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

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

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