How politics becomes news and news becomes politics. A comparative experimental study of the politics-media relationship

Helfer, L.

Citation

Helfer, L. (2016, December 9). *How politics becomes news and news becomes politics. A comparative experimental study of the politics-media relationship*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/44701

Cover Page

The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/44701 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Helfer, L.
Title: How politics becomes news and news becomes politics. A comparative experimental study of the politics-media relationship
Issue Date: 2016-12-09

Bibliography

Abbott, E. A. and L. T. Brassfield (1989). Comparing decisions on releases by TV and newspaper gatekeepers. *Journalism Quarterly 66*(4), 853–856.

Abraham, M., K. Auspurg, and T. Hinz (2010). Migration decisions within dual-earner partnerships: A test of bargaining theory. *Journal of Marriage and Family 72*(4), 876–892.

AG, W. (2013). WEMF Auflagebulletin 2013. Technical report, Zürich.

Akkerman, T. (2011). Friend or foe? Right-wing populism and the popular press in Britain and the Netherlands. *Journalism 12*(8), 1–15.

Alexander, C. S. and H. J. Becker (1978). The use of vignettes in survey research. *Public Opinion Quarterly 42*(1), 93–104.

Andeweg, R. B. and G. A. Irwin (2014). *Governance and Politics of the Netherlands*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Andeweg, R. B. and J. Thomassen (2011). Pathways to party unity: Sanctions, loyalty, homogeneity and division of labour in the Dutch parliament. *Party Politics 17*(5), 655–672.

Atzmüller, C. and P. M. Steiner (2010). Experimental Vignette Studies in Survey Research. *Methodology: European Journal of Research Methods for the Behavioral and Social Sciences 6*(3), 128–138.

Auspurg, K. and T. Hinz (2015). *Factorial Survey Experiments* (Series: Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences ed.). Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Auspurg, K. and A. Jäckle (2012). First equals most important? Order effects in vignette-based measurement. *ISER Working Paper Series 2012-01*.

Bailer, S. (2011). People's Voice or Information Pool? The Role of, and Reasons for, Parliamentary Questions in the Swiss Parliament. *The Journal of Legislative Studies 17*(3), 302–314.

Bibliography

Bakker, P. and O. Scholten (2014). *Communicatiekaart van Nederland: overzicht van media en communicatie [Communication map of the Netherlands: Overview of the media and communication].* Amsterdam: Adfo Groep.

Barnhurst, K. and D. Mutz (1997). American journalism and the decline in event-centered reporting. *Journal of Communication 47*(4), 27–53.

Bartels, L. M. (1993). Messages received: The political impact of media exposure. *American Political Science Review 87*(2), 267–285.

Baum, M. A. and T. Groeling (2008). New media and the polarization of American political discourse. *Political Communication 25*(4), 345–365.

Baum, M. A. and T. Groeling (2009). Shot by the messenger: Partisan cues and public opinion regarding national security and war. *Political Behavior 31*(2), 157–186.

Bélanger, É. and B. M. Meguid (2008). Issue salience, issue ownership, and issue-based vote choice. *Electoral Studies 27*(3), 477–491.

Belle, D. A. V. (2000). New York Times and network TV news coverage of foreign disasters: The significance of the insignificant variables. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly 77*(1), 50–70.

Bennett, W. L. (1996). An introduction to journalism norms and representations of politics. *Political Communication 13*(4), 373–384.

Berkowitz, D. and D. B. Adams (1990). Information subsidy and agenda-building in local television news. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly 67*(4), 723–731.

Birkland, T. A. (1998). Focusing events, mobilization, and agenda setting. *Journal of Public Policy 18*(01), 53–74.

Blum, R. (2005). Politischer Journalismus in der Schweiz [Political journalism in Switzerland]. In P. Donges (Ed.), *Politische Kommunikation in Der Schweiz [Political Communication in Switzerland]* (1st ed.)., pp. 115–130. Berne: Haupt Verlag.

Bonfadelli, H., G. Keel, M. Marr, and W. Wyss (2012). Journalists in Switzerland. Structure and Attitudes. In D. H. Weaver and L. Willnat (Eds.), *The Global Journalist in the 21st Century*, pp. 320–330. New York and London: Routledge.

Brandenburg, H. (2002). Who follows whom? The impact of parties on media agenda formation in the 1997 British general election campaign. *The International Journal of Press/Politics 7*(3), 34–54.

Brants, K. and H. Van Kempen (2013). The ambivalent watchdog: The changing culture of journalism and its effects. In R. Kuhn and E. Neveu (Eds.), *Political Journalism: New Challenges, New Practices*, pp. 168–186. Routledge.

