’s case is highlighted in the media. This argument falls on deaf ears with the opposition, as they are largely focused on the human side of the matter. Leers attempts to make his stance clear by making statements about how he stands for integrity, a consistent and uniform application of the policy, and that he does not want to make decisions based on randomness (12:10; 14; 15). Overall, the discussion between Leers and those politicians who aim to keep Mauro in the Netherlands is one characterized by a consistent back and forth. While Leers unswervingly attempts to clarify the administrative reasons for the course of action he has taken, the other politicians have little understanding for this. What is striking about the communication between the two is that Leers is unable to clarify the difference between his position as a minister and the personal aspect to the matter, which is why the politicians cannot understand Leers’ actions. This is also precisely the grounds on which the media vilifies Leers as being a stringent rule-follower, claiming this case calls for some discretion and nuance.

¹⁵ PVDA: labor party

¹⁶ SP: socialist party

Finally, there are also those that follow the administrative frame that is also present in the media. More specifically, the SGP¹⁷ questions if they really ought to be debating over individual cases (9: 8). While physically present, the SGP contributes little to the debates in terms of content. Similarly, in the motions introduced by the other parties, the party consistently votes against them, claiming they will not support and fuel the discussion of individual cases out of principle.

As far as the remaining three reports go, Mauro's case is frequently referred to and used as an exemplar in debates about policy and young asylum seekers (see 10.11.11, 15.11.11, and 28.02.12). Due to the extensive attention granted to Mauro's case in both the media and government, it is a spry example that is at hand for politicians to use in order to help them bring across their point. The debates themselves are also specifically about young asylum seekers and the policies concerning them, proving that the agenda-setting effects of media attention are indeed significant. This aspect is captured in figure 5.3.1 on page 62 in which the word counts and number of times Mauro or keywords related to him were mentioned in these documents. Furthermore, the next section contains a comparison of the media attention and agenda-setting. As the figure shows, there is a visible overlap in the period in which media attention was granted to the matter and when political attention was given to the issue. Furthermore, throughout all the reports that were analyzed, we found that politicians referred to the media a considerable amount of times, especially in the discussions from 27.10.11 about Mauro's specific case. This goes to show that the polity certainly does pay attention to what is going on in the media and that they take note of what is being said.

Legislation Proposals

In addition to motions and discussions on the matter, some politicians also took the initiative to draft proposals of a bill/legislation. In the time frame studied in this work, there are three proposals that are of interest, each of which is an amended version of the other. Seeing as the similarity between the proposals is significant, the analysis is a summation of the components addressed in all the bills. Overall, the bills focus on administrative, governmental measures and changes that can be made. The cause of the issue is presented as being rooted in the failure of the government to act, which has led to individuals becoming rooted in the Netherlands (17: 11). This clearly takes on an administrative frame as the problem definition pinpoints the long procedures and governmental actions as the source. However, the administrative frame is also supplemented by human-interest components. This

¹⁷ SGP: Christian-right wing, socially conservative

is found in statements stating that the country has a need to protect the kids that have established a life in the Netherlands (7: 7). The first proposal uses the words humane safety net (“*humanitair vangnet*”) as a way of explaining the initiative, capturing the fact that there is indeed a human-interest element incorporated into the proposal. The proposals all make references to Mauro’s case, making use of his plight as an exemplar. An aspect addressed in the proposal, which was brought to light by both the media and politicians, is the concern for the magnetic effect (“*aanzuigende werking*”) of such a policy and how to avoid this from happening (17). Finally, a remarkable observation brought up in the final document is that less than five years ago parties declared that a Kinderpardon would be unthinkable but that now it is being considered (19: 19). In line with the findings of this study, we can conclude that Mauro’s case can be seen as a driver in these reform initiatives as politicians frequently refer to Mauro in the discussions and the legislation proposals themselves. Furthermore, they speak of the effect his case has had thus far and the effect it is expected to have in the future should no changes take place.

