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Bachelor Thesis

Policy Entrepreneurs, Advocacy Coalitions, their Frames &
Priming -

An application of the Advocacy Coalition Framework on the
public media discourse on a robot tax in Western Europe

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the exertion of influence by using frames and priming on a possible robot tax, employed by competing actors and policy entrepreneurs build on the Advocacy Coalition Framework: “How do the dominant actors, policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions frame and prime the public media discourse on a robot tax in Western Europe from February 16, 2017 to March 2018?”. This is done with an exploratory research design by using a qualitative content and frame analysis based on economic and quality online newspaper articles from Western Europe. Besides new insights regarding the role of national policy entrepreneurs, the results reveal the uncontested power of one voice, exercised by the global policy entrepreneur Bill Gates who manipulates the public with rational frames, as well as two clashing advocacy coalitions. While the Social-Democrats are supported by Gates, they are less assailable and mostly use rational frames to support and prime a robot tax to encounter inequality. In contrast, the Economists & Tech-Industry are in a competing position and blame the taxing idea by using a defensive communication strategy. Consequently, single voices as well as communication strategies, frames and priming manipulate today’s public discourses up to the prevention of democratic policy-making.

Keywords: Advocacy Coalition Framework, policy entrepreneur, frames, priming, communication strategy, robot tax

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I. Introduction

1. Background

“Organised interests, political parties and policy experts do not simply ‘exert power’; they acquire power in part by trying to influence the political discourse of their day.” (Hall, 1993, p.290). But who are these actors and how do they exert power to achieve their policy objectives? These problems are examined by analysing the controversial discussion on a robot tax, since the discourse provides a good understanding of the prominence of actors in public debates. The use of robots has risen to an arousing topic in media. “Robots used to exist only in the realm of science fiction, but these days they are rapidly becoming a part of everyday life in the shape of drones, intelligent cars, industrial robots and robotic vacuum cleaners.” (European Parliament, 2015). What has started with imaginations and myths about how robots can influence our daily life, is becoming more and more reality. Automation and mediatisation have changed the social life, the media landscape, the labour market as well as the way of governing. So, the discourse about the future impact of the automation process, including a rising number of the use of robots and artificial intelligence, has become highly relevant in the public news and public debate. These public discourses rise from myths about killer robots becoming evil and destroy our society up to automation as job-killer which will end in mass unemployment. For a long time, public discourses on technological caused unemployment and income inequality was more prominent and “the automation debate has historically ignored the issue of taxation” (Abbott & Bogenschneider, 2017, p.5). But now, the issue of taxation has finally arrived at worldwide political discussions.

A key event in the discourse is the rejection of the European Parliament to introduce a robot tax in its plenary session on February 16, 2017. The idea behind is that robots which replace workers also should pay taxes to still provide revenue for the state (Dunlop, 2017). One day later, a strong counterpart was made up by the statement of Bill Gates, the founder of Microsoft, who pointed out the importance of a robot tax to slow down the automation process, so that this can help financing jobs for which people are more suitable than robots like in the elderly care or educational sector (Delaney, 2017). After the plenary session and the following interviews with economic and political elites, the report about the discourse has spread widely with a special emphasis on the actors involved. This observation leads to further assessment of these spokespersons, policy entrepreneurs as well as the coalitions who are in favour or against the introduction of a robot tax, their varying beliefs and how they try to influence the policy-making process. The Advocacy Coalition Framework as well as the theory of policy entrepreneurs offer a good understanding of the role of actors within policy changes and their position in public discourses. The ACF also focuses on strategies these actors use to follow to achieve their policy objectives. Today, highly influential tools to exercise influence in a mediated world reaching mass audience are communication strategies to spread filtered information, beliefs and objectives. The most prominent

instruments are frames and priming that are used to shape the perception of a problem and set a focus on a preferred solution. Additionally, the language within these frames has influential impact on public thinking. So, the distinction between rational and emotional frames leads to a changing strategy from the control of beliefs up to greater public responses (Moon & Rhee, 2012; Kim & Cameron, 2011). Therefore, frames and priming techniques within the ACF and the role of policy entrepreneurs within should give an answer to the strategy the actors use to push through their policy goals.

In history of the development of the ACF, there is a distinct lack of adapting the framework to the new mediated circumstances that will be rectified with this thesis. In general, there are just a few studies regarding a robot tax case that discuss the impact of modern technologies or economic consequences (Weissman, 2014; Abbott & Bogenschneider, 2017). Concerning advocacy coalitions, there are several studies since 1988 that are intended to explain policies changes by using the ACF. The current state of scholarship already looks at further identification of advocacy coalitions by clearly operationalizing the belief system (Ripberger et al., 2014; Jenkins-Smith et al., 2014). What is not examined yet is how single actors, policy entrepreneurs or advocacy coalitions actively use well considered words and language to spread beliefs and achieve their policy objectives. Therefore, this study will contribute to existing knowledge by linking the ACF with frames and priming theories presented on the robot tax example in public media that is so far unique. Until today, numerous scholars have analysed the power of media in shaping public opinion, therefore new media must be included into the ACF to meet the new circumstances. In other words, the thesis has the objective to fill the gap in research how dominant actors and advocacy coalitions use new communication strategies like frames and priming with a special emphasis on language used to strategically push forward their policy objectives with the potential to manipulate the mass. So, the gap is justified by linking the ACF and the policy entrepreneur concept with frames and priming actors use to influence policy changes. The new knowledge reveals how they are exercised as strategic tools not only to influence, but also to deliberately persuade the public. This is significant because public debates are part of a mediated environment and therefore the techniques that actors exercise to influence policy-making differ from the strategies they used to follow twenty years ago. For the society in general, the relevance is justified by the importance to be enlightened about techniques actors use to persuade the mass and shape public opinion. Also, the position of the dominant actors and who they want to protect: themselves, the capitalist market or the public, plays a significant role. It is also about how much reality spokespersons put into their frames or if they present an adapted version of reality. The main problem is that these actors do not only participate in decision-making, they actively exercise power over others to strive for their preferred solution. In a world of fake news and alternative facts, the question occurs if the policy goal is a benefit for the whole society or just for the one participating group. If actors, advocacy coalitions or policy entrepreneurs use communication strategies, frames and priming to manipulate the mass in a direction that the public does not benefit from the policy objective, we must ask ourselves if we still live in a democratic world. This is alarming and calls for an analysis to know how policy changes are manipulated by certain actors that can potentially

hinder a democratic decision-making when a group exercises power over others. In the end, it should give insights to policy-makers how media discourses are organised, who shapes it and seeks for control building a foundation for upcoming research about the direct influences on public opinion as well as for future policy, organization and management of communication.

2. Research question(s)

To fill the scientific gap in research to link the ACF as well as the policy entrepreneur concept with new communication strategies including frames and priming that reveal important new insights about the powerful actors that manipulate today's policy processes, empirical exploratory questions are used. Related to questions other scientists raised, these questions are not only about the identification of the actors, policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalition in first instance, it is also about the investigation of the strategies they follow instead of just presenting the obvious methods actors use to seek for their objectives. This in-depth analysis of communication strategies as frames and priming, is supposed to give the new insights about possible manipulation of the few to control policy-making up to the limitation of democracy to deliver results that help to prepare the world of policies to react. First, the questions identify dominant actors, policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalition that participate in the public media debate on a robot tax in Western Europe. It is significant to first work out the actors, who they are and what position in society they have, to be able to analyse their strategy as well as their motivation for the policy objective in the following steps more in detail. In addition, this part reveals dominant positions of the few as well as the leading groups that are expected to exercise power over others. Second, it is about the communication strategies these identified actors exercise. This step deals with the use of frames as communication strategy to influence and persuade the public of the preferred policy objective. Third, the way of priming will be analysed to get a better understanding of the communication strategy and the focus of the actors in shaping public opinion. Consequently, the research question is structured in one main question and three sub-questions which clear up the stages of analysis:

How do the dominant actors, policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions frame and prime the public media discourse on a robot tax in Western Europe from February 16, 2017 to March 2018?

SQ1: Who are the dominant actors, policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions within the public media discourse on a robot tax?

SQ2: What are the dominant frames of these dominant actors, policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions in the public media discourse on a robot tax?

SQ3: How do the dominant actors, policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions prime the public media discourse on a robot tax?

So, empirical exploratory questions are used to identify dominant actors, policy entrepreneurs, advocacy coalitions, their used frames and priming on the discourse on a robot tax in Western Europe. To satisfy all new circumstances due to mediatisation, the focus will be on the public media debate. This will be discussed by focusing on a specific time period. The starting point is the rejection of the proposal of the introduction of a robot tax in the European Union (EU). After February 16, 2017, the public discourse has started getting globally and prominent among diverse newspapers. The end date of the research is around March 2018 to be able to analyse the discourse within an adequate time for observations.

The expectation is to find answers that show that the actors actively use frames and priming as communication strategy to shape the opinion of the public regarding their policy objective in favour or against a robot tax. The questions should expose the actors that control the discourse as well as their strategy that on the one hand gives new insights regarding the power of single actors and on the other hand illustrates the influential power of the media and the global reach of communication. These new insights are expected to have significant impact on outdated policy frameworks as well as to give a reality check of the consequences of communication strategies on controlling beliefs and public opinion.

3. Structure of the research

The structure of the research helps to find the expected answers. First, the theory presents the most influential theoretical framework based on the Advocacy Coalition Framework by Paul Sabatier that is linked with the policy entrepreneur concept. These frameworks give the foundation of the research within the new knowledge of the role of frames and priming are discussed. In addition to the new knowledge, the theory part is also connected to the distinction between rational and emotional frames that should make a disclosing sense to the communication strategies the actors follow. Furthermore, the data, the case and the methods of analysis are presented. To adapt to the new mediated world, the selected textual data consists of economic and quality online newspaper articles from Western Europe that can be reached by the global mass and therefore is characterized as a suitable forum to spread information as well as to control ideas. An exploratory research design is adapted in a qualitative way by using a content and frame analysis. A coding scheme is presented that help to examine the dominant frames in a rational and emotional way within the newspaper articles. During the analysis, the sub-questions are answered that prepare the answer to the main research question in the conclusion of the thesis. In the end, the conclusion summarizes the main findings, answers the research question, reflects on the research and gives practical implications to the world of politics.

II. Theory

1. Introduction

To address the research problem if there are actors, advocacy coalitions or policy entrepreneurs that use frames and priming to actively manipulate the mass within the discourse on a robot tax, so that the democratic decision-making is not guaranteed anymore, the theoretical chapter gives insights to the current state of scholarship and main theoretical frameworks. So first, the section puts a light on the foundation of the research: The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) by Sabatier. The ACF is explained in its composition as well as the structure and the differentiating of belief systems within the framework. This knowledge helps to understand the composition and power structures of coalitions and policy entrepreneurs that are intended to be the dominant actors within the debate on a robot tax. It is one of the main frameworks regarding dominant actors and their function within the world of policies. Within the ACF, the role of policy entrepreneurs is outlined that makes sense of the power of the few within the discourse. Furthermore, the role of frames and priming within the ACF is examined that is expected to build up a communication strategy with the aim to expose possible dominant power abuse. Additionally, the theoretical background of emotional and rational frames is outlined which explains the consequences of language on public thinking to further assess the strategies in the analysis sections. With these theoretical frameworks, the research is more structured and offers the approach to the analysis to give an answer to the research questions.

2. Theoretical frameworks

2.1 The Advocacy Coalition Framework and the role of policy entrepreneurs within

Initially, the Advocacy Coalition Framework was developed to “provide a coherent understanding of the major factors and processes affecting the policy process” (Sabatier, 1998, p.98). This includes the definition of a problem, a formulation of a policy, its implementation as well as a revision (Sabatier, 1998). In collaboration with Jenkins-Smith, Sabatier examined five premises of the ACF. To sum up, these premises identify the impact of the problem, the causes and solutions in a policy process that build up the core in discussions of policy elites (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1993). Furthermore, Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) point out the importance of an appropriate period of time to understand a policy change in its progress and technical information that is given within. At this stage, first critique arises by Weible and Sabatier (2007) who add that the ACF is difficult to apply especially when it is about the assumption that researchers need to consider a decade or more. Since the robot tax discussion is quite new, it is just possible to evaluate the current process and development until today.

According to Sabatier (1988) policy research always has an enlightenment function and presents a certain portrait of progress. In addition, the unit of analysis is always a policy subsystem that consists of a wide range of actors, from public to private organization facing a problem on political level (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1993). According to Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, these subsystems involve actors from international organizations and from various levels of government within as well as from outside the country. Different actors have distinct roles within the subsystem that are explained in the further parts. Moreover, belief systems are used to achieve policy objectives that involve values and perceptions concerning priorities, causal relationships, word views and the efficacy of policy instruments (Sabatier, 1998). Within this system of beliefs and policies, actors exercise influence.

Hence, the ACF gives important positions to the actors – the advocacy coalitions. Here, Sabatier (1998) points out “agency officials, researchers, and journalists as potential members of advocacy coalitions – as having policy beliefs similar to interest group leaders and their legislative allies” (Sabatier, 1998, p.107). They share a set of normative beliefs, values, perceived causality and a perception of a problem (Sabatier, 1988). *Figure 1* shows a policy subsystem based on the robot tax case. Here you can see two coalitions sharing policy beliefs and resources that together lead to a strategy these coalitions follow to implement their preferred policy.¹ This influence results in a decision by sovereigns up to the implementation of the policy and the actual outputs and impacts on society. For this thesis, the first two steps are the most relevant that are highlighted in red - first, the coalition building including their shared policy beliefs and resources and second, their strategies they follow. The coalitions work out strategies to implement their objectives. It is to mention that not everyone who participates in a public debate is part of a coalition, for instance there are researchers that present their expertise and skills instead of sharing a belief system (Sabatier, 1988). Sabatier (1988) visualizes that the second coalition establishes after the first has proposed a policy to deal with the cause of the perceived problem with that the second coalition is not in favour and therefore also seeks for technical and political resources to realize their own policy. That would fit to the case of the robot tax. Directly after the decision of the European Parliament against a robot tax, the public discourse spread widely. In

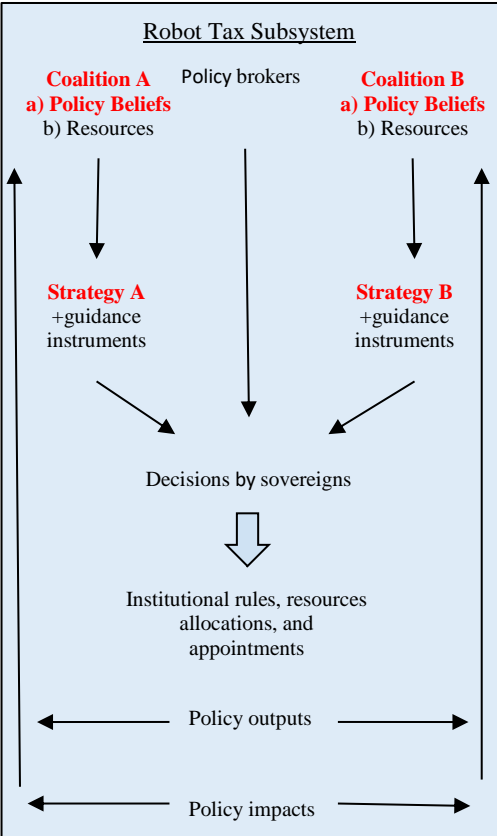


Figure 1: Robot tax subsystem based on Sabatier (1988)

¹ Since of the limitation of the study, the focus lies on the policy beliefs and the strategy. The resources are still important when it is about the guidance and instruments but will not be part of the analysis.

general, a basic strategy of an advocacy coalition is the manipulation of controlling authorities (Sabatier, 1988). When there is a conflict between coalitions, policy brokers help to find compromises that reduce the conflict in these specific situations (Sabatier, 1988). The final products are governmental programs and the output that is nevertheless also influenced by other external factors, for instance legal or social resources of a society (Sabatier, 1988). According to Sabatier (1988), governmental decisions lead the advocacy coalition to revise its strategies or even beliefs. In addition, Sabatier (1998) argues that policy changes are not a result of competition among the advocacy coalitions, but “policy-oriented learning within and between coalitions” (p.117). This indicates an individual aspect of the ACF that individuals ignore dissonant beliefs and therefore tend to confirm existing beliefs by filtering new experiences (Sabatier, 1998). In the end, it is also mostly about political resources that “strongly affect their ability to actually translate their beliefs into authoritative policy decisions.” (Sabatier, 1988, p.143).

