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Lecheler, S.; Bos, L.; Vliegenthart, R.

**DOI**

[10.1177/1077699015596338](https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699015596338)

**Publication date**

2015

**Document Version**

Final published version

**Published in**

Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly

[Link to publication](#)

**Citation for published version (APA):**

Lecheler, S., Bos, L., & Vliegenthart, R. (2015). The mediating role of emotions: News framing effects on opinions about immigration. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 92, 812-838. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699015596338>

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# The Mediating Role of Emotions: News Framing Effects on Opinions About Immigration

Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly  
2015, Vol. 92(4) 812–838  
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DOI: 10.1177/1077699015596338  
jmq.sagepub.com



Sophie Lecheler<sup>1</sup>, Linda Bos<sup>1</sup>, and Rens Vliegenthart<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

Emotions play an important role in explaining why news framing has effects on opinions about immigration. Yet, our knowledge regarding which emotions are relevant for different types of news frames is limited. This survey experiment ( $N = 715$ ) determines to what extent positive and negative emotions mediate framing effects about immigration, and whether mediation depends on the type of frame at stake. We exposed participants to one of four preestablished frames: the emancipation, multicultural, assimilation, or victimization frame. Results show that the emancipation and multicultural frames cause the most emotional response. Positive emotions function as mediators of framing effects on immigration opinions.

## Keywords

news framing effects, opinions, immigration, emotions, mediation

Following years of a “cognitive bias” in the field, recent research has shown that news framing effects depend to a great extent on emotional responses of the audience to the frame in question (e.g., Aarøe, 2011; Gross, 2008; Gross & D’Ambrosio, 2004; Nabi, 2003). Specifically, we know now that news frame exposure may cause emotional reactions with the individual (e.g., Holm, 2012; Johnson, Olivo, Gibson, Reed, & Ashburn-Nardo, 2009; Kim & Cameron, 2011; Myers, Nisbet, Maibach, & Leiserowitz, 2012), and that such reactions are likely to function as mediators of news framing effects on political opinions, attitudes, and behaviors (e.g., Gross, 2008; Holm, 2012;

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<sup>1</sup>University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

## Corresponding Author:

Sophie Lecheler, Amsterdam School of Communication Research, University of Amsterdam, Nieuwe Achtergracht 166, 1018 WV Amsterdam, The Netherlands.  
Email: s.k.lecheler@uva.nl

Lecheler, Schuck, & de Vreese, 2013). The role of emotions in news media framing effects is particularly interesting when considering political topics or events that are traditionally afflicted with a high level of emotive language in the press and cause “hot” public debates (e.g., Myers et al., 2012; Ramasubramanian, 2010). One of the most prominent contemporary topics of such kind is the role of immigrants in modern (Western) European democracies (Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007).

From a political communication standpoint, the European immigration debate reeks of specifically negative emotions. Studies that have evaluated public discourse around immigration often circle around the representation of immigrants in terms of *fears* within society as to the negative economic and personal consequences of immigration (Boomgaarden, 2007) or focus on immigrants as pitiable victims of an intolerant society (Sniderman, Hagendoorn, & Prior, 2004). Other studies find a post-9/11 media debate where Muslim immigrants are portrayed as a *threat* to society (Vliegenthart, 2007). The rise of the immigration issue is connected to the successes of anti-immigrant parties, which have occupied a strong position in many West-European countries (Mudde, 2013). With populist rhetoric, they keep the immigrant issue on the political agenda and try to appeal to emotions that might be latently present among parts of the electorate (e.g., Jagers & Walgrave, 2007).

Despite these findings, only a limited number of framing studies have actually measured to what extent citizens react emotionally to news frames about immigration, and what role such emotional reactions play in understanding framing effects on opinions about immigration (e.g., Fernández et al., 2012; Verkuyten, 2004). A small handful of studies suggests, in line with the more general framing (e.g., Gross, 2008; Holm, 2012) and intergroup emotion literature (e.g., Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000), that emotions act as mediators of effects on policy opinions (Brader, Valentino, & Suhay, 2008; Verkuyten, 2004). For instance, in the U.S. context, Brader et al. (2008) show that anxiety can explain effects of ethnic cues on anti-immigration attitudes. However, these studies focus on a range of predominantly negative emotions and, thus, neglect positive sentiments such as enthusiasm or hope, which are also likely to play a role in opinion formation about immigration (e.g., Griskevicius, Shiota, & Neufeld, 2010).

What is more, Verkuyten (2004) demonstrates that the extent to which either sympathy or anger is connected to immigration support depends on the *way* asylum seekers were framed in the study. Although previous framing research has suggested that the effects of news frames on opinions and emotions is predominantly determined by the frame’s *valence* (i.e., a negative frame leads to more negative opinions and emotions and vice versa; for example, Fernández et al., 2012; Levin, Schneider, & Gaeth, 1998), there are also other, more content-related, aspects of a frame that play a role. In framing studies, these may be connected to the *type* of frame at stake (e.g., Gross, 2008). Within the news reporting on one particular issue—such as immigration—different frames about immigrants have been established and reused over time. Some of these frames have been developed in content analytical studies (e.g., Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007; Van Gorp, 2005). For example, research has found that immigrants are often portrayed as either victims or as emancipated citizens, and that both frames may either be positive or negative (de Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2003). In line

with appraisal theory—the idea that emotional response is based on how the individual evaluates a specific issue or event—each news frame is likely to lead to different emotional patterns within the individual (see, for example, Myers et al., 2012; Nabi, 1999). This means that frame *type* variation is likely to act as a second mechanism in determining emotional response—in addition to frame valence (see, for example, Gross, 2008; Levin et al., 1998).

In sum, we can thus argue that mapping the role of emotions within different framing effects will offer invaluable insights into understanding *why* news framing influences policy opinions. We do, however, so far only have limited knowledge as to (a) which positive and negative emotions *mediate* framing effects, and (b) whether emotional responses and mediation differ according to the *type of news frame* at stake. To examine these points, we conduct a survey experiment in the Netherlands where participants are exposed to one of four types of frames common in Dutch immigration news reporting (victimization, emancipation, multiculturalism, and assimilation frame; Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2004; Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007) in either a positive or negative version. We consequently measure a relevant selection of both positive and negative emotional responses to each news frame, and test to what extent these reactions mediate the effect of the different frames on opinions about non-Western immigrants in the Netherlands.

## News Framing Effects and Immigration

News framing has its origins in both psychology and sociology. In psychology, the idea of framing is often connected to Kahneman and Tversky's *prospect theory* (1979, 1984), which assumes that decisions taken by individuals can be altered by presenting information in logically equivalent but semantically different ways. In sociology, Goffman (1974) constructs the idea that individuals organize their daily experiences by means of “frameworks or schemata of interpretation” (p. 21). During the 1980s, framing was adapted in the field of journalism and mass communication, and both the sociological and the psychological origins of the concept are now integrated into news framing theory (see D'Angelo, 2002; Entman, 1993). Because it allows researchers to examine the basic mechanism of news selection and media effects, news framing is related to other popular communication theories such as agenda-setting, which renders its findings relevant to a large number of scholars (see Scheufele, 2000; Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009; Weaver, 2007).