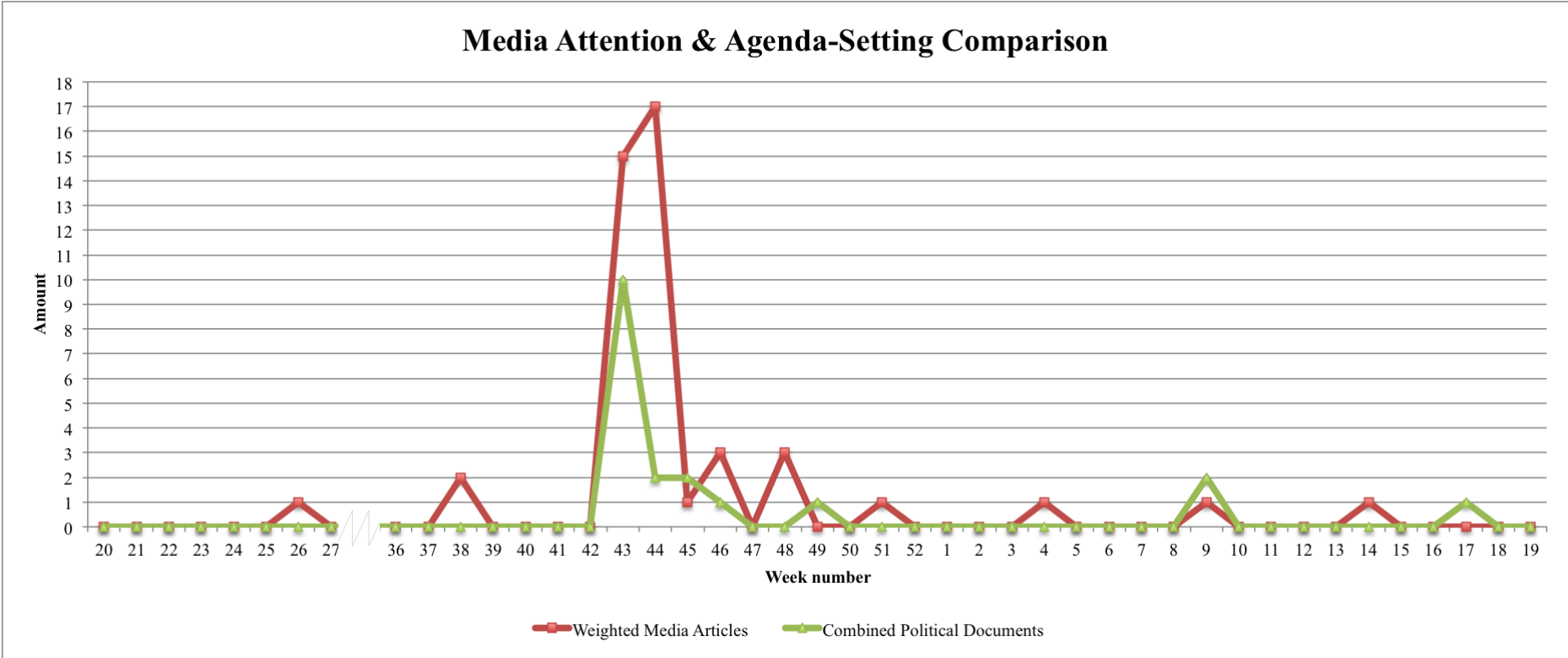
Motions

On October 27th, various politicians submitted a total of six motions that are specifically related to Mauro. Content-wise, there is not much in terms of framing involved in the formulation of these motions so that an analysis hereof does not contribute much to the research. However, the votings and explanations that the politicians gave for voting in favor of or against them provides us with some interesting insights. The motions from 27.10.11 were subjecting to voting on the first of November. During this voting session, all the motions were rejected and one amended motion was left open. This motion, accepted on 09.11.11, entails that Mauro does not have to go back to his country of origin to request temporary residence in the Netherlands so that he can pursue his appeal for a study visa. In the process of voting for and against the motions, party representatives are able to provide an explanation for why they voted in a certain direction. Explanations ranged from ones rooted in principle like the SP’s reasoning for not supporting individual concrete cases to administrative ones: “we cannot gauge what the consequences will be if we vote for this” (13:1). Parties sympathetic to Mauro’s plight voted for these motions and did not give a statement or reasoning for their voting direction. Therefore, we do not encounter the human-interest frame in the explanations that was so frequently used in the debates by these parties.

5.3.2. Comparing Media Attention to Political Agenda Attention

As part of this research, one of the goals was to look at and establish a sequence of events to determine if the media affected the political agenda. Therefore, combining these two elements graphically allows us to examine this aspect more carefully.

Figure 5.3.3. Media attention and agenda-setting comparison



As the figure indicates, media attention in weeks 26 and 38 for Mauro's case preceded any political response or action. The articles from week 38 address the verdict that Mauro will be deported, comparing his case to Sahar's. This is extremely important and telling because it proves that the media was first to allot attention to Mauro and that the political agenda was inactive in terms of concrete actions regarding Mauro's case before the media brought it to the public's attention. Between weeks 43 and 49 we witness a significant media storm, with weeks 43 and 44 being the highest points in attention allotment. Meanwhile, with regards to the political agenda, week 43 is characterized by high activity after which the action dies down significantly.

The breaking point for both media and political attention is week 43, more specifically October 27th, 2011, the same day in which six Mauro-specific motions were submitted and five articles on Mauro were published. Seeing as these two overlap in terms of day, it is very difficult to establish which came first: the media's attention in terms of articles or the political actions. This would require a timestamp, which is not available. While the evidence from the media's articles from weeks 28 and 36 proves that the media's attention was indeed first, the fact that October 27th was an extremely active day in both the media and in the political realm leaves us with many questions about whether the media published their articles first or if the political meetings took place prior to that. In order to gain a deeper insight into this aspect, one would have to dissect more newspapers and/or outlets including timestamps and perhaps including new media to gather broader understanding.

Figure 5.3.3 shows that the two elements witness a significant increase at the same time during week 43. After that, the political action decreases significantly (also see figure 5.3.2. on page 63) while week 44 marks the peak for media attention to Mauro and his case. Comparatively, the media's reporting on the matter remains very active until the end of week 49. Surprisingly, there are still some sporadic surges in media attention on the topic in late 2011 and early 2012 while there is little to no political agenda action on the matter until week two of 2012. The surges in media reporting on Mauro's case in 2012 are not related to the political action, which deals with the creation of new legislation.

What is most striking about the information that the figure presents us with for 2012 is that the media's attention to the topic is practically non-existent while the political actions in relation to Mauro's case are quite significant. In other words, the parliament continued discussing the matters longer than the media. In the timeframe studied for 2012, the polity discussed and worked on two legislative proposals as amendments to the existing law regarding rooted asylum seekers. Looking back at the content of the media's articles in 2011,

we can see that there were numerous calls to amend the existing policy so one would expect that the described political action in 2012 would be met by similar media attention. However, this is clearly not the case as the figures and content indicate. An explanation for this can be found in the claim that it is more lucrative and interesting for the media to report on heightened, sensationalized news stories that sell. Nevertheless, seeing as the media's role extends beyond that of being entertainer to being an actual democratic platform for information, this explanation does not suffice. What this finding suggests is that the media is more interested in the agenda-setting phase (i.e. the discussion and debate about an issue) rather than the consequences of the agenda-setting phase (i.e. the output thereof).