Brants, K. and P. Van Praag (2006). Signs of Media Logic Half a Century of Political Communication in the Netherlands. *Javnost - The Public 13*(1), 25–40.

Brown, R. (2011). Mediatization and News Management in Comparative Institutional Perspective. In K. Brants and K. Voltmer (Eds.), *Political Communication in Postmodern Democracy*, pp. 59–74. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Brüggemann, M., S. Engesser, F. Büchel, E. Humprecht, and L. Castro (2014). Hallin and Mancini Revisited: Four Empirical Types of Western Media Systems. *Journal of Communication 64*(6), 1037–1065.

Buckalew, J. K. (1969). News elements and selection by television news editors. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media 14*(1), 47–54.

Clinton, J. D. and T. Enamorado (2014). The National News Media's Effect on Congress: How Fox News Affected Elites in Congress. *The Journal of Politics 76*(4), 928–943.

Cook, F. L., T. R. Tyler, E. G. Goetz, M. T. Gordon, D. Protess, D. R. Leff, and H. L. Molotch (1983). Media and agenda setting: Effects on the public, interest group leaders, policy makers, and policy. *Public Opinion Quarterly 47*(1), 16–35.

Daalder, H. (1971). On building consociational nations: The cases of the Netherlands and Switzerland. *International Social Science Journal 23*(9), 14–31.

D'Alessio, D. and M. Allen (2000). Media bias in presidential elections: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Communication 50*(4), 133–156.

Davis, A. (2003). Whither mass media and power? Evidence for a critical elite theory alternative. *Media, Culture & Society 25*(5), 669–690.

Davis, A. (2007). Investigating journalist influences on political issue agendas at Westminster. *Political Communication 24*(2), 181–199.

Dearing, J. W. and E. Rogers (1996). *Agenda-Setting*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Donsbach, W. (2004). Psychology of news decisions factors behind journalists' professional behavior. *Journalism 5*(2), 131–157.

Donsbach, W. and T. E. Patterson (2004). Political news journalists: Partisanship, professionalism, and political roles in five countries. In F. Esser and B. Pfetsch (Eds.), *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases and Challenges*, pp. 251–270. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bibliography

Donsbach, W. and M. Rentsch (2011). Methodische Designs zur Messung subjektiver Einflüsse auf Nachrichtenentscheidungen von Journalisten [Methodological designs for measuring subjective influences on news decisions by journalists]. In O. Jandura, T. Quandt, and J. Vogelgesang (Eds.), *Methoden Der Journalismusforschung [Methods of Journalism Research]* (1st ed.)., pp. 155–170. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Donsbach, W. and A. Wenzel (2002). Aktivität und Passivität von Journalisten gegenüber parlamentarischer Pressearbeit [Activity and passivity of journalists regarding parliamentary press work]. *Publizistik 47*(4), 373–387.

Druckman, J. N., D. P. Green, J. H. Kuklinski, and A. Lupia (2006). The growth and development of experimental research in political science. *American Political Science Review 100*(4), 627–635.

Druckman, J. N., D. P. Green, J. H. Kuklinski, and A. Lupia (Eds.) (2011). *Cambridge Handbook of Experimental Political Science* (1st ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Dülmer, H. (2007). Experimental Plans in Factorial Surveys Random or Quota Design? *Sociological Methods & Research 35*(3), 382–409.

Dülmer, H. (2015). The Factorial Survey Design Selection and its Impact on Reliability and Internal Validity. *Sociological Methods & Research 45*(2), 304–347.

Eilders, C. (2002). Conflict and Consonance in Media Opinion. *European Journal of Communication 17*(1), 25–63.

Eilders, C. (2006). News factors and news decisions. Theoretical and methodological advances in Germany. *Communications 31*(1), 5–24.

Elmelund-Præstekær, C., D. N. Hopmann, and A. S. Nørgaard (2011). Does mediatization change MP–media interaction and MP attitudes toward the media? Evidence from a longitudinal study of Danish MPs. *The International Journal of Press/Politics 16*(3), 382–403.

Entman, R. M. (2003). Cascading Activation: Contesting the White House's Frame After 9/11. *Political Communication 20*(4), 415–432.

Entman, R. M. (2007). Framing bias: Media in the distribution of power. *Journal of Communication 57*(1), 163–173.

Esser, F. (2004). Journalismus vergleichen. Komparative Forschung und Theoriebildung. In *Theorien des Journalismus [Theories of Journalism]*, pp. 151–179. Wiesbaden: Verlag Sozialwissenschaften.