In this study, we conceptualize that news frames are distinct patterns of news media coverage that highlight certain aspects of an issue over others, thereby making a selection of relevant aspects. Through this selection, news frames are believed to have an effect in that they suggest a specific interpretation of the framed issue to the individual. This process is usually called the “framing effect,” and has been empirically traced to occur when considering information processing (e.g., Valkenburg, Semetko, & de Vreese, 1999), effects on attitudes and opinions (e.g., Druckman & Nelson, 2003; Jacoby, 2000), and political behavior (e.g., Schemer, Wirth, & Matthes, 2012). Studying framing effects is attractive to communication scholars because it allows

them to understand why “(often small) changes in the presentation of an issue or an event produce (sometimes large) changes” in opinions, attitudes, and behaviors (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p. 104).

Framing has been used by studies interested in the relationship between media and immigration in Europe (e.g., Igartua & Cheng, 2009; Van Gorp, 2005; Vliegenthart & Roggeband, 2007) and the United States (e.g., Knoll, Redlawsk, & Sanborn, 2011). A number of studies have examined which type of frames are most common in news reporting (e.g., Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007). These studies have successfully identified recurring news frames that are at least partly similar across different European countries. One of the most used news frames found is connected to the presentation of immigrants as a threat to the host society or—as an ever more prominent alternative—as victims (e.g., Van Gorp, 2005). Roggeband and Vliegenthart (2007) define other important news frames specifically related to immigrant groups, namely, the “multicultural frame,” which “sees (cultural) diversity as an asset that enhances the quality of society” (p. 530), and the “emancipation frame,” which argues that civic engagement should be enhanced by immigrants themselves as well as governmental policies. In line with recent arguments in Western Europe that favor a more assimilationist stance toward immigration (Duyvendak & Scholten, 2012; Uitermark, Rossi, & van Houtum, 2005; Vasta, 2007; Vink, 2007), a fourth news frame is of interest: the *assimilation* frame (based on Castles & Miller, 2003; see also Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2004), in which integration is presented by how and to what extent minorities adapt themselves to the native society.

There are a number of studies on the effects of frames about immigration on attitudes and opinions (e.g., Brader et al., 2008; Igartua & Cheng, 2009). These, often experimental, studies have shown that frames about immigration can have detrimental effects on attitudes and opinions toward immigrants—mostly based on what valence considerations this frame contains. For instance, van Londen, Coenders, and Scheepers (2010) show that if a frame provides considerations against ethnic-targeted school policies, then this frame leads to aversion and reduces tolerance. These results are backed up by nonexperimental studies that combine panel data with a content analysis and find that negative news may yield adverse effects on opinions toward immigrants (e.g., Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009). These studies indicate that, in particular, negative frames could be considered powerful in influencing citizens’ opinions. However, there is evidence that positive frames may also have strong effects on opinions in both the immigration (Bos, Lecheler, Mewafi, & Vliegenthart, 2015) and the more general framing effects literature (Druckman & Nelson, 2003; Lecheler & de Vreese, 2011).

## The Mediating Role of Emotions

Based on the above evidence, one can safely argue that news frames about immigration—be they positive or negative—are likely to have effects on opinions. Yet, the role of emotions in this effect process is not yet completely understood. Studies rooted in the more general framing effect literature have provided evidence that exposure to news frames is likely to cause specific emotional reactions (e.g., Gross & Brewer,

2007; Gross & D'Ambrosio, 2004; Nabi, 2003), and that these reactions will mediate framing effects on, for example, opinions (e.g., Gross, 2008; Holm, 2012; Kühne, 2012; Lecheler et al., 2013).

Emotions as mediators—underlying psychological processes that can explain why and how a framing effect takes place (see, for example, Chong & Druckman, 2007)—are often ignored in more common theories of the cognitive processes of framing effects (e.g., Price, Tewksbury, & Powers, 1997). Most studies are based on the idea that framing effects are mediated by accessibility (e.g., Iyengar, 1991), applicability (e.g., Nelson, Oxley, & Clawson, 1997), and belief content changes (Slothuus, 2008; for an overview, see Chong & Druckman, 2007). However, emotions are likely to act as an important psychological mechanism also (e.g., Kühne, 2012).

Considering the framing of immigration, there is some empirical evidence on the role of emotions. For instance, Brader et al. (2008) show that anxiety mediates the effects of immigration group cues on anti-immigration attitudes. Also, Verkuyten (2004) finds that different types of immigrant frames cause either empathy or anger, and that these are likely to mediate effects on immigration policy support. Framing out-groups, such as immigrants, has also been shown to cause strong emotional responses in studies focusing on intergroup emotions (e.g., Mackie et al., 2000; D. A. Miller, Smith, & Mackie, 2004), and these studies have also identified emotions as mediators of effects on policy opinions. Yet, framing and political communication studies mostly focus on a range of negative emotions such as fear and anxiety (e.g., Brader et al., 2008). This is valid, given the predominantly negative framing of immigrants in the news (e.g., Lubbers, Scheepers, & Wester, 1998). Yet, there is evidence that there is positive news reporting about immigration (e.g., Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009), and that news frames can cause positive emotional reactions, for example, sympathy (Verkuyten, 2004). Based on this initial evidence, one may argue that certain positive or negative frames about immigration will cause emotional reactions with the audience. Yet, more empirical evidence to determine which emotions are most prominent is required.

Different types of frames on immigration, such as the victimization frame (e.g., Van Gorp, 2005), which has been identified in the Netherlands and other countries, are likely to cause different emotions. The first and foremost determinant of such diverging effects is, unquestionably, frame *valence* (e.g., de Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2003), meaning that negative frames about immigration would lead to predominantly negative emotional reactions and vice versa (see, for example, Fernández et al., 2012; Lecheler et al., 2013). These negative emotions should then also feature as mediators of the framing effect (Brader et al., 2008).

Yet, research has shown that almost all types of frames could potentially be positive or negative (de Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2003), which suggests that there are other, more content-related, aspects of a news frame that might also influence the extent to which specific emotions are affected. Verkuyten (2004) finds that the emotional reactions depend on the *type* or content of framing applied: immigrants as political refugees with no choice, or as voluntary migrants. Based on appraisal theory (e.g., Lazarus, 1991), Nabi (1999) argues that different frames cause different emotional responses, depending on what they represent to the individual. For instance, a frame may cause sadness, if it

appeals to “irrevocable loss” within the individual, whereas a frame containing a “demeaning offence” as perceived by the individual will lead to increased anger.

Similarly, known types of frames about immigration are likely to cause a specific emotional response. Because these frames have been shown to be reoccurring in the Netherlands as well in other European countries (e.g., Roggeband & Vliegthart, 2007), their emotional character is interesting to a range of future studies. In this study, we use four types of news frames common in the Dutch immigration debate, the emancipation, multicultural, victimization, and assimilation frame (Roggeband & Vliegthart, 2007). Because these frame types have been identified in the Dutch news independent of their effects, we do not have steadfast theoretical evidence as to which appraisals these four frame types cause. We can, for example, speculate that the victimization frame may cause increased compassion as it appeals to unfair suffering of immigrants at the hand of society (Goetz, Keltner, & Simon-Thomas, 2010). This is an emotion that is unlikely to play an important role when it comes to the emancipation frame, as this frame contains references to independence and immigrants as emancipated citizens. Similarly, we may assume that, because immigration is a topic that is so often related to threat, all our frames may cause anger rather than fearful emotions (Banks & Valentino, 2012). This suggests that each news frame in this study has a different pattern of message-relevant emotions, based on which appraisals they cause (Nabi, 1999).

