

## Mass Media and Political Decision-Making

Analyzing Mediatization in Switzerland

Bearbeitet von  
Dr. Nino Landerer

1. Auflage 2015. Buch. 314 S. Hardcover  
ISBN 978 3 8487 1725 5

[Weitere Fachgebiete > Medien, Kommunikation, Politik >  
Kommunikationswissenschaft > Massenmedien & Massenkommunikation](#)

schnell und portofrei erhältlich bei

  
DIE FACHBUCHHANDLUNG

Die Online-Fachbuchhandlung beek-shop.de ist spezialisiert auf Fachbücher, insbesondere Recht, Steuern und Wirtschaft. Im Sortiment finden Sie alle Medien (Bücher, Zeitschriften, CDs, eBooks, etc.) aller Verlage. Ergänzt wird das Programm durch Services wie Neuerscheinungsdienst oder Zusammenstellungen von Büchern zu Sonderpreisen. Der Shop führt mehr als 8 Millionen Produkte.

**Nino Landerer**

# **Mass Media and Political Decision-Making**

Analyzing Mediatization in Switzerland



**Nomos**

B L O O M S B U R Y

**Politik und Demokratie in den kleineren Ländern Europas**

Politics and Governance in the Smaller European Democracies

edited by

Prof. Dr. Ludger Helms

Prof. Dr. Hans Keman

Prof. Dr. Hanspeter Kriesi

Prof. Dr. Anton Pelinka

Prof. Dr. Alexander Trechsel

Prof. Dr. Adrian Vatter

Volume 11

Nino Landerer

# **Mass Media and Political Decision-Making**

Analyzing Mediatization in Switzerland



**Nomos**

B L O O M S B U R Y

**Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek** lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>

a.t.: Genève, Université de Genève (Faculté des sciences économiques et sociales),  
Diss., 2014

ISBN: HB (Nomos) 978-3-8487-1725-5  
ePDF (Nomos) 978-3-8452-6073-0

#### **British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data**

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN: HB (Bloomsbury): 978-1-4742-5924-8  
ePDF (Bloomsbury): 978-1-4742-5923-1  
ePub (Bloomsbury): 978-1-4742-5921-7  
xml (Bloomsbury): 978-1-4742-5922-4

#### **Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Landerer, Nino

Mass Media and Political Decision-Making

Analyzing Mediatization in Switzerland

Nino Landerer

314 p.

Includes bibliographic references.

ISBN 978-1-4742-5924-8 (hardcover Bloomsbury)  
ISBN 978-1-4742-5923-1 (ebook (pdf) Bloomsbury)  
ISBN 978-1-4742-5921-7 (ebook (epub) Bloomsbury)  
ISBN 978-1-4742-5922-4 (ebook (xml) Bloomsbury)

1. Edition 2015

© Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, Germany 2015. Printed and bound in Germany.

This work is subject to copyright. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publishers. Under § 54 of the German Copyright Law where copies are made for other than private use a fee is payable to "Verwertungsgesellschaft Wort", Munich.

No responsibility for loss caused to any individual or organization acting on or refraining from action as a result of the material in this publication can be accepted by Nomos or the author.

## Table of Contents

List of Figures	11
List of Tables	13
1. Introduction: Politics and Mass Media	19
1.1. Setting the Stage	19
1.2. What this Thesis Addresses	22
1.3. Outline of the Thesis	25
2. Mediatization of Politics: Literature, Concepts, and Context	29
2.1. Mediation: The Mass Media as a Channel of Information	31
2.1.1. Political Communication in a Mediated Society	31
2.1.2. Mediation: The Media as a Neutral Channel?	32
2.2. Mediatization: The Mass Media as an Institutional Actor	33
2.2.1. Logics of the Mass Media	36
2.2.2. Logics of Politics	45
2.2.3. Globalization, Mediatization and Policy Decision-Making Processes	53
2.3. Context: The Political and the Media Systems in Switzerland	61
2.3.1. The Swiss Political System: Decision-Making Structures and Processes	62
2.3.2. The Media System in Switzerland	70
2.4. Summary: Mediatization in Switzerland?	76
3. Research Design: Analyzing the Mediatization of Political Decision-Making	79
3.1. Mediatization of Media Content and Political Actors	80
3.1.1. Mediatization and Media Effects Research	81
3.1.2. Mediatization and Level and Types of Political Conflict	82
3.2. Expectations for the Mediatization of Media Content	87
3.2.1. Expectations for the Coverage of Political Conflict	89