5.4. Policy Output

In the previous section, we mentioned that there were politicians that initiated draft proposals of a change in the legislation and these were also analyzed in terms of content. Therefore, the political discussion of the Mauro case is directly linked to the attempts to change the policy. This came true on February 1st, 2013 when the settlement for long-term staying children (*regeling langdurige verblijvende kinderen*) also known as the Kinderpardon, went into effect. Summarized, this legislation gives foreign nationals who have applied for asylum in the Netherlands at least five years before their eighteenth birthday the opportunity to apply for a residence permit providing them with the opportunity to stay in their adopted homeland. In order to be eligible, these individuals must have been established in the Netherlands for at least five years and have consistently been in the government's sight for that period. Additionally, there are some additional components to the bill that offers family members a means to apply for a permit. The policy document itself is structured very clearly, providing direct guidelines, limitations, and information about which governmental bodies are responsible for processing requests. Furthermore, it also outlines the sanctions and conditions that could occur if an applicant were to provide false information.

Turning to the dimensions and indicators used to operationalize the policy output in this research, it is clear that the changes outlined in this policy document take the form of a regulation. As defined in the theoretical framework, a regulation is a "direct coercive instrument of government as it sets rules of behavior supported directly by the sanctions of the state" (Doern, 1981: 22-25). This document has a very to the point and clear nature in terms of its definition and scope so that it delineates specific guidelines, penalties, rules, etc. Furthermore, the policy also pinpoints certain (governmental) actors, namely the IND,

DT&V, COA, and Vreemdelingenpolitie¹⁸, who have the authority to act upon the legislation and are responsible for carrying out the various aspects associated with it. To sum up, the suggested remedy is the changes outlined in the policy document, which takes the form of a regulation.

While the policy document itself does not define a problem nor diagnose a cause, the explanation attached to it offers an insight into these two dimensions of the content of the output. While not necessarily being framed as a problem, the clarification states that there are children who have been living in the Netherlands for many years without the prospect of receiving a residence permit. As the cause for this so-called problem, it is suggested that the lengthy governmental and administrative procedures, the unwillingness of parents to cooperate, or a combination of these factors are to be blamed.

As table 5.5.1 summarizing the master-frames according to the variables shows, the diagnosed cause that there is an unwillingness of parents to cooperate, is one that was not encountered as such in the media nor on the political agenda. On the other hand, the cause that is framed as a governmental and administrative issue is one that appeared frequently in the media as well in the political agenda setting stage (see table 5.4.1 pg. 72). Diagnosing a cause within the administrative master-frame calls for adequate action around a situation that ought to be dealt with politically (see operationalization). Turning back to the study of media attention and framing in the media and on the political agenda, certain connections and overlaps can be made between them and this policy document. In the media, for example, the lengthy application procedures are identified as a cause for the problem. Similarly, on the political agenda, references were made to incorrect, slow or inactivity on part of the government, which lead to long application and approval procedures. These two examples from the administrative master-frame fall in line with the cause described in the policy document.

Furthermore, and also in line with the administrative master-frame, the suggested remedy and goal outlined in the reasoning behind the new policy is a transitional arrangement and final settlement under which these young people may become eligible for a residence permit. This remedy was also encountered in the media with calls to devise new legislation on the outdated Dutch policy. Furthermore, the research proved that politicians introduced draft proposals of changes to the legislation in the timeframe applied to this study. Thus, the

¹⁸ Immigration and Naturalization Service, Repatriation and Departure Service, Central Agency for Reception of Asylum Seekers, Foreigner Police

political agenda documents also show that there is a clear connection between these initiatives and the Kinderpardon.

Overall, the Kinderpardon takes the form of a regulation that is in line with the administrative frame that was employed in both the media and in the political agenda documents. There are clear overlaps between the use of the administrative mater-frame in defining the problem and diagnosing the cause of the new settlement. Furthermore, the fact that politicians took the initiative to propose amendments to the policy in the timeframe where the Mauro Manuel case was a headliner in the media as well as on the political agenda indicates a link between the political agenda and the policy output. Summarized, the output addresses the calls for political action and adjustment of the policy that was encountered in the media and on the political agenda documents in the duration of the Mauro Manuel case.

Table 5.4.1. Master-frames by framing purpose for each variable
 (administrative frame; human-interest frame; threat frame; economic frame)

		Content of variables		
Variables		<i>Define problem</i>	<i>Diagnose cause</i>	<i>Suggest remedies</i>
	<i>Media attention</i>	Inhumanity of deporting an individual who has become rooted in the Netherlands	Dutch immigration policy is outdated	Calls for Leers to use discretionary powers
		Parliament should not be debating about single cases but rather laws as a whole	High numbers of asylum seekers coming to the Netherlands hoping to make it their home	Devise new legislation
		The <i>vreemdelingenindustrie</i> and organizations are out for own political gains	Lengthy application procedures	Follow the existing immigration policy strictly and continue deporting individuals; no exceptions
		Politicians are unreliable and raise false hopes	Growing media attention for Mauro's case which has led to a change in the national dialogue about the issue	Finding a loophole in the law
		Asylum seekers as opportunistic happiness pursues	Presence of dissidents and flip-flopping of some politicians	Calls for political action and adjustment of the current policy
		Leers as rule-abiding, cold, and formalistic minister		Devise new legislation
		Mauro as a liar and exploiter		
		Friction and incoherence within political parties		
		Mauro as a victim of immigration policy (see framing devices on <i>how</i>)		

<i>Political agenda</i>	Mauro as a victim; deporting him would be inhumane	Failure of government to act and long procedures which have led to rooting	Calls for the minister to use his discretionary powers to grant Mauro an exception
	Leers has no control over the matter; his hands are tied	Failure of government to act and long procedures which have led to rooting	With a residence permit we are signaling that is it worth it to make a big fuss and not comply to other asylum seekers → do not give it
	Lawyers representing asylum seekers that tell their clients what to say	Incorrect, slow, or inaction of the government has arguable lead to longer application and approval procedures	Must protect kids that have established a life in the Netherlands → review legislation
	Discrepancy between the extent to which the rights of Dutch children and those of foreigners are safeguarded	By granting exemptions we are rewarding lawyers for their misconduct	Rules are rules, we have to be consistent and cannot break them just because the media wants us to → stick to current policy
	No debating about individual cases out of principle	Outdated legislation; the administration played a role in this and made their own choices	A new legislation can take years, which is why we need to make an exception for Mauro now
<i>Policy output</i>	There are children that have been staying in the Netherlands for many years without the prospect of a residence permit	Unwillingness of parents to cooperate with departure and stacking of procedures	Action in the form of a new regulation that provides an opportunity to apply for a permit with specific guidelines and conditions
		Lengthy governmental and administrative procedures	