In sum, we can thus, first, argue that news frames that are common in the Dutch and European debate on immigration will influence opinions, but that they will also cause certain emotional reactions with Dutch citizens. This main effect is guided by a frame’s valence. However, frames with similar valence, yet of different type, are also likely to cause differential emotional response patterns. Which emotional patterns each frame, however, specifically causes we can only speculate on, which is why we pose a research question:

**H1:** Immigration news frames affect opinions so that positive frames result in more positive opinions and negative frames in more negative opinions.

**H2:** Exposure to immigration news frames will cause emotional response so that positive frames result in more positive emotions and negative frames in more negative emotions.

**RQ1:** Will exposure to different types of immigration news frames cause different emotional reactions?

Next, we posit that the effect of news frames common in the Dutch and European debate on opinions effect is *mediated* by emotional responses, meaning that emotional reactions to a news frame also influence opinions. We also ask to what extent this differs when differing types of frames are at stake:

**H3:** Emotions function as mediators for the effect of immigration news frames on opinions.

**RQ2:** How does this mediated effect change for different types of immigration news frames?

## **Method**

We conducted an online survey experiment among a varied sample of Dutch citizens. In a between-subject  $4 \times 2$  experimental design, participants were randomly assigned to one of the eight treatment conditions. Each treatment consisted of an issue-specific media frame. Each of those frames contained either a positive or negative valence. A majority of framing effects studies make use of experiments (e.g., Berinsky & Kinder, 2006; de Vreese, 2004; Druckman & Nelson, 2003; Nelson et al., 1997). Although framing experiments have been criticized for their lack of external validity, which could limit the generalizability of the research findings (Barabas & Jerit, 2010; Kinder, 2007), they are the most suitable methodological approach to disentangle the complex psychological mechanism that might underlie framing effects. They are also well suited to tapping emotional responses, which are short-lived, intense, and stimulus-related mental experiences. We address limitations that come with relying on an experimental method below.

### *Participants*

Participants were recruited by the Department of Research, Information and Statistics (OIS), the research facility for the municipality of Amsterdam (The Netherlands). OIS hosts a panel of Amsterdam citizens. The total sample consisted of 882<sup>1</sup> individuals, of which 715 were natives of the Netherlands and entered into the analysis.<sup>2</sup> Of these natives, 50.2% were male. The great majority (40.1%) were in the age range of 50 to 64 years, whereas 27.1% were between 35 to 49 years, and 24.3% were 65 years or older. The participants were evenly distributed over the different districts within Amsterdam.

### *Procedure*

All participants finished the online pretest questionnaire, which consisted of several variables such as preexisting attitudes toward ethnic minorities, political interest, political knowledge, and contact with minorities. Second, participants were asked to carefully read a news article encompassing one of the news frames. Finally, participants completed a posttest questionnaire that contained measures of emotions and opinions.

### *Stimulus Material*

The stimulus material consisted of one news article per condition. The news item elaborated on a career event for immigrant women, organized by the municipality of Amsterdam. This topic enabled us to use various frames salient in the Dutch immigration and integration debate. And there are additional reasons to choose this topic. First of all, the topic itself is also central to the debate: “. . . women take a central place in this debate, in which multiculturalism is being played out against women’s rights” (Saharso & Lettinga, 2008, p. 462). And second, labor market participation of ethnic minorities is crucial for the (social) integration of these minorities (Gowricharn, 2002).



The stimuli elaborate on “*allochtones*,” which in Dutch common understanding refers to non-Western (first or second generation) immigrants. The Dutch debate on immigration focuses on these type of immigrants.

In this study, we focus on the three key frames of the immigration debate as identified by Roggeband and Vliegthart (2007).<sup>3</sup> (a) The *emancipation frame* focuses on the position and orientation of immigrants. Obstacles to participation should be resolved through state policies and arrangements that help migrants in their integration and emancipation. (b) The *multicultural frame* presents (cultural) diversity as an asset that enhances the quality of society. (c) The *victimization frame* portrays victimizing people as a dramaturgic technique that the media use to portray minorities in a situation that is due to a force that lies beyond their own actions and responsibility (see also Van Gorp, 2005; Vliegthart & Roggeband, 2007).

However, as stated above, the Dutch debate on immigration and integration has become more assimilationist in recent years. Consequently, we added a fourth frame: The *assimilation frame* presents integration mainly through how (ethnic) minorities adopt the native society; classifying groups and categories is an inherent dilemma in assimilationism (based on Castles & Miller, 2003).

The multicultural frame was operationalized by arguments pertaining to multicultural society, diversity, respect, dialogue, or participation. The emancipation frame mainly stressed participation, integration, and emancipation. The victimization frame describes ethnic minorities by using arguments connected to inequality, disadvantage, foreigner, and victim. The assimilation frame emphasized elements of adaptation (to dominant culture), integration, social cohesion, unity, and naturalization. Each article consisted of a headline and four paragraphs. The first paragraph was a neutral description of a career event for ethnic minority women, organized by the Amsterdam municipality. This first paragraph was the same in all conditions. The second paragraph was set up either in a multicultural, emancipation, victimization, or assimilation frame, in which a civil servant elucidated the importance of organizing such an event. The third paragraph contained an opinion of a third person or expert, in this case a human resources manager. In this section, this manager stressed the consequences and necessity of the career event, again by using one of the frames and a positive or negative valence. The fourth and closing paragraph included a conclusion about the career event according to the given frame and valence of the article. All articles were constructed by the researchers to prevent that the respondents already had a preexisting attitude to the chosen event and issue. The articles were written in the journalistic style of the Netherlands, and formatted to appear as newspaper articles recently published. The articles were successfully pretested in a pilot study. For the full stimulus articles, see the appendix.

## Measures

*Opinions.* The dependent variable *political opinions* was measured by four items on a 7-point Likert-type scale, with higher values signifying a higher agreement with the statement. Participants were asked to state their opinions on the use of the proposed

career event (issue-specific opinions) as well as a more general observation of the benefits of addressing non-Western immigrants within the Amsterdam context (general opinion), measured with the following questions: “To what extent do you agree or disagree that the career event is a good opportunity for immigrant women to be introduced to the Amsterdam labor market?”; “To what extent do you agree or disagree that the career event will make a difference in giving immigrant women the chance to find a new job?”; “To what extent do you agree or disagree that local activities, such as the career event for immigrant women, will help the integration of immigrants into Dutch society?”; “To what extent do you agree or disagree that diversity will be beneficial for the Amsterdam labor market?” ( $M = 6.00$ ,  $SD = 1.38$ ,  $\alpha = .84$ ).

