



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Transformations of television systems: Implications for media content, political parties and political attitudes

Arbaoui, B.

Publication date
2014

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Arbaoui, B. (2014). *Transformations of television systems: Implications for media content, political parties and political attitudes*. [Thesis, fully internal, Universiteit van Amsterdam].

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

Bibliography

- Aalberg, T., & Curran, J. (2012). *How media inform democracy: a comparative approach*. New York: Routledge.
- Aalberg, T., Papathanassopoulos, S., Soroka, S., Curran, J., Hayashi, K., Iyengar, S., Rowe, D. (2013). International TV news, foreign affairs interest and public knowledge: A comparative study of foreign news coverage and public opinion in 11 countries. *Journalism Studies (ahead-of-prints)*, 1-20.
- Aalberg, T., Van Aelst, P., & Curran, J. (2010). Media systems and the political information environment: A cross-national comparison. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 15(3), 255-271.
- Aarts, K., & Semetko, H. A. (2003). The divided electorate: Media use and political involvement. *Journal of Politics*, 65(3), 759-784.
- Atwater, T. (1984). Product differentiation in local TV news. *Journalism Quarterly*, 61(4), 757-762.
- Baker, E. C. (1994). *Advertising and a democratic press*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Bardoel, J. (2008). Dutch television: between community and commodity. In D. Ward (Ed.), *Television and public policy: Change and continuity in an era of global liberalization* (pp. 199-223): New York : Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Baum, M. A. (2003). Soft news and political knowledge: Evidence of absence or absence of evidence? *Political Communication*, 20(2), 173-190.
- Bauman, Z. (1998). *Work, consumerism and the new poor*. Buckingham; Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2001). *The individualized society*. Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Bek, M. G. (2010). Changing Media and Public Sphere in Turkey: The Role of the State, Market and the EU Candidacy. In J. Gripsrud & L. Weibull (Eds.), *Media, markets & public spheres: European media at the crossroads* (Vol. 7)(pp 171-192). Bristol, UK, Chicago, IL: Intellect.
- Bennett, S. E., Rhine, S. L., Flickinger, R. S., & Bennett, L. L. (1999). "Video Malaise" Revisited public trust in the media and government. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 4(4), 8-23.
- Benoit, K., & Laver, M. (2007). *Party policy in modern democracies*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge.
- Blumler, J. G., Brynin, M., & Nossiter, T. J. (1986). Broadcasting finance and programme quality: An international review. *European Journal of Communication*, 1, 343-364.
- Blumler, J. G., & Gurevitch, M. (1995). *The crisis of public communication*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Blumler, J. G., & Nossiter, T. J. (1991). *Broadcasting finance in transition: A comparative handbook*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bonfadelli, H., & Haettenschwiler, W. (1989). Switzerland: A multilingual culture tries to keep its identity. In L. B. Becker & K. Schoenbach (Eds.), *Audience responses to media diversification: coping with plenty* (pp. 133-158). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Brants, K., & De Bens, E. (2000). The Status of TV Broadcasting in Europe. In J. Wieten, G. Murdock & P. Dahlgren (Eds.), *Television across Europe* (pp. 7-22). London: Sage.
- Brants, K. (1998). Who's afraid of infotainment? *European Journal of Communication*, 13(3), 315-335.
- Brants, K., & Siune, K. (1992). Pressures on national systems: Public broadcasting in a state of flux. In K. Siune & W. Treutzschler (Eds.), *Dynamics of media politics, broadcast and electronic media in Western Europe*. London: Sage.
- Bustamante, E. (1989). TV and public service in Spain: a difficult encounter. *Media Culture & Society*, 11(1), 67-87.
- Cappella, J. N., & Jamieson, K. H. (1997). *Spiral of cynicism: The press and the public good*. Oxford University Press New York.
- Cappella, J. N., Price, V., & Nir, L. (2002). Argument repertoire as a reliable and valid measure of opinion quality: Electronic dialogue during campaign 2000. *Political Communication*, 19(1), 73-93.
- Chalaby, J. K. (1996). Journalism as an Anglo-American invention: A comparison of the development of French and Anglo-American Journalism, 1830s-1920s. *European Journal of Communication*, 11(3), 303-326.
- Chalaby, J. K. (2005). *Transnational television worldwide: Towards a new media order*: IB Tauris Publishers.
- Chalif, R. (2011). Political media fragmentation: Echo chambers in cable news. *Electronic Media and Politics*, 1, 46-65.