Esser, F. and J. Strömbäck (2014). *Mediatization of Politics: Understanding the Transformation of Western Democracies.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Esser, F., J. Strömbäck, and C. H. de Vreese (2012). Reviewing key concepts in research on political news journalism: Conceptualizations, operationalizations, and propositions for future research. *Journalism 13*(2), 139–143.

Esser, F. and A. Umbricht (2013). Competing models of journalism? Political affairs coverage in US, British, German, Swiss, French and Italian newspapers. *Journalism 14*(8), 989–1007.

Fatas, E., T. Neugebauer, and P. Tamborero (2007). How politicians make decisions: A political choice experiment. *Journal of Economics 92*(2), 167–196.

Gaines, B. J., J. H. Kuklinski, and P. J. Quirk (2007). The Logic of the survey experiment reexamined. *Political Analysis 15*(1), 1–20.

Galtung, J. and M. H. Ruge (1965). The structure of foreign news. *Journal of Peace Research 2*(1), 64–90.

Gandy, O. H. (1982). *Beyond Agenda Setting: Information Subsidies and Public Policy.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Company.

Gans, H. J. (1979). *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time.* Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern Univ Press.

Gant, C. and J. Dimmick (2000). Making Local News: A holistic analysis of sources, selection criteria, and topics. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly 77*(3), 628–638.

Gerhards, J., A. Offerhaus, and J. Roose (2009). Wer ist verantwortlich? Die Europäische Union, ihre Nationalstaaten und die massenmediale Attribution von Verantwortung für Erfolge und Misserfolge [Who is responsible? The European Union, her national states and the attribution of responsibilty for success and failure throught mass media]. In *Politik in Der Mediendemokratie [Politics in the Media Democracy]*, pp. 529–558. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Gershon, S. A. (2012). Press Secretaries, Journalists, and Editors: Shaping Local Congressional News Coverage. *Political Communication 29*(2), 160–183.

Graber, D. A. (2006). *Mass Media & American Politics* (7th ed.). Washington DC: CQ Press.

Gravengaard, G. and L. Rimestad (2011). Elimination of Ideas and Professional Socialization: Lessons learned at Newsroom meetings. *Journalism Practice 6*(4), 465–481.

Bibliography

Green-Pedersen, C. (2010). Bringing Parties Into Parliament The Development of Parliamentary Activities in Western Europe. *Party Politics 16*(3), 347–369.

Green-Pedersen, C. and R. Stubager (2010). The political conditionality of mass media influence: When do parties follow mass media attention? *British Journal of Political Science 40*(03), 663–677.

Greenberg, B. S. and M. B. Salwen (2009). Mass Communication Theory and Research. In D. W. Stacks and M. B. Salwen (Eds.), *An Integrated Approach to Communication Theory and Research* (2 ed.)., pp. 61–74. New York and London: Routledge.

Groeling, T. (2010). *When Politicians Attack: Party Cohesion in the Media*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Groeling, T. (2011). *Cycles of Spin: Strategic Communication in the U.S. Congress*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Groeling, T. (2013). Media Bias by the Numbers: Challenges and Opportunities in the Empirical Study of Partisan News. *Political Science 16*(1), 129–151.

Gunst, R. F. and R. L. Mason (2009). Fractional factorial design. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Computational Statistics 1*(2), 234–244.

Gunther, A. C. and J. L. Liebhart (2006). Broad reach or biased source? Decomposing the hostile media effect. *Journal of Communication 56*(3), 449–466.

Gurevitch, M. and J. G. Blumler (1990). Political communication systems and democratic values. In J. Lichtenberg (Ed.), *Democracy and the Mass Media*, pp. 269–289. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hainmueller, J., D. J. Hopkins, and T. Yamamoto (2014). Causal Inference in Conjoint Analysis: Understanding Multidimensional Choices via Stated Preference Experiments. *Political Analysis 22*(1), 1–30.

Hallin, D. C. and P. Mancini (2004). *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hanggli, R. (2012). Key Factors in Frame Building How Strategic Political Actors Shape News Media Coverage. *American Behavioral Scientist 56*(3), 300–317.

Hänggli, R. and H. Kriesi (2010). Political framing strategies and their impact on media framing in a Swiss direct-democratic campaign. *Political Communication 27*(2), 141–157.

Hanitzsch, T. and S. Engesser (2014). Journalismusforschung als Integrationsdisziplin. In M. Karmasin, M. Rath, and B. Thomaß (Eds.), *Kommunikationswissenschaft als Integrationsdisziplin*, pp. 137–157. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden.