Building a coalition also means to be part of a certain network in which these resources are shared. ‘Density’ and ‘centrality’ are important concepts when it is about social networks. As well as the connection of advocacy coalitions, networks deal with the identifications of active participants as well as the connection among the actors. De Laat et al. (2007) describe density as a “measure of the overall ‘connections’ between the participants” (p.90) and “the number of communicative links observed in a network” (p.90). In addition, centrality is about “the extent to which an individual interacts with other members in the network” (De Laat et al., 2007, p.90). These both concepts help to structure social networks and advocacy coalitions to make sense of their similarities as well as their shared resources.²

Besides the role of advocacy coalitions, various scholars have noted the role of policy entrepreneurs in promoting changes in policy, so they are important actors within the ACF. Policy entrepreneurs talk policies into existence. According to Minstrom and Vergari (1996) the difference between policy entrepreneurs and coalitions is that they are mainly interested in selling ideas about policy changes. They “seek to sell their policy ideas and, in so doing, to promote dynamic policy change” (Minstrom & Vergari, 1996, p.423) by problem identification and therefore shaping debates as well as building coalitions. Policy entrepreneurs want to attract the attention of policy makers and the public and consequently push their perceptions of an issue (Minstrom & Vergari, 1996). To present their strategy, they are networking in the square of government, but also media attention is a crucial factor to push their ideas and convince supporters. In addition, they seek to maintain coalitions to support their policy ideas (Minstrom & Vergari, 1996). According to Roberts and King (1991) policy entrepreneurs work from outside the governmental area with the aim to introduce, translate as well as implement ideas into practice. A policy entrepreneur can also be responsible for the establishment of advocacy coalitions and bringing their shared beliefs and assumptions together.

² These concepts are important to consider while talking about the relationship between actors, so it is important to mention them. But because of the pre-limited scope of the research, centrality and density will not be subjects of analysis since a network analysis would be too extensive for this study. Nevertheless, these concepts help to structure the methods of analysis in the next chapter.

Consequently, assumptions and beliefs play a signification role within the ACF, not only for the promotive function of a policy entrepreneur, but also for the advocacy coalitions. These shared beliefs are based on a belief system that includes “sets of value priorities and causal assumptions about how to realize them” (Sabatier, 1988, p.131). The structure of belief systems is divided into three cores, revised by Sabatier (1998): the deep core, the policy core and secondary aspects. Policy elites structure their beliefs from fundamental normative (deep core) that range across all subsystems, through the belief of policy positions including basic strategies and values within the closed subsystems (policy core), to more instrumental decisions (secondary aspects) that are important to implement the strategies of the policy core. While it is especially difficult to change the deep core of an individual, it is easier to change the policy core under specific conditions as well as the connected secondary aspects (Sabatier, 1988). Within this belief system, major and minor policy changes can be distinguished. Sabatier (1998) illustrates that major policy changes lead to changes in the policy core and minor changes are connected to secondary aspects. Especially shared beliefs in the policy core, lead to coordinated behaviour.

Policy core beliefs are perceived as the “primary perceptual filter for actors in a policy subsystem” (Weible & Sabatier, 2005, p.183) to identify their allies as well as opponent actors. Consequently, according to Weible & Sabatier (2005), policy core beliefs influence the choice of interaction between actors that are mostly interact with other actors that share the policy core beliefs. Already Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier (1993) defined the advocacy coalitions as a set of actors that have a shared understanding of policy beliefs and translate those beliefs into policies. Furthermore, the ACF suggests that these coalitions are stable in time because of the loyalty towards the own group and the distrust to out-groups (Weible & Sabatier, 2005). In this study, policy core beliefs are defined as the fundamental policy position in favour or against the introduction of the robot tax as well as possible other positions regarding the problem that leads to the policy change. But it is not only about sharing policy core beliefs, it is also about the perceived belief correspondent and the connection and distance of the actors.

To look at work of other researchers, it is recognizable that also further studies focus on analysing policy beliefs, since there is still a lot to explain. Other scholars mainly present the role of policy core beliefs as well as a broader application of the ACF on various cases. For instance, Sabatier & Zafonte (1998) found out that actors with similar policy core beliefs establish a network that is formed by their perceived allies that is criticized by the assumption that similar beliefs automatically lead to a coordination of behaviour (Schlager, 1995). Allies do not have to coordinate with each other and that there is an overlap between ally and network (Schlager, 1995). Regarding the critique, Sabatier & Zafonte (1998) worked out a conceptualization in ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ coordination. So that actors that share beliefs do not have to meet but can follow the same strategy (Weible & Sabatier, 2005). This is also important to keep in mind in the analysis of the formed advocacy coalitions in this research. Furthermore Ripberger et al. (2014) measure the deep core by evaluating the viability of cultural theory and cultural worldviews. So, latest developments of the ACF are concerning the belief systems and examine the relationship between

deep and policy core beliefs including foundation of cultural theory for instance by Jenkins-Smith et al. (2014). Again, it is obvious that the current work does not focus on the new circumstances that the process of mediatisation and automation entails. Therefore, the relevance of the objective of this study to link the ACF with today's communication practices is confirmed again. So, the role of communication strategies is further introduced and how they are connected to the ACF.

2.2 Role of frames & priming within the ACF

Continuing, the connection between the ACF and the role of frames and priming as strategies is outlined. So, the second focus of the thesis lies on the frames and priming of the coalitions and policy entrepreneurs within the public debate on a robot tax. Within the ACF, the actors are “instrumentally rational – i.e. they seek to use information and other resources to achieve their goals” (Sabatier, 1998, p. 108). Coalitions seek to “alter the behaviour of governmental institutions in order to achieve the policy objectives in their respective policy cores” (Sabatier, 1998, p.117). Frames and priming are useful to explain these strategies to achieve their goals, because “by ordering the world, ideas may shape agendas, which can profoundly shape outcomes.” (Goldstein & Keohane, 1993, p.12). Hence, Dudley and Richardson (1999) examine the role of frames within competing advocacy coalitions. According to Dudley and Richardson (1999) policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions “use a particular policy ‘frame’ to understand reality” (p.228) and shape the perception of an existing problem. Subsequently, kinds of bias arise (Dudley & Richardson, 1999). On this account, actors share a set of policy core beliefs, so they also see the world with a different view in contrast to actors of other coalitions what consequently leads to cohesion in the in-group (Sabatier, 1998). To share views and beliefs, new forms of media provide influencing channels.

In times of mediatisation including fast internet connection and new and social media, it is unavoidable to have a look at media while discussing a public discourse. Besides an organisation, the media provide the public with information (Fombrun & Shanley, 1990). Therefore, the public learns from media about activities of the organisation and how they relate to public interests (Einwiller, Carroll & Korn, 2010). That is why Copeland & Copsy (2017) argue that “the relationship between the media, national politics and public opinion is symbiotic and mutually dependent.”. That is also within the ACF where the “coalitions seek to translate their beliefs into public policies” (Sabatier, 1988, p.142). The coalitions seek to transfer their beliefs and information to the public and other suitable coalition partners to strengthen their influence. An effective way how to get in contact with them is to use media attention and therefore frames and priming to set the focus on their beliefs and policy objectives.

The idea behind the framing concept is the “question of how news information is presented or ‘framed’” (McQuail, 2010, p.380). The work of Goffman (1974) is an important foundation for the frame concept as well as for framing research and many scholars build on his work with the aim to analyse news (e.g.

Vliegenthart & Van Zoonen, 2011). With his early work, he gives first insights into the process of giving meaning to an issue and to distinguish between what is relevant and what is not regarding events and actors. In addition, Entman (1993) defines frames as follows: “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text” (p.52) and clarifies framing as selection and salience and summarizes the idea that frames consist of four aspects: problem definition, diagnosis of causes, making moral judgements and the suggestion of remedies. Also, the advocacy coalitions and policy entrepreneurs steer to talk about the perceived problem that goes hand in hand with the policy core beliefs. The analysis of the causes and therefore creating a strategy to implement the policy in favour for their beliefs, is also a part of Sabatier’s system of the analytical interaction between advocacy coalitions (1988). Consequently, the use of media and frames also influences the interaction between the actors. Later publications are made by Garrison (1992) and Iyengar (1991) who were interested in news frames and its impact on conversations and opinions among the public. Vliegenthart & Van Zoonen (2011) point out that frames can also be contradictory and that they are always part of “struggles for meanings between different actors” (Vliegenthart & Van Zoonen, 2011, p. 105). This phenomenon is also presented within the ACF where various actors seek for attention to advance their objected policies.

All these reasons can also be applied to the role of priming within the ACF. Agenda-setting is often discussed in relation to priming what some scholars see as general aspect or consequence of agenda-setting (McQuail, 2010). Agenda-setting suggests that “the prominence of elements in the news influences the prominence of those elements among the public” (Carroll & McCombs, 2003, pp. 36-37). Subsequently, the public uses this information to grade their own agenda (Carroll & McCombs, 2003). Another dominant definition of agenda-setting is based on McCombs & Reynolds (2002) who describe the shift of the salience of objects from the media to the public. The idea of priming effects has its roots in history of election campaigns and research (McQuail, 2010). Iyengar & Kinder (1987) present the attention of political topics which are on the media agenda are also more prominent when it is about the assessment of politicians. Therefore, they examine the priming of leading opinions on public issues. The priming concept suggests that “media attention to political issues provides the criteria for how governmental leaders are evaluated in public opinion” (Kioussis & McCombs, 2004, p.37). It is about the ability of media or news to affect the judgement of politicians to set criteria (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). In sum, the prominence of an issue in the news, influences the weight in political judgements (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). To apply this to the discourse, it is about the criteria that the actors give attention to and therefore the salience in the news influences the salience of the criteria among the public.

Because of these reasons, frames and priming build up an important part of the analysis of advocacy coalitions and policy entrepreneurs in the public media discourse. In sum, the frames and priming can influence the strength of the coalition, the spread of beliefs and the possibilities that they get because of new members or alter governmental institutions to achieve the objectives. Additionally, these

communication strategies have the potential to influence or even manipulate the mass. This assumption becomes clear by having a look at the distinction between emotional and rational frames.

2.3 Emotional vs. rational frames

Rational and emotional frames give insights how actors try to persuade in order to realize their policy objectives. On the one hand, rational frames present “the same information in a more straightforward and objective manner” (Claeys et al., 2013, p.299), and on the other hand emotional frames include “subjective, evaluative properties and emotional loaded adjectives” (Claeys et al., 2013, p.299). According to Moon and Rhee (2012) the reader relies on messages and arguments, so that rational frames are suitable to change the belief of the reader. On the other side, using emotions can lead to a greater public response (Kim & Cameron, 2011). In this study, rational frames are summarized as frames that share the information objectively and straightforward including clear facts without emotions that decorate a story in a certain way and emotional frames as more subjective and evaluative in that sense that the reader is influenced by emotional language. All this contributes to the understanding and explanation of the discourse, why communication strategies are so important when it is about shaping public opinion. The distinction of frames in rational and emotional is particularly important because the whole robot and artificial intelligence discourse is also about moralities, future expectation and about perceived threats to society. Hence, the expectation is that the discussion is emotionally charged and therefore the distinction not only gives insights to the exact communication strategy, it also exposes the actors that want to manipulate a democratic decision-making.

3. Conclusion

To conclude, the Advocacy Coalition Framework is a suitable theoretical framework to analyse the dominant actors, policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions of the public media debate on a robot tax. Within the belief system, it is possible to seek advocacy coalitions that share basic assumptions, a problem definition and represent their opinions regarding a robot tax. Furthermore, frames and priming techniques are successfully integrated into the ACF that share the close connection between the strategies of the actors and the function of frames and priming in a mediated environment. The extended application of the frame concept in emotional and rational frames enables to identify the use of language by manipulating the mass in the further research process. To discover the research problem and the power of actors within shaping the discourse of the day, a content as well as a frame analysis is used. How this is done methodological, is explained in the next section.

III. Methods

1. Introduction

This chapter aims to explain the methods that are used to get an answer of how the dominant actors, policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions frame and prime the discourse on a robot tax. The research is divided into two parts: the identification of the advocacy coalitions and policy entrepreneurs within a content analysis and their frames and priming of the robot tax discourse in the media within a frame analysis. First, the selected case is explained more in detail. Second, the data is presented, how it is collected and why it is relevant for the analysis. Third, the methods of data analysis show what the thesis is going to do with the data to answer the question. These methods aim at revealing the communication strategies that the actors use. So, a coding scheme is formulated that gives suggestions for emotional and rational frames to properly analyse the exertion of influence by the actors. In the end, a conclusion summarizes the key research activity.

2. Discussion of the methods

2.1 Case selection

The case on which this study is based is the discourse on a robot tax in Western Europe. Western Europe is the area of analysis because of the dominant position of the EU in the discussion and language limitations that just allows German and English sources. The discourse is selected because of the current relevance for the EU and the discussion including various actors. The time range of 16th February 2017, the rejection of the proposal by the European Commission, to March 2018 is selected, since the 16th February is assumed as key event of the discourse. After that, the discussion has spread widely, and a range of actors has been involved even if the discourse has already existed before.