- Chan, J., & Lee, F. (2013). Foreign news on public and commercial stations. In A. A. Cohen (Ed.), *Foreign news on television. Where in the world is the global village?* (pp. 129-150). New York: Peter Lang.
- Cohen, A. A., Hanitzsch, T., & Stepinska, A. (2013). Rationale, design and methodologies. In A. A. Cohen (Ed.), *Foreign news on television. Where in the world is the global village?* New York: Peter Lang.
- Cox, G. W. (1997). *Making votes count: strategic coordination in the world's electoral systems*. Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Curran, J. (1991). Rethinking the media as a public sphere. In P. Dahlgren & C. Sparks (Eds.), *Communication and citizenship: Journalism and the public sphere in the new media age* (pp. 27-57). London: Routledge.
- Curran, J. (2000). Rethinking media and democracy. In J. Curran & M. Gurevitch (Eds.), *Mass media and society* (3rd edition ed., pp. 120-154). London: Arnold.
- Curran, J., Iyengar, S., Lund, A. B., & Salovaara-Moring, I. (2009). Media systems, public knowledge and democracy: A comparative study. *European Journal of Communication*, 24(1), 5-26.
- Curran, J., & Seaton, J. (2003). *Power without responsibility* (6th edition ed.). London: Routledge.
- d'Haenens, L., & Saeys, F. (2001). *Western broadcasting at the dawn of the 21st Century* . Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter
- Dahlgren, P. (2000). Media, citizenship and civic culture. In J. Curran & M. Gurevitch (Eds.), *Mass media and society* (Vol. 3, pp. 310-328). London: Arnold.
- Dalton, R. (2002). The decline of party identification. In R. Dalton & M. Wattenberg (Eds.), *Parties without partisans* (pp. 19-36). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dalton, R. (2004). Democratic choices, democratic challenges: The erosion of political support in advanced industrial democracies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Davis, A. (2012). *The impact of anti-immigration parties on mainstream parties' immigration positions in the Netherlands, Flanders and the UK 1987-2010: Divided electorates, left-right politics and the pull towards restrictionism*. Florence: PhD thesis, EUI, Department of Political and Social Sciences.
<http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/21719>.
- De Bens, E. (1998). Television programming: more diversity, more convergence? In K. Brants, J. Hermes & L. Van Zonen (Eds.), *The media in question: Popular cultures and public interests* (pp. 27-37). London: Sage.
- Djupsund, G., & Carlson, T. (1998). Trivial stories and fancy pictures. *Nordicom Review*, 19(1), 101-113.
- Doh, M. (1994). *10 Jahre Privatfernsehen, Gesellschaft, Fernsehlandschaft und Medienpädagogik im Wandel*. München: Kopad.
- Drijvers, J. (1992). Community broadcasting: A manifesto for the media policy of small European countries. *Media Culture & Society*, 14(2), 193-201.
- Dyson, K., & Humphreys, P. (1989). Deregulating broadcasting: the West European experience. *European Journal of Political Research*, 17(2), 137-154.
- EAO. (1998-2010). *European Audiovisual Observatory, Statistical Yearbook Volume 1 Television in 36 European States*. Strasbourg: European Audiovisual Observatory.
- Easton, D. (1975). A re-assessment of the concept of political support. *British Journal of Political Science*, 5(4), 435-457.
- Entman, R. M. (1989). *Democracy without citizens: media and the decay of American politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ericson, R. V., Baranek, P. M., & Chan, J. B. (1991). *Representing order: Crime, law, and justice in the news media*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Esser, F. (1999). Tabloidization of news: A comparative analysis of Anglo-American and German press journalism. *European Journal of Communication*, 14(3), 291-324.
- Esser, F., de Vreese, C. H., Strömbäck, J., van Aelst, P., Aalberg, T., Stanyer, J., Papathanassopoulos, S. (2012). Political information opportunities in Europe: a longitudinal and comparative study of thirteen television systems. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 17(3), 247-274.
- Eurostat. (2001). *Statistics on audiovisual services*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Ewen, S., & Ewen, E. (1982). *Channels of desire: Mass images and the shaping of American consciousness*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Fabris, H.-H., & Kurt, L. (1986). Austria. In H. J. Kleinstaub, D. McQuail & K. Siune (Eds.), *Electronic media and politics in Western Europe. Euromedia Research Group Handbook of National Systems*. Frankfurt and New York: Campus.
- Fallows, J. (1997). *Breaking the news: How the media undermine American democracy*. New York: Random House.
- Franklin, B. (1997). *Newszak and news media* London: Arnold.
- Gentzkow, M., & Shapiro, J. M. (2011). Ideological segregation online and offline. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 126(4), 1799-1839.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Cambridge Cambridgeshire: Polity Press.