Harcup, T. and D. O'Neill (2001). What is news? Galtung and Ruge revisited. *Journalism studies 2*(2), 261–280.

Hayes, D. (2008). Party reputations, journalistic expectations: How issue ownership influences election news. *Political Communication 25*(4), 377–400.

Helfer, L. (2016). Media Effects on Politicians: An Individual-Level Political Agenda-Setting Experiment. *The International Journal of Press/Politics 21*(2), 233–252.

Helfer, L. and P. Van Aelst (2016). What Makes Party Messages Fit for Reporting? An Experimental Study of Journalistic News Selection. *Political Communication 33*(1), 59–77.

Hilgartner, S. and C. L. Bosk (1988). The rise and fall of social problems: A public arenas model. *American Journal of Sociology 94*(1), 53–78.

Hopkins, D. J. and G. King (2010). Improving anchoring vignettes designing surveys to correct interpersonal incomparability. *Public Opinion Quarterly 74*(2), 201–222.

Hopmann, D. N., C. H. de Vreese, and E. Albaek (2011). Incumbency Bonus in Election News Coverage Explained: The Logics of Political Power and the Media Market. *Journal of Communication 61*(2), 264–282.

Hopmann, D. N., C. Elmelund-Prasestekaer, E. Albæk, R. Vliegenthart, and C. H. de Vreese (2012). Party media agenda-setting How parties influence election news coverage. *Party Politics 18*(2), 173–191.

Hudson, T. J. (1992). Consonance in depiction of violent material in television news. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media 36*(4), 411–425.

Jasso, G. (2006). Factorial survey methods for studying beliefs and judgments. *Sociological methods & research 34*(3), 334–423.

Joly, J. (2014). Do the Media Influence Foreign Aid Because or in Spite of the Bureaucracy? A Case Study of Belgian Aid Determinants. *Political Communication 31*(4), 584–603.

Jones, B. D. and F. R. Baumgartner (2005). *The Politics of Attention: How Government Prioritizes Problems.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kepplinger, H. M. (2002). Mediatization of politics: Theory and data. *Journal of communication 52*(4), 972–986.

Bibliography

Kepplinger, H. M. (2007). Reciprocal effects: Toward a theory of mass media effects on decision makers. *The International Journal of Press/Politics 12*(2), 3–23.

Kepplinger, H. M. (2008). Was unterscheidet die Mediatisierungsforschung von der Medienwirkungsforschung? [In what ways does mediatization research differ from media effects research?]. *Publizistik 53*(3), 326–338.

Kepplinger, H. M., H. B. Brosius, and J. F. Staab (1991). Instrumental actualization: A theory of mediated conflicts. *European Journal of Communication 6*(3), 263–290.

Kerrick, J. S., T. E. Anderson, and L. B. Swales (1964). Balance and the writer's attitude in news stories and editorials. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly 41*(2), 207–215.

Kingdon, J. W. (1977). Models of legislative voting. *The Journal of Politics 39*(3), 563–595.

Kleinnijenhuis, J., O. Scholten, W. van Atteveldt, A. van Hoof, A. Krouwel, D. Oegema, J. A. de Ridder, N. Ruigrok, and J. Takens (2007). *Nederland Vijfstromenland. De Rol van de Media En Stemwijzers Bij de Verkiezingen van 2006*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker.

Kleinnijenhuis, J. and A. S. Walter (2014). News, discussion, and associative issue ownership: Instability at the micro level versus stability at the macro level. *The International Journal of Press/Politics 19*(2), 226–245.

Kopenhaver, L. L. (1985). Aligning values of practitioners and journalists. *Public Relations Review 11*(2), 34–42.

Kriesi, H., E. Grande, R. Lachat, M. Dolezal, S. Bornschier, and T. Frey (2006). Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: Six European countries compared. *European Journal of Political Research 45*(6), 921–956.

Kriesi, H. and A. H. Trechsel (2008). *The Politics of Switzerland: Continuity and Change in a Consensus Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lachat, R. (2014). Issue ownership and the vote: The effects of associative and competence ownership on issue voting. *Swiss Political Science Review 20*(4), 727–740.

Landerer, N. (2013). Rethinking the Logics: A Conceptual Framework for the Mediatization of Politics. *Communication Theory 23*(3), 239–258.

Landerer, N. (2014). Opposing the government but governing the autdience? Exploring the differential mediatization of parliamentary actors in Switzerland. *Journalism Studies 15*(3), 304–320.