But the development of the discourse on a robot tax shows that before this key event, just smaller national debates have existed. These debates were introduced by numerous studies (e.g. Mc Kinsey Global Institute) predicting the replacement of workers by robots resulting in “technological unemployment” (Abbott & Bogenschneider, 2017, p.4). These alarming findings have led to a greater national discussion of industrial as well as academic experts until also the European Union discussed the impact of these predictions and a robot tax as possible solution to hinder rising unemployment and inequality. Because of these reasons, the case is very urgent to discuss. It is not only at its highest point of discussion; the policy decisions have a highly relevant impact on future labour market as well as for social division. Now, the discussion as well as the political world are stuck in finding solutions for these occurring problems. This case reveals not only the actors that want to protect the society from all

consequences, it also detects the actors that seek for their own advantages. At this stage, it is important to know how are these actors that want to strategically shape the public discourse.

This is underlined by the observation of the importance of actors with an increased number of headlines starting with “Bill Gates says” that pushes the relevance of Bill Gates over the actual topic of a robot tax after this key event. Here, it seems to be more important who says what in the discourse instead of the organization and development of the discourse itself. In comparison, there are only a few newspaper articles that discuss the proposal rejection as main topic. This phenomenon can also be observed regarding other actors. Therefore, the robot tax discourse is selected as suitable case for the analysis of policy entrepreneurs and coalitions. Regarding this, the robot tax discourse is especially performed in public media. So, the case is also appropriate to answer the second and third research question when it is about identifying dominant frames and ways of priming. The assumption is that these actors use the public media as a forum to spread their ideas, beliefs, assumptions, perceived problems and solutions with other actors, stakeholders as well as with the public. Consequently, the public media discourse on a robot tax fulfils all requirements to be a suitable case to answer the research question.

2.2 Data collection

Furthermore, textual data is actively collected and there is no existing dataset. Since English and German are two of the three EU working languages, data from Germany, Switzerland, Austria and the UK are considered as a good reflection of the debate in Western Europe. This data is relevant because it is readable and accessible for a large audience. Furthermore, online newspapers are collected. Due to the fact, that the discourse on a robot tax happens mainly in the public media, online newspapers are suitable to examine the research objectives. Most of them are national newspapers because it is assumed that these newspapers constitute a channel for the discourse. The suggestion is that in these articles, dominant actors are mentioned and cited. The observation of the dominance of actors originally came from online newspapers that led to the reason to study the discourse within this medium. Online media are accessible for a mass audience and therefore reach all relevant actors that is a good platform for coalitions to spread beliefs as well as to exercise influence by using frames and priming. Regarding the use of quality newspapers, the choice of other researchers is considered (Doulton & Brown, 2009; Patterson et al., 2016; Eilders, 2002; Dolezal et al., 2010). Since taxation is a tool in the economic sphere, also economic newspapers are considered as a good forum for the reflection on the public media debate. Regarding the use of data of other researchers, this thesis also uses quite usual newspaper articles but in comparison, this thesis does not focus on the analysis of these articles in general, but on the statements of the actors within, what differs from other studies.

In the end, 35 German articles from Switzerland, Germany and Austria are collected as well as 27 online newspaper articles from the United Kingdom (UK). In total, the data set consists of 62 economic and quality newspapers that are widely used in research and considered as such (see Appendix 1). The articles are directly found on the official websites of the newspapers by using ‘robot tax’ or ‘Robotersteuer’ as key words. In average, the newspaper articles consist of one up to two pages in total. All selected articles represent the public discourse on a robot tax clear and explicitly channel the public debate with a focus on dominant actors and spokespersons, so that the study can analyse these actors as possible advocacy coalitions or policy entrepreneurs as well as their ways of frames and priming of a possible robot tax.

2.3 Methods of data analysis

Moreover, the empirical study adopts an exploratory research method that does not aim to give advice for decision-making but provides the policy world with an insight into the current situation of actors that are in power and their way to influence the discourse on a robot tax. Therefore, the research question asks for how the actors frame and prime the discourse and it is not about the direct influence on the policy process. Also, the robot tax discourse is in a preliminary stage and therefore the data and time period are limited what makes the exploratory research to an appropriate design.

In this thesis, the research question will be answered by using a qualitative method in a case study design. The research aim is suitable to be analysed within a case study because it is particularly appropriate to focus on the problem within an in-depth analysis of a specific case within a limited time. Therefore, the in-depth analysis is limited by time (16th February 2017 until March 2018) and within the unit of analysis (Western Europe).

In addition, the methods of data analysis are divided into two parts: a content analysis to identify dominant actors, policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions and a frame analysis to work out frames and priming these actors use to spread their beliefs to the public. The aim is to identify the dominant actors, policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions by analysing the presented policy core belief, their perceived belief correspondent and their ways of frames and priming within the selected newspaper articles. As presented in the data collection, this method differs from other researchers in that way that the thesis does not focus on the frames and priming of the journalists and authors, but on the communication strategies actors use within the newspaper articles as a forum to spread beliefs. Here, it is important to keep in mind that therefore it is always an already selected form of information set by the authors of the articles and their gatekeeping and news values.

First of all, a content analysis inspired by Philipp Mayring is used for the first step of analysis. Since this type of analysis has its roots in the sphere of communication sciences, a content analysis is a useful

tool to investigate the dominant actors within the discourse on a robot tax in Western Europe. Mayring (2014) presents a content analysis within a system of categories as instrument of analysis. The content analysis is mainly based on the observations of a document analysis. Therefore, the used system of categories is examined by operationalizing the concepts presented in the theory section.

Thereupon, the operationalization of the concepts is conducted by using clear steps of analysis and a coding scheme. The dominant actors are examined by the number of times individuals are mentioned in the discussion on a robot tax. In the next step, it is about the advocacy coalitions that are characterized by sharing the same policy beliefs, the subjective perception of belief correspondent and the connection between the actors. According to Kukkonen et al. (2017) the ACF “asserts that disagreement over policy core beliefs divides organizations into competing coalitions.” (p. 713). So, the belief system will be analysed by the perception of the problem, its causes and effects regarding a robot tax discussion and especially the attitude towards the introduction of a robot tax – the policy goal. This is done by analysing the tone. The perception of belief correspondent can be identified by observing if the actors refer to each other or support other’s opinions by using their arguments, so no coding is needed. The overall connection between the actors is analysed, their similarities and differences, inspired by the density and centrality concepts. All this is done regarding Mayring’s (2014) steps of a content analysis including the generalization of the paraphrase that the actors use in the online newspaper articles. This is important to analyse the intention of the actors mentioned in the articles when it comes to the problem definition, the policy goal and belief correspondent. In the following, the detailed steps are structured:

I. Identification of the actors: Who is mentioned? How often? Is there an actor that seems to be a driving force that talks the discourse into existence and therefore many shapes it (policy entrepreneur)?

II. Identification of advocacy coalitions and policy entrepreneurs

1. Policy core belief

a) Problem definition, its causes and effects: what is according to the actors the context of the discourse on a robot tax?

b) Policy goal: what is the main policy goal of the actors? Robot tax: yes or no?

Here, an analysis of the tone will be made:

Negative: the words used are mainly with negative connotation. A robot tax is not perceived as a suitable tool to encounter the perception of the problem.

Neutral: the words used are neutral and there is no opinion regarding a robot tax or the policy goal is different.

Positive: the words used are mainly positive towards the introduction of a robot tax. Actors see it as a suitable tool to encounter the perception of the problem.

2. *Perceived belief correspondent*: Do the actors refer to each other? To individual actors or a group? What do they think they share beliefs with? Is there an actor that is perceived as a policy entrepreneur who shapes the whole debate?
3. *Connection of the actors*: How is the connection between the actors? Are there any links between the actors? What are their similarities they share, what are the differences?

III. Frame Analysis: see Appendix 3 for coding scheme

Priming: How do the actors, policy entrepreneurs, coalitions prime the discourse? Which aspects or criteria are the most salient in their representation of the discourse? (referring to the frame analysis)

Moreover, the frame analysis is based on Entman's four aspects: problem definition, diagnosis of causes, moral judgements and suggestion of remedies. This is done regarding Entman's (1993) definition: "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text" (p.52). They are analysed by looking for rational and emotional language that are introduced in the theory chapter. This makes sense of the language techniques and how these are used to frame and prime the discourse. In general, discussions about robots are often controversy and therefore it is a useful tool to already keep in mind two opposing type of languages. While the rational frames are more objective with the aim to change opinions (Moon & Rhee, 2012), emotional frames are about changing public responses (Kim & Cameron, 2011) that entails the potential of power abuse when objective arguments do not change public thinking anymore. Hence, the distinction is a guideline for the analysis to identify frames and consequently to give a precise answer to the communication strategies the actors use. For each of the aspects are formulated suggestions for a rational and emotional language. They do not have to fit the exact wording because it is not possible to give clear words that will be used before a detailed observation of the articles is made. The coding scheme with suggestions can be found in Appendix 2.

3. Conclusion

In sum, the key research activity can be summarized as follows: In the beginning, it is about the observations made within a content analysis of the mentioned actors in the articles and the formulation of advocacy coalitions. So first, the analysis starts with the content analysis and the analysis of the actors that are mentioned in the newspaper articles. Therefore, it is illustrated how many times these actors are mentioned what already gives a preliminary answer of the most dominant actors and possible policy entrepreneurs. Frequently used actors are analysed regarding the policy entrepreneur concept if they are defined as driving force within the debate. Second, it is examined who these actors are, what position they have, to what world they belong to and what kind of similarities they share. This together with their

belief system, perceived belief correspondent and the overall connection of the actors lead to the investigation of advocacy coalitions. Besides, the policy goal is examined by looking for the tone – if they have a positive, neutral or negative attitude towards a robot tax what gives an answer to the first of the three research questions.

The second part deals with the results of the coding scheme that give reason to the frames of the policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalition and therefore deals with the last two research questions. First, they are examined by looking for the four types of frames by Entman (1993). Second, these frames are distinguished if they entail emotional or rational statements regarding the four frames. The findings are presented in a separate table. These results give an answer to the ways of communication the actors use as well as which are the most dominant frames and primes within the discourse. Third, an analytical analysis makes sense to their strategy by connecting these results with the findings of the content analysis and the positions of the actors in a wider societal context. The attention is also set on outliers and extreme usages to reveal the actors that are actively use these strategies to strive for their preferred policy objective. The combination of the analysis of both steps is expected to give the answer to the main research question that is answered in the conclusion section.

IV. Analysis

1. Introduction

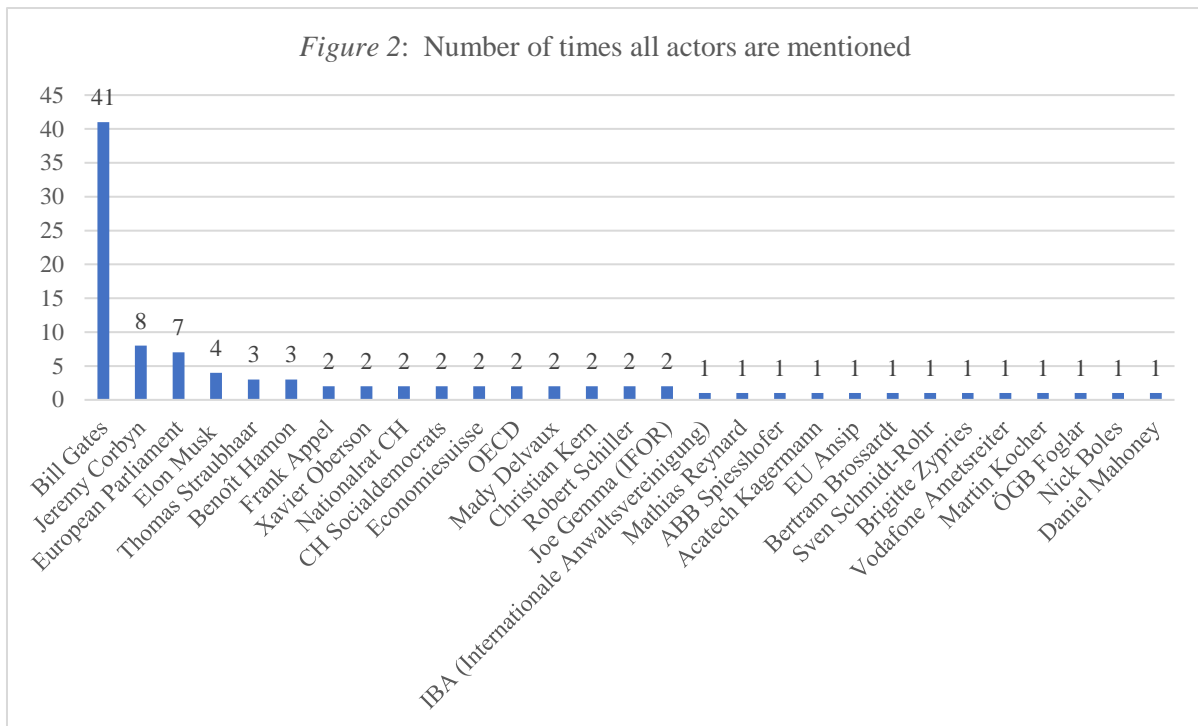
In the following, the analysis is structured in those two steps. In the beginning, the findings of the content analysis are presented and discussed by focussing on dominant actors, policy entrepreneurs and the identification of advocacy coalitions by using the operationalization introduced in the methods chapter. Thereon, the frame analysis gives sense to the language used by the actors, especially the distinction between rational and emotional frames. Based on this, their way of priming is evaluated as well as the most salient aspects within the public media discourse on a robot tax in Western Europe. This reveals the strategies the actors use to exercise influence and control discussions.

2. Findings & interpretation of the content analysis

So, the first part of analysis deals with the research question: *Who are the dominant actors, policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions within the public media discourse on a robot tax?* In the beginning, the dominant actors are presented: who is mentioned and how often? In the next step, the policy entrepreneurs are introduced and their role in the international and national context. After that, the two identified coalitions, the compositions, members as well as their shared similarities and differences are part of the analysis.

2.1 Dominant actors

The first observations present the frequency of the actors in a descriptive way until it is analysed in an analytical context. *Figure 2* presents the differences between the usage of all actors within the selected newspaper articles. In total, there are 29 actors mentioned in the United Kingdom (UK), Germany, Switzerland and Austria. It is clearly observable that there are just a few names mentioned frequently and that 23 of 29 actors are mentioned one or two times regarding specific cases and their attitude towards a robot tax. The actors have various positions within the society. Politicians, economists as well as international organizations and labour unions participate in the public media discourse. Besides Bill Gates, the European Parliament, Elon Musk, Benoît Harmon, Thomas Straubhaar and Jeremy Corbyn are frequently mentioned. Sabatier (1988) already reveals that not every actor takes part in a coalition, for instance researchers who share their expertise. So, all other actors that do not fall in any of the advocacy coalitions are not subject of the analysis since the thesis deals with the most dominant actors. Accordingly, actors mentioned one or two times cannot be considered.