**Emotions.** We measured seven emotions that were likely to matter in the immigration context, either because they had been previously studied in the immigration literature (e.g., Brader et al., 2008) or because they had been shown to matter in other political news framing studies (e.g., Lecheler et al., 2013). Also, all emotions used in this study have been previously identified as discrete emotions in the psychological literature, for example, in the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). We also paid attention to relevant positive emotions. Specifically, we measured contentment, compassion, enthusiasm, hope, anger, fear, and sadness. Using a 7-point scale (1 = *not at all* to 7 = *very much*) and in accordance with previous studies (e.g., Gross, 2008), we measured the extent to which an individual felt the specific emotion in reference to the issue at stake (“To what extent did you feel one or more of the following emotions while reading the article?”; *contentment*:  $M = 3.10$ ,  $SD = 1.66$ ; *compassion*:  $M = 2.92$ ,  $SD = 1.67$ ; *enthusiasm*:  $M = 3.14$ ,  $SD = 1.72$ ; *hope*:  $M = 3.26$ ,  $SD = 1.77$ ; *anger*:  $M = 2.60$ ,  $SD = 1.79$ ; *fear*:  $M = 1.44$ ,  $SD = .985$ ; *sadness*:  $M = 2.20$ ,  $SD = 1.59$ ).

### Manipulation Check

After exposure to one of the stimuli, participants were asked to express to what extent the article emphasized (a) advantages or (b) disadvantages of the career event (valence manipulation). In addition, participants were asked to what extent the article stressed either (a) emancipation of female immigrants, (b) diversity in the business culture, (c) the victimization of female immigrants, or (d) the assimilation of female immigrants (frame manipulation). The manipulation check showed successful manipulation ( $F$  ranges from 7.235 to 64.922,  $df = 8$ ,  $p = .000$ ). The success of the manipulation allowed us to continue with the design in the study and to attribute contrasts between treatment groups in the posttest to the experimental manipulation.

### Data Analysis

Mediation analyses test the effect of  $Y$  (i.e., an immigration news frame) on  $X$  (i.e., political opinions) through one or several mediating variables (i.e., feeling angry or sad). In this sense, mediation analysis allows us to assess *how* news frames influence

political opinions. Mediation analysis is a causal approach. This means that in a study like ours, without a two-step measurement process and where mediator and dependent variable are measured in the same experimental posttest, assumptions of causality between mediator and outcome variables must be based on solid theoretical grounds.

We apply a method by Preacher and Hayes (2004, 2008) to test for mediation. We make use of the PROCESS macro for SPSS to conduct the analysis (Hayes, 2012). In our case, PROCESS generates coefficients using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression, which represent both direct (framing) effects as well as “indirect effect” coefficients via each mediator.<sup>4</sup> Preacher and Hayes recommend the use of bootstrapping techniques when formally assessing mediation to obtain confidence limits for specific “indirect effects” (see also, for example, Shrout & Bolger, 2002). Bootstrapping implies that each “indirect effect” is estimated multiple times by repeatedly sampling cases with replacement from the data and estimating the model in each resample. It is thus a nonparametric resampling procedure and an estimation strategy that improves power of a model, as it accurately measures the empirical sampling distribution of the test statistic (see MacKinnon, Lockwood, & Williams, 2004; Preacher & Hayes, 2004; Shrout & Bolger, 2002). Preacher, Rucker, and Hayes (2007) recommend bootstrap confidence intervals as the most powerful method to assess the significance of “indirect effects.” Applying this method, we generate 95% bias-corrected accelerated confidence intervals (95% BCa CIs) on the basis of 1,000 bootstrap samples for specific “indirect effects,” testing for multiple mediators simultaneously (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). If intervals do not include zero, the indirect effect significantly differs from zero.

## Results

Our first assumption was that positive and negative immigration news frames in our study will influence opinions about immigration according to their valence. Next, we hypothesized that this frame exposure also contributes to more positive and negative emotional responses which, in line with the valence of the respective frame, are expected to be related to opinions. Last, we asked if this mediated effect differed for specific types of frames and emotional responses.

### *Main Effects on Opinions*

Our results show that the frames we tested in our newspaper articles indeed influence opinion according to their valence. The *t* tests showed that participants in the positive emancipation condition were more positive toward immigrants ( $M = 6.42$ ,  $SD = 1.32$ ) than those in the negative emancipation condition,  $M = 5.67$ ,  $SD = 1.38$ ;  $t(204) = 3.94$ ,  $p < .001$ . Similar influence can be confirmed for the other frames in this study—multicultural positive:  $M = 6.42$ ,  $SD = 1.10$ , multicultural negative:  $M = 5.82$ ,  $SD = 1.48$ ,  $t(179) = 3.00$ ,  $p < .01$ ; victimization positive:  $M = 6.14$ ,  $SD = 1.52$ , victimization negative:  $M = 5.77$ ,  $SD = 1.37$ ,  $t(185) = 1.727$ ,  $p < .10$ ; assimilation positive:  $M = 6.22$ ,  $SD = 1.17$ , assimilation negative:  $M = 5.50$ ,  $SD = 1.43$ ,  $t(202) = 3.88$ ,  $p < .001$ . We can

thus confirm that the immigration frames included in our newspaper articles had a significant effect on the dependent variable. **H1** can be supported.

### Main Effects on Emotions

Next, we proposed that exposure to these frames will also cause emotional responses. As described in the "Method" section, we chose to measure a number of emotions relevant to the topic of immigration. Table 1 shows an overview of emotional responses and differences between conditions. Mean comparisons demonstrate that emotional response aligned with frame valence (i.e., positive frames often caused more positive emotions), but that negative frames also suppressed positive emotions. For instance, when exposed to the positive emancipation frame news article, respondents felt more hopeful ( $M = 3.74$ ,  $SD = 1.79$ ) than when exposed to the negative emancipation frame news article ( $M = 2.78$ ,  $SD = 1.61$ ).

The analysis shows that different frames in an article about immigrants in Amsterdam caused different emotional responses: The emancipation and multicultural frame news articles caused the most emotional response, with affecting feelings of contentment, compassion, enthusiasm, hope, and anger, respectively. The assimilation frame stimulus news article influenced enthusiasm and hope, whereas the victimization frames caused differences between conditions in terms of enthusiasm and compassion. This shows that, overall, the frames in our study caused more positive emotional responses. Our emotions of sadness and fear were not triggered by any of the frames in the study.

In sum, we can confirm **H2** in that exposure to all news articles in the study caused emotional response in the expected direction. Also, regarding **RQ1**, we find that the extent to which every emotion is present differs from frame to frame.

### Mediation Analysis

Applying mediation analysis to our study context, we formally assessed if the effect of different immigration framing on opinion was mediated by different emotions (content, compassionate, enthusiastic, hopeful, angry, afraid, and sad). This means we assessed mediation *per frame* and compared positive with negative valence (e.g., positive emancipation vs. negative emancipation). As noted above, we used the PROCESS macro in SPSS to conduct the analysis.