*Table of Contents*

3.2.2. Expectations for the Coverage of Political Actors	91
3.2.3. Expectations for the Coverage of Political Issues	96
3.2.4. Expectations for the Coverage of Different Phases of the Decision-Making Process	99
3.3. Expectations for Political Actors' Strategies and Perceptions	102
3.3.1. Expectations for Political Actors' Strategies	103
3.3.2. Expectations for the Mediatization of Parliamentary Actors' Perceptions of the Media	106
3.4. Summary	110
4. Operationalizing the Mediatization of Political Decision-Making	115
4.1. Case Selection	117
4.1.1. The Cases: Legislative Decision-Making Processes	117
4.1.2. Variation on Level and Type of Conflict	118
4.2. Developing Indicators for Mediatization: Codebook and Interviews	121
4.2.1. Indicators for Mediatization of Newspaper Content	121
4.2.2. Indicators for Mediatization in Parliamentary Actors' Strategies and Perceptions	131
4.3. Data Sources	139
4.3.1. Newspaper: Content Analysis	139
4.3.2. Parliamentary Actors: Face-to-Face Interviews	151
4.4. Summary	157
5. Describing the Cases: Three Legislative Decision-Making Processes	161
5.1. The Too Big to Fail Banking Legislation Reform (TBTF)	162
5.1.1. The Debate: Business versus Regulation	164
5.1.2. The Process: Reforming Banking Legislation	165
5.1.3. The Coalitions: Consensus without the People's Party	169
5.2. The Invalidity Insurance Reform 6a (AI)	172
5.2.1. The Debate: Saving versus Disabled's Interests	174
5.2.2. The Process: Reforming the Invalidity Insurance	176
5.2.3. The Coalitions: Traditional Left-Right Divide	178

5.3. The Taxation Agreement with Germany and the United Kingdom (TXA)	181
5.3.1. The Debate: International Pressure on Swiss Taxation Policy	183
5.3.2. The Process: International and Domestic Uncertainty	185
5.3.3. The Coalitions: An Almost Perfect Unholy Alliance	189
5.4. Summary	192
6. Mediatization of Press Coverage	195
6.1. Commercial Logic in Press Coverage	196
6.2. Press Coverage of Political Conflict	202
6.2.1. Political Conflict and the Level of Media Coverage	202
6.2.2. Level of Conflict and Commercial Logic	204
6.3. Press Coverage of Actors	205
6.3.1. Descriptive Data on Main Actors	206
6.3.2. Members of the Government and Members of the Parliament	208
6.3.3. Coverage of Center-Right and Pole Party MPs	211
6.3.4. Party Leaders, Committee Members, and Seniority	217
6.4. Press Coverage of Issues	220
6.4.1. Issue Coverage	221
6.4.2. Party Actors' Attitudes towards Issues	224
6.5. Press Coverage of Institutional Phases	231
6.5.1. Institutional Phases and Level of Media Coverage	231
6.5.2. Commercial Logic in Different Institutional Phases	234
6.6. Conclusion: A Mostly Diverse Picture in the Media	237
7. Mediatization of Parliamentary Actors' Strategies and Perceptions	241
7.1. Media Use of Swiss MPs	242
7.2. Audience Orientation in MPs' Strategies	245
7.2.1. Audience Orientation and Political Party Groups	248
7.2.2. Audience Orientation across Decision-Making Processes	250



*Table of Contents*

7.3. MPs' Perceptions of the Mass Media	255
7.3.1. Influence of the Media on the Decision-Making Process	255
7.3.2. MPs' Qualitative Answers on Perception	266
7.4. Conclusion: A Differential Mediatization of Political Parties	271
8. Discussion and Conclusion	277
8.1. Reconsidering the Research Question and the Expectations	277
8.1.1. Mediatization of Press Coverage	278
8.1.2. Mediatization of Political Actors' Strategies and Perceptions	280
8.1.3. Limitations of the Empirical Findings	284
8.2. Contextualizing the Mediatization of Political Decision-Making Processes	286
8.2.1. Contextualizing the Three Decision-Making Processes	286
8.2.2. Mediatization and Political Decision-Making Processes	287
8.3. Reconsidering the Theory: A Research Agenda for the Mediatization of Politics	292
8.3.1. Which conditions are expected to favor mediatization of media coverage?	292
8.3.2. Which conditions are expected to favor audience orientation for political actors?	294
8.4. Conclusion	296
Bibliography	299