Landman, T. (2008). *Issues and Methods in Comparative Politics: An Introduction* (3rd ed.). London and New York: Routledge.

Lengauer, G., P. Donges, and F. Plasser (2014). Media Power in Politics. In *Political Communication Cultures in Europe. Attitudes of Political Actors and Journalists in Nine Countries*, pp. 171–195. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lengauer, G., F. Esser, and R. Berganza (2012). Negativity in political news: A review of concepts, operationalizations and key findings. *Journalism 13*(2), 179–202.

Linde, J. and B. Vis (2015). Do Politicians Take Risky Decisions Similar to the Rest of Us? An Experimental Test of Prospect Theory among Politicians. Paper presented at the MPSA Conference, Chicago.

Linder, W., Y. Papadopoulos, H. Kriesi, P. Knoepfel, U. Kloeti, and P. Scarini (Eds.) (2006). *Handbuch Der Schweizer Politik* (4th ed.). Zurich: NZZ Libro.

Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public Opinion.* New York: MacMillan.

Livingstone, S. (2003). On the challenges of cross-national comparative media research. *European Journal of Communication 18*(4), 477–500.

Louwerse, T. and S. Otjes (2016). Personalised parliamentary behaviour without electoral incentives: The case of the Netherlands. *West European Politics 39*(4), 778–799.

Mazzoleni, G. and W. Schulz (1999). "Mediatization" of Politics: A Challenge for Democracy? *Political Communication 16*(3), 247–261.

McDermott, R. (2009). Internal and External Validity. In J. N. Druckman, D. P. Green, J. H. Kuklinski, and A. Lupia (Eds.), *Cambridge Handbook of Experimental Political Science*, pp. 27–40. New York: Cambridge University Press.

McManus, J. H. (1994). *Market-Driven Journalism: Let the Citizen Beware.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

McNair, B. (2000). Journalism and Democracy: A millennial audit. *Journalism Studies 1*(2), 197–211.

Melenhorst, L. (2015). The Media's Role in Lawmaking A Case Study Analysis. *The International Journal of Press/Politics 20*(3), 297–316.

Midtbø, T., S. Walgrave, P. Van Aelst, and D. A. Christensen (2014). Do the media set the agenda of Parliament or is it the opposite? Agenda interactions between MPs and mass media. In K. Deschouwer and S. Depauw (Eds.), *Representing the People: A Survey among Members of Statewide and Substate Parliaments*, pp. 188–200. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bibliography

Morton, R. B. and K. C. Williams (2010). *Experimental Political Science and the Study of Causality: From Nature to the Lab.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Neuman, W. R., M. R. Just, and A. N. Crigler (1992). *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Nieuwsmedia, N. (2013). Oplagen dagbladen [Circulation daily newspapers]. `http://www.oplagen-dagbladen.nl/`.

Noije, L. V., J. Kleinnijenhuis, and D. Oegema (2008). Loss of parliamentary control due to mediatization and Europeanization: A longitudinal and cross-sectional analysis of agenda building in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. *British Journal of Political Science 38*(03), 455–478.

Norpoth, H. and B. Buchanan (1992). Wanted: The Education President Issue Trespassing by Political Candidates. *Public Opinion Quarterly 56*(1), 87–99.

O'Neill, D. and T. Harcup (2009). News values and selectivity. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen and T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, pp. 161–174. New York and London: Routledge.

Orton, R., R. Marcella, and G. Baxter (2000). An observational study of the information seeking behaviour of Members of Parliament in the United Kingdom. In *Aslib Proceedings*, Volume 52, pp. 207–217. MCB UP Ltd.

Patterson, T. E. (2008). Political Roles of the Journalist. In D. A. Graber, D. McQuail, and p. Norris (Eds.), *The Politics of News. The News of Politics.* (2 ed.)., pp. 23–59. Washington DC: CQ Press.

Patterson, T. E. and W. Donsbach (1996). News decisions: Journalists as partisan actors. *Political Communication 13*(4), 455–468.

Patzelt, W. J. (1999). What can an individual MP do in German parliamentary politics? *The Journal of Legislative Studies 5*(3-4), 23–52.

Petrocik, J. R. (1996). Issue ownership in presidential elections, with a 1980 case study. *American Journal of Political Science 40*(3), 825–850.

Petrocik, J. R., W. L. Benoit, and G. J. Hansen (2003). Issue ownership and presidential campaigning, 1952–2000. *Political Science Quarterly 118*(4), 599–626.