The understanding of the composition of these actors becomes clear by the illustration of the mentioned actors in German and in English articles. In Appendix 3, you can find the results of the number of times actors are mentioned in UK and German articles separately. In total, just 10 actors are mentioned in the selected 27 UK online newspaper articles. Besides Bill Gates, Jeremy Corbyn is a clear dominant actor in the debate in the UK, while Corbyn is not mentioned in any of the German articles which shows that the distribution of the actors is more concentrated on a wider range of actors. A reason for this is that German articles entail Swiss, German as well as Austrian sources. Therefore, the Swiss newspaper articles for instance focus on the development of the public discussion in the eyes of the Swiss citizens, so they mention their parliament and their social-democratic party explicitly. The focus on national politicians is also observable in the UK with the frequently usage of Jeremy Corbyn.

This thesis focuses on the dominant actors in Western Europe. Therefore, the actors will be viewed as European actors, consequently they are not divided into countries in every step. The findings clear up that Bill Gates, the principal founder of Microsoft and one of the richest men in the world, is the most dominant actor in the discourse on a robot tax in Western Europe presented in online newspaper articles in the UK, Germany, Switzerland and Austria. Within his influential position in the economic and public news world, his opinion is spread widely. Regarding the Forbes list, Microsoft is the third most valuable brand in the world (Forbes, 2017) what underlines the impact of Gates within the global market system. This phenomenon is identical in German as well as in English speaking countries. So, Bill Gates is mentioned 22 times in German articles and 19 times in English articles. Therefore, he is mentioned in 41 of the selected 63 articles about a robot tax which makes up a highly relevant contribution to the public discussion and the importance of Bill Gates in shaping public discussion and setting a standard

for other opinions. His role as a policy entrepreneur is further explained in the next section as well as his position in an analytical context.

Furthermore, the results examine that Jeremy Corbyn has a special position in the UK. He is the leader of the labour party as well as the leader of the British opposition since 2015. Even if Corbyn is just mentioned in the national debate in the UK, he is the second most mentioned actor within the debate with eight times in total. Because of this observation, the role of Corbyn is further examined in the analysis. Also, Frank Appel has a special position in Germany as the CEO of the Deutsche Post – DHL AG, the national postal and international courier service company. He is not only mentioned in the observed timeslot, but also before the observation has started. Therefore, his national role is also subject of further analysis.

Furthermore, the European Parliament is the third actor that is frequently mentioned in the discourse on a robot tax. The observations show that there are no differences between the report in German and English newspaper articles. The European Parliament is mentioned four times in German and three times in English sources. Since the European Union rejected the introduction of a robot tax in the EU, that is also the key event for this study, the European Parliament is not mentioned as an influential voice within the debate, but more like a reference to the status of debate. The European Parliament is not considered to be an actor that shapes the debate because the articles refer to the Parliament to present the discourse and the development. Nevertheless, the rejection of a robot tax in the European Union has shaped the discourse, but it is about the event itself and not the European Parliament as an actor.

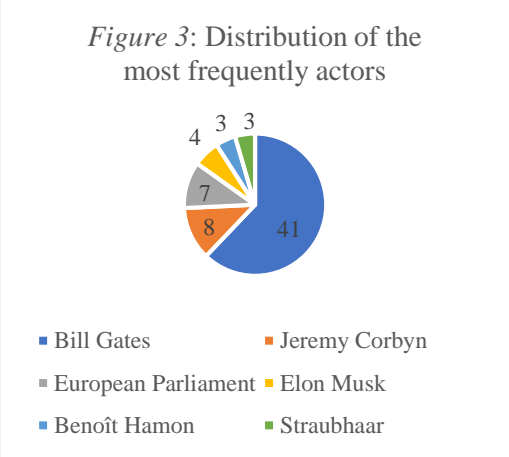
In addition, Elon Musk is mentioned four times and it is obvious that the newspaper articles refer to Musk to support the idea of Bill Gates to introduce a robot tax. As well as Bill Gates, Elon Musk is one of the most powerful man according to the Forbes list and is known as CEO of SpaceX, Tesla and Neuralink. Since Musk is a very prominent character in the global economic world, his opinion is widely spread throughout the articles even if it is not strong enough to call him an entrepreneur because he does not shape the discourse, he supports other opinions and especially his idea of a basic income. Additionally, he also does not participate in an advocacy coalition. The newspaper articles do not give further information about the intention and the concrete attitude towards a robot tax. It is mostly about the fact that Musk supports such ideas. In addition, the focus of Musk is on a basic income instead of a robot tax itself. Nevertheless, Musk introduces the wider problem of robots that has potential dangers and consequences for the society. But in total, referring to Elon Musk entails another opinion on a closely connected topic, the basic income, and it does not completely deal with the discussion on a robot tax. However, the number of times he is mentioned shows the impact of prominence and money on being heard in public discourses that is further examined in the analysis of the role of Bill Gates.

Other people that are mentioned more than one or two times are Thomas Straubhaar, a prominent economist, and Benoît Hamon, a former presidential candidate in France. Both are parts of advocacy coalitions against as well as in favour of a robot tax that are illustrated in the continuing analysis. There

are not huge differences between the frequency in which these actors are mentioned in the selected online newspaper articles. Thomas Straubhaar is mentioned three times in the German area, while Benoît Hamon gets attention in both observation areas, one time in UK articles as well as two times in German articles. Their roles within the advocacy coalitions are analysed in the next chapter. But before starting with the coalitions, the main shaping voice within the debate is presented.

2.2 The uncontested power of one

So, the first key insight is the uncontested power of one single voice within the discourse that is shaped



by influential money and fame. Bill Gates is the uncontested global policy entrepreneur within the discourse on a robot tax. This phenomenon is the same in every observed country what leads to the result that Bill Gates influence reaches across national and linguistic borders. In total, Gates is mentioned in 41 of 62 articles, illustrated in *Figure 3*. The distribution and the uncontested power of Gates become clear by the comparison of the dominant actors. Here you can see the

distribution of the most frequently actors and Gates’ uncontested position as the most dominant actor. Corbyn, the second most frequently actor, cannot compete with the 41 times that Gates is mentioned. In total, Corbyn is mentioned 8 times, followed by the European Parliament, Musk, Hamon and Straubhaar.

Although, the discussion has already existed before Bill Gates set his statement regarding a robot tax, he is the driving force when it is about media report and public attention. He talks the discourse into existence, not directly in the political or economic, but in the global public sphere. Concerning the theory, Gates is mainly interested in selling ideas about a new policy that is part of Minstrom et al. (1996). By the definition of the problem, a policy entrepreneur shapes the debate and helps to build coalitions (Minstrom et al., 1996). Also, the findings by Roberts and King (1991) are approved that policy entrepreneurs work from outside the government to introduce and translate a new policy. Bill Gates is not part of the political world, he uses his economic as well as celebrity position to push his idea forward. Already the first observation as well as the motivation to focus on actors have suggested that Bill Gates has an influential role because of all the headlines ending with “says Bill Gates” (Daily Telegraph 2; The Times 1). In general, Gates is mentioned eight times in headlines in German and four times in UK articles what underlines the importance of his opinion. Consequently, it is not only about the robot tax case, the headlines want to catch the reader by mentioning Bill Gates that should arouse the interest of the public. After the analysis, this can be approved, and more than the half of the articles refer to Bill Gates as shaping and influencing voice by introducing the discourse on a robot tax. Also,

other actors refer to Bill Gates and his opinion as well as the public media framing of Bill Gates as “Prominenter Befürworter [prominent supporter]” (Handelsblatt 1). Most of the articles cite the interview of Bill Gates with Quartz in which he set his arguments towards a robot tax and the importance to slow down automation for the society. Often, it is presented that Bill Gates is the actor that introduces the idea of taxing robots with sentences like “Bill Gates’ plan” (The Independent 2) that underlines the assumption of the influential voice and power of Gates within the debate. This observation leads to the conclusion that Bill Gates is the global driving force within the media discussion. So, it is not only about the role of Gates as part of the economic elite, it is also about the public person Bill Gates who is in focus of various kinds of international media. Therefore, he also has a prominent position and must take care of his own reputation instead of only protecting his businesses. Therefore, there are also other projects besides the work as an economist that entails political and social problem-solving. For instance, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation strives for the improvement of public health with a special focus on equality and the reduction of injustices. The subject ranges from poverty, to education. This supports the importance of Bill Gates as a celebrity and as one of the richest men in the world without just characterizing him regarding his economic position. At this stage, it can be confirmed that one leading voice exercises power over others. Just one voice influences the discourse to such an extent, that it is almost impossible to talk about a robot tax without referring to Bill Gates. Here, there is a substantial risk of power abuse. Therefore, it is necessary to analyse Gates’ communication strategy more in detail. Especially for the frame analysis, Gates’ prominent position and uncontested power are considered.

2.3 Countries’ need for a leading national voice

The second key insight delivered in this section, is the role of national policy entrepreneurs within the discourse. In contrast to a global policy entrepreneur, the function of a national policy entrepreneur is the introduction of the topic in national debates as well as the more practical function to implement the policy idea into national law. The assumption is that the role of a national policy entrepreneur gets important, after a global policy entrepreneur talks the discourse into existence. Jeremy Corbyn has an influential voice in the political sphere in the UK as the leader of the labour party and the opposition what he can use for good to implement the policy idea of a robot tax. During the debate, Corbyn does not stay in the political world, he becomes part of public discussions because of his powerful position. Especially Jeremy Corbyn is mentioned quite frequently for that he is only in focus of UK newspaper articles. In total, he is mentioned in 8 of the 27 selected UK articles. Like it is also the case for Bill Gates, there is a personification as “Corbyn’s robot tax” (City A.M. 3). This suggests that Corbyn mainly shapes the discussion and has the role as an opinion leader in the UK. Regarding this result, a national need for a leading voice is presented. Corbyn’s power and influence stay in the UK and do not reach countries across borders, so he is not mentioned in any German articles. In comparison to a global policy

entrepreneur, the national policy entrepreneur is responsible for the implementation in the countries and consequently has a more practical function. A global policy entrepreneur can shape debates globally and can control what is discussed, but when it is about the implementation, a national voice is necessary. Also, the personification approves this. This shows that nationally policy entrepreneurs do not have to come from outside the government like presented by Roberts and King (1991), they can also be part of the decision-making process. A political position is desirable to practically implement the policy idea into national law. These findings suggest a national need for a leading voice in public debates. Global actors like Bill Gates are not accessible for the national audience, so that a national opinion leader is needed to push the ideas nationally forward. Consequently, it is also easier for UK citizens to understand the issue of a robot tax, if their labour party leader is talking about the advantages of such a robot tax. Corbyn is not only a national policy entrepreneur, he also participates in the across border advocacy coalition that will be introduced in the next section. Therefore, his voice is included in the advocacy coalition, but his national role is considered.

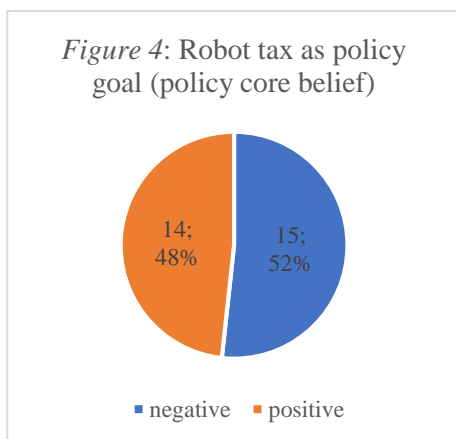
Another national case consists of the voice of Frank Appel, the CEO of the Deutschen Post AG, that can approve the countries' need for a leading national voice. Since Frank Appel is just mentioned two times, he has nevertheless a key role in Germany. In Germany, he is one of the first actors that is mentioned within the discussion of introducing a robot tax already in year 2016. Because of this, many articles do not fall into the observation timeslot, so that Appel is mentioned less often than he would have been if the observation had started one or two years before. Frank Appel is the CEO of Deutsche Post AG and therefore one of the most influential managers in Germany. Regarding various articles from 2016, he has started with the debate and the considerations of a robot tax and has talked it into existence that has partly shaped the debate in Germany. So, in the selected online newspaper articles, the authors refer to Appel as a local introducer of the discussion. Nevertheless, he is not mentioned frequently enough that he could be assigned to be a local policy entrepreneur in this study. Therefore, it would be interesting to analyse this actor in further studies within a broader timeslot. But in total, these observations also support the role of a leading national voice within countries to be able to successfully implement the policy objectives.

In general, the concept of policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions are closely connected since they interact in the same world of policies including the motivation to achieve a policy change. Being a policy entrepreneur does not exclude to be part of a coalition. Corbyn is the leading voice within the UK, but also takes actively part in the advocacy coalition in favour for a robot tax. So, policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions have an interdependent relationship. It is not possible without one of each to successfully implement an idea into a policy or law. The policy entrepreneur talks the idea into existence, but a national policy entrepreneur in combination with competing coalitions helps to create a dialogue in which the policy goal is discussed, adapted and finally implemented.

2.4 The clash between public welfare and the submissiveness to the instrumentalized capitalist market

After the analysis, two coalitions are identified shaping the debate on a robot tax. First, there is the coalition of Social-Democrats in Western Europe including actors from France, Switzerland, the EU, Austria and the United Kingdom. Regarding this, there is a small anti-coalition, the Conservatives, that are exclusively presented in the UK. Since that there is just a national debate, the anti-coalition is shortly discussed but not considered to be one of the leading coalitions in this thesis because of the lack of information. Furthermore, there is one coalition against the introduction of the robot tax: The Economists & Tech-Industry. They are put together, because they clearly overlap in their position and the motivation to prevent a robot tax. In general, there is almost no negative position that cannot be assigned to the Economists & Tech-Industry. The main clash between the coalitions in favour and against is the main subject to protect and therefore the core of their policy beliefs that is underlined by the definition of Kukkonen et al. (2017) that the ACF “asserts that disagreement over policy core beliefs divides organizations into competing coalitions.” (p. 713). While the coalition in favour has the aim to protect the society from the risks of automation, the coalition against prefers protecting new innovations from the consequences of a robot tax.