- Grabe, M. E., Zhou, S., & Barnett, B. (2001). Explicating sensationalism in television news. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 45(4), 635-655.
- Graber, D. A. (1994). *Media power in politics* (third ed.). Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.
- Graham, A., & Davies, G. (1997). *Broadcasting, society and policy in the multimedia age*. Luton: University of Luton Press.
- Green-Pedersen, C., & Krogstrup, J. (2008). Immigration as a political issue in Denmark and Sweden. *European Journal of Political Research*, 47(5), 610-634.
- Green-Pedersen, C., & Stubager, R. (2010). The political conditionality of mass media influence: When do parties follow mass media attention? *British Journal of Political Science*, 40, 663-677.
- Guggenheim, L., Kwak, N., & Campbell, S. W. (2011). Nontraditional news negativity: The relationship of entertaining political news use to political cynicism and mistrust. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 23(3), 287-314.
- Haak, K. v. d., & Snippenburg, L. v. (2001). The Netherlands. In L. d'Haenens & F. Saeys (Eds.), *Western broadcasting at the dawn of the 21st century* (pp. 209-233). Berlin New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hallin, D. C. (2009). Not the end of journalism history. *Journalism*, 10(3), 332-334.
- Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2012). *Comparing media systems beyond the Western world*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004a). Americanisation, globalisation and secularisation. In F. Esser & B. Pfetsch (Eds.), *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases and Challenges* (pp. xv, 342 p.). Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004b). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hamilton, J. (2004). *All the news that's fit to sell: How the market transforms information into news*. Princeton, N.J. ; Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Hardy, J. (2008). *Western media systems*. Londen: Routledge.
- Hazan, R. Y. (1995). Center parties and systemic polarization: An exploration of recent trends in Western Europe. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 7(4), 421-445.
- Heck, R. H., Thomas, S., & Tabata, L. N. (2012). *Multilevel modeling of categorical outcomes using IBM SPSS*. New York ; London: Routledge.
- Hendriks Vettehen, P., Beentjes, J., Nuijten, K., & Peeters, A. (2011). Arousing news characteristics in Dutch television news 1990-2004: An exploration of competitive strategies. *Mass Communication and Society*, 14(1), 93-112.
- Hendriks Vettehen, P., Nuijten, K., & Beentjes, J. (2005). News in an age of competition: The case of sensationalism in Dutch television news, 1995-2001. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 49(3), 282-295.
- Hendriks Vettehen, P., Zhou, S. H., Kleemans, M., D'Haenens, L., & Lin, T. T. C. (2012). Competitive pressure and arousing television news: A cross-cultural study. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 22(2), 179-196.
- Hollander, B. A. (1995). The influence of talk radio on political efficacy and participation. *Journal of Radio Studies*, 3(1), 23-31.
- Hollander, B. A. (2005). Late-night learning: Do entertainment programs increase political campaign knowledge for young viewers? *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 49(4), 402-415.

- Holt, E., & Sheehan, H. (1997). Television in Ireland. In J. A. Coleman & B. Rollet (Eds.), *Television in Europe* (pp. 77-87). Exeter: Intellect.
- Holtz-Bacha, C. (2007). Professionalisation of politics in Germany. In R. M. Negrine (Ed.), *The professionalisation of political communication* (pp. 63-79). Bristol: Intellect.
- Holtz-Bacha, C., & Norris, P. (2001). "To Entertain, Inform, and Educate": Still the Role of Public Television. *Political Communication*, 18(2), 123-140.
- HomeOffice. (1986). *Report of the Committee on Financing the BBC*. London: HMSO.
- Hooghe, L., Bakker, R., Brigeovich, A., De Vries, C., Edwards, E., Marks, G., Vachudova, M. (2010). Reliability and validity of measuring party positions: The Chapel Hill expert surveys of 2002 and 2006. *European Journal of Political Research*, 49(5), 687-703.
- Hooghe, M. (2002). Watching Television and Civic Engagement Disentangling the Effects of Time, Programs, and Stations. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 7(2), 84-104.
- Hox, J. J. (2002). *Multilevel analysis: Techniques and applications*. New York and Hove: Routledge.
- Humphreys, P. (1996). *Mass media and media policy in Western Europe*. Manchester England ; New York: Manchester University Press.
- Hvitfelt, H. (1994). The commercialization of the evening news. Changes in narrative technique in Swedish TV news. *Nordicom review*, 15(1), 33-41.
- Iyengar, S., Curran, J., Lund, A. B., Salovaara-Moring, I., Hahn, K. S., & Coen, S. (2010). Cross-national versus individual-level differences in political information: a media systems perspective. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 20(3), 291-309.
- Iyengar, S., & Kinder, D. R. (1987). *News that matters. Television and American Opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jackson, D. (2008). Citizens, consumers and the demands of market-driven news. In D. Lilleker & R. Scullion (Eds.), *Voters or consumers: Imagining the contemporary electorate*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Jakubowicz, K. (2006). Public service broadcasting: a new beginning, or the beginning of the end? Retrieved from: http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/media/doc/PSB_Anewbeginning_KJ_en.pdf.
- Kaniovski, S., & Mueller, D. C. (2006). Community size, heterogeneity and voter turnouts. *Public Choice*, 129(3-4), 399-415.
- King, G., Keohane, R. O., & Verba, S. (1994). *Designing social inquiry: Scientific inference in qualitative research*: Princeton University Press.
- Klapper, J. T. (1960). *The effects of mass communication*. New York, NY, US: Free Press.
- Koopmans, R. (2004). Movements and media: Selection processes and evolutionary dynamics in the public sphere. *Theory and Society*, 33(3-4), 367-391.
- Kops, M. (2001). What is public service broadcasting and how should it be financed. *Working Paper 145e, Institute for Broadcasting Economics, Cologne*.
- Kops, M. (2007). A revenue-based methodology for the classification and comparison of broadcasting systems. *Working Paper 223e, Institute for Broadcasting Economics, Cologne*.