Table 2 shows significant mediation through some of our emotions. Figure 1 illustrates the results of the mediation analysis for the multicultural frame. Specifically, we can show that different frames indeed caused different emotional response, and that not all emotions function as mediators of the effects frames have on opinions toward immigration. For instance, although exposure to a positive multicultural frame caused a feeling of hope ( $b = 0.872$ ,  $SE = .300$ ,  $p < .05$ ), we could not show a significant relationship between this emotion and opinions ( $b = 0.149$ ,  $SE = .094$ ,  $p > .05$ , *indirect effect*:  $b = 0.130$ ,  $SE = .109$ , 95% BCa CI =  $[-.013, .452]$ ). Rather, the effect of the multicultural frames on opinions was mediated by enthusiasm and anger (see Figure 1). Exposure to the positive multicultural frame had a positive effect on enthusiasm

**Table 1.** Mean Differences for Emotional Responses per Experimental Condition.

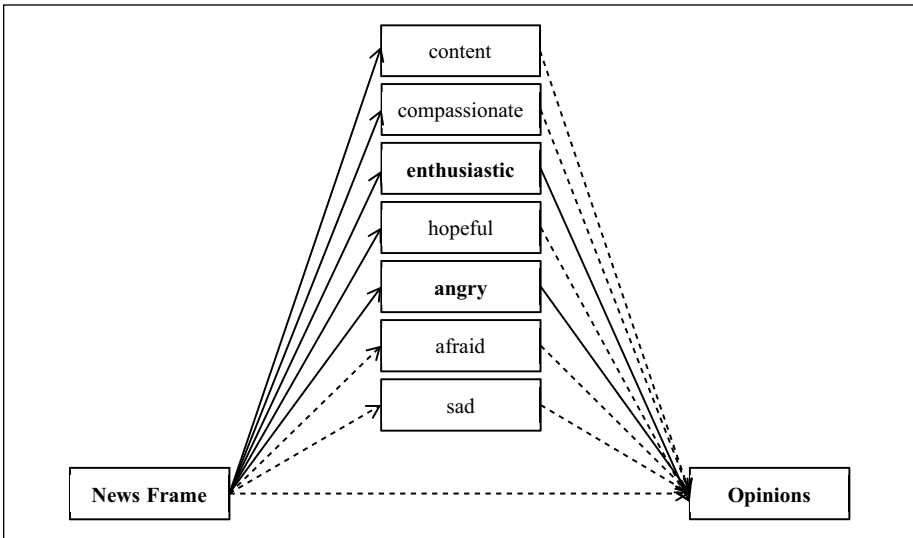
	Emancipation frame		Multicultural frame		Assimilation frame		Victimization frame	
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
I feel . . .								
Content	3.62 <sup>a</sup> (1.71)	2.69 <sup>bx</sup> (1.53)	3.85 <sup>ay</sup> (1.72)	3.04 <sup>b</sup> (1.79)	3.13 (1.66)	2.70 <sup>x</sup> (1.57)	3.15 (1.54)	2.85 <sup>x</sup> (1.48)
Compassionate	3.33 <sup>a</sup> (1.80)	2.60 <sup>b</sup> (1.62)	3.21 <sup>a</sup> (1.74)	2.52 <sup>b</sup> (1.52)	3.25 (1.70)	2.86 (1.68)	3.35 <sup>a</sup> (1.47)	2.74 <sup>b</sup> (1.59)
Enthusiastic	3.79 <sup>ay</sup> (1.71)	2.75 <sup>bx</sup> (1.59)	4.11 <sup>ay</sup> (1.85)	2.92 <sup>bx</sup> (1.72)	3.25 <sup>a</sup> (1.73)	2.69 <sup>bx</sup> (1.56)	3.20 <sup>a</sup> (1.70)	2.61 <sup>bx</sup> (1.50)
Hopeful	3.74 <sup>a</sup> (1.79)	2.78 <sup>bx</sup> (1.61)	3.98 <sup>ay</sup> (1.86)	3.11 <sup>b</sup> (1.83)	3.64 <sup>a</sup> (1.77)	2.94 <sup>bx</sup> (1.61)	3.25 (1.67)	2.82 <sup>x</sup> (1.62)
Angry	2.31 <sup>a</sup> (1.66)	2.87 <sup>b</sup> (1.77)	1.89 <sup>ax</sup> (1.29)	2.74 <sup>b</sup> (1.85)	2.81 (1.90)	3.01 <sup>y</sup> (1.86)	2.51 (1.80)	2.93 (1.94)
Afraid	1.51 (1.08)	1.60 (1.18)	1.29 (0.739)	1.34 (0.768)	1.40 (0.97)	1.45 (1.10)	1.46 (0.918)	1.61 (1.15)
Sad	2.09 (1.49)	2.33 (1.61)	1.86 (1.34)	2.15 (1.58)	2.22 (1.61)	2.53 (1.84)	2.42 (1.58)	2.34 (1.63)
<i>n</i>	81	100	66	89	83	86	89	85

Note. Different "ab" superscripts show significant differences between positive and negative condition of each news frame at  $p < .05$  level; different "xyz" superscripts indicate significant differences ( $p < .05$ ) across all conditions; higher values indicate stronger emotional response.

**Table 2.** Indirect Effect of News Frame on Opinion via Emotional Response.

Multiple indirect effects	Point estimate	SE	BC 1,000 BOOT	
			LL95	UL95
Emancipation frame				
Hopeful	.244	.096	.0964	.4855
Angry	.090	.054	.0143	.2337
Multicultural frame				
Enthusiastic	.281	.121	.0967	.5847
Angry	.196	.095	.0466	.4170
Assimilation frame				
Enthusiastic	.135	.085	.0143	.3910
Hopeful	.127	.082	.0118	.3417
Victimization frame				
Compassionate	.132	.069	.0339	.3241
Enthusiastic	.150	.081	.0323	.3615

Note. The table only shows significant effect as determined by the 95% BCa CI, which does not contain a 0. Unstandardized effect sizes. Emotions tested: content, compassionate, enthusiastic, hopeful, angry, afraid, and sad. Frame coded as 1 = positive valence, 0 = negative valence per frame. 95% BCa CI = 95% bias-corrected accelerated confidence interval.



**Figure 1.** Multiple mediation model for the multicultural news frame.

Note. Multiple mediation model for the indirect effect of the positive/negative multicultural news frame on opinions via the mediators: content, compassionate, enthusiastic, hopeful, angry, afraid, and sad. Significant paths are a solid line; nonsignificant effects are a dashed line. Significant mediators are in bold. The direct effect of the multicultural frame on opinions was rendered nonsignificant in the mediation analysis.

( $b = 1.18$ ,  $SE = .289$ ,  $p < .01$ ), which was related positively to more positive opinions about immigration ( $b = 0.237$ ,  $SE = .097$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Simultaneously, there was a negative effect on anger ( $b = -0.847$ ,  $SE = .265$ ,  $p < .05$ ), and anger was related negatively with opinions ( $b = -0.231$ ,  $SE = .097$ ,  $p < .05$ ; see Table 2). This means that exposure to a positive emancipation frame in our study reduced anger. The negative relationship between the mediator and opinions suggests that an increase in anger (which, respectively, occurred when a negative frame was shown) could lead to more negative opinions, which conforms to our theoretical assumptions.