6. Conclusions and Discussion

6.1. Conclusions

In this day and age, it is an undeniable fact that immigration is a topic that is contentious on various levels, ranging from the personal to the societal and the political. Using a specific case from the Netherlands, this research has investigated the impact and role of media attention and framing on the political agenda and policy outputs, hypothesizing that, separately, increased media attention and framing will have an impact on the political agenda. This in turn, is expected to have an effect on the policy output. The literature on media attention outlines the broad scope and influence that media has on our daily lives. Moreover, through the power of information that the media holds, it is also able to shape our perception of the reality as we see and experience it, making the media an integral part of today's world. This is not limited to our daily lives, but it also extends beyond that to the political world.

The first hypothesis states that increased media attention will lead to the discussion of a topic on the political agenda. The data collected in this study which is compiled in figure 5.3.3 (page 67) comparing media attention and agenda-setting confirm this expectation. It is clearly evident that media attention precedes any political action and attention for the case and that the political agenda was inactive in terms of concrete actions regarding Mauro's case before the media brought it to the public's attention. For this case specifically, the data shows that the media was first to initiate reporting on the matter, thus showing that media attention does indeed have the capacity to influence the political agenda. At the height of the media attention, the matter was also discussed elaborately on the political agenda. As the analysis outlines, it is unclear what preceded what in this period, therefore requiring further detailed investigation. Another striking finding outlined in the analysis is that in 2012, the media's attention to the topic is practically non-existent whereas the political actions related to Mauro's case are noteworthy in terms drafting legislation and changing policies. This suggests that the media is more interested in the agenda-setting phase (i.e. the discussion and debate about issues) rather than the consequences of the agenda-setting phase (i.e. the output thereof). Summarized, while the first hypothesis is confirmed, the findings of this study also indicate that the media focuses on an issue in certain aspects and phases of its lifetime.

The second hypothesis with regard to framing was tested by an analysis that was carried out on two fronts: first on the media documentation and then on the documents collected for the political agenda-setting variable. With regard to the master-frames on a macro level, the threat, administrative, and human-interest frames largely dominated the

articles found in the newspapers, with the latter being the most frequent in the media's reporting. Similarly, the human-interest and administrative frames dominate the political agenda. The economic master-frame was not encountered in neither the media nor on the political agenda. On the meso and micro level, the overlap between the function of frames and framing devices found in the media and on the political agenda is striking. This correspondence serves as a testament to the fact that the frames found in the media are absorbed by politicians and consequently transferred to and preset in the political agenda. However, as the detailed study of the framing devices proved, there is a reciprocal relationship between the frames found in the political agenda and frames found in the media. The research outlines instances where a specific frame was first used on the political agenda and then picked up by the media. This is a striking finding that is an addition to the literature and theory on this topic as it shows that the arrow goes both ways: from the frames used in the media to frames on the political agenda and vice versa. This presents the field with an avenue for further research to study this reciprocal relationship.

Thirdly, this research hypothesized that discussion of the issue on the political agenda will be linked to a policy output, be it in terms of an exhortation, expenditure or regulation. Based on the legislation proposals that were made as Mauro's case was at its peak and later in the process and the content of the policy document *Regeling Langdurige Verblijvende Kinderen*, we can say that the presence of the Mauro case on the political agenda had a significant bearing on the policy output. The findings show that politicians took the initiative to draft proposal to amend the policy during the agenda-setting phase, which culminated in the Kinderpardon (*Regeling Langdurige Verblijvende Kinderen*). This forms the first argument that allows us to conclude that, with regard to this case, the third hypothesis is confirmed. Secondly, there is a clear overlap between the frames that were used in the media and on the political agenda as the administrative frame is also encountered in the policy output.

Finally, we turn to the central research question of this work to provide an answer to it. The question reads as follows:

How do media attention and framing influence the political agenda setting process and eventual policy output in the context of the Mauro Manuel case in the Netherlands?

Firstly, this research shows that media attention influences the political agenda by allocating attention in terms of articles to a matter. This has the consequence that the public as well as politicians become aware of an issue so that it can be picked up in the political agenda. Seeing

as media attention precedes political action in this case, the agenda-setting power of the media is confirmed by this study. The media is able to influence what matters make it to the political agenda by allocating attention to certain matters, as was witnessed in the Mauro Manuel case. With regard to the framing aspect studied in this research, we found a clear overlap in frames used in the media and on the political agenda, showing that politicians absorb the frames used by the media. As seen by the analysis, politicians, in their turn, refer to the media and talk about the matter in a similar manner as the media frames it. This shows that framing influences the political agenda in such a way that the frames used in the media are used by politicians in their discussions on the political agenda. Additionally, this research showed that there is a reciprocal relationship between the frames used in the media and frames used by politicians, providing a further research opportunity. Finally, the presence of Mauro Manuel's case on the political agenda led to politicians drafting amendments to the existing policy in the agenda-setting phase and also to a concrete policy output: the Kinderpardon. The frames used in the media and on the political agenda are encountered in the policy output, therefore confirming that, through the use of frames that are encountered on the political agenda and in the media, the policy output is influenced.