Pleijter, A., L. Hermans, and M. Vergeer (2012). Journalists and Journalism in the Netherlands. In D. H. Weaver and L. Willnat (Eds.), *The Global Journalist in the 21st Century*, pp. 242–254. New York and London: Routledge.

Potter, W. J. and K. Riddle (2007). A content analysis of the media effects literature. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly 84*(1), 90–104.

Pritchard, D. L. (1992). The news media and public policy agendas. In D. Kennamer (Ed.), *Public Opinion, the Press and Public Policy*, pp. 103–112. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Protess, D. L., F. L. Cook, T. R. Curtin, M. T. Gordon, D. R. Leff, M. E. McCombs, and P. Miller (1987). The impact of investigative reporting on public opinion and policymaking targeting toxic waste. *Public Opinion Quarterly 51*(2), 166–185.

Reich, Z. (2006). The process model of news initiative. *Journalism Studies 7*(4), 497–514.

Reich, Z. (2009). *Sourcing the News: Key Issues in Journalism–an Innovative Study of the Israeli Press*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Russo, F. and M. Wiberg (2010). Parliamentary Questioning in 17 European Parliaments: Some Steps towards Comparison. *The Journal of Legislative Studies 16*(2), 215–232.

Sauer, C., K. Auspurg, T. Hinz, and S. Liebig (2011). The Application of Factorial Surveys in General Population Samples: The Effects of Respondent Age and Education on Response Times and Response Consistency. *Survey Research Methods 5*(3).

Scarini, P. (2006). Le processus législatif. In U. Klöti, P. Knoepfel, H. Kriesi, W. Linder, Y. Papadopoulos, and P. Scarini (Eds.), *Handbuch der Schweizer Politik* (4 ed.)., pp. 491–525. Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung.

Schenkel, W. (2000). From clean air to climate policy in the Netherlands and Switzerland: How two small states deal with a global problem. *Swiss Political Science Review 6*(1), 159–184.

Scheufele, D. A. and D. Tewksbury (2007). Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of Communication 57*(1), 9–20.

Schiller, W. J. (1995). Senators as political entrepreneurs: Using bill sponsorship to shape legislative agendas. *American Journal of Political Science 39*(1), 186–203.

Schudson, M. (2011). *The Sociology of News* (2nd ed.). New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Schulz, W. F. (1982). News structure and people's awareness of political events. *International Communication Gazette 30*, 139–153.

Sellers, P. (2010). *Cycles of Spin: Strategic Communication in the U.S. Congress*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bibliography

Semetko, H. A. and P. M. Valkenburg (2000). Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of Communication 50*(2), 93–109.

Sevenans, J., S. Walgrave, and G. J. Epping (2016). How political elites process information from the news. The cognitive mechanisms behind behavioral political agenda-setting effects. *Political Communication 33*(4), 605–627.

Sevenans, J., S. Walgrave, and D. Vos (2015). Political elites' media responsiveness and their individual political goals: A study of national politicians in Belgium. *Research & Politics 2*(3), 1–7.

Sheafer, T. (2001). Charismatic Skill and Media Legitimacy An Actor-Centered Approach to Understanding the Political Communication Competition. *Communication Research 28*(6), 711–736.

Shlay, A. B. (1986). Taking Apart the American Dream: The Influence of Income and Family Composition on Residential Evaluations. *Urban Studies 23*(4), 253–270.

Shoemaker, P. J. (2006). News and Newsworthiness: A commentary. *Communications 31*, 105–111.

Shoemaker, P. J., M. Eichholz, E. Kim, and B. Wrigley (2001). Individual and routine forces in gatekeeping. *Journalism & mass communication quarterly 78*(2), 233–246.

Shoemaker, P. J. and S. D. Reese (1991). *Mediating the Message*. New York: Longman.

Shoemaker, P. J. and S. D. Reese (1996). *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content* (2nd ed.). White Plains, N.Y: Longman.

Shoemaker, P. J. and S. D. Reese (2013). *Mediating the Message in the 21st Century: A Media Sociology Perspective* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Shoemaker, P. J. and T. Vos (2009a). *Gatekeeping Theory*. New York: Routledge.

Shoemaker, P. J. and T. P. Vos (2009b). Media Gatekeeping. In D. W. Stacks and M. B. Salwen (Eds.), *An Integrated Approach to Communication Theory and Research* (2nd ed.)., pp. 75–89. New York: Routledge.

Siaroff, A. (1999). Corporatism in 24 industrial democracies: Meaning and measurement. *European Journal of Political Research 36*, 175–205.

Sigelman, L. (1973). Reporting the News: An Organizational Analysis. *American Journal of Sociology 79*(1), 132–51.

