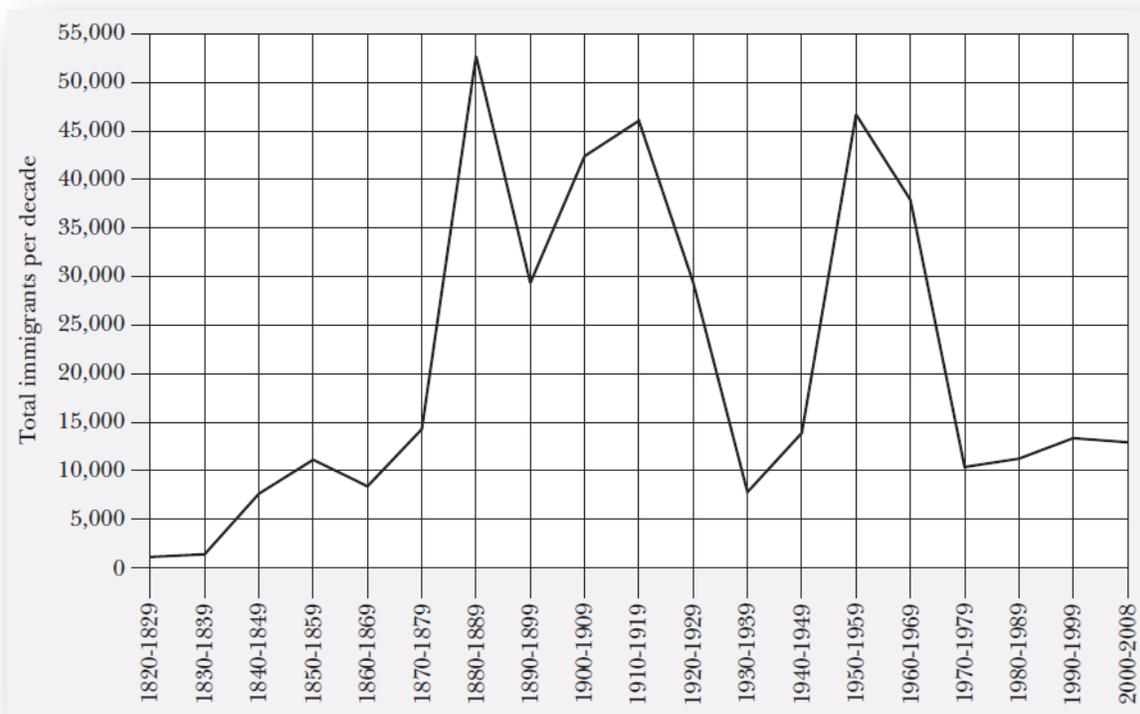


Competing Explanations for the Rise and Fall of Public Attention on the Issue of Immigration and Integration.



Source: Department of Homeland Security, Yearbook of Immigration Statistics 2008.

Student: Illiana L.J. Croes

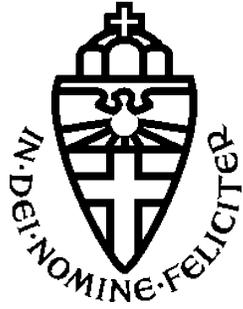
Student number: 3014762

Mentor: Dr. S.L. Resodihardjo

Master thesis

Public Administration

Radboud University Nijmegen



Public Attention on the Issue of Immigration and Integration

A Quantitative Analysis on the Dutch Public Agenda

By

ILLIANA L.J. CROES

Master Thesis

Public Administration

Nijmegen School of Management

Radboud University Nijmegen

Nijmegen, Netherlands

2014

Submitted to the Nijmegen School of Management at the
Radboud University of Nijmegen in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for a Master of Science Degree in Public Administration.

(5 June 2014)

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I. Introduction

“American public attention rarely remains sharply focused upon any one domestic issue for very long—even if it involves a continuing problem of crucial importance to society” (Downs, 1972; p. 38).

Public attention to issues is well known to shift continuously. These shifts can be both subtle and dramatic. Public attention on a certain issue is not capable of remaining constant in the presence of exogenous factors and or events. Governments can only spend so much time on a given issue, which means that one issue might rise on the public agenda this year and fall within the next one (Downs, 1972; Henry and Gordon, 2013). According to Downs (1972), the public interest for a particular issue will fluctuate even when it entails a crucial problem within society. An example of an issue of such continual importance includes the issue of immigration and integration.¹

Over the years, the issue of immigration and integration has developed into an important issue in Western Europe (Huysmans, 2000). Migrant movement was seen to serve as an extra workforce opportunity to help improve the country’s economic situation and labor force; which consequently meant that many permissive migration policies were introduced to improve the internal labor market. Since then, the immigration and integration issue has become a key issue in Western Europe and thus also on the Dutch public agenda (Roggeband and Verloo, 2007). However, with the introduction of the European Schengen Agreement many more immigrants started to migrate into the country (Muus, 2001). The former welcoming perspective started to change when the economy started to worsen; jobs were becoming scarce, the Dutch identity started to demise, and crime rates dramatically increased. Since then the issue of immigration has been considered a mayor challenge within the public sector which had developed concern to keep the Dutch’s national identity and welfare provisions (Huysmans, 2000; Muus, 2001).

Nowadays, most recent policies on immigration and integration serve not only as a means in strengthening the economy, the culture and the overall professional knowledge; but also serve to

¹ The term immigration refers to migrant, asylum seekers and or refugees. International migration is defined as the movement of persons across national borders with the intention to settle in another country for a period of at least a year. The issue of immigration and integration does not limit itself to labour related issues but it also includes cross cutting aspects which consider application and return policies, foreign- or Dutch citizenship, cultural difference, discrimination, (EU) rights, social demographics, family conditions, and so on (De Rijksoverheid, 2013).

help regulate the entrance of immigrants, integrate and create national identity while maintaining the country's welfare. With that being said, immigration and integration issues have in fact long been considered a crucial issue in the public sector, leading to much dedication and attention from both governments and researchers. This study therefore seeks to examine the flow and attention on immigration policies within the Dutch society.

However, some controversy often arises when researchers seek to only look at the degree of issue attention as being of utmost importance to study. This while others believe that the way a given issue is understood is what determines how and in which aspect a problem will be examined (Stone, 1998; Baumgartner, 1989). For instance, the use of language has proven critical in determining how the issue is understood in the minds of the public elites. Public elites are able to shift public attention by communicating a distinctive problem definition in order to reinforce a certain policy outcome. This distinction helps structure a certain comprehensive impression of the problem. One of the distinctions commonly made is to portray a certain policy definition from a positive and or negative light (Stone, 1989; Rochefort and Cobb, 1993).

Depending on the use of language, one conception might manage to attain or lose dominance during a span of time. Therefore in this study, the author seeks to not only investigate the level of attention given to the issue of immigration and integration but also analyse the conception used to portray the issue.

The core theory of policy agenda is mainly concerned with the attention dynamics, how new ideas, new policy proposals and new problems are accepted in the political system (Baumgartner, Green-Pederson, and Jones, 2006). The literature is equally concerned with the forces reinforcing the status quo or that resist the emergence of new issues and or actors, as well as those circumstances that allow dramatic changes. Several former scholars have mainly researched the status quo of political institutions and the associated distribution of power favouring established interests (Bannink and Resodihardjo, 2006; Baumgartner and Jones, 1993). Nonetheless, the reality is that institutions and governments are continuously changing; which is why this study is concerned with the possibilities of shifts in issue attention to be correlated with subsequent changes in the government institution and its representation (John, 2003; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993). This concept represents the continuous character of shifts and transitions in the behavior of public elites. These scholars emphasize how an institutional system is interrupted as new participants with new ideas break into the inner circle of policymaking. These models

mainly emphasize the impact of party systems, voting, elections and party ideology onto the agenda-setting framework. However, studies have not only considered the changes in actors or institutions to correlate with shifts in issue attention; many studies have focused on the many socioeconomic forms, causes and influences on the political system (John, 2003; Annesley, Engeli, Gains and Resodihardjo, 2010). Though, some scholars are still skeptical about the transmission belt from society and the economy to the political system and its institutions (John, 2003).

This study therefore aims to illustrate how the public attention on the issue of immigration and integration has varied while depicting the light in which this attention was being portrayed. The level of policy content is in this case considered the actual policy intended to be introduced on the issue of immigration and integration (Breeman, Lowery, Resodihardjo, Timmermans, De Vries, 2009).

Research Question

This study thus seeks to provide an answer to the following main question;

how did the level of attention, policy content, and tone of public attention on the issue of immigration and integration change on the Dutch public agenda, and what determinants may explain this change?

The relevance of this study to the scientific literature is obvious, since it helps develop a better understanding of the dynamics of issue attention on the public agenda; while demonstrates the importance of investigating the attention policy makers give to continuous issue demands of immigration and integration (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993; Downs, 1972). This study not only contributes to the Dutch literature, it also provides some possible economical, societal or political explanations to why the shifts might have occurred in the first place. This is important to the field of public administration, because it helps researchers and policy makers develop a better understanding of when to best engage, or when to expect an increase or decrease of public attention on the issue of immigration and integration while taking a multi-disciplinary perspective into consideration. Additionally, if the changes in the preferences or circumstances of government happen to affect the way the public understands a certain issue; it would prove the importance of representation and democracy within the theory of agenda setting (Peters and Hogwood, 1985).

Summary

In short, this study seeks to provide explanations to why the issue attention may have risen or fallen on the Dutch public agenda. There are many competing explanations for the rise and fall of issues on the public agenda. However, this study only considers the weight of the following possible explanations; economic performance, European Union (EU) integration, foreign domestic crime, government change and a government's left-right wing position. These factors are investigated as they may prove of relevance to the theory of agenda-setting.

This paper is structured as followed; chapter II of this thesis includes the literature review and theoretical framework on the theory of agenda-setting and issue attention. The chapter ends by exploring various studies and assumptions that present possible explanation for the shifts in issue attention. Chapter III presents the research design and coding procedures used to code the Queens 'speeches including the analytical techniques used. Chapter IV provides an overview of the quantitative analysis in addition to the results. Finally, chapter V portrays the conclusions formulated from the data analysis, ending with the author's reflection and future research recommendations.

II. Literature Review

Modern empirical studies confirm that an increase in government attention *signal the likelihood* of considerable policy change (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993). This chapter presents the most recent theories on public agenda-setting. These studies typically ascertain that tracing public attention over a long period of time would help capture the tendency and determinants of policy change (Baumgartner, Green-Pederson and Jones, 2006). However, these studies vary depending on the agenda being studied. Therefore, an assessment is firstly provided on the nature of the Dutch Queen speeches and their agenda process. The concept of issue and problem definition is also emphasized to help understand that the way in which policies are understood by the government consequently determines the rise or fall of attention and policy content on a given issue. Finally, on the basis of previous studies and personal assumptions; five competing explanations are examined as factors that would influence when the issue of immigration and integration is most likely to be addressed in the Queens speeches. These factors depend on the governmental elections/change in cabinet, left- right wing government in seat, economic performance, crime level and the extent of EU's role in immigration and integration issues. These factors help form the hypotheses to be tested in this study.