6.2. Consequences for the Literature

In terms of consequences for the literature on this topic, the findings from research provide us with some interesting insights. Firstly, it confirms the notion that media attention is indeed an influential factor in setting the agenda for politics and supports the claims of interconnection between news media and politics. When looking at Korthagen's (2015) research, we can see that our findings in relation to the impact of media attention on agenda-setting is similar: we both find that news media do interfere and have an impact on the latter but also that the media frequently concentrates specific phases or aspects of this process (see Korthagen, 2015: 16-163). Hence, it can be said that the effect of media attention is more complex and multifaceted than hypothesized in this research. For the future, this means that media attention ought to be incorporated as an element in agenda-setting literature.

With regard to the framing aspect, this work offers supplementary insights, especially when talking about framing devices. In Dekker and Scholten's (2015) work, for example, framing devices are used in the big picture as part of the master frames. This research, however, made sure to study the framing devices separately as well in order to discern an overlap in the devices used in the media and on the agenda instead of merely focusing on the master-frames. Framing devices have not been granted much attention in the past but through

the insights gathered about which devices are used when in this research, the importance of looking at these more closely has been proved. More specifically, the detailed study of the framing devices proved that there is a reciprocal relationship between the frames found on the political agenda and in the media in the context of this case study.

Finally, as seen in the operationalization, we studied policy outputs in this work by using Entman's (1993) ways to discern framing (define problem, diagnose cause, and suggest remedies). This was done in order to make establishing a link between the way in which issues were framed in the media and presented in the policy output easier. Another reasoning motivating this choice is that there is little information available on how to study and classify policy outputs. In addition to this, the previous research and literature lacks studies that combine the elements of media attention, framing, agenda-setting, and policy outputs. Therefore, we have provided the literature with an additional means through which one can study policy outputs when also looking at media attention and framing.

6.3. Limitations, Recommendations, and Avenues for Further Research

Through the use of the specific Mauro Manuel case, this research was able to dissect media attention and framing intently, however, there are still certain limitations that could be improved upon to elevate the study. In addition to this, one can make specific recommendations based on the limitations in order to outline avenues for further and future research.

First of all, through the use of a single, extreme case, we were able to focus on the variables and dimensions of the case intently. Nevertheless, a comparative approach, perhaps making use of two (or multiple) cases from different countries, could contribute greatly to the information and knowledge available on the topic, which would also allow researchers to make more generalizations on the subject. While this single-case study contributes to the research in terms of in-depth insights and knowledge regarding the Mauro Manuel case, it does not necessarily mean that these insights are applicable across the board. Hence, an avenue for future research would be to take a cross-national approach by including a wider range of countries to identify trends on a broader scale. Seeing as there is already some research on multiple cases within countries (see Dekker&Scholten, 2015), a cross-national approach would not only be a great contribution in terms of generalization, but more importantly, it could give researchers an idea if media attention and framing work similarly internationally.

Digitization and the growth of new media have made the way we absorb information from the surrounding world extremely complex. Nowadays we not only have access to news information from classic mediums such as newspapers and television reports, but also from new media outlets such as the Internet articles, twitter posts, etc. With a focus on classic media, this research does not take the impact that new media and frames used therein could have had on the political agenda and policy output into account. Nevertheless, new media cannot be overlooked in today's reality, which is why it would be interesting to incorporate new media in a media attention and framing analysis. Seeing as the literature and research on new media with regard to this topic is sparse, there are certainly significant opportunities to further delve into this aspect. For example, one has to question and take into account if all news sources, ranging from televised news to Internet posts to newspaper articles, carry the same political agenda-setting power as each other.

A limitation that is commonly cited in media studies is the fact that they do not address the reciprocal relationship between media and the politics. As done in preceding research, the hypotheses in this study predict that media attention and framing have an effect on politics. However, there still remains the question if politics affect the media too; are issues first discussed on the political agenda and then picked up by the media? What is the dynamic in this relationship? Is there an overlap in the frames first used by the polity and then by the media? These questions were unintentionally partially answered by this research: yes there is a reciprocal relationship between the frames used in the media and on the political agenda. Future research that incorporates the reciprocal relationship between politics and the media could provide the field with a greater insight into this. Seeing as this is a limitation and avenue for further research that has been outlined by various other researchers, it is evident that there is still no consensus on how to approach this aspect.

Bibliography

- Babbie, E. (2007). *The Practice of Social Research* (11th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Ball-Rokeach, S. J. and DeFleur, M. L. (1976). A dependency model of mass-media effects. *Communication Research*, 3(1), 3-21. doi:10.1177/009365027600300101
- Baumgartner, F.R. & Jones, B.D. (2009). *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Beeld en Geluid. (n.d.). Mauro in Perspectief [Mauro in Perspective]. Retrieved October 19, 2016, from Beeld en Geluid website: <http://www.beeldengeluid.nl/voorbijhetnieuws/inperspectief/mauro>
- Bekkers, V.J.J.M., Beunders, H., Edwards, A. & Moody, R. (2009). *De virtuele lont in het kruitvat. Welke rol spelen oude en nieuwe media in de micromobilisatie van burgers?* Den Haag: Lemma.
- Bennett, W. Lance. (2015) *News: The Politics of Illusion*. 9th ed., Chicago UP.
- Berelson, B. (1952). *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. Glencoe, Ill: Free Press.
- Berg, Bruce L. (2009) *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. 7th ed., San Francisco: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Carmines, E. G. and Stimson, J. A. (1993) 'On the Evolution of Political Issues', in W. Riker (ed.), *Agenda Formation*. Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press, pp. 151–68.
- Cobb, R.W. and Elder, C.D. (1983) *Participation in American Politics. The Dynamics of Agenda-Building*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Cook, T.E. (2005). *Governing with the news. The News Media as a Political Institution*. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Cook, F.L., Tyler, T.R., Goetz, E.G., Gordon, M.T., Proress, D., Leef, D.R., Molotch H.L. (1983). Media and agenda setting: Effects on the public, interest group leaders, policy makers, and policy. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 47(1), 16-35. doi:10.1086/268764
- Defence for Children. (n.d.). Over Ons [About Us]. Retrieved from Defence for Children website: <https://www.defenceforchildren.nl/over-ons>
- Dekker, R. and Scholten, P.W.A. (2015). *Tsunami of Tragedie? Media-aandacht en Beeldvorming rond het Vreemdelingenbeleid*. (Extern rapport). : Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek- en Documentatiecentrum (WODC).
- Dewulf, A., Gray, B., Putnam, L., Lewicki, R., Aarts, N., Bouwen, R., & van Woerkum, C. (2009). Disentangling approaches to framing in conflict and negotiation research: A