Simon, H. A. (1985). Human Nature in Politics: The Dialogue of Psychology with Political Science. *The American Political Science Review 79*(2), 293–304.

Soroka, S. and S. McAdams (2015). News, Politics, and Negativity. *Political Communication 32*(1), 1–22.

Soroka, S. N. (2002). Issue Attributes and Agenda-Setting by Media, the Public, and Policymakers in Canada. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research 14*(3), 264–285.

Staab, J. F. (1990). The role of news factors in news selection: A theoretical reconsideration. *European Journal of Communication 5*(4), 423–443.

Stacks, D. W. and M. B. Salwen (2014). *An Integrated Approach to Communication Theory and Research*. New York and London: Routledge.

Stokes, D. E. (1963). Spatial models of party competition. *The American Political Science Review 57*(2), 368–377.

Strøm, K. (1998). Parliamentary committees in European democracies. *The Journal of Legislative Studies 4*(1), 21–59.

Strömbäck, J. (2008). Four phases of mediatization: An analysis of the mediatization of politics. *The International Journal of Press/Politics 13*(3), 228–246.

Tan, Y. and D. H. Weaver (2007). Agenda-setting Effects among the Media, the Public, and Congress, 1946–2004. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly 84*(4), 729–744.

Tan, Y. and D. H. Weaver (2009). Local Media, Public Opinion, and State Legislative Policies Agenda Setting at the State Level. *The International Journal of Press/Politics 14*(4), 454–476.

Tarrow, S. (2010). The Strategy of Paired Comparison: Toward a Theory of Practice. *Comparative Political Studies 43*(2), 230–259.

Thesen, G. (2011). *Attack and Defend! Explaining Party Response to News*. Ph. D. thesis, Aarhus University, Aarhus.

Thesen, G. (2012). When good news is scarce and bad news is good: Government responsibilities and opposition possibilities in political agenda-setting. *European Journal of Political Research 52*(3), 364–389.

Thesen, G. (2013). Political Agenda Setting as Mediatized Politics? Media-Politics Interactions from a Party and Issue Competition Perspective. *The International Journal of Press/Politics 19*(2), 181–201.

Traber, D., S. Hug, and P. Sciarini (2014). Party Unity in the Swiss Parliament: The Electoral Connection. *The Journal of Legislative Studies 20*(2), 193–215.

Bibliography

Tresch, A. (2009). Politicians in the media: Determinants of legislators' presence and prominence in Swiss newspapers. *The International Journal of Press/Politics 14*(1), 67–90.

Tuchman, G. (2003). The production of news. In K. B. Jensen (Ed.), *A Handbook of Media and Communication Research*, pp. 78–90. London: Routledge.

Van Aelst, P., K. Brants, P. V. Praag, D. Vreese, M. Nuytemans, and A. Van Dalen (2008). The fourth estate as superpower? An empirical study on perceptions of media power in Belgium and the Netherlands. *Journalism Studies 9*(4), 494–511.

Van Aelst, P. and R. Vliegenthart (2014). Studying the Tango: An analysis of parliamentary questions and press coverage in the Netherlands. *Journalism Studies 15*(4), 392–410.

Van Aelst, P. and S. Walgrave (2011). Minimal or massive? The political agenda-setting power of the mass media according to different methods. *The International Journal of Press/Politics 16*(3), 295–313.

Van Dalen, A. (2010). *Political Journalism in a Comparative Perspective*. Ph. D. thesis, University of Southern Denmark, Odense.

Van Dalen, A. (2012a). The people behind the political headlines A comparison of political journalists in Denmark, Germany, the United Kingdom and Spain. *International Communication Gazette 74*(5), 464–483.

Van Dalen, A. and P. Van Aelst (2012). Political Journalists. Covering Politics in the Democratic-Corporatist Media System. In D. H. Weaver and L. Willnat (Eds.), *The Global Journalist in the 21st Century*, pp. 511. New York and London: Routledge.

Van Dalen, A. V. (2012b). Structural Bias in Cross-National Perspective. *The International Journal of Press/Politics 17*(1), 32–55.

Van der Eijk, C. (2000). The Netherlands: Media and Politics between segmented. In Richard Gunther and A. Mughan (Eds.), *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective*, pp. 303–342. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Van der Pas, D. (2014a). *From the Press to Parliament and Back. When Do Media Set the Political Agenda and When Do Parties Set the Media Agenda?* Ph. D. thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Amsterdam.