Agenda-Setting

The literature on agenda-setting originally initiated in America and was thus mainly studied from an American perspective. Since up until recently, it has had little or no comparative potential for Europe. Therefore, many of the ideas most prominently associated with agenda-setting appear to be peculiarly American (Baumgartner, Green-Pederson, and Jones, 2006). However, many authors have argued that any political system whether federal or parliamentary, face a political system in which actors are not able to attend to all issues, and therefore develop fluctuations in their attention allocation (Jones and Baumgartner, 2005). Mechanisms may differ by institutional setting but every political structure remains complex providing multiple opportunities for agenda-setting dynamics.

Within the agenda-setting literature, venues are considered to be vital elements (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993, p.32). Venues are institutional locations where authoritative decisions are made concerning a given issue. Venues and the processes towards them are therefore known to provide policymakers the chance to direct the attention towards a particular issue of interest. Kingdon

(1995) refers to this as a window of opportunity. Though not a decision making venue; the annual Queen speeches in the Netherlands are still considered a vital executive agenda which creates the processes towards such opportunities. This legislative agenda is therefore regularly being studied as a perfect form of agenda setting. At the beginning of each Parliamentary session also known as *Prinsjesdag*,² the Queen gives a speech in which she presents the government's plans and policy goals for the year to come. This legislative agenda includes not only systematic announcements of real politics and public policy; it also includes ceremonial and symbolic speeches addressing the hopes and concerns of the citizens (Breeman, et.al, 2009). This occasion portrays an ideal example of a public agenda being formed and changed by the preferences or circumstances of the country and its government (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993).

In the longitudinal agenda-setting analysis of Baumgartner and Jones (1993) it has been shown that dramatic policy changes are being associated with heightened governmental attention to an issue, or increased attention within a policymaking venue. A crucial condition when studying policy change in public agenda is thus issue attention.

Issue Attention

The core of policy agenda is mainly concerned with the attention dynamics, how new ideas, new policy proposals and new problem is accepted in the political system (Baumgartner, Green-Pederson and Jones, 2006). The literature is equally concerned with the forces reinforcing the status quo or that resist the emergence of new issues and or actors, as well as those circumstances that allow dramatic changes. Several scholars had mainly researched the status quo of political institutions and the associated distribution of power favoring established interests (Bannink and Resodihardjo, 2006; Baumgartner and Jones, 1993). On the other hand, the exploration was also concerned with the possibilities for those lacking a voice to gain it through the mechanics of issue definition, framing, and the mobilization of support (Stone, 1989; Pralle, 2006; Princen, 2010). This study pays particular attention to the mechanics of issue definition because studies have shown that issues rarely rise or fall on the agenda without significant changes in how the issues are understood by the policymakers, which in this case is the Dutch government.

Hogwood and Gunn (1984, p.109) define the term problem definition as “the processes by which an issue (problem, opportunity, or trend), having been recognized as such and placed on the

² *Prinsjesdag* is held annually on the 3th Tuesday of September. On this day the Queen gives the speech of the *Troonrede*, which is written by the government and approved by the Queen (De Rijksoverheid, 2013).

public policy agenda, is perceived by various interested parties; further explained, articulated, and possibly quantified; and in some but not all cases, given an authoritative or at least provisionally acceptable definition in terms of its likely causes, components, and consequences.” This process has commonly been depicted in terms of a natural and rational sequence (John, 2003; Rochefort and Cobb, 1993). It is the job of policymakers to assess the problem and its causes and to respond as efficiently as possible through means of legislative policies. Attention to that particular problem would continue until the distressing concern is alleviated (Downs, 1972).

The use of language is critical in determining which aspect of a problem will be examined (Stone, 1989). Rhetoric can help lodge a particular understanding of a problem. One conception might manage to attain or lose dominance during a span of time. This evolutionary pattern of issue transformation is imperative to the dynamic of political environment. The language used helps develop a certain understanding of the problem. Studies have shown that public attention tends to reflect and focus on one of the two attitudinal sides of a public policy (Edelman, 1964; Stone, 1989; Baumgartner and Jones, 1991). The public elites are able to shift the public attention by communicating a certain distinction within the problem definition in order to reinforce a certain interest or policy outcome. This distinction help structure a certain comprehensive impression of the problem and or problem group. One of the distinctions commonly made is to portray a certain policy definition from a positive and or negative light (Stone, 1989; Rochefort and Cobb, 1993). For instance, the policy definition on immigration and integration can be differentiated between definitions that are favourable (positive) and or those that are detrimental (negative). Is the immigration group worthy or unworthy of assistance and support, are they seen as familiar or strange to the Dutch society? Related to these issues is the distinction between sympathetic and threatening populations. These questions are relevant to examine because social deviants and other out-group members do not receive equivalent consideration to persons with whom the public readily identifies. Therefore, this particular distinction seems relevant to research over the span of time within the Dutch public agenda on the issue of immigration and integration; seeing that migrants, refugees or asylum seekers do not readily fit within the society and national identity of the Netherlands. The way in which the public elites understand a problem determines the level of public attention and intervention it receives (Rochefort, 1986; Rochefort and Cobb, 1993). The tone (negative or positive) in which

the issue of immigration and integration is given is thus assumed to affect the amount of attention paid to the issue, and the actual level of policy content. The level of policy content is in this case considered the actual policy to be introduced on the issue of immigration and integration. From this assumption the following hypotheses are derived:

H1a: the tone in which the issue is portrayed correlates with the level of attention given to the issue of immigration and integration.

H1b: the tone in which the issue is portrayed correlates with the level of policy content on the issue of immigration and integration.

Micro Level Determinants of Issue Attention

Institutions are formal arrangements, such as electoral systems, the division of powers, the salience of the higher courts and the practice of formal organizational arrangements (John, 2003). Unless institutions are entirely surrounded by networks and power relations, they generally affect how policy is made as they influence the speed at which political systems attend to public problems (Bannink and Resodihardjo, 2006; Strom, Muller and Bergman, 2003). Such an affect is to be expected when the institution dynamic and composition of public elites are altered. Many studies emphasize the concept of representation, which has been shown to correlate with subsequent changes in government policies and or public attention (John, 2003; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993; Annesley, Engeli, Gains and Resodihardjo, 2010; Breeman, Lowery, Resodihardjo, Timmermans, De Vries, 2009). This concept represents the continuous character of shifts and transitions in the behavior of public elites. It is based on the model of democracy where responsiveness is constituted in the satisfaction of the majority in power. These scholars emphasize how an institutional system is interrupted as new participants with new ideas break into the inner circle of policymaking; and present models of how the impact of party systems, voting, elections and party ideology can be incorporated into an agenda-setting framework.

This study therefore pays particular attention on the impact of elections and party ideology in the agenda setting. The first assumption is that newly elected governments will use agenda setting moments such as the Queen speech to put new issues on the national agenda. Because new government formations are often used to present new policy initiatives; and therefore expected to be reflected in the new Queen speeches. This study therefore seeks to answer the following hypotheses:

H2a: A newly elected/seated government correlates with the level of attention given on the issue of immigration and integration.

H2b: A newly elected/seated government correlates with the tone in which the issue of immigration and integration is portrayed.

H2c: A newly elected/seated government correlates with the level of policy content dedicated on the issue of immigration and integration.

In addition, the role of political parties become much more important in the realm of literature when one focuses on a parliamentary system such as the Dutch context. The political ideology in which American political parties stand has proven to be clearly reflected in the American agenda setting literature; which rather emphasizes interest groups, think-tanks, and policy entrepreneurs (John, 2003). Party ideology is thus one other aspect that is assumed to play an important role in agenda setting. The exact way of how a political party can impact agenda setting would then depend on the party's principles and understanding towards the issue. The liberalism-conservatism distinction remains a pervasive and parsimonious means of organizing thoughts, feelings, and behaviors (John, 2006; Andeweg & Irwin, 2005). From this perspective, this study rather assumes that the role of a left-right position of the government would correlate with the level of public attention given on the issue of immigration and integration, while also impacting the tone, and policy content. The hypotheses to be derived from these assumptions are thus the following:

H3a: party ideology of the government in seat correlates with the level of attention being given to the issue of immigration and integration.

H3b: party ideology of the government in seat correlates with the tone in which the issue of immigration and integration is portrayed.

H3c: party ideology of the government in seat correlates with the level of policy content dedicated on the issue of immigration and integration.

Macro Level Determinants of Issue Attention

Besides micro institutional changes, it seems that socioeconomic changes might also play their role in explaining policy change within the agenda setting framework. Many studies have focused on the many socioeconomic forms, causes and influences on the political system (John, 2003; Annesley, Engeli, Gains and Resodihardjo, 2010). While many scholars had developed

doubts about the generalization of macro schemes of politics, they later reinforced these studies on the notion that co-evolving social processes in complex systems may be inevitably related. Though some scholars are still skeptical about the transmission belt from society and the economy to the political system and its institutions (John, 2003); this study would still assume the impact to be greater when dealing with the issue of immigration and integration. The issue of immigration and integration touches many aspects of the socioeconomic form such as labour, culture, education and so on (Huysmans, 2000). Especially in the Netherlands, where immigrants were considered a vital aspect in maintaining welfare provisions by obtaining cheap and flexible workforce opportunities in the labour market. This consequently meant that many permissive migration policies were introduced to improve the internal labour market. Therefore this study will assume that the economic performance would help promote public attention on the issue of immigration and integration while also correlating with the policy content and its tone of language. The hypotheses to be derived from this assumption are the following:

H4a: the economic performance correlates with the level of attention given to the issue of immigration and integration.

H4b: the economic performance correlates with the tone in which the issue of immigration and integration is portrayed.

H4c: the economic performance correlates with the level of policy content dedicated on the issue of immigration and integration.

The political process of interlinking immigration to criminal matters of the domestic internal market does not take place in isolation. It is related to a wider politicization in which immigrants are portrayed as a challenge to the protection of national identity (Huysmans, 2000). The literature by Stone (1989), Rochefort and Cobb (1993) help emphasize how this group may then be considered as culpable and detrimental to the Dutch society. With this premise one can assume that the level of crime committed by the immigrants and or foreigners in the country would correlate with the tone, the policy content and the amount of attention put on the issue of immigration and integration.

H5a: the crime level committed by foreigners correlates with the level of attention given to the issue of immigration and integration.

H5b: the crime level committed by foreigners correlates with the tone in which the issue of immigration and integration is portrayed.

H5c: the crime level committed by foreigners correlates with the level of policy content dedicated on the issue of immigration and integration.

Over the years, the issue of immigration and integration has developed into a crucial issue in Western Europe (Huysmans, 2000). These issues are continuously being addressed on their effects to the domestic integration. These immigration issues include for instance identity control, visa policy, applications, integration, distribution of social entitlements, and cultural diversity. These internal market issues would consequently spill over into a common European matter, which implies that domestic immigration and integration issues are transferred onto the attention of the European Union (Risse Kappen, Green Cowles and Caporaso, 2001; Carrington, 2003). On the other hand, the Netherlands being a Member State of the European Union would mean that it regularly needs to integrate and transfer new European policies onto its own public agenda (Huysmans, 2000). This can be conceptualized as an institutional reform between levels of government (John, 2003). The Third Pillar on Justice and Home Affairs, of the Schengen Agreements, and the Dublin Convention most visibly indicate that the European integration process is implicated in the development of immigration and integration policies. At the same time, the development of a common immigration policy in the European Union would mean that many European policies are then transferred to the national policies, consequently creating new policies. This spillover effect is expected to play a crucial role in impacting the amount of political attention being put on a given issue such as the one of immigration and integration. With this premise it can be argued that the national political attention would be codependent and related to the spillover effect and Europeanization of immigration and integration policies (Risse Kappen, Green Cowles and Caporaso, 2001; Carrington, 2003). The correlation of the European international dimension and thus the amount of European policy outcomes on the issue of immigration are thus considered to correlate with the tone, the policy content and the amount of attention given on the issue. The hypotheses to be derived from these assumptions include the following:

H6a: the European Union's policy content correlates with the level of attention given to the issue of immigration and integration.