- Ksiazek, T. B., Malthouse, E. C., & Webster, J. G. (2010). News-seekers and avoiders: exploring patterns of total news consumption across media and the relationship to civic participation. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 54(4), 551-568.
- Lange, A., & Renaud, J.-L. (1989). *The future of the European audiovisual industry*. Manchester, England: European Institute for the Media.
- Le Comte, M. (1998). La libéralisation de la télévision des années Mitterrand, 1981-1995. *Modern & Contemporary France*, 6(1), 49-59.
- Lemert, J. B. (1984). News context and the elimination of mobilizing information: An experiment. *Journalism Quarterly*, 61(2), 243-249, 259.
- Leroy, P. (1990). La télévision offerte, disponible et reçue en Belgique francophone. *Réseaux*, 9, 44-45, 385-402.
- Lijphart, A. (1999). *Patterns of democracy: Government forms and performance in thirty-six countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Manning, P. (2001). *News and news source: A critical introduction*. London: Sage.
- Mazzoleni, G. (2004). Media e populism: alleati o nemici? *Working Papers Del Dipartimento di studi soiali e politici*, 4.
- Mazzoleni, G. (2008). Populism and the media. In D. Albertazzi & D. McDonnell (Eds.), *Twenty-first century populism : the spectre of western European democracy* (pp. xii, 251 p.). Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire England; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mazzoleni, G., Stewart, J., & Horsfield, B. (2003). *The media and neo-populism: A contemporary comparative analysis*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- McChesney, R. W. (2004). *The problem of the media: U.S. communication politics in the twenty-first century*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- McManus, J. (1995). A market-based model of news production. *Communication Theory*, 5(4), 301-338.
- McManus, J. H. (1994). *Market-driven journalism: Let the citizen beware*. London: Sage.
- McQuail, D., Siune, K., & Euromedia Research Group. (1986). *New media politics : comparative perspectives in western Europe*. London ; Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- McQuail, D. (1987). *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*. Newbury Park. CA: Sage.
- McQuail, D. (1994). *Mass communication theory: an introduction* (3rd ed.). London ; Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- McQuail, D. (1998). Commercialization and beyond. In D. McQuail & K. Siune (Eds.), *Media policy: convergence, concentration and commerce*. London: Sage Publications.
- Miller, W. E. (1991). Party identification, realignment, and party voting: Back to the basics. *The American Political Science Review*, 557-568.
- Minasian, J. R. (1964). Television pricing and the theory of public goods. *Journal of Law Economics*, 7(Oct), 71-80.
- Mudde, C. (2004). The populist Zeitgeist. *Government and Opposition*, 39(4), 541-563.
- Mullainathan, S., & Shleifer, A. (2005). The market for news. *American Economic Review*, 1031-1053.
- Mutz, D. C., & Reeves, B. (2005). The new videomalaise: Effects of televised incivility on political trust. *American Political Science Review*, 99(01), 1-15.