Van der Pas, D. (2014b). Making Hay While the Sun Shines Do Parties Only Respond to Media Attention When the Framing Is Right? *The International Journal of Press/Politics 19*(1), 42–65.

Van Santen, R., L. Helfer, and P. Van Aelst (2015). When Politics Becomes News: An Analysis of Parliamentary Questions and Press Coverage in Three West-European Countries. *Acta Politica 40*(1), 45–63.

Van Vonno, C. (2016). *Achieving Party Unity. A Sequential Approach to Why MPs Act in Concert.* Ph. D. thesis, Universiteit Leiden, Leiden.

Vatter, A. (2008). Vom Extremtyp zum Normalfall? Die schweizerische Konsensusdemokratie im Wandel: Eine Re-Analyse von Lijpharts Studie für die Schweiz von 1997 bis 2007. *Swiss Political Science Review 14*(1), 1–47.

Vesa, J., H. Blomberg, and C. Kroll (2015). Minimal and Massive! Politicians' Views on the Media's Political Agenda-Setting Power Revisited. *The International Journal of Press/Politics 20*(3), 279–296.

Vliegenthart, R., H. G. Boomgaarden, and J. W. Boumans (2011). Changes in political news coverage: Personalization, conflict and negativity in British and Dutch newspapers. In K. Brants and K. Voltmer (Eds.), *Political Communication in Postmodern Democracy. Challenging the Primacy of Politics*, pp. 92–110. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Vliegenthart, R. and S. Walgrave (2011). Content matters. The Dynamics of Parliamentary Questioning in Belgium and Denmark. *Comparative Political Studies 44*(8), 1031–1059.

Vos, D. (2014). Which politicians pass the news gates and why? Explaining inconsistencies in research on news coverage of individual politicians. *International Journal of Communication 8*, 2438 – 2461.

Walgrave, S. (2008). Again, the Almighty Mass Media? The Media's Political Agenda-Setting Power According to Politicians and Journalists in Belgium. *Political Communication 25*(4), 445–459.

Walgrave, S. and K. de Swert (2007). Where does issue ownership come from? From the party or from the media? Isuse-party identification in Belgium, 1991-2005. *The International Journal of Press/Politics 21*(1), 37–67.

Walgrave, S., J. Lefevere, and M. Nuytemans (2009). Issue ownership stability and change: How political parties claim and maintain issues through media appearances. *Political Communication 26*(2), 153–172.

Walgrave, S., S. Soroka, and M. Nuytemans (2008). The mass media's political agenda-setting power. *Comparative Political Studies 41*(6), 814–836.

Bibliography

Walgrave, S. and P. Van Aelst (2006). The contingency of the mass media's political agenda setting power: Toward a preliminary theory. *Journal of Communication 56*(1), 88–109.

Wallander, L. (2009). 25 years of factorial surveys in sociology: A review. *Social Science Research 38*(3), 505–520.

White, D. M. (1950). The "Gate Keeper": A case study in the selection of news. *Journalism Quarterly 27*, 383–390.

Wiberg, M. (1994). *Parliamentary Control in the Nordic Countries: Forms of Questioning and Behavioural Trends.* Jyväskylä, Finland: The Finnish Political Science Association.

Wirth, W. and S. Kolb (2004). Designs and Methods of Comparative Political Communication Research. In F. Esser and B. Pfetsch (Eds.), *Comparing Political Communication. Theories, Cases, and Challenges* (1 ed.)., pp. 87. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wolfsfeld, G. (1997). *Media and Political Conflict: News from the Middle East.* Cambridge University Press.

Wolfsfeld, G. (2004). *Media and the Path to Peace.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wolfsfeld, G. (2013). The Politics-Media-Politics Principle: Towards a More Comprehensive Approach to Political Communication. In *APSA 2013 Annual Meeting Paper.*

Wolfsfeld, G. and T. Sheafer (2006). Competing Actors and the Construction of Political News: The Contest Over Waves in Israel. *Political Communication 23*(3), 333–354.

Yanovitzky, I. (2002). Effects of News Coverage on Policy Attention and Actions A Closer Look Into the Media-Policy Connection. *Communication Research 29*(4), 422–451.

Zhong, B. and J. E. Newhagen (2009). How Journalists Think While They Write: A Transcultural Model of News Decision Making. *Journal of Communication 59*(3), 587–608.

Zhu, J.-H., D. Weaver, V.-h. Lo, C. Cheng, and W. Wu (1997). Individual, organizational, and societal influences on media role perceptions: A comarative study of journalists in China, Taiwan and the United States. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly 74*(1), 84–96.