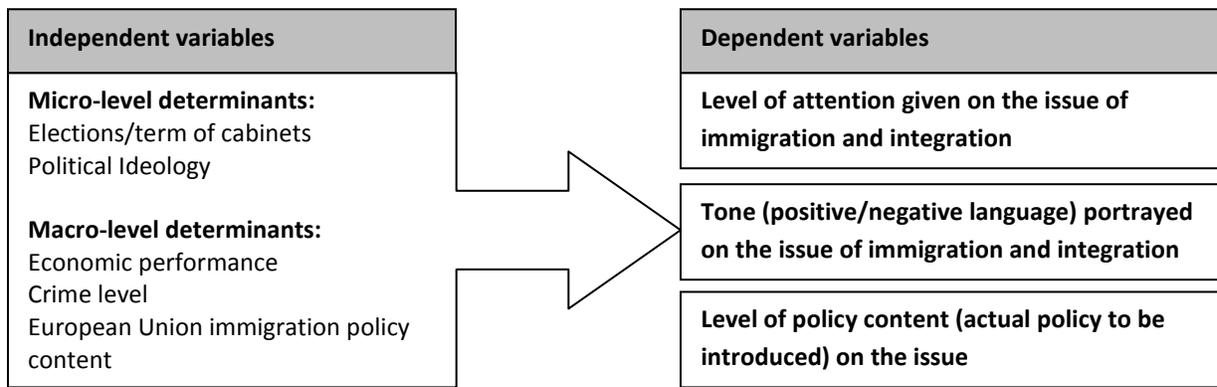
H6b: the European Union's policy content correlates with the tone in which the issue of immigration and integration is portrayed.

H6c: the European Union’s policy content correlates with the level of policy content dedicated on the issue of immigration and integration.

Summary

All the premises formed in this study as possible determinants of the issue attention towards immigration and integration are presented in an empirical framework (See figure 1). Further operationalisation of the data and the method used are given in the next chapter.

Figure 1: Empirical framework for the Dutch policy agenda.³



³ The empirical framework illustrates the possible correlation between political representation (elections and political ideology), and socioeconomic determinants (economic performance, crime level and European Union policies) against the level of public attention that public elites put on the issue of immigration and integration; the tone (positive/negative) portrayed on the issue of immigration and integration; the level of policy content on the issue of immigration and integration. The level of attention, the tone portrayed on the issue, and the level of policy content are considered dependent variables in this study. These variables are further operationalised in chapter III.

III. Methodology

This study mainly seeks to research the correlation that some factors may have on the level of issue attention, on the particular tone of language given, and on the actual policy content given on the issue of immigration and integration. The factors that are considered include change in cabinet, political ideology, economic performance, crime level and the role of new European Union policies. In short, this study seeks to answer the following question: *how has the level of policy content, the level of attention and tone of public attention on the issue of immigration and integration changed on the Dutch public agenda, and what determinants may explain this change?* The annual Queen speeches were hereby formerly collected by the Dutch National Data Bank, and then coded according to the principles of Breeman, et.al, (2009) in order to provide an answer to the main research question. Other data were also collected from secondary sources. This chapter provides further information on the measures and operationalisation of the factors and variables used. But first some relevant information on the data and methods used for this study.

Data and Methods

The first aim of this study is to investigate the pattern of public attention (Ya) placed to the promotion of immigration and integration policy in the Netherlands. Another aim is to investigate the tone of language (Yb) used to portray the issue of immigration and integration within the Netherlands, lastly but not least, the aim would rest on investigating the level of policy content (Yc) in the speeches. These three factors form the dependent variables in the study. The public agenda studied are the annual Queen speeches. The Queen speeches ' coded data, date from the years 1945 through 2011. The Queen speeches were collected from the National Data bank⁴ (Breeman, et.al, 2009). The coded data was then simply re-coded by the author into the necessary measures for this study. The Queen speeches are annually held on the 3rd Tuesday in September with the aim of communicating the legislative plans and policies for the upcoming year. The assumption is that the amount of attention given, as well as the tone in which the attention is portrayed, and the amount of policy content on the issue of immigration and integration can be derived from the Queen speeches. These speeches seem thus ideally for

⁴ Data source: All Queen's Speeches are found on the website of the Dutch government Netherlands Databank: <http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/regering/begroting/troonrede>

gathering specific information on the issue while differentiating between the different governments. Other data which are collected are used to form the independent variables in this study. These include cabinet in seat (X_{gs}) political ideology (X_p), economic performance (X_{ep}), crime level (X_{cl}), and European Union policy content (X_{eu}). These variables are used to measure their possible correlation/co-dependency on the public agenda immigration and integration issue. This study takes on a quantitative approach in collecting the necessary data. The method of data collection differs for each independent variable. Many include secondary data extracted from various statistical databases. This counts for instance for the variables, economic performance, and crime level. The other independent variable measuring the European Union role is gathered from the Queen's Speeches. The independent variables measuring election and political ideology depend on the party arrangements at the given time (Andeweg and Irwin, 2005); and were qualitatively coded by Hanegraaff (2007). Further operationalisation of these variables is provided in the following section.

Measurements

The unit of analysis in this study encompasses the number of times in which the issue of immigration and integration was mentioned throughout the speeches ($n=159$). These immigration and integration sentences were then coded and categorized into twelve variables, these are the following: year of speech, policy content, cabinet in seat, attention level, European Union policy content, tone of language, political ideology, Dutch unemployment rate, foreign unemployment rate, total unemployment rate, foreign crime level, total crime level. Some of these variables were added by the author; however, many of the variables were coded based on the Danish codebook of Green-Pedersen (2004) and the American codebook of Adler and Wilkerson (2002). Both codebooks are based on the original work of the Policy Agenda Project (Baumgartner, Green-Pedersen and Jones, 2006). This Codebook is used worldwide to code and compare agenda setting processes into issue attention indicators. It is used for all agenda setting forms such as Queen Speeches, media stories, bills, parliamentary speeches or even ministerial press releases. This Codebook was somewhat modified by the authors in order to fit the Dutch political-administrative situation. The Dutch Queen speeches have been previously gathered into an excel sheet by the Netherlands Databank and coded according to Breeman, et.al, (2009); these are now extracted into the SPSS program and re-coded for the purpose of this study. The codebook consists of 19 general codes and 248 specific sub codes (Baumgartner, et.al, (2006).

The only code that is relevant within the Codebook for this study is general code 2. General code 2 involves all issues that can be categorized under civil rights, immigration and integration. The sub code 230 is the only relevant code used in this study.⁵ Other codes (200, 201, 202, 203 and so on) that fall into the general code 2 are excluded since these codes do not refer or mention the issue of immigration and integration. The specific sub code 230 includes more specifically the issues of immigration, asylum, and integration (of these minorities), and other general social and cultural issues related to this group. Variables created to be used in this study include the following (see Appendix 1 for detailed information):

- (1) The year of speech variable, codes the year in which the sentence/speech was given which ranges from year 1945 through 2011.
- (2) The cabinet in seat variable (Xgs) marks the current government in seat when the sentence/speech is given. The numbering continues per new government (cabinet) that gets elected to seat. Thus as long as the same government with the same composition is at seat it gets the same number. As another government is seated than the number of code changes to the one that follows; e.g. government 1 gets code 1, government 2 gets code 2, and the government that follows gets code 3, etc. A change in a minister does not change this number, because the cabinet would have remained the same. A temporary government in case of resignation or fallen cabinet gets a -1 code numbering until a new cabinet comes to seat.
- (3) The European Union policy content variable (Xeu) is included to determine for each sentence whether it contained any reference to European immigration policies that are already introduced or to be introduced. The extent to which the domestic agenda is directed by the process of European integration is than measurable. Each sentence of the speeches are coded with 0 if no reference is made to an European immigration policy, and code 1 if a reference is made to a European immigration policy. The assumption is

⁵ Sub code 230 categorizes (in Dutch): Immigratie, asielbeleid, en integratie (minderheden), algemeen cultureel en sociaal Instream van immigranten; asielzoekers; toelatingsvoorwaarden; integratie; inburgering; algemene punten rond begroting, administratie, bevoegdheden van minister Vreemdelingenzaken en integratie horen ook in deze subtopic categorie. Onderwijs in eigen taal; uitzettingsbeleid; naturalisatie; functioneren IND; religieuze/ culturele tegenstellingen die integratie tegenwerken (of worden aangewakkerd); positie minderheden in Nederlandse samenleving; gezinshereniging.

that the expansion of European policy-making powers becomes visible through references to this level of governance in the Queen's speeches.

- (4) The policy content variable (Yc) (dependent) determines for each sentence or quasi-sentence in the speech; whether the sentence contained a real policy intention mentioning some kind of action in the coming year, a more general argument about a policy problem, or just a ceremonial statement. It was created to identify whether a specific text in the speech indicates a 0 = ceremonial/symbol language, or whether it has some form of 1 = systematic policy language (Breeman, et.al, 2009). A sentence is thus coded to include policy content/statement when the Queen spoke about a policy that would be needed to be introduced.
- (5) The attention level variable (Ya) (dependent) is used to indicate the percentage number of words that are used within a speech on the issue of immigration and integration. In order to calculate this percentage; the number of words that go about the immigration and integration issue is divided by the total number of words within the speech. This variable is useful to indicate the differences in the amount of importance, time spent on the issue. It helps investigate whether the patterns of issue attention varies over the speeches when considering change in government, economy and so on.
- (6) The tone of language variable (Yb) (dependent) is used to indicate in which way the issue of immigration and integration is presented. Each sentence is then coded into either 0= negative tone, 1 = positive tone, or 3=neutral, no specific tone.

An example of a negative sort of language tone is the following;

“The rapidly increasing number of families coming from Indonesia to the Netherlands brings great difficulties, which require special assistance from the government” (Queen Speeches, 1955).

With this statement she means to point out the unwilling migration consequences of a “threatening” population which the Netherlands would need to be prepared to face. An example of a positive tone of language is the following:

“Many immigrants have shown the tendency to rapidly integrate into the Dutch society” (Queen Speeches, 1994).

In the above text, the Queen speaks from a positive point of view on the issue of immigration and integration; she is more sympathetic seeing that the immigration group requires no real or

little assistance from the government. Texts that are coded as neutral indicate that no favourable or detrimental views are put on the issue. It provides no indication whether the Queen places the immigration group as worthy or unworthy of assistance. An example is the following:

“The movement of asylum seekers to our country has recently increased” (Queen Speeches, 1993).

The above statement does not yet indicate if this is to be seen from a negative or positive perspective therefore it is coded as 3= neutral tone.