To introduce the observations and identification of advocacy coalitions descriptively, *Figure 4* presents the distribution of both opinions towards a robot tax. Every actor is assigned to one of the two: in favour



or against the introduction of a robot tax. In total, 14 actors are positive and 15 are negative regarding a robot tax. To compare, in German articles, there are 13 voices against a robot tax and 13 voices in favour (50% - 50%). Just in UK articles, 60% of the actors are in favour and 40% are against the introduction of a robot tax. This can be explained by the number of actors that are mentioned in UK articles. In comparison, the UK articles just mention 10 actors because they are focus on just a few influential voices, especially the attitude on Jeremy Corbyn as

well as Bill Gates. In contrast, there are 26 actors that are mentioned in German articles. This observation also suggested that there are clear coalitions. Even though they do not operate jointly, they form a coalition based on their shared policy core belief. This is done by splitting the policy goal: in favour or against a robot tax and further identification of the policy core belief, the perceived problem of the actors and their position in the society. Additionally, Sabatier (1988) points out, the identified coalition members share a set of normative beliefs, values, perceived causality and a perception of a problem and each coalition works out strategies to implement their beliefs and objectives. Consequently, these coalitions are identified as coalitions because of their shared policy belief, the presented policy goal including shared problem definitions, causes and effects and the connection of the actors in forms of

their position. These positions range from the political to the economic sector. In contrast to pre-assumptions, it was not possible to analyse a perceived belief correspondent in detail. The focus of the articles lies on the main arguments of the actors, so that there are no insights concerning the belief correspondent to each other. Additionally, the journalists also just present an already selected form of reality through gatekeeping and diverse news values. However, even without these insights, the advocacy coalitions are clearly formed. The results present clashing policy beliefs, the perceived problem definition, its causes and effects. In the following, the results of the analysis that led to the identification of the advocacy coalitions are presented. Here, the solution of the pro-coalition is blamed to be the main problem by the anti-coalition. These competing main policy beliefs establish a clear clash between both coalitions without any intersections. To understand this clash between arguments, the advocacy coalitions are presented more in detail:

The first advocacy coalition presents the actors in favour of the robot tax. They share the same policy goal as well as their main policy beliefs. Almost all actors can be considered as politicians with a social-democratic affiliation in their countries. Since all these actors have to be elected, the focus is on the citizens and their needs within the debate what makes up an important similarity of all actors within this coalition. All decisions of politicians must be legitimate by the population and therefore the Social-Democrats Coalition has a more negative attitude towards robotics to protect the population what is the most significant difference to the Economists & Tech-Industry Coalition. The Social-Democrats may differ in their area – from national to supranational level – but in total, they share the same problem definition. The coalition exists of the following actors: Mathias Reynard as well as the entire social-democrats in Switzerland, French presidential candidate Benoît Hamon, Mady Delvaux from the S&D of the European Parliament, the former chancellor Christian Kern from Austria as well as Jeremy Corbyn from the UK labour party. According to the perception of a problem as well as the tone regarding a robot tax, Erich Föglar (president of the Austrian union federation) and the Internationale Anwaltsvereinigung in Germany (IBA) share the attitude. These actors differ from the rest of the social-democrats, but they share the main policy core belief and the representation function of the opinion of the society. Both are not part of a social-democratic party, but the network connection is closely connected to the desires of the social-democrats in forms of union federations. Consequently, both are considered to have social-democratic character and therefore participate in the advocacy coalition by sharing the policy core belief. Here, the connection of the actors is the aim to protect the citizens by sharing the political affiliation to the social-democratic party or the participation in union federations. This can be observed on various national levels but also on supranational level represented by members of the European Parliament. Furthermore, it is to mention that all actors play an important political key role in their countries of origin and they are in focus of the national news like Benoît Hamon in the presidential elections or Jeremy Corbyn as the head of the labour party in the UK.

Their shared problem definition, its causes and effects are based on the protection of the population from risks and challenges that new innovations entail. Corbyn goes further with the statement that automation is a “threat” (Daily Telegraph 3) of today’s workforce what is examined in the frame analysis more in detail. All actors agree with the policy goal of a robot tax and therefore the tone is always positive. The main goal is to share the benefits of automation to encounter inequality and to share the benefits of automation (Daily Telegraph 3; The Guardian 2). Such a robot tax is a suitable tool to guarantee the protection of the population and working force. Furthermore, it contributes to the social security (The Guardian 6) and a robot tax can help to finance unemployment (Handelszeitung 2) and social benefits (SZ 5). Also, the idea of a basic income is part of the general debate (Handelszeitung 3). All in all, the citizens are in focus of the problem definition and the subject to protect. Especially the debate about inequality shapes the direction of this advocacy coalition. The Labours in the UK for instance want to create a new fund to retrain staff who lose their jobs due to automation (Daily Telegraph 3). This concept is led on the idea of Bill Gates what a robot tax contributes to society.

In sum, the coalition mainly reflects the idea of a robot tax introduced by Bill Gates with the aim to protect the citizens from the risks of automation. In the world of policies, it is about being legitimate as well as getting electoral votes. The discourse on a robotics topic is always controversy and a good topic to catch and show the public that the politicians care about public needs. Therefore, the policy goal, a robot tax, is oriented in the representation of the public voice. These findings clash with the assumption of the anti-coalitions. Here, the subject to protect changes as well as the main discussed problem. What first was the protection of the citizens from the risks of automation, now has changed into the protection of the labour market and new innovations from the risks of a robot tax. The tax is now perceived as the enemy, so that new alternatives are created to blame the idea of taxing robots.

The first clash consists of the internal debate between the Social-Democrats (Labours) and Conservatives (Tories) in the United Kingdom (The Guardian 2). A prominent counterpart is made up by Nick Boles from the conservative party. Nick Boles supports the argument that taxing firms would hinder the economy:” The only sure result of a robot tax would be lower investments, lower productivity and lower wages.” (The Guardian 2). At this stage, it cannot be confirmed that there is a clear counter alliance in the UK consisting of the Conservatives because of the lack of information. Furthermore, this discussion is just presented in the UK and the newspaper articles do not give more information regarding the attitude of other parties. So, Nick Boles is the only actor that stands up politically against the introduction of a robot tax on national party level. He uses a clear negative tone with a special emphasis on the risks for the economy that stands in contrast to the Social-Democrats and their goal to protect the population from the risks and consequences of automation. Therefore, Boles defends the economic sector and already presents some ideas that are part of the next presented coalition.

In contrast to the Social-Democrats Coalition, all members of the competing coalition are economists or even influential CEOs and therefore they are subject to the market, its rules and regulations as well

as global competition and capitalism. Therefore, the focus of these actors is the stabilization of their industry and corporations in the global market. They do not represent countries or its citizens, their voices speak for their industries and what is the best way to lead a company up to a leading position. In first instance, they are not responsible to the citizens like the Social-Democrats Coalition which must be elected by the citizens, they think through the eyes of the capitalist market that is reflected in their attitude towards a robot tax. These facts define the clash between two different worlds: the clash between political social welfare and societal well-being vs. the submissiveness to the instrumentalized capitalist market. So, the second advocacy coalition consists of members of the economic sphere including Ulrich Spiesshofer (CEO of ABB Group), Thomas Straubhaar (Swiss economist), Bertram Brossardt (Association of the Bavarian economy), Hannes Ametsreiter (CEO of Vodafone), Martin Kocher (Austrian economist) as well as Economiesuisse (umbrella organization of the Swiss economy). Dominant actors from the Tech-Industry are Henning Kagermann from Acatech, Joe Gemma the president and CEO of KUKA Robotics as well as Sven Schmidt-Rohr, the CEO of ArtiMinds Robotics GmbH. In this analysis, the Tech-Industry is a specialized form of the economic sector. According to this perception of the problem and the policy goal, Brigitte Zypries and Daniel Mahoney are two actors that share these perceptions what is sufficient to participate in a coalition regarding Kukkonen et al. (2017). Since Brigitte Zypries is part of the social-democratic party in Germany, she is an exception within this debate. She is also in favour to rather tax the profits (Die Welt 5). Due to her political position as economy minister, she represents the needs of the economy. Daniel Mahoney is a Professor of Political Sciences and therefore also not directly take part in the economic sphere, but he speaks out for the economic situation. In his opinion, a robot tax is “hugely damaging for the UK” (City A.M. 2). Due to their clear representation of the policy beliefs of the anti-coalition, they are considered as exceptions and their voices are included in the analysis by keeping in mind their special positions.

Regarding the policy belief of the coalition, it is a fact that some jobs will be replaced by robotics, but it is not that urgent according to Schmidt-Rohr (Die Welt 4). In his opinion, the goal is to establish a bridge between machines and the working force that help to connect each other with the aim to work hand in hand (Die Welt 4). Besides, the main assumption of this coalition is that a robot tax would hinder productivity, consequently being bad for the economy (Handelszeitung 3; City A.M. 2; SZ 8). Therefore, a robot tax would lead to lower productivity, lower wages as well as would have negative consequences for the international competition (SZ 8). The second problem is that a robot tax would hinder the willingness to participate in the modern innovative world (SZ 8; Die Welt 5). It is to mention that they rather respond to the idea of a robot tax instead of talking about their own perception of the problem. Their starting point is the problem that arises with the introduction of a robot tax. Consequently, they shift the problem of automation to the consequences of a robot tax.

Therefore, the analysis points out the negative tone of the Economists & Tech-Industry regarding a robot tax. According to the International Federation of Robotics, a robot tax would have “very negative impact

on competitiveness and employment” (The Telegraph 5). Here, the subject to protect is the labour market and the industry. An idea that Gemma and Kagermann suggest is the taxation of the value chain or the participation of employees in profit (Die Presse 2; FAZ 2). According to them, the robot tax is not the policy goal because robots create new competition and productivity what leads to the invention of new jobs and consequently to more welfare and less unemployment (Handelszeitung 3). Also, Straubhaar invents alternative policy goals like a value-added tax as a more suitable tool to encounter problems that can occur in future (SZ 8). Consequently, this coalition tries to set a focus on new tools to encounter the existing problem without threatening new innovations or the market growth.

In sum, the focus of this advocacy coalition is on the protection of innovation and market growth that would be hindered by a robot tax. Especially conspicuous is the problem shift from the subject to blame. The coalition does not blame automation as problem, here the robot tax, the policy goal of the competing coalition, is blamed to be the enemy. Due to the submissiveness to the instrumentalized capitalist market, the Economists & Tech-Industry hide the societal consequences by focussing on the economic sector. The world through the eyes of a capitalist is instrumentalized including the aim to maximize profit and push new innovations. The frame analysis reveals the strategy more in detail and how influential CEOs defend their policy objectives that stands in contrast to the ideas of the Social-Democrats Coalition.

2.5 Conclusion

To conclude, the first research question is answered. The dominant actors consist of a national and a global policy entrepreneur as well as two clashing advocacy coalitions, even if the discourse on a robot tax is quite new in Western Europe. The coalitions follow different motivations to strive for their policy goal, so that there is a clear clash of the policy beliefs that divide the actors into two different worlds: the social political sphere vs. the capitalist market. On the one side, the coalition in favour, the Social-Democrats in Western Europe, wants to protect the citizens from consequences of automation and new innovations. Their position in the society entails the representation of the interest of the citizens and therefore they must act legitimately in favour for public welfare reasons. On the other side, the coalition against, the Economists & Tech-Industry, does not want to protect the population in first instance, it wants to protect or even push new innovations. In their opinion, it does not go hand in hand with the introduction of a robot tax. In a capitalist world, it is about to strive after survival in a system in which everything is instrumentalised without keeping an eye on individuals. Without new innovations that help to stay in competition, a company is in danger to lose its position in the system and to perish in the global market what justifies the opposite opinion regarding Bill Gates who does not have to deal with these dangers as celebrity. Therefore, the Economists & Tech-Industry Coalition also makes up the opposite towards the Social-Democrats Coalition. This means that there are two clashing advocacy coalitions within the debate that are about to split the public opinion in two different directions. At this

point, there is no policy broker that is introduced in the ACF that has the intention to bring both opinions together. The first findings are not surprisingly that there are two clear positions, but it is very interesting that the focus is on the social-democratic party in Western Europe and that the clash is so distinctive.

Furthermore, Bill Gates is the most dominant actor and therefore exercises uncontested power over others within the debate on a robot tax. Even if Bill Gates or also Elon Musk are actually part of the economic sphere, they are highly influential voices within the debate that do not share the position of the Economists & Tech-Industry Coalition. In contrast, Gates protects the idea of the introduction of a robot tax and shows a behaviour to protect the citizens, but also the market in a humanitarian way, so that the population as well as the market can grow within the new innovative circumstances without ignoring the needs of the public or the rules of a capitalist market. A reason for this view on the discussion is the position of Gates as an actor that already reached the maximum including a world leading position. At this point, actors do not only think about rising productivity, but in a wider societal context including a more future oriented perspective. Bill Gates as one of the richest man in the world who is also engaged in programmes like global development and global health through the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, has a broader horizon in facing problems than national economists who must strive after survival of their companies. So, a very special position in the discussion on a robot tax has Bill Gates, the global policy entrepreneur, who is not only an economist, but also a celebrity. After the shaping voice of a global policy entrepreneur, a national voice is needed. Hence, countries seek for a leading voice within public media discourse, so that national policy entrepreneurs are introduced to successfully implement the policy goal. Consequently, Corbyn rules nationally and has a practical function that he is already defending against the Conservatives. After analysing dominant actors, policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions, the question occurs how they strive for their policy objectives, which frames and primes they use and if they do that rationally or emotionally. In the following, the frame analysis clears up the communication strategies these actors use to exercise power and what does that mean for a democratic decision-making process.

3. Findings & interpretation of the frame analysis

In the following, the results of the frame analysis present the communication strategies influencing the discourse. The second part of the analysis deals with the last two research questions of the thesis: *What are the dominant frames of these dominant actors, policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions in the public media discourse on a robot tax? How do the dominant actors, policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions prime the public media discourse on a robot tax?*

The results are divided into the two advocacy coalitions and the global policy entrepreneur Bill Gates. To remind, “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a

communicating text” (Entman, 1993, p.52). The frames are separated into the four types by Entman and therefore the most salient frame types are presented as well as their language differences in rational and emotional. Because of the close connection between frames and the most salient issues, the priming, both are illustrated together. The advocacy coalitions of the Social-Democrats, the Economists & Tech-Industry as well as the frames and priming of the global policy entrepreneur Bill Gates are part of this step of analysis. It is to mention that because of the lack of information due to gatekeeping and news values, just a selected part of reality can be used to identify frames. So, it was not always possible to identify frames for each of the four frames by Entman. Most of the time, the focus lies on two or three frames. The results are attached in Appendix 4.