- meta-paradigmatic perspective. *Human Relations*, 62(2), 155-193.
doi:10.1177/0018726708100356
- D'Haenens, L., & de Lange, M. (2001). Framing of asylum seekers in Dutch regional newspapers. *Media, Culture & Society*, 23(6), 847-860.
doi:10.1177/016344301023006009
- El Refaie, E. (2001). Metaphors we discriminate by: Naturalized themes in Austrian newspaper articles about asylum seekers. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 5(3), 352-371.
doi:10.1111/1467-9481.00154
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x
- Feldman, S. (1995). "Answering Survey Questions: The Measurement and Meaning of Public Opinion." In *Political Judgment: Structure and Process*, by Milton Lodge and Kathleen M. McGraw, 249-70. N.p.: University of Michigan Press.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2), 219-245. doi:10.1177/1077800405284363
- Gamson, W. A., and Lasch, K. E. (1983). The political culture of social welfare policy. PDF.
- Gamson, W. A., and Modigliani, A. (1989). Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: A constructionist approach. *American Journal of Sociology*, 95(1), 1-37.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Hofferbert, Richard I. (1974). *The Study of Public Policy*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Holsti, O. R. (1969). *Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities*. Addison-Wesley Pub.
- Holzer, M. and Schwester, R. W. (2011). *Public Administration: An Introduction*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- Hoyt, P.D. and Jean A. Garrison. (1997). 'Political Manipulation within the Small Group: Foreign Policy Advisers in the Carter Administration', in Paul 't Hart, Eric K. Stern and Bengt Sundelius (eds.), *Beyond Groupthink: Political Group Dynamics and Foreign Policy-Making*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press
- Hughes, Owen E. (2012) *Public Management & Administration*. 4th ed. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jennings, W., Bevan, S., Timmermans, A., Breeman, G., Brouard, S., Chaqués-Bonafont, L., Palau, A. M. (2011). Effects of the core functions of government on the diversity of executive agendas. *Comparative Political Studies*, doi:10.1177/0010414011405165

- Johnson-Cartee, K. S. (2005). *News narratives and news framing : Constructing political reality*. Lanham : Rowman & Littlefield Publishers,.
- Johnstone, B. (2003). *Discourse Analysis*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Jones, B. D. (2001). *Politics and the architecture of choice: Bounded rationality and governance*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Jones, B. D., and Baumgartner, F. R. (2005). *Politics of Attention: How Government Prioritizes Problems*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Jones, B. D., and Wolfe, M. (2010). "Public policy and the mass media: an information processing approach." In *Public Policy and Mass Media*, 17-43. New York. NY: Routledge.
- Kahneman, D., and Tversky, A. (1984). Choices, values, and frames. *American Psychologist*, 39(4), 341-350. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.39.4.341
- Kirk, K. and Miller, M.L. (1986). *Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.
- Korthagen, I. (2015). *Media logic versus the logic of network governance*
- Krippendorff, K. (1980). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Krippendorff, K. (1993). Major metaphors of communication and some constructivist reflections on their use. *Departmental Papers (ASC)*, , 84.
- Lascoumes, P. and Le Galès, P. (2007). Introduction: Understanding public policy through its instruments—from the nature of instruments to the sociology of public policy instrumentation. *Governance*, 20(1), 1-21.
- Merriam-Webster*, s.v. "catch-phrase," accessed October 5, 2016. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/catchphrase>
- Merriam-Webster*, s.v. "empirical", accessed December 12, 2016. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/empirical>
- Mccombs, M. (2004). *Setting the Agenda*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Mccombs, M.. (N.d.). "The Agenda-Setting Role of the Mass Media in the Shaping of Public Opinion." PDF.
- McLeod, D. M., Kosicki, G. M., & McLeod, J. M. (2009). Political Communication Effects. In J. Bryant & M. B. Oliver (Eds.), *Media Effects Advances in Theory and Research* (3rd ed., pp. 228-251). New York, NY: Routledge.

- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded source book* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Mintz, A., and Redd, S. B. (2003). Framing effects in international relations. *Synthese*, 135(2), 193-213.
- Nickels, H. C. (2007). Framing asylum discourse in Luxembourg. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 20(1), 37-59.
- Pauw & Witteman. (2011). *Mauro Manuel in Pauw & Witteman 22-09-2011* [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PchjAQ_q9Go
- Perkäkylä, Anssi. (2004). "Reliability and validity in research based on naturally occurring social interaction." In *Qualitative Research*, edited by David Silverman, 283-304. 2nd ed. London: Sage.
- Ragin, C. C. (1994). *Constructing social research: The unity and diversity of methodology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Rein, M., and Schön, D. (1996). Frame-critical policy analysis and frame-reflective policy practice. *Knowledge & Policy*, 9(1), 85.
- Ruigrok, N. (n.d.). *Media-aandacht: Hulp of Hindernis?* [PDF]. Retrieved from http://nieuwsmonitor.org/wp-content/uploads/leaflet_mauro-1.pdf.
- Sanchawa. (2015) "Public Policy: An Introduction." LinkedIn. <http://www.slideshare.net/denissanchawa/public-policy-an-introduction>.
- Scheufele, D. A., and Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 9-20. doi:10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00326.x
- Snow, D. A., Rochford, E. B., Worden, S. K., & Benford, R. D. (1986). Frame alignment processes, micromobilization, and movement participation. *American Sociological Review*, 51(4), 464-481.
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Stemler, S. (2001). "An Overview of Content Analysis." PDF. Retrieved from: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Steven_Stemler/publication/269037805_An_overview_of_content_analysis/links/547e0aba0cf2de80e7cc402a.pdf
- UNICEF. (2012). *Kinderasielwet stap in goede richting* [Kinderasielwet a step in the right direction]. Retrieved October 19, 2016, from UNICEF website: <https://www.unicef.nl/nieuws/berichten/2012/02/unicef-kinderasielwet-stap-in-goede-richting/#>