- (7) The political ideology variable (Xp) indicates whether the sentence that mentions the issue was given when a left-or right wing government was in seat. Code 1 indicates a left wing government, code 2 for a center-left, code 3 for center, code 4 for central-right, and code 5 for right wing government. If the government is seat is a temporary coalition agreement it will be coded with -1. This categorization is perfect for this study seeing that it was developed from the Dutch perspective while considering the ideologies of the different parties (Andeweg and Irwin, 2005). The Dutch cabinets were then qualitatively coded according to their political ideology by Hanegraaff (2007).
- (8) The economic performance variable (Xep) is an independent variable which measures the economic performance of the Netherlands. It is indicated by the unemployment rate (%) in the year that the speech is held. Three measures were used to indicate the economic performance; the Dutch unemployment rate, the foreign unemployment rate, and the total unemployment rate. An unemployed person is defined by the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics Databank as someone aged 15 to 80 without work during the reference week who is available to start working within the next two weeks and who has actively sought employment at some time during the last four weeks. The unemployment rate is the number of people unemployed as a percentage of the labour force. It is important to consider that the numbers of foreign unemployment are in average higher than the native unemployment rate since the foreigners seem to be of a rather smaller group size.
- (9) The crime level variable (Xcl) is another independent variable which indicates the total number of registered crime committed, and the crime committed by foreigners within the Netherlands at the time (year) in which the speech and thus issue was given.⁶ The total

⁶ <http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/publication/?DM=SLNL&PA=81947NED&D1=0-24,27-54,60-65&D2=0&D3=0&D4=2&D5=a&HDR=G4,G2,T&STB=G3,G1&VW=T>

number of registered crimes is indicated by the absolute number of registered crimes in the year that the speech is held; while the number of crimes committed by foreigners is indicated in percentage values. Foreigners are persons not born in the Netherlands who have either a western or non-western origin which are categorized in the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics Databank as either from Western Europe, non-Western, Morocco, Aruba, Curaçao, Sint Maarten, Suriname, Turkey, the BES islands⁷ and or of an unidentified origin.

Analysis

This study is a quantitative statistical research which mainly measures whether a significant correlation/codependency between the variables is existent. The data is analyzed using the IBM SPSS program. Considering the small sample size of the data (n=159), was the alpha set at 0.05 leaving a standard error of 5%. The results that yield $p \leq 0,05$ are considered borderline statistically significant. However, if some variables reveal a significant result at the $p \leq 0,01$ (1 % probability of error); they will be considered of much more statistical significance. The analysis provides some descriptive data on the many variables; however, the essence of the analysis encompasses a correlation analysis to assess the codependency between the different variables. A Pearson (R) and Chi-square (X^2) correlation analysis will serve as a test to indicate any predictive co-dependency among these variables. Some multiple regression analyses are also provided to test any casual relationships between the factors.

Limitations

This section provides some of the factors that have to be taken into consideration when interpreting the results. As mentioned, the alpha measure was set at $\alpha = 0, 05$ instead of $\alpha = 0, 1$ (10% probability error); considering the small sample size. A greater standard of error would help better test the reliability of the results.

In addition, some of the secondary data collected in this study such as the data on the annual total unemployment rate for foreigners and native Dutch people were not completely available or registered from the period 1954 – 2011. The sample size (N) of these two variables was about 76 compared to the 159 sample size of the other variables. However, another independent variable was also brought in to the study in order to measure the total unemployment rate of the

⁷ BES islands include the Dutch Caribbean Islands of Bonaire, Sint Eustatius and Saba.

population (N=159) to the dependent variables instead of considering only the different two groups in the analysis. A greater sample size for the variable unemployment rate would be more indicative and contain less probability of error since it does not have any missing values that may skew the results. The analysis pertaining to the unemployment rate would therefore be more reliable and indicative of the economic performance in its entirety. The economic performance variable was therefore operationalised into these three variables in order to fully assess the economic performance' relation on the agenda-setting as a means of increasing both the reliability and validity of the results.

The total number of crimes committed by foreigners variable was also missing some data and had therefore a very small sample size of 59 units. An extra variable that provided the total number of registered crimes throughout the period of 1954 – 2011 was therefore also taken into consideration in this study when analyzing the relation of the dependent variables to the crime levels. The tested variables would then provide reliable results when both the dependent and independent variables contain the same number of values. The total registered crimes variable is thus more reliable and indicative of the crime level influence on the immigration and integration issue. However, the original variable measuring the foreign crimes was not excluded since it may still provide indications for further study that may show the value of retaining the hypothesis.

The Queen Speeches had rather few reference to any European Union immigration policies; the results to this study may thus not fully consider the real relation of the European Union role throughout the Queen Speeches; this can maybe be explained by the unit of analysis chosen or by the way the variable was coded and measured. However, it may also be the case that the analysis is valid enough in revealing that the attention put on the issue of immigration (or more specifically the Queen Speeches) is not at all dependent on the European Union policy content.

Other limitations to this study include of course, the possibility of other factors indirectly or directly affecting the dependent variables. Other factors such as the number of immigration throughout the years, the actual number of new/reformed immigration policies, and the actual number of new/reformed European Union immigration policies, or other forms of influences from for instance the parliament, the government, the civil society the media, other societal or external factors and so on; are not considered in this study analysis, and are therefore duly noted.

Validity & Reliability

The before mentioned limitations disrupt not only the reliability but also the validity of the study, therefore, the results cannot be entirely generalized to agenda setting and attention put on the issue of immigration and integration in the Netherlands. The results can only be generalized to the Dutch Queen Speeches when considering the time period set beforehand on the issue of immigration and integration. The data and results are thus to be pertained indicative to the period of 1954 till 2011. Some of the timelines chosen resulted in some variables having many missing data; therefore, accurately measuring the correlation of crimes levels and economic performance to the dependent variables may pose as a limitation to the results. However, this limitation was reduced as much as possible by including other similar completely available data to further illustrate any predictive relations.

Summary

This study takes on a quantitative approach. It includes analyzing the Dutch public agenda setting; this encompasses gathering all available Dutch Queen Speeches⁸ from the year 1945 through 2011. These speeches annually address the public policy of the Netherlands and address the policy goals, the hopes and concerns of the citizens. It also portrays an ideal example of a public agenda being formed and changed by the preferences or circumstances of the country and its government (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993). This legislative agenda is therefore chosen to be studied as a perfect form of agenda setting. A quantitative statistical analysis is then executed with the use of the IBM SPSS Statistics program. The overall analysis provides some descriptive information on the differences and or fluctuations in public attention, tone of language and policy content on the issue. At last, an analysis on the correlation/codependency between the public attention, tone of language, policy content and the five independent factors is provided. The overall role of the socio-economic and institutional factors on the Dutch immigration and integration policies are thus revealed in this study.

⁸ In Dutch it is referred to as *Troonrede* (De Rijksoverheid, 2013).

IV. Analysis and Results

This chapter provides the results to the quantitative data analysis on the Queen speeches. This study analysed the public attention on the immigration issue through the Queen speeches, while considering the available data from the years 1945 to 2011. The data was analyzed using the IBM SPSS Program. The coded Queen speeches were secondary data gathered and coded from the codebook of Baumgartner, et.al. (2006). The data used in the study were the ones coded as general code 2, sub code 230; involving all issues that can be categorized under civil rights, immigration and integration. This resulted in a rather small sample size of $n=159$. Taking into consideration the size of the sample, was the alpha measure set at 0.05 leaving a standard error of five percent. These results that yield $p \leq 0,05$ are considered borderline statistically significant. However, if some variables revealed a significant result at the $p \leq 0,01$ (1 % probability of error), they will be considered of much more statistical significance. This chapter begins by depicting some descriptive analysis such as frequencies, and mean analysis of the various variables considered. Codependency among variables are analysed using the Pearson (R) -1; 1 correlation analysis, crosstabs and Chi-square analyses (X^2) depending on the measures. Two multiple regression analysis are also executed measuring the possible casual relationship between the issue attention with the independent variables economic performance and crime level. Finally, the results to the analyses will indicate any existent or non-existent correlation or casual relation between the independent variables with the public attention, the tone, and policy content given on the issue of immigration.

Descriptive statistics

First of all, a mean analyses on all the 12 variables used in this study are depicted in table 1. The table gives the sample size (n) for each variable, the minimum, the maximum, the mean, and the standard deviation. The mean value (μ) for the variable issue attention of 8.70 indicates the average percentage number of words used within a speech on the issue of immigration and integration. The mean value for policy content indicates that about half of the total sample size encompassed an intention ($\mu = 0,48$) to introduce immigration policies. The mean value for tone of language indicates that the speeches portrayed a rather positive/neutral tone when addressing the issue of immigration and integration ($\mu = 1.29$). The mean value for political ideology indicates an average ($\mu = 3.29$), meaning that in overall a rather center-wing government

commented on the immigration issue. The mean value for the native Dutch unemployment rate ($\mu=2.73$) is much less than the foreign unemployment rate ($\mu=7.73$); cumulating to a total unemployment rate of $\mu=5.58$. In this regard, it is important to note that the foreigner labour population is normally rather small compared to the native Dutch population which might explain such a high number in the calculation. However, this difference was minimized when a relative number was used instead of an absolute number in order to make these populations more comparable in size. Annually on average, the foreigners total percentage of committed crimes was $\mu=2.59$. There was on average, an absolute total of 1.158.030 registered crimes over the time period the speeches were analysed. These numbers indicate only the registered crimes reported by the police which include the total number of crimes committed by both the foreign and Dutch population. Finally, the sample size had little reference to the European Union immigration policies ($\mu=0.03$). Possible explanations for this phenomenon are provided later in the chapter.

Table 1: Descriptive and mean analysis

VARIABLES	N	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM	MEAN	STD. DEVIATION
YEAR	159	10	67	50,47	10,89
ISSUE ATTENTION	159	0,51	8,70	4,08	2,17
POLICY CONTENT	159	0	1	0,48	0,50
TONE OF LANGUAGE	159	0	2	1,29	0,81
CABINET IN SEAT	159	-1	28	21,50	4,41
POLITICAL IDEOLOGY	159	-1	5	3,29	1,20
NATIVE DUTCH UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (%)	76	1,40	5,40	2,73	1,01
FOREIGN UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (%)	76	4,20	13,50	7,73	2,45
TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (%)	159	0,80	10,70	5,58	1,83
CRIMES COMMITTED BY FOREIGNERS (%)	59	2,30	3,10	2,59	0,26
TOTAL REGISTERED CRIMES X1000	159	102	1401	1158,03	312,47
EU POLICY CONTENT	159	0	1	0,03	0,18

Crosstabs analyses

Furthermore, some relevant frequency, and crosstab analyses are provided in this section. These analyses show the number of times, and the percentage rate in which the issue of immigration and integration was addressed. The frequency analyses reveal the following (see also Appendix 2). The speeches contained about 47.8 percent policy content meaning that about half of the times the issue of immigration was addressed it included the intention of introducing/changing the policy. The frequency numbers also show that the majority of the immigration issues were portrayed in a neutral tone (51.6%), while 25.8 percent of the speeches contained a positive tone, while the rest (22.6%) were negatively portrayed.

Additionally, from the 28 cabinets in total that were in seat from 1945 until 2011, only 18 cabinets addressed the issue of immigration and integration within the Queen Speeches. Lubbers III, Kok II, Kok I and Balkenende II were in seat for a longer period compared to the other cabinets, and are (therefore) also the ones who addressed the issue the most.

Surprisingly, the majority of the speeches (96.9%) contained little or no reference to any European Union immigration policies. In other words, the Queen Speeches lacked EU policy content.