3.1 Powerful rational frames to manipulate the global mass

First of all, the results reveal the use of rational language to manipulatively elucidate the global public by using media as a forum and language as strategy. Since Bill Gates has the position as being the uncontested power within the discourse, his voice is powerful enough to be heard by rational language. Hence, he uses his informing position to manipulate the public’s first thoughts about a robot tax. Due to the large amount of information about the attitude of Bill Gates regarding a robot tax, three frame aspects by Entman are identified: problem definition, diagnosis of causes as well as suggestions of remedies. In general, Gates uses rational language in all categories. For that reason, there are no frames regarding moral judgements. His problem definition is based on rational assumptions that robots replace workers and that a robot tax is a useful tool to encounter rising inequality (Handelszeitung 1; FAZ 4). These aspects are presented in most of the selected online newspaper articles. All of them reflect his interview with Quartz on February 17, 2017 and therefore there are no huge differences between the newspaper articles. Some of them reflect the interview quite intensively, and others just focus on Gates’ main arguments. Since he presents automation as a process, the aim is to slow down this process to handle the new circumstances. Hence, robots should be taxed which composes one suggestion of remedies frame. Besides, jobs should be supported that are placed in the elderly care or educational sector (Handelszeitung 1; FAZ 4). Furthermore, Gates points out that also an income tax is needed (The Independent 1). The language used is rational without exaggerations or emotional statements regarding robots, the societal position and the labour market. Since Gates set these statements in form of an interview, the answers are well considered. As a policy entrepreneur, Gates wants to push his idea forward with the aim to change the belief of the reader by using rational frames regarding the study by Moon and Rhee (2012).

In sum, Gates mainly focuses on a rational problem definition and the introduction of the remedy – a robot tax. This observation leads to the result that Gates has the role to introduce the problem to the public as well as to present how to solve the problem. All this is done by using rational frames to actively

change the belief of the reader. The discussion is new to the global public and therefore it is easier to change their beliefs as a powerful policy entrepreneur by using rational language because of the non-existence of competing famous voices. Within his interview, he already primes the discourse by focusing on specific aspects. The most salient issues are the facts that we must adapt to the automation process and protect the workers to encounter inequality. Another salient aspect is the creation of new jobs in elderly care and the educational sector. In general, Gates primes a robot tax in future oriented direction where it is about the preparation to adapt to the process of automation. Like already said in the interpretation of his position as a global policy entrepreneur, Bill Gates is actually part of the Tech-Industry Coalition, but also follows another path in his usage of frames. The priming on future aspects fits with the presented assumption that Gates view on the discussion is not only based on the interest of the capitalist market, but more future oriented considering the needs of the market in combination with the interest of the society. The fact that he does it all by using rational language without emotionality, underlines the expectation that Gates analyses the problem and the solutions from a two-perspective view instead of just be controlled by the market to force for new productivity and profit maximization. On the one hand, Bill Gates is very experienced but on the other hand, it is also about his prominent position that leads to a public focus on his person. To protect his company and all the other projects, a good reputation is mandatory to keep everything stable in future. Consequently, a more human form of capitalism is used to build up a good reputation not only for his worldwide businesses, but also for his own person. Furthermore, he does not have to deal with strong prominent clashing opinions that leads to a defence of his own position. Quite the reverse, another global prominence supports his policy direction - Elon Musk. That is another reason for Gates' rationality and objectivity. At this point there is no competing voice that is on the same level of prominence. Hence, rational frames are a good strategy to change the belief of the reader what is the most influential way to exercise power over others. With these frames, Gates elucidates the global public in his preferred direction with the prime focus on rising inequality and a robot tax as saving tool. So, it is not only about informing the public, it is already a selected reality presented which manipulates public thinking about a robot tax. This is especially dangerous because of the power of a global policy entrepreneur to shape the debates in a specific direction. He does not only shape the debate, he mainly shapes public thinking about a robot tax in an early stage. Consequently, Gates clearly exercises power over others and manipulates public thoughts.

3.2 Rationality in unassailable positions

Additionally, the Social-Democrats Coalition uses the influential power of money and fame for its own benefit. With Gates' leading position in the back, the coalition does not have to actively defend its positions in the public - it is unassailable. Therefore, the observation shows that the problem definition frame as well as the suggestions of remedies are the most recent frames that are used by the Social-Democrats. Most of them, represent the problem that occurs including rising inequality because of

automation (The Guardian 6), the fact that robots replace workers (Daily Telegraph 4), the rising unemployment rate (Handelszeitung 2) as well as the challenges of digitalization (Neue Züricher Zeitung 1). The problems are mostly presented in rational language. Just Jeremy Corbyn talks about the urgency to encounter these risks in his problem definition (Daily Telegraph 4). In general, Corbyn makes up a high contribution to the emotional language frames. He also frames automation as “threat” (Daily Telegraph 3). Also, Reynards presents robotics and artificial intelligence as today’s most influential technological innovations resulting in an upcoming revolution (Handelszeitung 2). Furthermore, Corbyn blames corporations like amazon that financially profit from recent technologies and talks about “greedy global corporations” (Daily Telegraph 3) and therefore judges morally. The fact that Corbyn blames corporation could also be an attack against the anti-coalition that includes a wide range of actors from the economic elite. Suggestions of remedies are also frequently presented. It does not only include that robots should be taxed; the actors also talk about a general basic income (Handelszeitung 3) and corporate reporting strategies (The Guardian 6). All presented suggestions are rational.

It is observable that the problem definition and the suggestions of remedies are mostly rational, while the diagnosis of causes as well as moral judgements are emotional. Here it is to mention that the emotional frames are just individual statements of a single actor. The results show that when it comes to negative associations and therefore emotional frames, Jeremy Corbyn is the leading actor. All other actors are mostly rational in the representation of their opinion towards a robot tax. Like already mentioned before, Jeremy Corbyn has a special position within the UK as national policy entrepreneur and the personalization of the robot tax as his idea. In contrast to Bill Gates, Corbyn tries to push his idea for his country by using emotional language catching the population as audience. He is also in a defence position and strives for a greater public response which is examined in the next section.

In sum, the Social-Democrats prime the discourse with a special focus on the problem definition and suggestions of remedies, like already Gates did. In general, this coalition seems to orient on or even reflects Gates’ opinion. Especially the rising inequality as problem is the reason to establish a robot tax to prepare for the new circumstances of automation. Another prime focus is on the remedies that includes social security contribution in forms of financing unemployment and other forms of social benefits. Again, there is the focus on the protection of the population. So, this result underlines the already existing observations. All of this is mostly done by using rational frames. The Social-Democrats Coalition is supported by the global policy entrepreneur and therefore it does not have to fight against another strong opinion like the following coalition has to deal with.

3.3 Emotional frames & a defence strategy in competing positions

What is already observable with the case of Jeremy Corbyn, becomes highly relevant in the anti-coalition which must defend its opinion in the public sphere. So, a defence strategy including emotional frames is used to get heard against the clashing pro-coalition that is supported by the uncontested power of Bill Gates. The Economists & Tech-Industry Coalition focuses on the aspects problem definition, moral judgements as well as the suggestions of remedies. In contrast, it does not focus on occurring challenges that are the reason for the introduction of a robot tax, it mostly focuses on a robot tax as the perceived problem. According to Straubhaar, robots indeed replace workers in standardized jobs (SZ 8), but like Mahoney or Economiesuisse point out, the problem of a robot tax is that such a tax would hinder innovation (Neue Züricher Zeitung 1) and it would lead to “fewer well-paid jobs, lower wages, growth and a reduced tax base to pay for public services” (City A.M. 2.). This perceived problem definition is presented in a rational way. Only Mahoney talks emotionally about the degree of consequences that a robot tax “would be hugely damaging for the UK” (City A.M. 2).

Furthermore, most of the frames are moral judgements. It is to mention that sometimes problem definition and moral judgements are closely connected when the robot tax is also the subject of the problem definition. Nevertheless, all selected statements entail judgements that are all presented in an emotional way. These perceptions range from statements like that a robot tax is “technik- und innovationsfeindlich [technically and innovation-hostile]” (SZ 8) or the judgement that the tax is a “dumme Steuer [stupid tax]” (SZ 8). Furthermore, the moral judgement frames focus on the consequences of a robot tax for instance that a robot tax has “very negative impact on competitiveness and employment” (The Telegraph 5) or the statement: “Wir dürfen effizienzsteigende Investitionen nicht im Keim versinken [We cannot sink investments that increase efficiency]” (FAZ 2). Also, a range of metaphors and stylistic devices are used to support the emotionality. So, Ametsreiter talks about ‘Schwarzmalen’ vs. ‘Machen’ [gloomster vs. doer] (Die Welt 5) that leads to a subdivision between the coalition that is in favour and the Economist & Tech-Industry Coalition. According to Ametsreiter, the ‘Macher’ should use the productivity advantages for good instead of blaming negative consequences. One can interpret that in his opinion the Social-Democrats Coalition is a ‘Schwarzmalen’ that focus on the consequences and not on the advantages of new innovations.

Additionally, a robot tax would shackle innovations (Die Welt 5). Also, Spiesshofer points out that it is not smart to tax robots by using sarcastic language: “Robotik zu besteuern ist in etwa so intelligent, wie Software zu besteuern, es sind beides Werkzeuge zur Produktivitätssteigerung [Taxing robotics is as intelligent as taxing software, both are tools for increasing productivity]” (Handeslzeitung 3). Moreover, there are another emotionally charged judgements that a robot tax is “quatsch [nonsense]” (Die Welt 4) or “dumm [stupid]” (SZ 8). According to Schmidt-Rohr and Kocher, their explanation for their attitude is that the worries about innovation and the time in which our society is involved in changing progresses are exaggerated (Die Presse 5, Die Welt 4). These results show that there is a minimization of

consequences that this coalition uses to seek for their policy objective. With such statements, the coalition wants to refute the arguments of the Social-Democrats Coalition and its problem definition that the society is confronted with challenges of innovation and rising unemployment and inequality.

Furthermore, a personalization of the robot is used to humanize the perceived enemy. Straubhaar points out that robots are not the enemy but a friend for humanity (Die Welt 6). This is another tool to encounter the arguments of the competing coalition and to refute the perceived problem. Ultimately, this strategy is underlined by the presentation of new suggestions that are considered as alternatives towards a robot tax. The suggestions of remedies are all rational and the focus lies on suggestions of alternatives to a robot tax. The actors agree upon another way of taxing in forms of taxing profits (Die Welt 5) or a value added tax (Die Presse 2; SZ 8). In addition, Kagermann complements the new remedies with the idea to let employees participate to profits and the access to educational programmes (FAZ 2). Schmidt-Rohr underlines the already presented forms of humanizing the robots as well as minimizing the consequences with the idea that humans and machines should work together as a tandem (Die Welt 4).

The results reveal that the Economists & Tech-Industry Coalition primes the public media discourse on a robot tax by setting a focus on new suggestions of remedies, a value added tax or taxing profits. Like McCombs & Reynolds (2002) describe the shift of the salience of objects from the media to the public, the priming of the new suggestions should conceal the idea of a robot tax. Five actors mentioned new solutions for arising problems of automation to encounter the idea. Furthermore, another salient issue is the negative judgement of the idea of a robot tax. In general, the primes consist of alternatives to a robot tax, moral judgements and minimization of the consequences. The consequences are outplayed by using humanizing language presenting a positive and enriching connection between the robot and the human.

In sum, the Economists & Tech-Industry Coalition presents their own problem definition, based on the robot tax as perceived problem, mostly in a rational way to encounter the pro-coalition. But when it comes to defend their opinion, emotional language is used in forms of moral judgements. Here, dramatization and negative wording, personalization of the robot as well as minimization of the consequences are used to defeat the arguments of the competing coalition in favour for a robot tax. It is affirmed that the moral judgement frame is the most recent frame used by the Economist & Tech-Industry Coalition. They are also in that anti-position concerning the voice of the global policy entrepreneur. Consequently, the results reveal that the emotionality and the moral judgement frames are more frequently when a coalition has to fight against another coalition including a global policy entrepreneur. With emotional moral judgements, the coalition gets media attention and therefore it is perceived as a strong counterpart to strive for its own policy objectives. It is obvious that language gets rational when talking about their new suggestions of remedies. All suggestions including a value added tax or taxing profits are rational presented. This supports the assumption that the language only gets emotional by refuting other clashing statements. At this stage, also metaphors and stylistic devices are

practiced underlining the negativity and to increase the media attention. When new suggestions and a new problem definition occur, the frames stay rational.

3.4 Conclusion

To conclude, the frame analysis gives an answer to the last two sub-questions and reveals the dominant frames and primes in the discourse. The Social-Democrats Coalition frames and primes its idea of a robot tax to encounter inequality with the aim to contribute to social security in a mostly rational way. So, the focus is on the public definition and suggestion of remedies frame. The language gets emotional when talking about the consequences of automation as well as blaming the anti-coalition. Since the global policy entrepreneur supports the opinion of the Social-Democrats, the coalition does not have to defeat the opinion in first instance, so that there is no need to get emotional or do moral judgements. In contrast, the Economists & Tech-Industry Coalition is in the anti-position and therefore it changes the problem definition in that way that a robot tax is the perceived problem. When it is difficult to change the opinion of the mass, the actors try to cause a greater public response. Furthermore, the use of negative language, emotionality as well as metaphors, help to get media attention to give the impression that their opinion as well as their new alternatives regarding a tax, are also widely spread and socially accepted. They follow the strategy to minimize consequences of automation and humanize the robots by using moral judgements and emotional language.

The global policy entrepreneur Bill Gates frames and primes the discourse rationally and future oriented with a focus on problem definition and a robot tax as remedy. Gates has an elucidative as well as a manipulative function in the discourse. Although the robot tax has been a topic in academic and political debates, it has spread widely in the public media after his interview. Consequently, his frames and priming are based on the enlightenment role to give manipulated information to the public. The Social-Democrats Coalition uses his interview for good to support their policy goal by referring to Gates and his opinion. Especially Jeremy Corbyn gets emotional while talking about a robot tax. One reason for it is the presence of the anti-coalition in the UK – the Conservatives. Nick Boles makes up a strong counterpart, so that Corbyn must defend his idea in the political arena. This defence tactic is highly presented in the frames and priming of the Economists and Tech-Industry Coalition. In sum, actors react more emotional including moral judgements, when they are in a defence position. There, communication and language are used to minimize the consequences as well as to humanize the robots to get the impression of a peaceful interplay between humans and robots, so that the worries about automation and its consequences are exaggerated. To distract, the anti-coalition blames the robot tax to be the problem. Consequently, communication and language are used to strategically strive for the policy objectives of each coalition as well as to manipulate the mass.

