Acknowledgements — V

	Chapter 1	
How a Global Pandemic Prompts Unprecedented Government Action — 1		
	1.1	Introduction —— 1
	1.2	COVID-19 – The First Three Waves —— 3
	1.3	The Role of the News Media —— 7
	1.4	Structure of the Book —— 11
	Chapter 2	
	COVID-19, F	Public Policy, and the Media in Social Science Research —— 14
	2.1	Introduction —— 14
	2.2	Policy Responses to COVID-19: Variation and Explanation —— 15
	2.2.1	Democracy and Freedom —— 16
	2.2.2	State Capacity —— 16
	2.2.3	Health Institutions —— 17
	2.2.4	Veto Players: Federalism, Bicameralism, and Parties —— 17
	2.2.5	Party Politics —— 18
	2.2.6	Political Culture —— 18
	2.2.7	Public Attention —— 19
	2.2.8	The Media —— 20
	2.3	Public Decision-Making in the Context of the COVID-19
		Pandemic —— 23
	2.3.1	Policymaking within Countries —— 23
	2.3.2	Crisis Response and Management —— 24
	2.3.3	Policy Communities and Networks —— 25
	2.3.4	Scientific and Technical Expertise and Information —— 27
	2.4	The Role of the News Media in Theories of Policy Change —— 28
	2.4.1	The Advocacy Coalition Framework —— 28
	2.4.2	Multiple Streams Approach —— 29
	2.4.3	Punctuated Equilibrium Theory and the Politics of Attention —— 31
	2.5	Towards a Theory of Media Effects on Crisis Response —— 35
	Chapter 3	
	Theoretical	Expectations about Media Influence on Crisis Response —— 36
	3.1	Introduction —— 36
	3.2	Decision-Making under Uncertainty, Ambiguity, and Urgency —— 40
	3.3	Narratives and Problem Definition —— 42



3.4	Media Frames —— 45
3.4.1	Saving Lives – The Human Impact Frame —— 48
3.4.2	Saving Livelihoods – The Economic Consequences Frame —— 50
3.5	Framing and Blaming the Virus and NPIs —— 54
Chapter	4
Data on	Restrictive Policy Measures, Media Frames, Public Opinion and
	demic —— 58
4.1	Research Design —— 58
4.2	Case Selection —— 59
4.2.1	England —— 59
4.2.2	France —— 62
4.2.3	Germany —— 64
4.2.4	Comparing the Countries —— 66
4.3	Selection of Newspapers and Articles —— 67
4.4	Measuring Government Policy Responses —— 68
4.5	Identifying Frames in News Articles —— 71
4.6	Control Variables: Public Opinion, Infections, and Deaths —— 76
Chapter	5
Predicti	ng the Adoption of Restrictive Policy Measures —— 80
5.1	Detecting Causality in Time Series Data —— 80
5.1.1	Vector Autoregression —— 80
5.1.2	Making the Data Suitable for Regression Analysis —— 81
5.1.3	Granger Causality —— 84
5.2	Flying by Sight: Predicting Current Restrictive Measures by Their
	Past Values —— 87
5.3	The Influence of Media —— 90
5.3.1	England —— 91
5.3.2	France —— 100
5.3.3	Germany —— 104
5.4	Comparing NPIs and Media Influence in the Three Countries —— 109
5.5	The Role of the Media and Public Opinion in Public Decision-
	Making on NPIs —— 111

Chapter 6

The News Media and the Lockdown: Different Frames, no Impact —— 113

Bibliography —— 121

Index —— 133