Finally, the results indicate that the majority of the cabinets in seat during this study period; were of a center political ideology (32.1%) (see also Appendix 1, variable 7: political ideology).

In addition to the frequency analyses, some crosstabs analyses are provided in the following figures to further illustrate whether different cabinets, right wing or left wing governments, differed in their tone of language, and in their intention to introduce policies on immigration (see figure 1, figure 2, and figure 3).

Figure 1 illustrates the number of times the cabinets did/didn't have the intention of introducing/changing the policy on immigration or integration. It is noticeable how cabinets Drees III, Drees IV and Lubbers I, addressed the issue of immigration without including any policy content. It is also important to note, that the cabinets early on (starting from Drees III, year 1954) did not address the issue much or did not include much policy content in the speeches; in comparison to the cabinets that came later on in seat (starting from Lubbers III, year 1989). The early cabinets were also not long enough in seat (1-2 years) which also explains the

rather small intention of introducing/changing immigration policies. Lubbers III, Balkenende I, Balkenende II and Balkenende IV are the cabinets which presented much policy intent to the issue of immigration in comparison to the number of times they addressed the issue. In conclusion on this figure, it provides enough evidence indicating that the longer seated cabinets included much more policy content to the issue of immigration and integration; other factors that may have played a role are not considered in this figure.

Figure 2 depicts the number of times each cabinet portrayed the issue of immigration and integration positively, negatively, or neutral. The majority of the cabinets used a much more positive/neutral tone instead of a negative tone when addressing the issue. However, there are some exceptions such as cabinets Drees IV and Balkenende I, whom portrayed a much more negative tone when addressing the issue. Cabinets Lubbers II, Lubbers III, Kok I, Kok II were rather sympathetic (portrayed a positive tone) to the immigration groups and the issue of integration. Nevertheless, the negative tone also seemed to drastically increase when cabinets Lubbers III, Kok I, Kok II, Balkenende I and Balkenende II were at seat. This figure indicates that across the cabinet years there was a rather change in the tone of language used on the issue of immigration and integration; which switched from a more positive- or neutral tone to a rather negative- and or neutral tone.

Figure 3 depicts the number of times in which the left-, center- or right wing cabinets portrayed the issue positively, negatively or neutrally. The figure also provides the number of times they included some policy content. The figure indicates that the cabinets with a rather center-right ideology followed by the center cabinets portrayed the issue of immigration in a much more negative tone compared to the others (the center-left/left-wing cabinets). The center- right-and center-left wing cabinets portrayed the issue more positively compared to the other two cabinets of different political ideology. The cabinets of center-and center-left ideology portrayed the issue in a much more neutral way. Nevertheless, these center-and center-left cabinets contained much more policy content in their speeches while addressing the issue of immigration and integration.

Figure 1: Crosstabs analyses between cabinet in seat and the dependent variable**policy content*

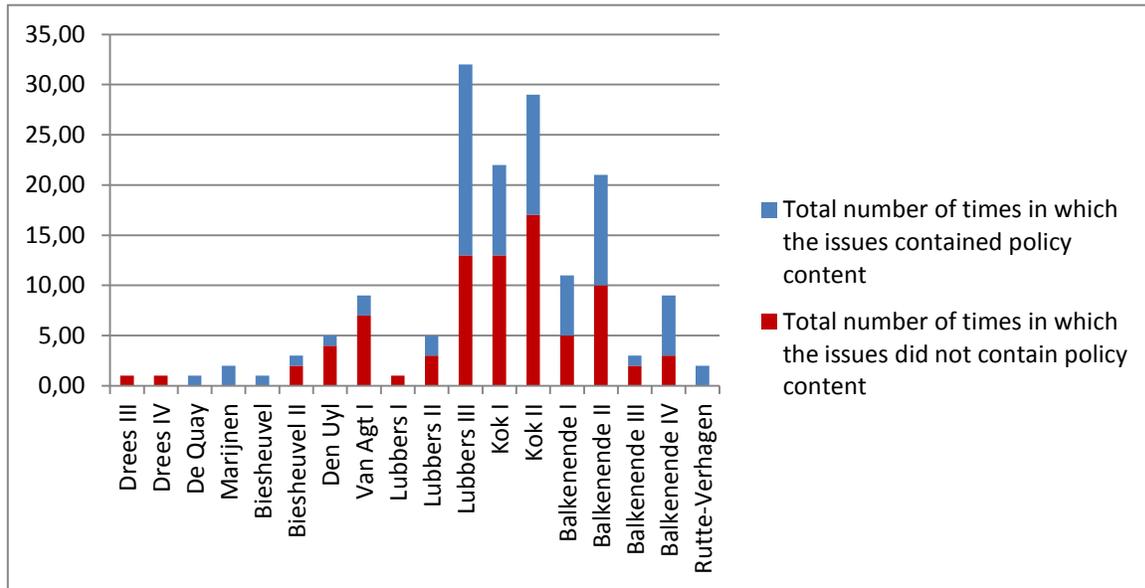


Figure 2: Crosstabs analyses between cabinet in seat and the dependent variable**tone of language*

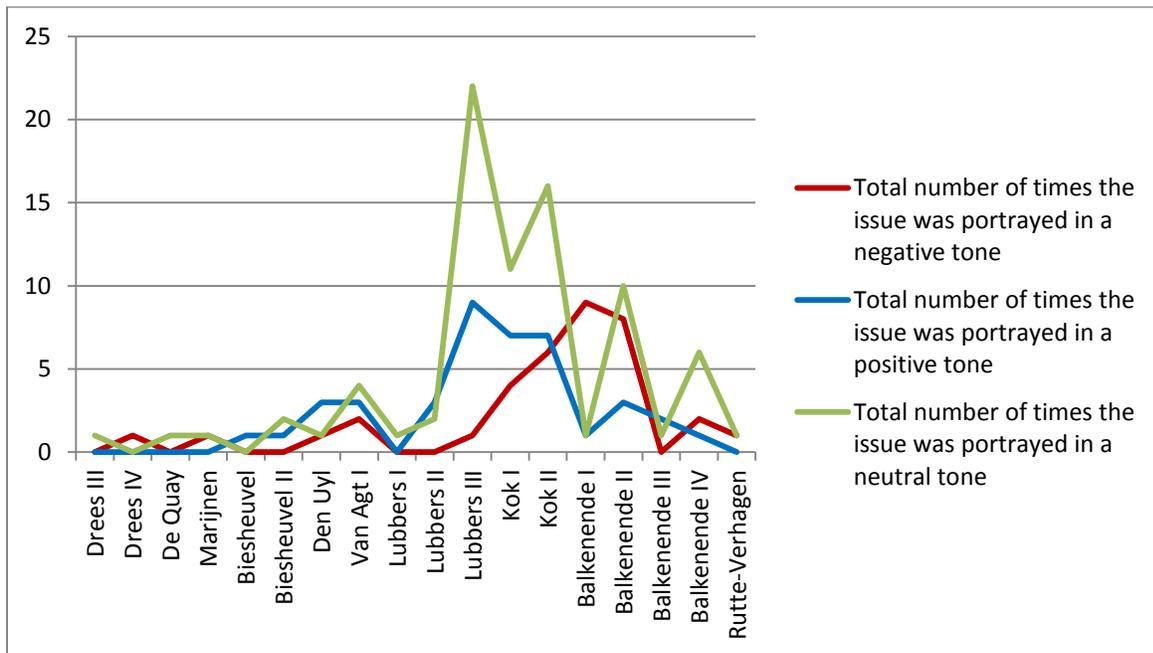
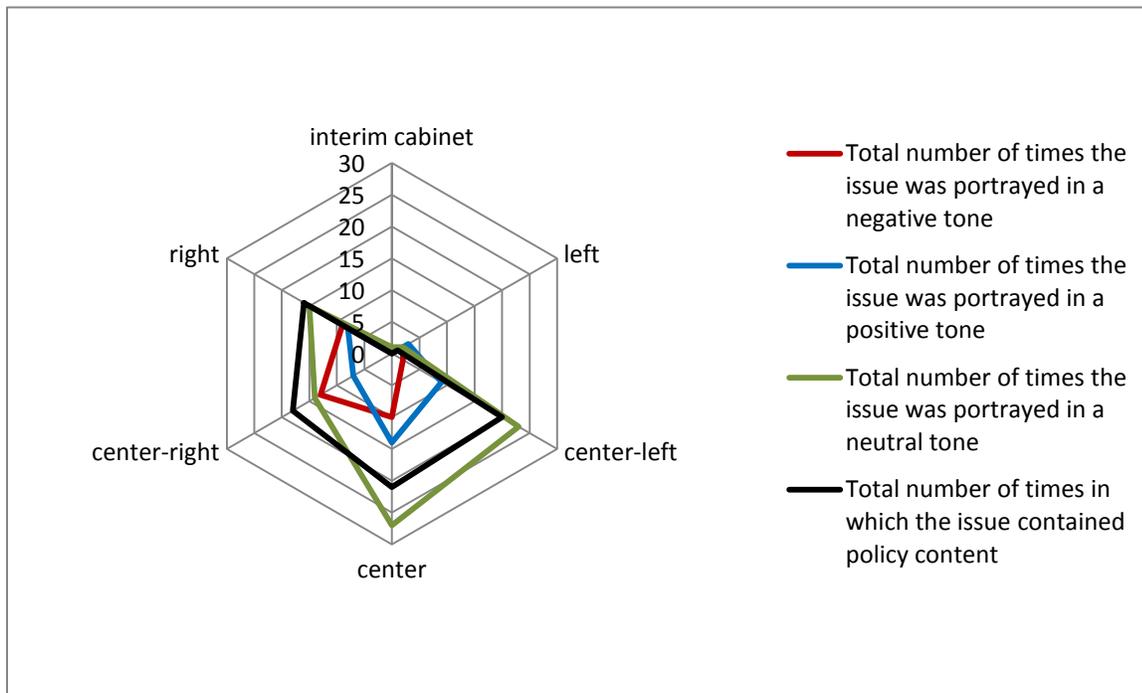
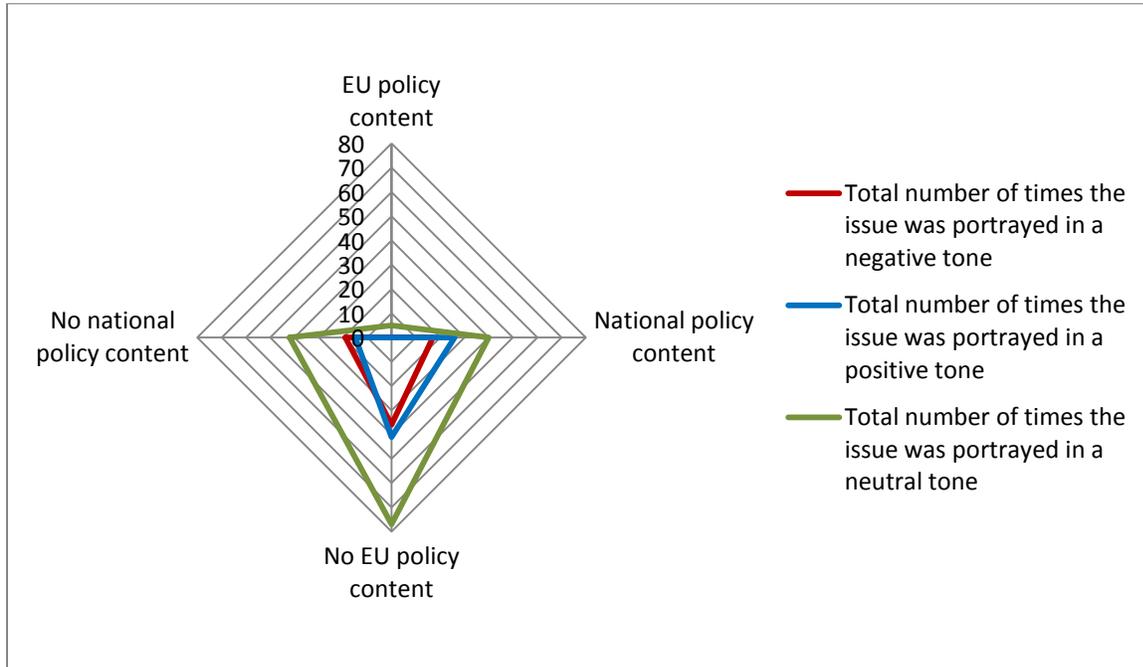


Figure 3: Crosstabs analyses between political ideology and the dependent variables *tone of language
 *policy content



Moreover, a crosstabs analysis was also executed to help provide an overview the number of EU policy content within the speeches, against the number of national policy content (see figure 4). This figure also depicts the kind of tone of language used for these EU/National policy contents. As mentioned before, most of the neutral portrayed speeches contained little or no EU policy content. The positively portrayed speeches contained policy content but little EU policy content. This figure thus quickly illustrates the little EU policy content and or reference to the EU immigration policy intentions when portraying the issue of immigration and integration in the Netherlands. The few times that the issue did include EU policy content it was portrayed in a rather neutral tone.