V. Conclusion

The overall conclusion gives an answer to the main research question: *How do the dominant actors, policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions frame and prime the public media discourse on a robot tax in Western Europe from February 16, 2017 to March 2018?*

The overall conclusion is summarized in *Figure 5* which describes the robot tax subsystem based on Sabatier (1988) after the analysis. On the top, there is the global policy entrepreneur Bill Gates who actively shapes the debate and exercises power over all other actors by using powerful rational frames and priming to manipulate the mass. Jeremy Corbyn, the national policy entrepreneur, also participates in the Social-Democrats Coalition, but nevertheless exerts his leading national position. The clashing coalitions fight against each other with different communication strategies. The Social-Democrats mostly use rational frames and priming to change public thinking based on their unassailable position with supporting voices of the policy

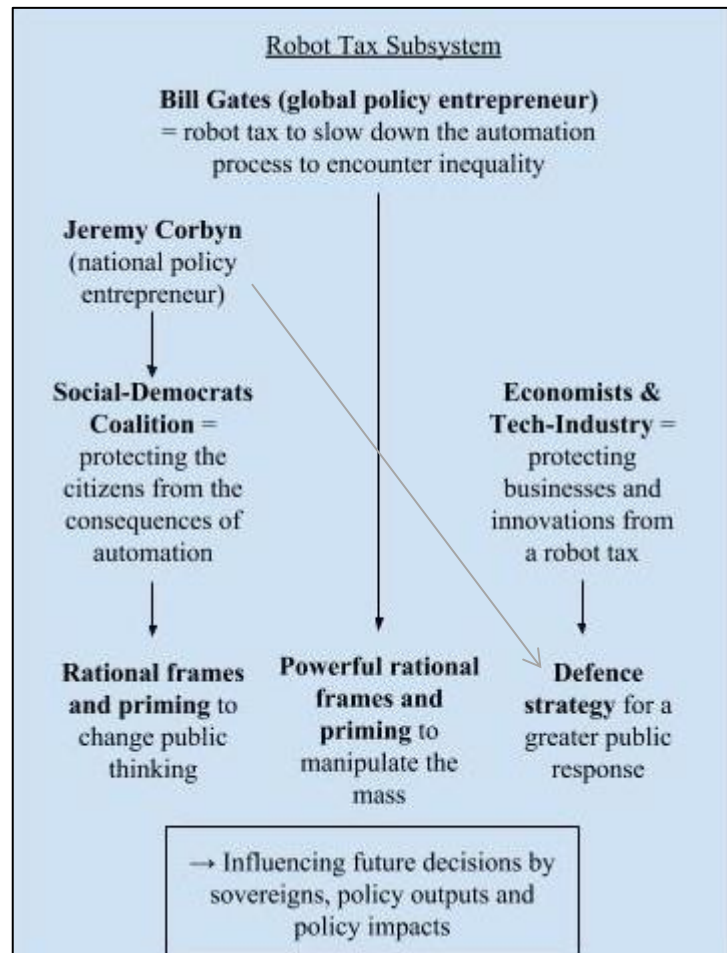


Figure 5: Robot Tax Subsystem

entrepreneurs, while the Economists & Tech-Industry Coalition protects new innovations by exercising a defence strategy. All these findings influence future decisions by sovereigns as well as policy outputs and impacts.

To get into detail, the conclusion is shaped by the uncontested power of the global policy entrepreneur Bill Gates. As Roberts and King (1991) point out, policy entrepreneurs work from outside the governmental area with the aim to introduce, translate as well as implement ideas into practice. Since Bill Gates does not participate in the government, he primes the discourse with the function to manipulatively introduce the problem of automation and the robot tax as solution. In addition, this result indicates the impact of fame and money within a public discourse. Since he is one of the richest men as well as the founder of one of the most valuable brands, he is not only a businessman, but also a public celebrity. He reaches a large influential scope across borders and his opinion is presented in every

analysed country to high extent. At this stage, the key insight shows that the global policy entrepreneur uses rational language and has a manipulative as well as elucidative position in the public media discourse and the role as the main source of reference. But we have to imagine that in this example Gates uses his influential voice for a more or less public reason: to protect the citizens as well as the global market in a way that one does not benefit from the other's grief. This thesis shows the extent of the power of one single voice in influencing national news production and the impact on other opinions as well as on the discourse development. This should be alarming when we think about that we live in a world of fake news and alternative facts which are highly problematic. If one single voice gains so much attention, it might be very dangerous for democracy. Frames and priming are powerful tools to reach the global mass and therefore it has the potential to control public thinking. Especially today, the world of politics should be aware of these developments to find solutions for occurring problems that the mediated world entails including the powerful position of the few.

Another main insight is the role of national policy entrepreneurs that are a product of the countries' need for a leading national voice. To translate an idea into a concrete policy and national law, a national driving force is needed to take this practical function. It is not only a driving force in national debates, but also responsible for the direct implementation of the policies. But Jeremy Corbyn does not only exert the role as national policy entrepreneur, he is especially part of the coalition in favour within he influences the policy changing process. Consequently, policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions have an interdependent relationship. While policy entrepreneurs often help establishing as well as supporting a coalition, a coalition is also needed to further transport the policy idea to the public. Therefore, it is not possible to strictly separate them from each other, because they are always interdependent to cause policy changes.

In respect to the findings of Sabatier, also this thesis reveals two clashing coalitions: The Social-Democrats vs. the Economists & Tech-Industry (*Figure 5*). The competition can be observed by the frames and priming techniques. Since the Social-Democrats Coalition is supported by the global policy entrepreneur, it has less attack surface and therefore uses mostly rational frames. Furthermore, the coalition also reflects Gates' ideas when it is about the problem definition and possible solutions that again underlines the influential position of the global policy entrepreneur. By reflecting Gates, the pro-coalition is safe from public media attacks.

Additionally, the thesis reveals the importance of the distinction between rational and emotional frames. Without these distinctions, the strategies would not have been worked out in detail. Since Moon and Rhee (2012) point out that the reader relies on messages and arguments, so that rational frames are suitable to change the belief of the reader, using emotionality can lead to greater public response (Kim & Cameron, 2011). This strategy is also placed in the results of the thesis. The competing advocacy coalition must deal with a strong counterpart including the clashing opinions of the policy entrepreneurs. Therefore, the frame and prime strategy of each coalition presented in the ACF changes. The Economists

& Tech-Industry Coalition tries to influence the public response by using emotional language instead of focusing on rational arguments. This strategy that entails defensive characteristics is structured as follows:

- 1) Invalidation of clashing arguments in form of moral judgements, exaggerations, humanization of the enemy, changing the perceived problem by using emotional language as well as other language tools like metaphors and
- 2) Finding new arguments, a new problem definition and solutions that are contradictory to the ones of the clashing coalition by using rational language.

This defence strategy cannot only be found by the anti-coalition, also other actors like Jeremy Corbyn who must defend the opinion in the political arena, make use of this technique. Hence, communication and language techniques are used to minimize the consequences as well as to humanize the robots, so that the worries about automation and its consequences are presented as exaggerated. To distract, the anti-coalition blames the robot tax to be the problem of the public discussion. The findings show that especially the actors that are not based in the political arena, focus on shaping public responses. In times of social media, public responses spread quickly throughout diverse channels reaching the global mass.

All these results reveal new knowledge about advocacy coalitions within the ACF and how frames and priming are exercised as strategic tools to influence and strive for policy objectives in the public news area. The findings show the impact of communication techniques like frames and priming on the strategies of the policy entrepreneurs and advocacy coalitions that strive for their policy objective. Consequently, the ACF must be revised by adding the communication strategies of the actors as part of their strategies. Especially the defence mode entails new knowledge about how competing advocacy coalitions use the media as a platform to fight for their preferred policy change.

In general, the results meet the expectations. Nevertheless, the first impression was that there is much more emotional language used because of the headlines of the newspaper articles. If this study had analysed the frames of the journalists, the results would be different regarding the emotionality of the frames. Public discussions about robotics and AI are still controversial and the threat to democracy is not only shaped by the communication techniques of the actors, but also by the journalists that are responsible for the first impression of a public discourse in the news. However, it is still paradoxical that the opinion of the Economists & Tech-Industry Coalition and the economic elite Bill Gates is so contradictory, even though they have a similar economic background. This is one of the main surprises of the thesis. Gates breaks out of the opinion of the capitalist market to push his social engagement to strengthen his reputation as celebrity. As one of the richest men in the world, his wealth and status will not be significantly affected by possible negative consequences that the Economists & Tech-Industry Coalition stresses.

Additionally, the study has limitations and suggestions for further research. Firstly, it would be interesting to analyse the discourse on a robot tax within a broader time to include other actors, for instance Frank Appel who seems to have a key role in Germany. Secondly, the discourse is quite new and therefore it is relevant to see the development and other key events like the decision of the European Union against the introduction of a robot tax and how these decisions will shape the discourse in future. Thirdly, it is important to know how the public is practically influenced by the statements and how public opinion changes over time after statements of policy entrepreneurs and the competing coalitions. This would reveal how dangerous the strategic tools of communication and language techniques manipulate the mass. Fourth, the thesis reveals the insight of national policy entrepreneurs, so further research is needed to analyse policy entrepreneurs on various levels. Moreover, the communication strategies show some matches with strategies actors use in crisis communication. In further research, the ACF should be analysed regarding the competing coalitions and to what extent the competition includes schemata of crisis communication.

The results underline the scientific and societal relevance. Language is used to influence and deliberately manipulate the public with the goal to gain more coalition members as well as to implement the main policy goals. Hence, the public must be aware of the power of the few, including celebrities and other influential public persons, to protect oneself from being a victim of manipulation. This all means that the few that are in power must be further analysed in detail. Specially to protect the public from potential power abuse, it needs be enlightened about the strategies actors use to get what they want. Also, policy makers should be aware of the power of influencing public response through social media platforms, exercised by non-policy actors.

To link the thesis to the world of politics, it discloses the importance of introducing new media and communication techniques to the already existing theories like the ACF and gives attention to the awareness of the impact of communication on public opinion and the threat for democracy. The findings confirm that the aim of using frames and priming is to influence and consequently control public opinion for policy objectives, no matter if they contribute to societal well-being or not. It is alarming that actors act manipulatively in favour for the global capitalist market standing in opposite to democracy that initially should be exercised by the people and for the people. Therefore, it also discusses the problem of actors that are not democratic legitimated and not part of the institutional decision-making process. However, they manipulate the mass, induce policy changes and exercise power over others. In the end, it is not democratic anymore, when policy changes are employed by the few and for the few. Consequently, this thesis compromises an alarming message for future policy, organization and management of communication.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Data Collection

All presented articles were first retrieved at 12.03.2018.

Germany, Switzerland & Austria (35)

Economic Newspaper (4):

Handelsblatt (1)

1 Neue Regeln für Gesetzlose	27.04.2017	http://www.handelsblatt.com/technik/hannovermesse/roboter-und-recht-neue-regeln-fuer-gesetzlose/19709228.html
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Handelszeitung (3)

1 Milliardär Bill Gates plädiert für Steuer auf Roboter	20.02.2017	https://www.handelszeitung.ch/konjunktur/milliardaer-bill-gates-plaediert-fuer-steuer-auf-roboter-1345633
2 Nationalrat stellt sich gegen Robotersteuer	28.02.2017	https://www.handelszeitung.ch/digital-switzerland/nationalrat-stellt-sich-gegen-roboter-steuer
3 Robotersteuer: ABB-Chef stellt sich gegen Bill Gates	20.03.2017	https://www.handelszeitung.ch/konjunktur/robotersteuer-abb-chef-stellt-sich-gegen-bill-gates-1365573

Quality newspapers (31):

Die Presse (5)

1 Die Robotersteuer und die Visionen des Herrn Gates	20.02.2017	https://diepresse.com/home/meinung/kommentare/wirtschaftskommentare/5172648/Die-Robotersteuer-und-die-Visionen-des-Herrn-Gates
2 Studie: Bill Gates liegt mit Roboter – Steuer falsch	27.02.2017	https://diepresse.com/home/wirtschaft/economist/5175644/Studie_Bill-Gates-liegt-mit-RoboterSteuer-falsch
3 Roboter: Abschied von der Arbeit	11.04.2017	https://diepresse.com/home/wirtschaft/economist/5199729/Roboter_Abschied-von-der-Arbeit
4 78 Prozent der Österreicher für Robotersteuer	26.04.2017	https://diepresse.com/home/wirtschaft/verbraucher/5207230/78-Prozent-der-Oesterreicher-fuer-Robotersteuer
5 ÖGB-Präsident Foglar schlägt Robotersteuer vor	06.03.2018	https://diepresse.com/home/wirtschaft/economist/5179031/OeGBPraesident-Foglar-schlaegt-Robotersteuer-vor

Salzburger Nachrichten (4)

1 78 Prozent der Österreicher für Robotersteuer	26.04.2017	https://www.sn.at/wirtschaft/oesterreich/78-prozent-der-oesterreicher-fuer-robotersteuer-8054989
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2 Wie man Steuern steuert	27.04.2017	https://www.sn.at/wirtschaft/oesterreich/wie-man-mit-steuern-steuert-8065540
3 Werden am 1. Mai 2040 Roboter aufmarschieren?	29.04.2017	https://www.sn.at/wirtschaft/werden-am-1-mai-2040-roboter-aufmarschieren-8217655
4 Die andere Seite von Handel und Digitalisierung	17.10.2017	https://www.sn.at/wirtschaft/welt/die-andere-seite-von-handel-und-digitalisierung-19381756

Neue Züricher Zeitung (3)

1 Eine Robotersteuer ist Unsinn	22.08.2017	https://www.nzz.ch/meinung/science-fiction-im-steuerrecht-eine-robotersteuer-ist-unsinn-ld.1312133
2 Bundesrat ist gegen eine Robotersteuer	08.11.2017	https://www.nzz.ch/schweiz/bundesrat-ist-gegen-eine-robotersteuer-ld.1327249
3 Sollen Roboter Steuern bezahlen?	24.08.2017	https://www.nzz.ch/leserdebate/leserdebate-sollen-roboter-steuern-bezahlen-ld.1312254

Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung - WAZ (1)

1 Mit Robotersteuer gegen befürchtete Massenarbeitslosigkeit	20.02.2018	https://www.waz.de/region/rhein-und-ruhr/mit-robotersteuer-gegen-befuerchtete-massenarbeitslosigkeit-id213500737.html
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Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung - FAZ (4)

1 Die Ideen von Gates und Trump taugen nichts	21.04.2017	http://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/wirtschaftspolitik/abschotung-und-robotersteuer-die-ideen-von-gates-und-trump-taugen-nichts-14982025.html
2 Mit künstlicher Intelligenz autonom unterwegs	21.03.2017	http://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/cebit/cebit-in-hannover-mit-kuenstlicher-intelligenz-autonom-unterwegs-14934530.html
3 EU-Kommissar Ansip warnt vor digitalem Rückstand	19.03.2017	http://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/internet-in-der-industrie/cebit-auftakt-eu-kommissar-ansip-warnt-vor-digitalem-rueckstand-14932654.html
4 Bill Gates fordert Roboter-Steuer	19.02.2017	http://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/netzwirtschaft/automatisierung-bill-gates-fordert-roboter-steuer-14885514.html

Süddeutsche Zeitung - SZ (8)