Table 2 and Figure 1, thus, show that our framing effects were mediated by different emotions, but all in the expected direction. Among those, *enthusiasm* emerges as the most prominent emotional response, which was affected by all frames. It also functioned as a mediator for all frames, except for the emancipation frame (*multicultural*: frame  $\rightarrow$  enthusiasm,  $b = 1.18$ ,  $SE = .289$ ,  $p < .001$ ; enthusiasm  $\rightarrow$  opinion,  $b = 0.237$ ,  $SE = .097$ ,  $p < .05$ ; *assimilation*: frame  $\rightarrow$  enthusiasm,  $b = 0.567$ ,  $SE = .254$ ,  $p < .05$ ; enthusiasm  $\rightarrow$  opinion,  $b = 0.239$ ,  $SE = .103$ ,  $p < .05$ ; *victimization*: frame  $\rightarrow$  enthusiasm,  $b = 0.590$ ,  $SE = .244$ ,  $p < .05$ ; enthusiasm  $\rightarrow$  opinion,  $b = 0.255$ ,  $SE = .075$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Anger, another prominent emotion in political communication research, mediated effects of the emancipation and multicultural frames in the expected direction (*emancipation*: frame  $\rightarrow$  anger,  $b = -0.620$ ,  $SE = .254$ ,  $p < .05$ ; anger  $\rightarrow$  opinion,  $b = -0.145$ ,  $SE = .056$ ,  $p < .05$ ; *multicultural*: frame  $\rightarrow$  anger,  $b = -0.847$ ,  $SE = .265$ ,  $p < .01$ ; anger  $\rightarrow$  opinion,  $b = -0.231$ ,  $SE = .063$ ,  $p < .001$ ), whereas hope was effective for the emancipation and assimilation frames (*emancipation*: frame  $\rightarrow$  hope,  $b = 0.945$ ,  $SE = .254$ ,  $p < .001$ ; hope  $\rightarrow$  opinion,  $b = 0.258$ ,  $SE = .073$ ,  $p < .001$ ; *assimilation*: frame  $\rightarrow$  hope,  $b = 0.696$ ,  $SE = .260$ ,  $p < .01$ ; hope  $\rightarrow$  opinion,  $b = 0.183$ ,  $SE = .082$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Victimization was also mediated by compassion (frame  $\rightarrow$  compassion,  $b = 0.607$ ,  $SE = .232$ ,  $p < .01$ ; compassion  $\rightarrow$  opinion,  $b = 0.218$ ,  $SE = .068$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Overall, the mediation analysis shows that positive frames caused positive emotions, which had positive relationships with opinions and vice versa (**H3**). Yet, not all positive or negative emotions mediated framing effect on opinions equally, and effects of different frames showed a variety of mediation patterns. We discuss these patterns in the next section (**RQ2**).

Controlling for the mediators, the *direct effect* decreased and was rendered nonsignificant for the emancipation, multicultural, and assimilation frames—suggesting “complete mediation” (James & Brett, 1984; emancipation:  $b = 0.251$ ,  $SE = .171$ ,  $p > .05$ ; multicultural:  $b = -0.130$ ,  $SE = .186$ ,  $p > .05$ ; assimilation:  $b = 0.057$ ,  $SE = .173$ ,  $p > .05$ ). The direct effect was reduced, but remained significant for the victimization frame ( $b = 0.399$ ,  $SE = .155$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

## Discussion

Recent research suggests that news framing effects on opinions about immigration also depend on the emotional reactions such news frames cause among citizens (e.g., Brader et al., 2008; Fernández et al., 2012; Verkuyten, 2004). Our results show that all news frames (emancipation, multicultural, assimilation, and victimization frame) caused

emotional responses among our participants. However, these emotional responses varied between frames, and the multicultural and emancipation frame led to the most intensive emotional reactions. We also found that some—but not all—of these emotional reactions functioned as mediators of news framing effect on Dutch citizens' opinions about immigration and that different immigration frames displayed different mediation patterns. In our study, the emotions enthusiasm and anger stand out as the most important when it comes to mediating framing effects on immigration. Our findings support the assumption that emotions are relevant mediators of framing effects. Some mediation models reported based on our data suggested “full mediation,” and we report medium to large effect sizes for indirect effects via the chosen emotions (Table 2).

This study extends our knowledge about news framing effects on immigration in several ways. First, our results show that frames without direct emotional cues may still be effective in eliciting discrete emotions within citizens (see, for example, Holm, 2012; Lecheler et al., 2013). This matters, if one considers recent research suggesting that frames that cause emotions are more effective in influencing opinions and attitudes (Aarøe, 2011; Gross, 2008). Based on our data, this suggests that the emancipation and the multicultural frame are most persuasive and might even have the most durable effects (e.g., Chong & Druckman, 2010). This also implies that frames that are contested in public discourse (which is the case for the emancipation and multicultural frame in the Netherlands with regard to non-Western immigrants) are likely to cause stronger emotional response. One important side note to this conclusion is that our results depend on the particular issue we used in this study: the integration of Dutch non-Western immigrant women into the labor market. For instance, the Dutch debate on immigrant women centers around arguments of emancipation (the question of whether immigrant women should “act like” Dutch women; see Saharso & Lettinga, 2008). However, we must note that the results of any study using *one* issue only will be determined by this choice. Because we did not also use test news articles featuring male immigrants, we cannot empirically determine whether the framing of women introduced a gender bias. However, we believe that the use of male immigrants in the Dutch context could also have introduced bias. For instance, a focus on male immigrants could have led to stronger associations with economic emancipation or a crime and justice bias. The comparison of different issues and a gendered approach to this topic should be the topic of future studies.

This study thus allows a closer look at different mediation patterns of immigration frames: Effects of the emancipation frame were mediated by hope and anger, the multicultural frame functioned via enthusiasm and anger, the assimilation frame by enthusiasm and hope, and the victimization frame by compassion and enthusiasm. Our findings confirm the idea that emotional mediation patterns correspond to the content of a frame (e.g., Nabi, 1999), based on what this frame represents to the individual. Based on appraisal theory (e.g., Lazarus, 1991), this means that future studies may dissect the content and structure of frames to predict their emotional character. For instance, in our study, the positive multicultural frame caused enthusiasm. Although this corresponds with the valence theory of affective framing effects (e.g., Lecheler et al., 2013), it also shows that the components of this frame—diversity as an asset of



society—can cause positive reactions, probably because they appeal to a functioning utopia of a multicultural society.

This points to a third contribution of this study, namely, that frames about immigration will either dampen or increase positive emotional reactions, and that an increase may lead to more favorable opinions about immigrants and vice versa. So far, positive emotions have been neglected in this literature, which is surprising given that they play an important role in opinion formation (e.g., Griskevicius et al., 2010) and have been shown to lead to different information processing patterns than negative emotions (e.g., Forgas, 1995). In this study, we find enthusiasm to be a prominent emotional response. Enthusiasm is a recurring theme in political research (e.g., Marcus & MacKuen, 1993) and is usually understood as a positive, energetic, and pleasant emotion (Watson, Wiese, Vaidya, & Tellegen, 1999), probably following a positive appraisal of being in control and attributing legitimacy to a certain issue or actor (e.g., Groenendyk, Brader, & Valentino, 2011). Its prominence in our study is interesting because the presence or absence of enthusiasm can be (de-)mobilizing—something we did not measure in this study (e.g., Frijda, Kuipers, & ter Schure, 1989). A second fascinating positive emotion in our study was compassion, which mediated the effect of the victimization frame. Compassion corresponds to sympathy as measured by Verkuyten (2004). The victimization frame is defined as a frame that shows immigrants as defenseless agents exposed to forces that life brings beyond their own powers (Van Gorp, 2005; Vliegenthart & Roggeband, 2007).