Figure 4: Crosstabs analyses between the EU policy content and the dependent variables *tone of language**policy content*



Correlation Analyses

After having looked at the former crosstabs analyses it is of importance to analyse whether the likelihoods of correlations are of any significance. Therefore, a Pearson correlation (R) analysis was taken to identify whether significant correlations are existent between the variable issue attention and the independent variables political ideology, cabinet in seat, and EU policy content and tone of language. A Pearson correlation was also executed between the ratio variables to determine any significant correlations. The ratio variables are in this case the dependent variable issue attention with the variables; economic performance (native Dutch unemployment rate, foreign unemployment rate, total unemployment rate) and crime levels (crimes committed by foreigners, total registered crimes). The Pearson (R) -1; 1 correlation analysis serves as a test to indicate any predictive co-dependency among these variables. A significant correlation is when the significance is found at $p \leq 0,05$.

Moreover, a Chi-square (X^2) analysis was executed to determine whether a correlation is existent between the dependent variable tone of language with all the independent variables. This same correlation analysis was also executed to measure the correlation between the dependent variable

policy content and all the independent variables. Table 2 depicts the results to all the correlation analyses.

The correlation analyses reveal various co-dependencies among some of the dependent and the independent variables. For instance, the independent variables; cabinet in seat, economic performance, and crime levels, significantly correlate ($p \leq 0,05$) with the dependent variable *issue attention*. These results that yield $p \leq 0,05$ are considered borderline statistically significant. However, some variables reveal a significant result at the $p \leq 0,01$ (1 % probability of error) which are scientifically considered of much more statistical significance. These variables include cabinet in seat, native Dutch unemployment rate, foreign unemployment, and the total registered crimes. In addition, the dependent variable issue attention also correlates with the tone of language, meaning that the level of attention given on the issue is codependent on the way the issue is being portrayed. The following related hypotheses are thus retained thanks to the correlation results:

H1a: the tone in which the issue is portrayed correlates with the level of attention given to the issue of immigration and integration.

H2a: a newly elected/seated government correlates with the level of attention given on the issue of immigration and integration.

H4a: the economic performance correlates with the level of attention given to the issue of immigration and integration (more specifically, native Dutch unemployment rate, foreign unemployment rate)

H5a: the crime level committed by foreigners correlates with the level of attention given to the issue of immigration and integration (more specifically, the total registered crimes).

Hypotheses which predicted a correlation between issue attention and political ideology, and the EU policy content can thus be rejected since no significance was found. On the other hand, the institutional form of a government, such as the term of a Dutch cabinet in seat is in relation with the number of times the issue of immigration was addressed. And the external socio-economic factors such as the economic performance of the country and the crime rate are also in relation with the attention being put on the issue of immigration and integration

Moreover, the independent variables cabinet in seat, foreign unemployment rate, total unemployment rate, foreign crimes, and total registered crimes is found significantly correlated

with the chosen *tone of language*. The variables which are scientifically considered of much more statistical significance ($p \leq 0,01$) are in this case, total unemployment rate, crimes committed by foreigners, and total registered crimes. The hypotheses that predicted these co-dependencies are thus retained while the other three independent variables show no correlation whatsoever with the dependent variable *tone of language* and can therefore be rejected. The retained hypotheses are the following:

H2b: a newly elected/seated government correlates with the tone in which the issue of immigration and integration is portrayed.

H4b: the economic performance correlates with the tone in which the issue of immigration and integration is portrayed (more specifically, the total unemployment rate).

H5b: the crime level committed by foreigners correlates with the tone in which the issue of immigration and integration is portrayed (more specifically, the crimes committed by foreigners, and the total registered crimes).

Again, the same independent variables that correlated with *issue attention* also correlated with the *tone of language*, only the specific variables for these measures differ.

Finally, a correlation analyses between the independent variables with the dependent variable *policy content* indicates a significant correlation ($p \leq 0,01$) with the variables total unemployment rate, total registered crimes, and the European Union policy content. The hypotheses that predicted these co-dependencies are thus retained, and include the following:

H4c: the economic performance correlates with the level of policy content dedicated on the issue of immigration and integration (more specifically, the total unemployment rate).

H5c: the crime level committed by foreigners correlates with the level of policy content dedicated on the issue of immigration and integration (more specifically, the total registered crimes).

H6c: the European Union's policy content correlates with the level of policy content dedicated on the issue of immigration and integration.

All the other independent variables did not result in a significant relation to the number of policy content and can therefore be rejected. Same as the previous correlations, both the socio-economic factors displayed a relation with the level of *policy content*. However, in this case, the variable cabinet in seat did not reveal any codependency with the policy content as it did with the

level of issue attention and the tone of language. Surprisingly, the EU policy content correlated with the level of policy content when it did not show any correlation with the other dependent variables issue attention and the tone of language. The existence of both little policy content and little EU policy content in the speeches might explain why a relation was then found.

Table 2: Correlation analysis

VARIABLES	ISSUE ATTENTION	TONE OF LANGUAGE	POLICY CONTENT
tone of language			
R/X²	-0,240***	NA	2,808
SIGNIFICANCE	0,002		0,246
Cabinet in seat			
R/X²	0,340***	56,679**	19,026
SIGNIFICANCE	0,000	0,012	0,390
Political ideology			
R/X²	0,132	14,055	7,042
SIGNIFICANCE	0,096	0,171	0,218
Native Dutch unemployment rate			
R/X²	-0,441***	27,051	12,411
SIGNIFICANCE	0,000	0,134	0,258
Foreign unemployment rate			
R/X²	-0,379***	36,684**	13,865
SIGNIFICANCE	0,001	0,047	0,309
Total unemployment rate			
R/X²	-0,177**	89,364***	42,104**
SIGNIFICANCE	0,026	0,002	0,032
Crimes committed by foreigners (%)			
R/X²	-0,296**	27,791***	3,690
SIGNIFICANCE	0,023	0,006	0,719
Total registered crimes x 1000			
R/X²	0,474***	112,773***	52,927**
SIGNIFICANCE	0,000	0,001	0,020
EU policy content			
R/X²	0,017	4,848	5,638**
SIGNIFICANCE	0,827	0,089	0,018

**CORRELATION IS SIGNIFICANT AT THE $P \leq 0,05$ LEVEL

***CORRELATION IS SIGNIFICANT AT THE $P \leq 0,01$ LEVEL

Regression Analyses

Finally, two multiple regression analyses were executed to measure the casual relationship between the ratio variables that showed a significant correlation with each other which are in this case the dependent variable *issue attention* against the independent variables measuring economic performance and crime level. Regression analysis would help describe how, how strongly, and under what conditions these independent variables are associated with the dependent variable issue attention (casual inferences).

A multiple regression analysis was therefore executed to determine the magnitude of the casual relationship between the issue attention and the variables indicating economic performance (total unemployment rate, foreign unemployment rate and Dutch unemployment rate). Table 3 provides the coefficients (β) and significance results ($p \leq 0,05/p \leq 0,01$) to this regression analysis in model 1. The results of model (1) reveal $R=0,617$ and $R^2=0,380$ meaning that the data fits the model very well ($R^2 \geq 0,20$). Model 1 further reveals that a rather significant relationship is existent between the variables. The issue attention is thus significantly dependent ($p \leq 0,01$) on the native unemployment rate, the foreign unemployment rate and the total unemployment rate. An increase of the foreign unemployment by 1 percent consequently influences the issue attention by 2,727 percent; which indicates the increase number percentage of words dedicated to the issue of immigration and integration within the queen's speeches. The native Dutch unemployment was also found in relationship with the issue attention, however, one that is negative; meaning that if the unemployment rate of Native Dutch population increases by 1 percent it consequently decreases the total number of words on the issue of immigration within the queen's speeches by 6,089 percent.

The other multiple regression analysis model (2) (see table 3) measuring the relationship between *issue attention* and the crime levels also reveals an existing relationship with $R=0,849$ and $R^2=0,799$. Model 2 on the other hand reveals no significant relationship between the percentage of foreign crimes with the attention being put on the issue of immigration and integration. The total registered crime variable however, reveals a positive relationship with issue attention, resulting in an increase of 0,042 percent words on the issue when the total registered crimes increases by a 1000. These results thus indicated the existence of a possible statistical casual relationship between the issue attentions with the socio-economic factors. While the

previous analyses on correlations revealed predictive co-dependencies among the variables; these regression analyses confirm the existing relationship between some of the independent variables with the *issue attention*.

Table 3: multiple regression analyses (model 1 and model 2)

MODEL 1	B-COEFFICIENTS	P-VALUE	MODEL 2	B-COEFFICIENTS	P-VALUE
CONSTANT	8,168	0,000	CONSTANT	-51,308	0,000
NATIVE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	-6,089	0,000	TOTAL FOREIGN CRIMES (%)	0,191	0,784
FOREIGN UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	2,727	0,000	TOTAL REGISTERED CRIMES x1000	0,042	0,000
TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	-1,569	0,006			

Summary

This chapter presented the analyses and results on the Queen Speeches starting from 1945 to 2011. Though, the results are more the reflection of the Queen Speeches from beginning 1954 to 2011; since the issue of immigration only started to gain attention on this public agenda in 1954. The quantitative statistical analyses encompassed a series of descriptive, mean, frequency, and crosstabs analyses that revealed interesting patterns between some of the independent and dependent variables. These patterns and likelihoods of relations were further analysed in order to identify any existent significant relations. Due to the rather small sample size (n=159) was the alpha value (α) set at 0,05 when testing the significance of any correlations. However, five percent probability of error is still rather high and was merely used as indications; while the correlations smaller than one percent was considered of more statistical significance.