- Van Aelst, P., Thesen, G., Walgrave, S., & Vliegenthart, R. (2013). Mediatization and the media's political agenda-setting influence. *CAP Conference in Antwerp*,
- Van Gorp, B. (2007). The constructionist approach to framing: Bringing culture back in. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 60-78. doi:10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00329.x
- VaraOmbudsman. (2011). *NL zwaait uit: Mauro* [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LTKxQbMp2Eg>
- Vedung, E. (1998). Policy instruments: typologies and theories. *Carrots, sticks, and sermons: Policy instruments and their evaluation*, 5, 21-58.
- Voltmer, K., and Sigrid Koch-Baumgarten. (2010). "Mass media and public policy- is there a link?" Introduction to *Public Policy and Mass Media*, 1-13. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Watson, J. (2008). *Media Communication: An Introduction to Theory and Process*. 3rd ed. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Walgrave, S., & Van Aelst, P. (2006). The contingency of the mass media's political agenda setting power: Toward a preliminary theory. *Journal of Communication*, 56(1), 88-109. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00005.x
- Webb, E. J., Campbell, D.T., Schwartz, R.D., Sechrest, L., & Grove, J.B. (1981). *Nonreactive Measures in the Social Sciences*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic Content Analysis*, 2nd ed. Newbury Park, CA.
- Wolfe, M., Jones, B. D., & Baumgartner, F. R. (2013). A failure to communicate: Agenda setting in media and policy studies. *Political Communication*, 30(2), 175-192.

Appendices

Appendix A: Coding Scheme Framing

Code	Description	Example
1. Author	Master code – code to encrypt the author’s name and all texts written in his/her name	
1.1. Author per article (AU)	When possible, code the name of the author. If no specific author is name or it says, ‘by our office/editors’, it will be coded as ‘unknown’.	AU_MaudSmeets AU_Unknown
2. Purposes of frames (PF)	Master code – below the text/fragments in which one or more of the reasoning devices occur in the article are coded.	
2.1. Define problem (DF)	General code – what is defined as the problem/issue in the case? How it is described or depicted?	
2.1.1. Human interest (HI)	Problem definition matching human interest frame	PF_DF_HI
2.1.2. Threat (TH)	Problem definition matching threat frame	PF_DF_TH
2.1.3. Administrative (AD)	Problem definition matching administrative frame	PF_DF_AD
2.1.4. Economic (EC)	Problem definition matching economic frame	PF_DF_EC
2.1.5. Other (OT)	Other problem definition	PF_DF_OT1 PF_DF_OT2
2.2. Diagnose causes (DC)	General code – what is the explanation given for the problem? Answers the ‘why’ question.	
2.2.1. Human interest (HI)	Causal explanation matching human interest frame	PF_DC_HI
2.2.2. Threat (TH)	Causal explanation matching threat frame	PF_DC_TH
2.2.3. Administrative (AD)	Causal explanation matching administrative frame	PF_DC_AD
2.2.4. Economic (EC)	Causal explanation matching economic frame	PF_DC_EC
2.1.5. Other (OT)	Other causal explanation	PF_DC_OT1 PF_DC_OT2
2.3. Suggest remedies (SR)	General code – a normative step is taken towards saying what ought to happen. A solution is proposed, thereby passing judgment.	
2.3.1. Human interest (HI)	Remedy matching human interest frame	PF_SR_HI
2.3.2. Threat (TH)	Remedy matching threat frame	PF_SR_TH
2.3.3. Administrative (AD)	Remedy matching administrative frame	PF_SR_AD
2.3.4. Economic (EC)	Remedy matching economic frame	PF_SR_EC
2.3.5. Other (OT)	Other remedy	PF_SR_OT1 PF_SR_OT2
3. Framing devices (FD)	Master code – below, we encode narrative strategies applied so that the underlying frame becomes explicit.	