Our study has a number of limitations. One framing experiment can only present a snapshot of how media use influences citizens' opinions. Many framing effect studies use survey experiments, because experiments allow for assumptions of causality. But, there are two sets of limitations connected to our design: First, there has been some discussion on how relevant experimental findings are for "real life" media effects over time (e.g., Kinder, 2007). Recent research suggests that, although experiments generally produce larger effect sizes than field studies (e.g., Jerit, Barabas, & Clifford, 2013), their conclusions can largely be upheld (Baden & Lecheler, 2012; Gaines, Kuklinski, & Quirk, 2007). Second, there are limitations when it comes to the causality assumption of our mediation analysis. Although the terminology of mediation analysis as developed by Hayes (2009, 2012) is focused on causality, we acknowledge that the relationship between emotions as mediators and the outcome variable of opinions is correlational in this study. Our design only allows us to show that a news framing directly causes emotional response, and that increased emotions are positively correlated with more positive opinions and vice versa. What our one-step experiment cannot, however, disprove is the assumption that certain emotions are more common among participants holding a specific opinion in the first place. The only truly causal test in our experiment is, thus, the direct effect of the news frame stimuli on emotions and opinions. Yet, as mentioned in our "Method" section, we conceptualized our mediation analysis based on solid theoretical grounds that suggest a cause-effect relationship between emotional reactions and opinion change. Future studies can offer further insights by taking a multistep approach toward mediation.

Our results are also limited by the fact that this study tested the effects of one news article (i.e., a possible single-message effect; Slater, 1991). This means that the effects could be idiosyncratic to the single examples of each news frame used in our study. Although we took great care to produce realistic news media stimuli, this definitely makes the replication of our findings necessary. By limiting exposure to one article, we were able to isolate the affective power of one frame exposure without considerations of the influence of message repetition. In this way, we could empirically show an effect that can help explain why some news frames have different effects from others. Future studies can build on this, and extend the model of mediation in news framing to different news articles, but also to different mediators, issues, and country contexts. Based on our findings and effect sizes, we want to suggest that emotional reactions should also play a role in other framing scenarios and over time.

Even though we measured a number of emotions in one study, there are still more that are likely to be relevant when studying immigration. For instance, emotions connected to empathy could be of interest when measuring the persuasiveness of frames. Also, some of the emotions we considered were not affected by the frame, nor did they function as mediators. This means that these emotions were not relevant for the frame types we measured, but they might still be valid for other immigration frames (e.g., fear might be relevant for the Islam-as-a-threat frame; Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007).

This study focused on testing affective mediators, thereby neglecting the likely interplay of emotions with cognitive mediators such as changes in issue accessibility or applicability (e.g., Nelson et al., 1997). This means that our results do not say much on how powerful emotions are *compared* with cognitive mediators. Future studies must include simultaneous examinations of cognitive and affective mediators. Only the combination of both will allow for the development of comprehensive models of the psychology of news framing effects. Along these lines, future studies should also determine which mediators prevail under what circumstances (e.g., when are emotions more important than information effects?), and whether emotions and cognitive processes function as parallel or sequential mediators (see, for example, Kühne, 2012).

In sum, this study provides additional building blocks for the study of both the immigration debate and affective news framing effects. We show that emotions are essential to understanding how and why news frames have effects, and that framing scholars can determine the emotional character of news frames in future studies. Our results are hopefully also interesting to those conducting research in other fields. For instance, there is increased interest in the role emotions play in agenda-setting processes and political persuasion (e.g., J. M. Miller, 2007), and findings and research designs based on framing effect theory may be translated into these neighboring theories also. In addition, our findings can provide guidance for communication practitioners in the Netherlands and other European countries: The importance of emotions is well known in commercial advertising (e.g., Holbrook & Batra, 1987), but the use of both positive and negative emotional appeals is likely to play a central role in assessing the effectiveness of public information campaigns also.

## Appendix

### *Stimulus Material (Manipulation Underlined per News Frame; Positive and Negative [in Brackets] Versions)*

*Note.* Stimulus Articles are translated into English; news style akin to Dutch journalistic style; originally formatted as newspaper articles.

#### *Emancipation news frame*

*Career event ["unnecessary"] for further emancipation of immigrant women in Amsterdam business world.* The Amsterdam city council will be organizing a career event titled "Diversity Works" on January 16, 17, and 18, 2013. The event focuses on female employees with diverse ethnic backgrounds, who want to be active in judicial, financial, technical, information and communication (ICT), as well as marketing or sales in the city. Several seminars will be organized, aimed at helping women find their way in the Dutch labor market. "Diversity Works" relates to current challenges that are important to immigrant employees, as well as companies and the government.

*"Diversity Works" strives for successful emancipation in business world.* The event "Diversity Works" is an opportunity to bring together employees and employers. "Striving for a strong position of immigrant women in business life is important. The emancipation of female immigrants is in progress. More and more immigrant women are highly educated and participate fully in the labor market. A career event like this contributes to this development," explains Jellie Hafkamp, a civil servant. During the event, women can show their talents, get to know companies, and apply for top positions. "The participants are guided by experienced women from the highest ranks of the business world. In that way, they learn to fully participate in society," says Hafkamp.

*Experts [do not] support career event.* Human resources manager Ido Koster highly appreciates the initiative of the Amsterdam city council [thinks the initiative of the Amsterdam city council is pointless]. "In practice, I notice that immigrant employees, especially women, are less [more and more] represented on the work floor. They often need this extra bit of help or training [An event like this is therefore unnecessary]. An event like this will therefore have a great impact, because it helps women to become more independent. I think it is marvelous that the Amsterdam municipality makes this effort" ["The emancipation of immigrant women needs to develop naturally. These women do not need help from the government, and it is unfair to other groups of employees that do not receive equal support. This manner of distinction is inappropriate. The Amsterdam city council should not spend money on this project, when they could invest in other things"], he says.

"Diversity Works" will take place in January 2013. If the event turns out to be successful, the Amsterdam city council will organize more events comparable with it. Koster suggests that the emancipation process of immigrant women is coming, and that events like this in Amsterdam are thus helpful support [and that events like this in Amsterdam are thus unnecessary meddling of the city council] in this development.

### *Multicultural news frame*

*Multicultural career event ["unnecessary"] for immigrant women in Amsterdam business world.* The Amsterdam city council will be organizing a career event titled "Diversity Works" on January 16, 17, and 18, 2013. The event focuses on female employees with diverse ethnic backgrounds, who want to be active in judicial, financial, technical, information and communication (ICT), as well as marketing or sales in the city. Several seminars will be organized, aimed at helping women find their way in the Dutch labor market. "Diversity Works" relates to current challenges that are important to immigrant employees, as well as companies and the government.

*"Diversity Works" strives for colorful business world.* The event "Diversity Works" is an opportunity to bring together employees and employers. "Immigrant women are increasingly highly educated and participate in the labor market. A career event such as 'Diversity Works' contributes to this development," explains Jellie Hafkamp, a civil servant. During the event, women can show their talents, get to know companies, and apply for top positions. "For Dutch companies, this event is an excellent occasion to get into touch with immigrant employees: Enterprises that have a multicultural staff-ing at their disposal are able to meet the needs of a diverse society. This is economi-cally profitable," says Hafkamp.