The independent variables considered in this study showed a relation with foremost two of the dependent variables; issue attention and tone of language. The results allowed the retention of the hypotheses which predicted a significant correlation on the number of attention given on the issue of immigration, to be dependent on the tone of language, the cabinet in seat, the number of

native Dutch unemployment rate, the number of foreign unemployment rate, and the total number of registered crimes.

Further analysis also deduced a significant relation/codependency between the following variables and the tone of language used; particularly cabinet in seat, the number of total unemployment rate, the number of foreign crimes, the number of native Dutch unemployment, foreign crimes, and the number of total registered crimes. Most of the independent variables considered in this study revealed no likely co-relation to the number of policy intentions on the issue of immigration and integration, besides the total unemployment rate, the total registered crimes and the EU policy content. All the other hypotheses were no significant correlation was found are thus rejected.

V. Conclusion

This study sought to provide a possible explanation to why the political attention on the issue of immigration and integration may have risen or fallen on the Dutch public agenda, more specifically the Queen Speeches, throughout the period 1954 to 2011. There are many competing explanations for the rise and fall of issues on the public agenda. According to Downs (1972; Henry and Gordon, 2013), the public interest for a particular issue will fluctuate even when it entails a crucial problem within society. This study thus assumed that public attention on a certain hot issue such as immigration and integration is not capable of remaining constant in the presence of exogenous factors and or events. Exogenous factors of socioeconomic form have been proven to cause and influence the political system and the public agenda (John, 2003; Annesley, Engeli, Gains and Resodihardjo, 2010). Crime levels (foreign) and the wealth being within the Netherlands economy were therefore considered when analyzing the shift in public agenda on the issue of immigration and integration. The reality is also that institutions and governments are continuously changing; which is why this study was also concerned with the possibilities of shifts/stagnation in issue attention to be correlated with subsequent changes/no change in the government institution and its representation; taking into account the term the government were in seat, and their political ideologies (John, 2003; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993; Bannink and Resodihardjo, 2006; Baumgartner and Jones, 1993).

Research Question and Hypotheses

This study not only investigated the level of attention given to the issue of immigration and integration but also analysed the conception used to portray the issue while considering the actual systematic policy proposals/ intentions on the issue by providing an answer to the following;

how did the level of attention, policy content, and tone of public attention on the issue of immigration and integration change on the Dutch public agenda, and what determinants may explain this change?

The correlation results reveal some statistical significance to the quantitative study. First of all, the results indicated that the public attention given on the issue of immigration and integration is related to the tone of language used, the cabinet in seat, the exogenous factors such as crimes committed by foreigners and the economic performance/ wealth being of the Netherlands.

Moreover, the way in which the issue is portrayed was significantly related to these same factors. The tone of language used throughout the speeches differed due to change in the cabinet and thus the institution, and also due to the exogenous socio-economic factors.

Finally, the level of policy content dedicated on the issue of immigration and integration were found related to the economic performance factors, the crimes committed by foreigners, and the European Union policy content. Surprisingly, the term of the cabinet in seat did not show any significant relation to this dependent factor policy content.

Except for this last finding, the results represent the significance of continuous attention on the issue of immigration and integration thanks to the behavior and existence of (long term) public elites in the government. Also, the tone of language used to portray the issue and the amount of attention given on the issue are both related to the cabinet in seat; thus governments tend to have one certain perspective on the issue (positively, negatively or neutrally) not at all dependent on their political ideology. However, it was amazing to see a detrimental change in perspective on the issue over the years. This result only adds to the importance of representation and democracy within the theory of agenda setting (Peters and Hogwood, 1985). Therefore, it also seems that the tone of language and the amount of attention given on the issue of immigration and integration are mostly dependent on the exogenous factors such as the economical and or welfare of the country (John, 2003; Annesley, Engeli, Gains and Resodihardjo, 2010). Even more important, two multiple regression analyses also revealed the casual relationship between the public attention given on the issue with these socio-economic factors. These results are not at all surprising since nowadays, most recent policies on immigration and integration (not only in the Netherlands) serve not only as a means in strengthening the economy, the culture and the overall professional knowledge; but also to help regulate the entrance of immigrants, integrate and create national identity while maintaining the country's welfare. In reality the relation is already taken into consideration, and these results only add to that assumption. See table 4 for a better depiction of the hypotheses that were retained or rejected in this study based on the factors that were found in relation to the issue attention, tone of language portrayed, and the policy content given on the issue of immigration and integration.

Table 4: deduced results of existing relations

	HYPOTHESES	RELATION
LEVEL OF ATTENTION	H1A: THE TONE IN WHICH THE ISSUE IS PORTRAYED CORRELATES WITH THE LEVEL OF ATTENTION GIVEN TO THE ISSUE OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION.	YES
	H2A: A NEWLY ELECTED/SEATED GOVERNMENT CORRELATES WITH THE LEVEL OF ATTENTION GIVEN ON THE ISSUE OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION.	YES
	H3A: PARTY IDEOLOGY OF THE GOVERNMENT IN SEAT CORRELATES WITH THE LEVEL OF ATTENTION BEING GIVEN TO THE ISSUE OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION.	NO
	H4A: THE ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE CORRELATES WITH THE LEVEL OF ATTENTION GIVEN TO THE ISSUE OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION (MORE SPECIFICALLY, NATIVE DUTCH UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, FOREIGN UNEMPLOYMENT RATE).	YES
	H5A: THE CRIME LEVEL COMMITTED BY FOREIGNERS CORRELATES WITH THE LEVEL OF ATTENTION GIVEN TO THE ISSUE OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION (MORE SPECIFICALLY, THE TOTAL REGISTERED CRIMES).	YES
	H6A: THE EUROPEAN UNION'S POLICY CONTENT CORRELATES WITH THE LEVEL OF ATTENTION GIVEN TO THE ISSUE OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION.	NO
TO NE OF LANGUAGE	H1B: THE TONE IN WHICH THE ISSUE IS PORTRAYED CORRELATES WITH THE LEVEL OF POLICY CONTENT ON THE ISSUE OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION.	NO
	H2B: A NEWLY ELECTED/SEATED GOVERNMENT CORRELATES WITH THE TONE IN WHICH THE ISSUE OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IS PORTRAYED.	YES
	H3B: PARTY IDEOLOGY OF THE GOVERNMENT IN SEAT CORRELATES WITH THE TONE IN WHICH THE ISSUE OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IS PORTRAYED.	NO
	H4B: THE ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE CORRELATES WITH THE TONE IN WHICH THE ISSUE OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IS PORTRAYED (MORE SPECIFICALLY, THE TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE).	YES
	H5B: THE CRIME LEVEL COMMITTED BY FOREIGNERS CORRELATES WITH THE TONE IN WHICH THE ISSUE OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IS PORTRAYED (MORE SPECIFICALLY, THE CRIMES COMMITTED BY FOREIGNERS, AND THE TOTAL REGISTERED CRIMES).	YES
	H6B: THE EUROPEAN UNION'S POLICY CONTENT CORRELATES WITH THE TONE IN WHICH THE ISSUE OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IS PORTRAYED.	NO
LEVEL OF POLICY CONTENT	H2C: A NEWLY ELECTED/SEATED GOVERNMENT CORRELATES WITH THE LEVEL OF POLICY CONTENT DEDICATED ON THE ISSUE OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION.	NO
	H3C: PARTY IDEOLOGY OF THE GOVERNMENT IN SEAT CORRELATES WITH THE LEVEL OF POLICY CONTENT DEDICATED ON THE ISSUE OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION.	NO
	H4C: THE ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE CORRELATES WITH THE LEVEL OF POLICY CONTENT DEDICATED ON THE ISSUE OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION (MORE SPECIFICALLY, THE TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE).	YES
	H5C: THE CRIME LEVEL COMMITTED BY FOREIGNERS CORRELATES WITH THE LEVEL OF POLICY CONTENT DEDICATED ON THE ISSUE OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION (MORE SPECIFICALLY, THE TOTAL REGISTERED CRIMES).	YES
	H6C: THE EUROPEAN UNION'S POLICY CONTENT CORRELATES WITH THE LEVEL OF POLICY CONTENT DEDICATED ON THE ISSUE OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION.	YES

Reflection and recommendations

First of all, the overall role and relation of the European Union was not at all present within this public agenda when addressing the issue of immigration and integration. Therefore it is not a surprise that the European Union policy content was little or not at all related to the researched factors. It is not known if this is only the case for this certain issue or also for all the other issues addressed in the Queen's Speeches. In this case, the operationalisation and or the method of the research taken in this study may not have been sufficient enough for adequately measuring the influence and existence of EU policy content. Looking back at the theory that helped built this premise that argued that the national political attention is expected to be codependent and related to the spillover effect and Europeanization of immigration and integration policies (Risse Kappen, Green Cowles and Caporaso, 2001; Carrington, 2003); it should be noted that this assumption is not entirely to be disregarded since this study only looked at the Queen Speeches; which are considered more of a symbolic public agenda rather than the actual policy reforms taken by the government. A recommendation would therefore be to also measure the European Union policy content on immigration issues by taking into account some other form of public agenda (s) such as ministerial press releases which are actual decisions of policy reforms taken by the governments.

Secondly, the cabinet's political ideology role was completely non-existent in this study; even though it had shown possible relations in the descriptive data; none of the dependent factors had shown any significant codependency. The political ideology did not serve as a factor in determining the flow of attention given on the issue of immigration and integration in the public agenda of the Netherlands. On the other hand, the term of cabinet in seat did show to be correlated with the issue attention on public agenda which is in line with the concept of representation, which has been shown to correlate with subsequent changes in government policies and or public attention (John, 2003; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993; Annesley, Engeli, Gains and Resodihardjo, 2010; Breeman, Lowery, Resodihardjo, Timmermans, De Vries, 2009). This fitted well with the model of democracy where responsiveness is constituted in the satisfaction of the majority in power. However, this was not the case for the factor political ideology study. In fact, in the realm of literature it is expected that the role of political parties would become much more important when one focuses on a parliamentary system such as the

Dutch context (John, 2003). The liberalism-conservatism distinction remains a pervasive and parsimonious means of organizing thoughts, feelings, and behaviors (John, 2006; Andeweg & Irwin, 2005). In this study, the different political ideologies did not relate to the level of attention given on the issue, which might mean that the direction and focus on the issue of immigration and integration does not at all depend on the overall political ideology of the cabinet, but maybe on other circumstances of the time (such as proven in this study wellbeing/welfare). The exact way of how a political party can impact agenda setting would then depend on the public understanding or need towards the issue at that current moment in time.

In other words, the issue attention would differ and not be dependent on the political ideology of the cabinet in seat. Nevertheless, this was a rather small study and should pertain to merely indications. Again, it would be interesting to see if this is indeed the case for all the other public agenda's of the Netherlands, and also whether it might only be the case in a parliamentary system such as the Netherlands. Future research should research all or other forms of public agenda's within the Netherlands on whether the political ideology does indeed not play an important role on the immigration and integration issue.

In fact, the results to this study (significant factors) would be interesting to further execute and consider in a comparison analysis. Comparable studies on the public agenda's within and outside of the Netherlands are thus advised in order to increase the external validity of these relations.