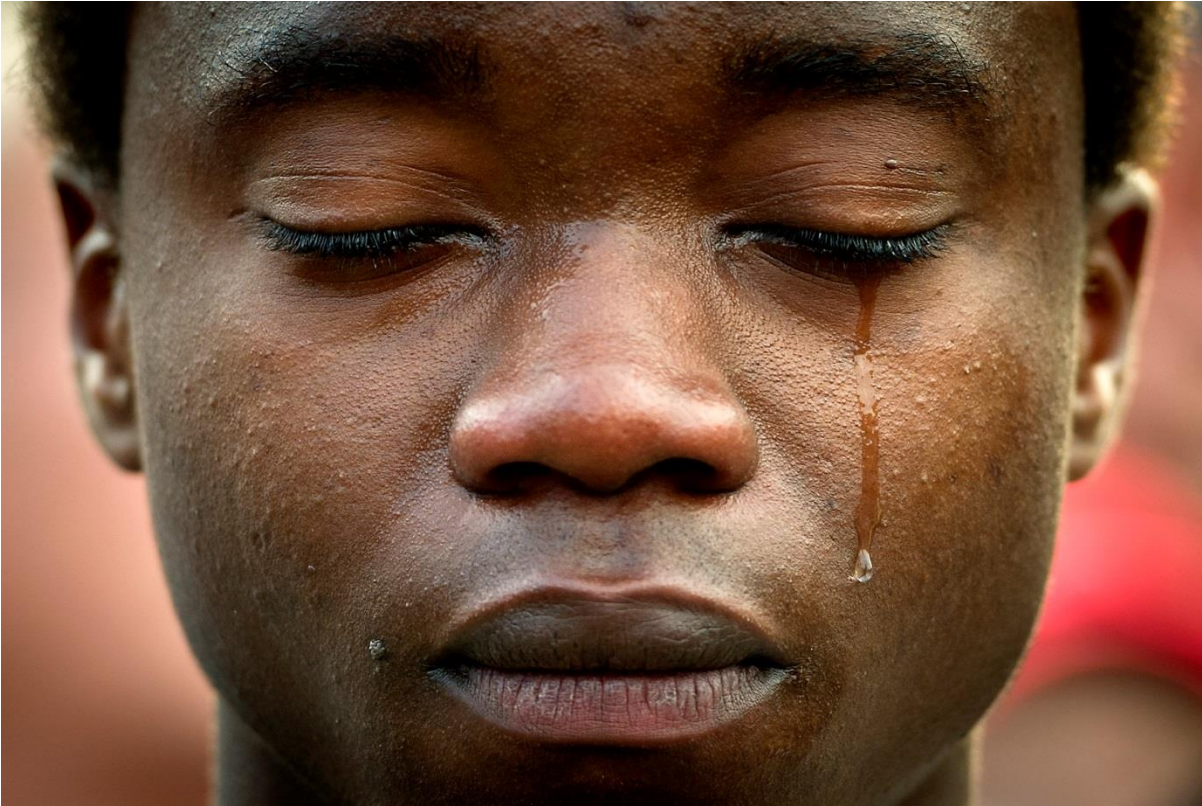
3.1. Metaphors (ME)	General code – describing one thing in terms of something else to evoke a certain association. Use of particular symbolic words.	
3.1.1. Human interest (HI)	Metaphor matching human interest frame	FD_ME_HI
3.1.2. Threat (TH)	Metaphor matching threat frame	FD_ME_TH
3.1.3. Administrative (AD)	Metaphor matching administrative frame	FD_ME_AD
3.1.4. Economic (EC)	Metaphor matching economic frame	FD_ME_EC
3.1.5. Other (OT)	Other metaphor	FD_ME_OT1 FD_ME_OT2
3.2. Exemplar (EX)	General code – using real-life example(s) from the past to refer to (a) current event(s) in order to describe the current situation. Which parallels are drawn?	
3.2.1. Human interest (HI)	Exemplar matching human interest frame	FD_EX_HI
3.2.2. Threat (TH)	Exemplar matching threat frame	FD_EX_TH
3.2.3. Administrative (AD)	Exemplar matching administrative frame	FD_EX_AD
3.2.4. Economic (EC)	Exemplar matching economic frame	FD_EX_EC
3.2.5. Other (OT)	Other exemplar	FD_EX_OT1 FD_EX_OT2
3.3. Catch-phrases (CP)	General code – the (repeated) use of certain statement, tag lines, slogans or headlines to draw attention	
3.3.1. Human interest (HI)	Catch-phrase matching human interest frame	FD_CP_HI
3.3.2. Threat (TH)	Catch-phrase matching threat frame	FD_CP_TH
3.3.3. Administrative (AD)	Catch-phrase matching administrative frame	FD_CP_AD
3.3.4. Economic (EC)	Catch-phrase matching economic frame	FD_CP_EC
3.3.5. Other (OT)	Other catch-phrase	FD_CP_OT1 FD_CP_OT2
3.4. Depictions (DE)	General code – comparing people or situations to something else to evoke a specific image in readers. Often used to stereotype an individual, group, or situation	
3.4.1. Human interest (HI)	Depiction matching human interest frame	FD_DE_HI
3.4.2. Threat (TH)	Depiction matching threat frame	FD_DE_TH
3.4.3. Administrative (AD)	Depiction matching administrative frame	FD_DE_AD
3.4.4. Economic (EC)	Depiction matching economic frame	FD_DE_EC
3.4.5. Other (OT)	Other depiction	FD_DE_OT1 FD_DE_OT2
3.5. Visual images (VI)	General code - the use of visual elements such as illustrations, photographs, and icons.	
3.5.1. Human interest (HI)	Visual image matching human interest frame	FD_VI_HI
3.5.2. Threat (TH)	Visual image matching threat frame	FD_VI_TH

3.5.3. Administrative (AD)	Visual image matching administrative frame	FD_VI_AD
3.5.4. Economic (EC)	Visual image matching economic frame	FD_VI_EC
3.5.5. Other (OT)	Other visual image	FD_VI_OT1 FD_VI_OT2

Appendix B: Coding Scheme Policy Output

Code	Description	Example
1. Content of output (CO)	Master code – codes to discern the content of policy output itself	
1.1. Define problem (DF)	What is defined as the problem in the output?	CO_DF_
1.2. Diagnose causes (DC)	What is pinpointed as the source of the issue?	CO_DC_
1.3. Suggest remedies (SR)	Proposed solutions or changes in resource allocation (see policy instruments for classification of type of solution).	CO_SR_
2. Policy Instruments (PI)	Master code – below, the devices and tools that the government has at its disposal when devising solution to specific issues are coded.	
2.1. Exhortation (EH)	Activities that call upon the public to persuade compliance	PI_EH_
2.2. Expenditure (EX)	Economic means to levy financial resources.	PI_EX_
2.3. Regulations (RG)	Delegating authority to act (with regard to a law, regulation, etc.) to governmental branches or bodies	PI_RG_

Appendix C: Photo Mauro Manuel



Source: ANP