1 San Francisco verbannt rollende Roboter aus der Innenstadt	16.01.2018	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/panorama/automatisierung-san-francisco-verbannt-rollende-roboter-aus-der-innenstadt-1.3791590
2 Bahn-Logistiktochter Schenker will LKW automatisch fahren lassen	10.07.2017	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/auto/schenker-bahn-logistiktochter-will-lkw-automatisch-fahren-lassen-1.3579791
3 Autonome LKWs sind zu	01.06.2017	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/auto/verkehr-autonome-lkws-sind-zu-schnell-fuer-den-menschen-1.3530699

schnell für den Menschen		
4 Eine Robotersteuer hilft	28.03.2017	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/aussenansicht-eine-robotersteuer-hilft-1.3440157
5 Wir sind die Roboter	24.03.2017	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/leben/historie-wir-sind-die-roboter-1.3431236
6 Bill Gates liegt richtig	08.03.2017	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/kolumne/robotersteuer-bill-gates-liegt-richtig-1.3410007
7 Besteuert Gewinne, nicht Roboter!	22.02.2017	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/wirtschaft/robotersteuer-besteuert-gewinne-nicht-roboter-1.3388578
8 Bill Gates fordert Robotersteuer	21.02.2017	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/wirtschaft/digitalisierung-bill-gates-fordert-robotersteuer-1.3386861

Die Welt (6)

1 Darum sollten Facebook und Google unsere Steuern zahlen	06.09.2017	https://www.welt.de/wirtschaft/article168375498/Darum-sollten-Facebook-und-Google-unsere-Steuer-zahlen.html
2 Nobelpreisträger warnen vor nächster Finanzkrise	21.08.2017	https://www.welt.de/wirtschaft/article167842792/Nobelpreistraeger-warnen-vor-naechster-Finanzkrise.html
3 Menschen und Maschinen werden als Tandems zusammenarbeiten	17.05.2017 7	https://www.welt.de/wirtschaft/bilanz/article164667839/Menschen-und-Maschinen-werden-als-Tandems-zusammenarbeiten.html
4 Ich glaube, dass TTIP nicht tot ist	02.04.2017	https://www.welt.de/wirtschaft/article163328885/Ich-glaube-dass-TTIP-nicht-tot-ist.html
5 Mit 5G erreichen wir die Geschwindigkeit unserer Nervengefäße	25.02.2017	https://www.welt.de/wirtschaft/article162346939/Mit-5G-erreichen-wir-die-Geschwindigkeit-unserer-Nervengefaesse.html
6 Warum es ein Eigentor ist, Roboter besteuern zu wollen	21.02.2017	https://www.welt.de/wirtschaft/article162251182/Warum-es-ein-Eigentor-ist-Roboter-besteuern-zu-wollen.html

United Kingdom (27)

Quality newspapers (21):

The Independent (2)

1 Bill Gates says robots should be taxed	18.02.2017	https://www.indy100.com/article/bill-gates-robots-taxed-work-job-video-youtube-7586951
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2 Could Bill Gates' plan to tax robots really lead to a brighter future for all?	15.03.2017	https://www.independent.co.uk/news/science/could-bill-gates-plan-to-tax-robots-really-lead-to-a-brighter-future-for-all-a7626806.html
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The Guardian (9)

1 Robots will take our jobs. We'd better plan now, before it's too late	01.02.2018	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/feb/01/robots-take-our-jobs-amazon-go-seattle
2 Tory MP condemns universal basic income 'on moral grounds'	28.12.2017	https://www.theguardian.com/money/2017/dec/28/tory-mp-condemns-universal-basic-income-on-moral-grounds
3 The rise of the robots need not spell downfall for humans	29.10.2017	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/oct/29/robots-humans-technological-revolution-politics
4 The robots are coming – and Labour is right to tax them	29.09.2017	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/sep/29/robots-labour-tax-jobs
5 What is a robot exactly – and how do we make it pay tax?	12.03.2017	https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2017/mar/13/what-is-a-robot-exactly-and-how-do-we-make-it-pay-tax
6 Why robots should be taxed if they take people's jobs	22.03.2017	https://www.theguardian.com/business/2017/mar/22/robots-tax-bill-gates-income-inequality
7 Robots won't take our jobs – they'll make the rich even richer	02.03.2017	https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/mar/02/robot-tax-job-elimination-livable-wage
8 If the robots are coming for our jobs, make sure they pay their taxes	26.02.2017	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/feb/26/robots-make-sure-pay-taxes
9 Millions of UK workers at risk of being replaced by robots, study says	24.03.2017	https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/mar/24/millions-uk-workers-risk-replaced-robots-study-warns

The Times (4)

1 Bad news for robots – they should pay tax too, says Gates	20.02.2017	https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/bad-news-for-robots-they-should-pay-tax-too-says-gates-csxxtnp0j
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2 Robots may be taking our jobs, but that is no reason to tax them	21.02.2017	https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/robots-may-be-taking-our-jobs-but-that-is-no-reason-to-tax-them-lf9bfhxx0
3 Robots are not the enemy – it’s time to embrace them	08.11.2017	https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/robots-are-not-the-enemy-and-it-s-time-to-embrace-them-mbd0xgzjj
4 Tax the robots, says Bill Gates	19.02.2017	https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/tax-the-robots-says-bill-gates-95lx7npqs

Daily Telegraph (6)

1 South Korea introduces world’s first ‘robot tax’	09.08.2017	https://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/2017/08/09/south-korea-introduces-worlds-first-robot-tax/
2 Robots that take people’s jobs should pay taxes, says Bill Gates	20.02.2017	https://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/2017/02/20/robots-take-peoples-jobs-should-pay-taxes-says-bill-gates/
3 Jeremy Corbyn plans to ‘tax robots’ because automation is a threat...	26.09.2017	https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/09/26/jeremy-corbyn-plans-tax-robots-automation-threat-workers/
4 Return of the Luddites: why a robot tax could never work	27.09.2017	https://www.telegraph.co.uk/business/2017/09/27/return-luddites-robot-tax-could-never-work/
5 Do we need a robot tax for businesses?	28.09.2017	https://www.telegraph.co.uk/business/open-economy/robot-tax-for-businesses/
6 Rather than taxing robots, we should re-designing jobs	27.09.2017	https://www.telegraph.co.uk/business/2017/09/27/rather-taxing-robots-should-re-designing-jobs/

Economic newspapers (6):

City A.M. (3)

1 Taxing robots is tempting, but it won’t fix our public funding crisis	10.01.2018	http://www.cityam.com/278493/robot-tax-tempting-but-misguided-response-our-public
2 Labour’s robot tax would hold back UK growth	08.11.2017	http://www.cityam.com/275333/labours-robot-tax-would-hamper-britains-growth-we-need-more
3 Corbyn’s robot tax would halt vital life-changing innovation	06.10.2017	http://www.cityam.com/273346/corbyns-robot-tax-would-halt-vital-life-changing-innovation

The Economist (3)

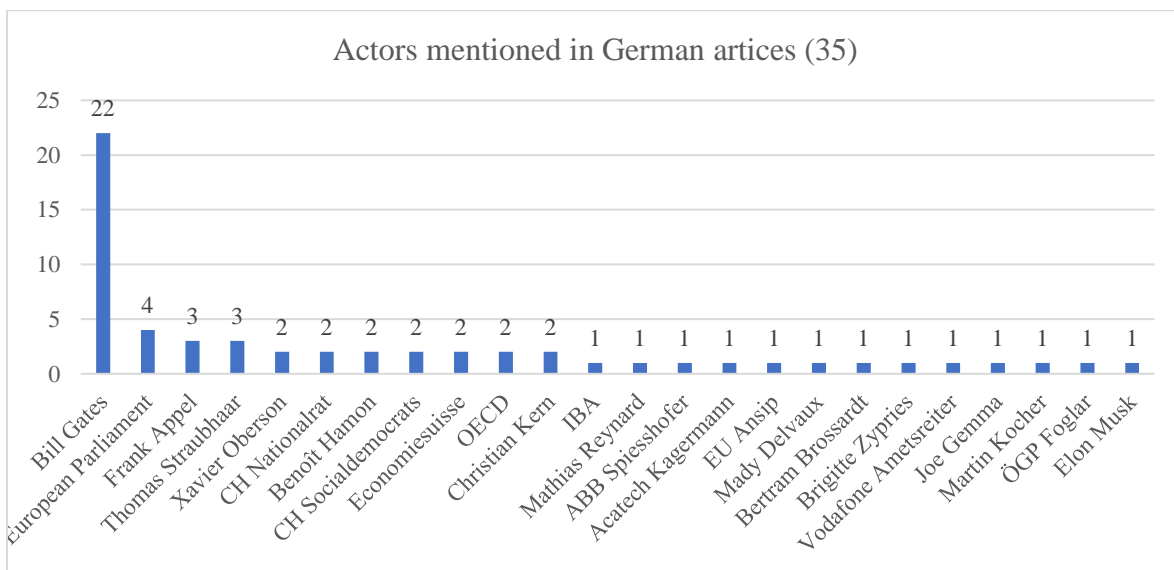
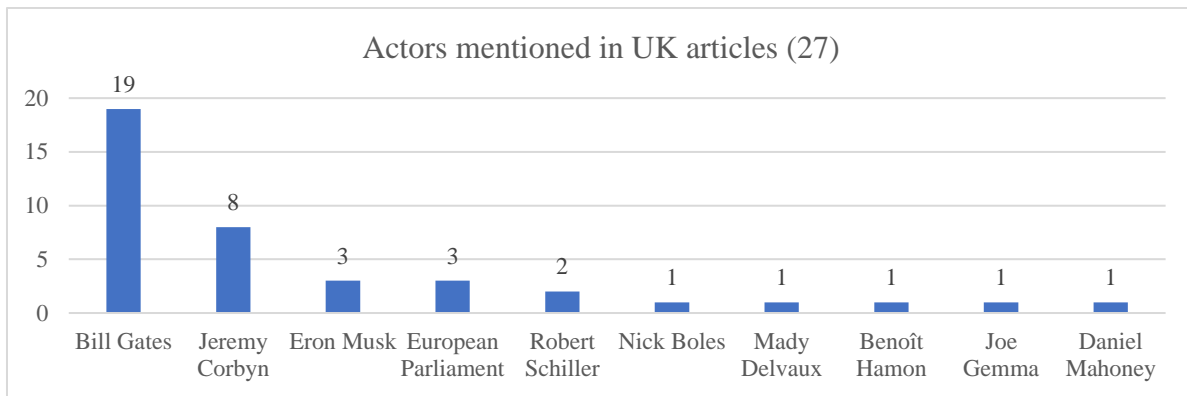
1 Why taxing robots is not a good idea	25.02.2017	https://www.economist.com/finance-and-economics/2017/02/25/why-taxing-robots-is-not-a-good-idea
2 How to make robots pay their fair share	06.03.2017	https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2017/03/06/how-to-make-robots-pay-their-fair-share
3 Economists grapple with the future of the labour market	11.01.2018	https://www.economist.com/finance-and-economics/2018/01/11/economists-grapple-with-the-future-of-the-labour-market

Appendix 2: Coding Scheme for frame analysis

Frame aspects by Entman (1993)	Rational vs. emotional frames	Suggestions of language used
Problem Definition	Rational	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Robots replace workers - (financial) crisis - rising inequality - rising unemployment -digital residue
	Emotional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Robots are stealing our jobs - Robots are coming for our jobs - Robots as enemy -Robots make the rich even richer - Robot tax to encounter threatened mass unemployment
Diagnosis of Causes	Rational	Automation/robotics as process, opportunity and innovation
	Emotional	Automation/ robotics as a high threat for labour market and society
Moral judgement	Rational	No suggestions (because of the emotionality of moral judgements)
	Emotional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Taxing robots is wrong/nonsense explicit German: Eigentor/ Unrecht/ Fehler/ Unsinn - fairness - life changing innovation

Suggestions of Remedies	Rational	-Robots should be taxed -Rather than taxing robots – we should re-design jobs
	Emotional	-We should tax the robots, before it is too late -Taxing robots lead to a brighter future for the society

Appendix 3: Tables of actors mentioned in German and in UK articles separately



Appendix 4: Results of frame analysis

(see direct citations with sources in separate appendix)

Policy entrepreneur Bill Gates

	rational	emotional
Problem definition	-robots replace workers (Handelsblatt 1; FAZ 4) -rising inequality, digital residue (SZ 4, Handelszeitung 1)	
Diagnosis of causes	-automation/robotics as process (SZ 8; Handelsblatt 1)	
Moral judgements		
Suggestions of remedies	-robots should be taxed if they do the same work (Handelsblatt 1, FAZ 4) -supporting jobs in elderly care and in the educational sector (The Independent 1) -still need income tax (The Independent 1)	

Social-Democrats Coalition

	rational	emotional
Problem definition	- Rising inequality (Corbyn, Delvaux) -Robots replace workers (Corbyn) -Rising unemployment (Reynard) -Challenges of digitalization (Swiss social-democrats)	- Urgency to encounter risks (Corbyn)
Diagnosis of causes		-Automation as threat (Corbyn) -Robotics and AI as influential technological innovations-revolution potential (Reynard)
Moral judgements		-Corporation blaming: benefits from greedy corporations (Corbyn)
Suggestions of remedies	-Robots should be taxed/ Maschinensteuer (Kern) - robot tax to guarantee basic income (Hamon) -Corporate reporting (Delvaux) -creating a fund to retrain staff (Corbyn) - robot tax to finance unemployment (Reynard)	

	rational	emotional
Problem definition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -robots replace workers (Straubhaar) - fewer well paid jobs, lower wages, growth, reduced tax base paying for public services (Mahoney) -robot tax hinders innovation (Economiesuisse) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -robot tax as hugely damaging for the United Kingdom (Mahoney)
Diagnosis of causes		
Moral judgements		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Roboter zu besteuern ist nicht intelligent (Spiesshofer) -technik- und innovationsfeindlich (Brossardt) -Innovationen in Ketten legen (Zypries) - Sorge Digitalisierung ist übertrieben (Kocher) - dumme Steuer, die das Grundproblem verschärft (Straubhaar) - Roboter sind keine Feinde, sondern Freunde (Straubhaar) - Verhinderer, Schwarzmalter vs. Macher (Ametsreiter) -Steuer auf Roboter lässt effizienzsteigernde Investitionen im Keim versinken (Kagermann) -very negative impact on employment and competitiveness (Gemma) -Robotersteuer ist "quatsch" (Schmidt-Rohr) - zeitlicher Horizont stark übertrieben (Schmidt-Rohr)
Suggestions of remedies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Resultate versteuern, nicht die Werkzeuge (Straubhaar) -Gewinne versteuern (Zypries) -Mitarbeiter an Gewinne Beteiligen/ Bildungsprogramme (Kagermann) -Wertschöpfung sollte besteuert werden (Straubhaar, Gemma) - Menschen mit Maschinen als Tandems zusammenarbeiten (Schmidt-Rohr) 	