Last but not least, the results to this study would become even more substantial if a qualitative analysis was added to help induce the specifics on factor relation towards the issue of immigration and integration on the Dutch public agenda. Nevertheless, this study provided valuable indications to the importance of studying how a given issue is understood, and it what aspect (socioeconomically) it may be examined in the minds of the public elites and the government in seat (Stone, 1998; Baumgartner, 1989). The use of language proved critical to the level of public attention given on the issue of immigration and integration in the Netherlands. The governments use the socioeconomic factors as ways to portraying the immigration group as either beneficial or detrimental to the Dutch society in order to gain public attention on the issue.

VI. Appendix 1: Codebook

1. The year of speech variable

This variable codes the year in which the sentence of a speech was given which ranges from year 1945 through 2012. The year 1945 is coded as 1, while year 1946 is coded as 2, and so on. This way when analyzing it is possible to compare the years with each other. See example below.

Year of speech given	Code
1945	1
1946	2
Continues....
2010	65
2011	66
2012	67

2. The cabinet in seat variable

This variable indicates the current government in seat when the sentence of the speech was given. The numbering continues per new government (cabinet) that gets elected to seat. Thus as long as the same government with the same composition is in seat it receives the same number. As another government takes seat, then the number changes to the one that follows. A change of minister does not change this number, because the cabinet would have remained the same. A fallen/resigned government where an interim government is established gets a -1 code until a new cabinet comes to seat. See example below:

Cabinet in seat	Code
Interim cabinet for short duration (due to fallen or resigned cabinet)	-1
First cabinet (Kabinet-Schermerhorn / Drees) in seat year 1945	1
If same cabinet(Kabinet-Schermerhorn / Drees) in seat year 1946	1
If cabinet changes (Kabinet Beel I) in year 1947 (change in code indicates that another cabinet is in seat)	2

3. The European Union policy content variable

This variable is included to determine for each sentence whether it contained any reference to European immigration policies that are already introduced or to be introduced. The policy content is determined when a sentence contained a real policy intention mentioning some kind of action in the coming year (Breeman et.al, 2009). A more general argument about a policy problem or just a ceremonial statement is not considered of having policy content. The extent to which the domestic agenda is directed by the process of European integration is then measurable. Each sentence of the speeches are coded with 0 if no reference is made to an European immigration policy, and code 1 if a reference is made to a European immigration) policy. The European policy has to be restricted to the area of immigration in order to measure the direct impact of EU’s immigration policies. An example is given below:

European Union policy content	Code
Non European Union policy reference to immigration. The EU does not intent to bring/ had not brought a new policy related to immigration/integration.	0
European Union policy reference to immigration. The EU intents to bring/ had already brought a new policy related to immigration/integration.	1

4. The policy content variable (dependent)

For each sentence or quasi-sentence in the speech, it was determined whether the sentence contained a real policy intention mentioning some kind of national action in the coming year, a more general argument about a policy problem, or just a ceremonial statement. A sentence is thus coded to include policy content/statement when the Queen spoke about an immigration/integration policy that would be needed to be introduced. See example of the coding below:

Policy content	Code
Ceremonial/Symbolic statement (usually in the beginning of a speech). The government of the Netherlands has no intention of introducing new immigration/integration policies.	0
Systematic policy statement/ Policy proposal. The government of the Netherlands has intention of introducing new immigration/integration policies.	1

5. The attention level variable (dependent)

This variable is used to indicate the percentage number of words that are used within a speech on the issue of immigration and integration. In order to calculate this percentage; the number of words that go about the immigration and integration issue is divided by the total number of words within the speech. This variable is useful to indicate the differences in the amount of importance, and time spent on the issue.

6. The tone of language variable (dependent)

This variable is used to indicate in which way the issue, and thus the sentence about immigration and integration is presented. Each sentence is then coded into either negative tone, positive tone, or neutral tone/no specific tone.

Tone of language	Code	Description	Example
Negative	0	The statement emphasizes the unwilling migration consequences of a threatening population which the Netherlands would need to be prepared to face. The government is	The rapidly increasing number of families coming from Indonesia to the Netherlands brings great difficulties, which require

		not really sympathetic and is forced to consider and work with the consequences of the detrimental group. The government has to be actively involved in the immigration issues and is forced to assist the immigrants.	special assistance from the government (Queen Speeches, 1955)
Positive	1	The government portrays the issue positively when: immigrants rapidly integrate into the Dutch society; when no real assistance from the government is needed. The government is then considered more sympathetic to the immigration group.	Many immigrants have shown the tendency to rapidly integrate into the Dutch society (Queen Speeches, 1994)
Neutral	2	The government portrays no favourable or detrimental views on the issue. It provides no indication whether it places the immigration group as worthy or unworthy of assistance.	The movement of asylum seekers to our country has recently increased (Queen Speeches, 1993).

7. The political ideology variable

This variable indicates whether the sentence that mentions the issue was given when a left-or right wing government was in seat. This categorization is perfect for this study seeing that it was developed from the Dutch perspective while considering the ideologies of the different parties (Andeweg and Irwin, 2005). This variable can be coded as following and depends on the party composition: Code 1: left;

Code 2: center-left;

Code 3: center;

Code 4: center-right;

Code 5: right.

For the purpose of this study, a fallen/resigned government which is considered an interim government receives a -1 code until a new cabinet comes to seat. The table below is coded based on estimates and calculations from a qualitative study which tried to categorize the Dutch cabinet's political ideology by using Andeweg and Irwin's (2005) principles (Hanegraaff, 2007).

Election year	Cabinet	Code
Missing	Interim cabinet for short duration (fallen/resigned)	-1
	1945 – 1946: Schermerhorn-Drees (NVB, PvdA, RKSP, KVP, SDAP, ARP, Lib, VVD)	3
1946	1946 – 1948: Beel I (KVP, PvdA)	2
1948	1948 – 1951: Drees-Van Schaik (PvdA, KVP, VVD, CHU)	3
	1951 – 1952: Drees II (PvdA, KVP, VVD, CHU)	2
1952	1952 – 1956: Drees III (PvdA, KVP, CHU, ARP)	1
1956	1956 – 1958: Drees IV (PvdA, KVP, CHU, ARP)	1
	1958 – 1959: Beel II (KVP, ARP, CHU)	3
1959	1959 – 1963: De Quay (KVP, VVD, CHU, ARP)	4
1963	1963 – 1965: Marijnen (KVP, ARP, CHU, VVD)	4
	1965 – 1966: Cals (KVP, PvdA, ARP)	2
	1966 – 1967: Zijlstra (ARP, KVP)	3
1967	1967 -1971: De Jong (KVP,ARP,CHU,VVD)	4
1971	1971- 1972: Biesheuvel I (KVP, ARP, CHU, VVD, DS'70)	4
1972	1972 – 1973: Biesheuvel II (KVP, ARP, CHU, VVD)	4
	1973 – 1977: Den Uyl (PvdA, PPR, D66, KVP, ARP)	1
1977	1977 – 1981: Van Agt I (CDA, VVD)	4
1981	1981 - 1982: Van Agt II (CDA, PvdA, D66)	2
	1982 – 1982: Van Agt III (CDA, D66)	3
1982	1982 - 1986: Lubbers I (CDA, VVD)	5
1986	1986 - 1989: Lubbers II (CDA, VVD)	5
1989	1989 – 1994: Lubbers III (CDA, PvdA)	2
1994	1994 – 1998: Kok I (PvdA, VVD, D66)	3
1998	1998 – 2002: Kok II (PvdA, VVD, D66)	3
2002	2002 – 2003: Balkenende I (CDA, VVD, LPF)	4
2003	2003 – 2006: Balkenende II (CDA, VVD, D66)	5
	2006 – 2007: Balkenende III (CDA, VVD)	5
2007	2007 – 2010: Balkenende IV (CDA, PvdA, CU)	4
2010	2010 – 2012: Rutte-Verhagen (VVD, CDA)	5

8. Economic performance – total unemployment rate

This variable is indicated with the annual total unemployment rate (%) in the Netherlands. Each sentence that mentions the issue of immigration and integration which is mentioned in the year 1994 gets the same number of unemployment rate. The unemployment rate is the number of people unemployed as a percentage of the labour force.

9. Economic performance – foreign unemployment rate

This variable also indicates the economic performance by focusing on the percentage values of foreign unemployed within the given speech year. The unemployment rate is the number of foreigners unemployed as a percentage of the foreign labour force.

10. Economic performance – Native Dutch unemployment rate

This variable also indicates the economic performance by displaying the percentage values of native Dutch people who are unemployed within the given speech year. The unemployment rate is the number of native Dutch unemployed as a percentage of the native Dutch labour force.

11. Crime level – crime committed by foreigners

This variable is indicated by the relative e annual total registered crimes committed by foreigners in the Netherlands.

12. Crime level – total registered crimes

The total number of registered crimes is indicated by the absolute number of police registered crimes in the year that the speech is held. It indicates the total amount of both Dutch and foreign crimes together and thus not distinguishing the groups from each other.

VII. Appendix 2: Statistics

VARIABLES	N	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM	MEAN	STD. DEVIATION
YEAR	159	10	67	50,47	10,89
ISSUE ATTENTION	159	0,51	8,70	4,08	2,17
POLICY CONTENT	159	0	1	0,48	0,50
TONE OF LANGUAGE	159	0	2	1,29	0,81
CABINET IN SEAT	159	-1	28	21,50	4,41
POLITICAL IDEOLOGY	159	-1	5	3,29	1,20
NATIVE DUTCH UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (%)	76	1,40	5,40	2,73	1,01
FOREIGN UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (%)	76	4,20	13,50	7,73	2,45
TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (%)	159	0,80	10,70	5,58	1,83
CRIMES COMMITTED BY FOREIGNERS (%)	59	2,30	3,10	2,59	0,26
TOTAL REGISTERED CRIMES X1000	159	102	1401	1158,03	312,47
EU POLICY CONTENT	159	0	1	0,03	0,18
VALID N (LISTWISE)	50				

POLICY CONTENT	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT
NO, THE SPEECH DOES NOT INCLUDE POLICY CONTENT	83	52,2
YES, THE SPEECH INCLUDES POLICY CONTENT	76	47,8
TOTAL	159	100,0

TONE OF LANGUAGE	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT
NEGATIVE LANGUAGE	36	22,6
POSITIVE LANGUAGE	41	25,8
NEUTRAL/NO SPECIFIC LANGUAGE	82	51,6
TOTAL	159	100,0

CABINET IN SEAT	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT
INTERIM CABINET	1	0,6
DREES III	1	0,6
DREES IV	1	0,6
DE QUAY	1	0,6
MARIJNEN	2	1,3
BIESHEUVEL I	1	0,6
BIESHEUVEL II	3	1,9
DEN UYT	5	3,1
VAN AGT	9	5,7
LUBBERS I	1	0,6
LUBBERS II	5	3,1
LUBBERS III	32	20,1
KOK I	22	13,8
KOK II	29	18,2
BALKENENDE I	11	6,9
BALKENENDE II	21	13,2
BALKENENDE III	3	1,9
BALKENENDE IV	9	5,7
RUTTE-VERHAGEN	2	1,3
TOTAL	159	100

EU POLICY CONTENT	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT
NO EU POLICY REFERENCE	154	96,9
EU POLICY REFERENCE	5	3,1
TOTAL	159	100,0

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY	FREQUENCY	VALID PERCENT
INTERIM CABINET	1	0,6
LEFT	7	4,4
CENTER-LEFT	34	21,4
CENTER	51	32,1
CENTER-RIGHT	34	21,4
RIGHT	32	20,1
TOTAL	159	100,0

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