*Experts [do not] support career event.* Human resources manager Ido Koster highly appreciates the initiative of the Amsterdam city council [thinks the initiative of the Amsterdam city council is pointless]. "In practice, I notice that immigrant employees, particularly women, are less [more and more] represented on the work floor—even though immigrant employees are very beneficial for a multicultural and diverse com-pany life. An event like this will therefore have a great impact on both employers and employees. I think it is marvelous that the Amsterdam municipality makes an effort this way!" ["These women do not need help from the government, and it is unfair to other groups of employees that do not receive help. This manner of distinction is inappropriate. The event is unnecessary. Also, the economic benefits of a multicultural company life are well known. If employers think it necessary to hire more immigrant employees, they will do so. The Amsterdam city council should not spend money on this project, when they could invest in other things"], he says.

"Diversity Works" will take place in January 2013. If the event turns out to be suc-cessful, the Amsterdam city council will organize more events comparable with it. Koster suggests that companies are becoming more and more multicultural, and events like this in Amsterdam are thus helpful support [and that events like this in Amsterdam are thus unnecessary meddling of the city council] in this development.

### *Victimization news frame*

*Career event ["unnecessary"] in the fight against inequality faced by immigrant women in Amsterdam business world.* The Amsterdam city council will be organizing a career event titled "Diversity Works" on January 16, 17, and 18, 2013. The event focuses on female employees with diverse ethnic backgrounds, who want to be active in judicial,

financial, technical, information and communication (ICT), as well as marketing or sales in the city. Several seminars will be organized, aimed at helping women find their way in the Dutch labor market. "Diversity Works" relates to current challenges that are important to immigrant employees, as well as companies and the government.

*"Diversity Works": More [less] immigrants in business world.* The event "Diversity Works" is an opportunity to bring together employees and employers. "We experience that immigrant women are often disadvantaged in the Dutch labor market. They are the victims of prejudice and discrimination. A career event like this helps immigrants to approach Dutch companies in an easy and accessible manner. Besides, for Dutch companies, this event is an excellent chance to get in touch with immigrant employees," explains Jellie Hafkamp, a civil servant. During the event, women can show their talents, get to know companies, and apply for top positions. "Immigrant women will be guided by experienced women from the highest ranks of the business world, and learn more about all facets of Dutch business culture. This way we try to bridge possible barriers and give women chances they would otherwise not have," says Hafkamp.

*Experts [do not] support career event.* Human resources manager Ido Koster highly appreciates the initiative of the Amsterdam city council [thinks the initiative of the Amsterdam city council is pointless]. "In practice, I notice that immigrant employees, especially women, are not getting fair chances in Dutch companies. The barrier to get to work lies thus not only at home, but immigrant women are also victims of persistent prejudices in the workplace. I think it is important to give them extra support. Also, employers need to actively change prejudices against immigrant women. An event like this will therefore have great effect, for both employers and employees. I think it is marvelous that the Amsterdam city council makes this effort" "Immigrant women have, just like every other employee, a chance in the Amsterdam labor market, they do not need to be treated as 'victims.' Extra events organized for employees with a different ethnic background are unnecessary. These women do not need help from the government, and it is unfair to other groups of employees that do not receive help. This manner of distinction is inappropriate. If employers think it necessary to hire more immigrant employees, they will do so. The Amsterdam city council should not spend money on this project, when they could invest in other things"], he says.

"Diversity Works" will take place in January 2013. If the event turns out to be successful, the Amsterdam city council will organize more events comparable with it. Koster suggests that immigrant women are in need for help because they are at a disadvantage [do get more and more chances in the Netherlands] and that events like this at the Amsterdam city council are expected to be effective in this development [are thus unnecessary meddling of the city council in this development].

### *Assimilation news frame*

*Career event ["unnecessary"] to assimilate immigrant women into Amsterdam business world.* The Amsterdam city council will be organizing a career event titled "Diversity Works" on January 16, 17, and 18, 2013. The event focuses on female employees with

diverse ethnic backgrounds, who want to be active in judicial, financial, technical, information and communication (ICT), as well as marketing or sales in the city. Several seminars will be organized, aimed at helping women find their way in the Dutch labor market. "Diversity Works" relates to current challenges that are important to immigrant employees, as well as to companies and the government.

*"Diversity Works": For social cohesion in business world [no social cohesion in business world].* The event "Diversity Works" is an opportunity to bring together employees and employers. "Immigrant women are increasingly highly educated, but still have a hard time in completely adapting to the culture in the Dutch business world. A career event such as this is essential for the further integration of immigrant women," explains Jellie Hafkamp, a civil servant. During the event, women can show their talents, get to know companies, and apply for top positions. "We endeavor to teach immigrant women the norms and values of all facets of the business world of Amsterdam so that these women can adapt and enter the labor market of Amsterdam more easily," says Hafkamp.

*Experts [do not] support career event.* Human resources manager Ido Koster highly appreciates the initiative of the Amsterdam city council [thinks the initiative of the Amsterdam city council is pointless]. "In practice, I notice that immigrant women are very insecure. If they learn the core values of the Dutch business culture and how the business world works, they will find a job more easily. I think it is important to support them, so they can adapt easily. This development will be very positive for the business world, and employees will profit from this event. Immigrant women will understand the Dutch labor market better. An event like this will therefore have great effect, for both employers and employees. I think it is marvelous that the Amsterdam city council makes this effort" ["Immigrant women should adapt to the Dutch labor market in a natural way; simple seminars seem pointless. Extra events organized for employees with a different ethnic background are unnecessary. These women do not need help from the government, and it is unfair to other groups of employees that do not receive help. This manner of distinction is inappropriate. Immigrant employees need to be capable to adapt to what is happening here, and everything depends on the business culture of the company they work for. An event like this is ineffective; adaption cannot be learned, you just have to grow into it"], he says.

"Diversity Works" will take place in January 2013. If the event turns out to be successful, the Amsterdam city council will organize more events comparable with it. Koster suggests that the given support will help immigrant women to enter and integrate into the Dutch labor market [But expectations are not all positive. [NAME] suggests that adaption might need to take place on the work floor and cannot be taught at an event like this].

## Acknowledgments

We thank the Department of Research, Information and Statistics Agency at the City of Amsterdam, The Netherlands (OIS) for their support in collecting the data used in this study. We also thank Moniek Mewafi for her support in conducting this study.

## Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

## Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

## Notes

1. In total, 2,332 panel members were invited to participate in the survey, which leaves us with a response rate of 37.8%.
2. These are Dutch national citizens, born in the Netherlands either from Dutch parents, or from Western immigrants ( $n = 55$ ).
3. Because we want to study the stance toward minority groups in general, instead of focusing on specific religious groups, we leave out the Islam-as-a-threat frame.
4. The PROCESS macro and necessary documentation can be downloaded from Andrew Hayes' website: <http://www.afhayes.com/>

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### Author Biographies

**Sophie Lecheler** is an associate professor of political communication and journalism at the Amsterdam School of Communication Research, University of Amsterdam.

**Linda Bos** is an assistant professor of political communication at the Amsterdam School of Communication Research, University of Amsterdam.

**Rens Vliegthart** is a professor of media and society at the Amsterdam School of Communication Research, University of Amsterdam.