- Napoli, P. M. (2003). The public interest obligations initiative: Lost in the digital television shuffle. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 47(1), 153-156.
- Napoli, P. M. (2011). Exposure diversity reconsidered. *Journal of Information Policy*, 1, 246-259.
- Negrine, R., Holtz-Bacha, C., Mancini, P., & Papathanassopoulos, S. (2007). *The professionalization of political communication*. Bristol: Intellect.
- Negrine, R., & Papathanassopoulos, S. (1990). *The internationalisation of television*. London New York: Pinter Publishers.
- Newton, K. (1999). Mass media effects: Mobilization or media malaise? *British Journal of Political Science*, 29, 577-599.
- Nicholson, W. (1979). *Intermediate microeconomics and its application* (2 ed.). Hinsdale, IL: Dryden.
- Noam, E. M. (1991). *Television in Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nordicom. (2009). *The nordic media market 2009: Media companies and business activities*. Gothenburg: Nordicom, University of Gothenburg.
- Norris, P. (2000). *A virtuous circle: Political communications in postindustrial societies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- OSI. (2005). Television across Europe: Regulation, policy and independence: an overview. Retrieved from: www.soros.org/initiatives/media/articles_publications/publications/eurotv_20051011.
- Patterson, T. E. (1993). *Out of order*. New York: Knopf.
- Patterson, T. E. (2000). The United States: News in a free-market society. In R. Gunther & A. Mughan (Eds.), *Democracy and the media: A comparative perspective* (pp. 241-265). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Pfetsch, B. (1996). Convergence through privatization? Changing media environments and televised politics in Germany. *European Journal of Communication*, 11(4), 427-451.
- Picard, R. G. (2000). Audience fragmentation and structural limits on media innovation and diversity. In J. van Cuilenburg & R. van der Wurff (Eds.), *Media and open societies: Cultural, economic and policy foundations for media openness and diversity in East and West*. (pp. 180-191). Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
- Postman, N. (1986). *Amusing ourselves to death : public discourse in the age of show business*. London: Heinemann.
- Powers, A., Kristjansdottir, H., & Sutton, H. (1994). Competition in Danish television news. *Journal of Media Economics*, 7(4), 21-30.
- Prat, A., & Strömberg, D. (2005). Commercial television and voter information. *CEPR Discussion Paper 4989*.
- Preacher, K. J., Curran, P. J., & Bauer, D. J. (2006). Computational tools for probing interaction effects in multiple linear regression, multilevel modelling, and latent curve analysis *Journal of Educational and Behavioural Statistics*, 31, 437-448.
- Prior, M. (2003). Any good news in soft news? The impact of soft news preference on political knowledge. *Political Communication*, 20(2), 149-171.
- Prior, M. (2005). News vs. entertainment: How increasing media choice widens gaps in political knowledge and turnout. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(3), 577-592.

- Prior, M. (2007). *Post-broadcast democracy: How media choice increases inequality in political involvement and polarizes elections*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Prior, M. (2013). Media and political polarization. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 16, 101-127.
- Putnam, R. D. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of democracy*, 6(1), 65-78.
- Richardson, J. E. (2007). *Analysing newspapers: An approach from critical discourse analysis*. Basingstoke England; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Robinson, M. J. (1976). Public affairs television and the growth of political malaise: The case of "The selling of the Pentagon". *The American Political Science Review*, 70(2), 409-432.
- Sani, G., & Sartori, G. (1983). Polarization, fragmentation and competition in Western democracies'. In H. Daalder & P. Mair (Eds.), *Western European party systems: Continuity and change*. Londen: Sage.
- Sassoon, D. (1985). Political and market forces in Italian broadcasting. In R. Kuhn (Ed.), *Broadcasting and politics in Western Europe* (pp. 67-82). London: Frank Cass.
- Schaap, G., & Pleijter, A. (2012). Het sensatiegehalte van voorpaginafoto's: Een inhoudsanalyse van populaire en kwaliteitskranten in Nederland. *Tijdschrift Voor Communicatiewetenschap*, 8(1), 71-86.
- Schmitt-Beck, R., & Wolsing, A. (2010). European TV environments and citizens' social trust: Evidence from multilevel analyses. *Communications*, 35(4), 461-483.
- Schulz, W., Zeh, R., & Quiring, O. (2005). Voters in a changing media environment: A data-based retrospective on consequences of media change in Germany. *European Journal of Communication*, 20(1), 55-88.
- Siune, K., & Hulten, O. (1998). Does public broadcasting have a future? In D. McQuail & K. Siune (Eds.), *Media policy: Convergence, concentration and commerce*. London: Sage Publications.
- Siune, K., & Truetzschler, W. (1992). *Dynamics of media politics: Broadcasts and electronic media in Western Europe*. London; Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Slater, M. D., Snyder, L., & Hayes, A. F. (2006). Thinking and modeling at multiple levels: The potential contribution of multilevel modeling to communication theory and research. *Human Communication Research*, 32(4), 375-384.
- Snijders, T., & Bosker, R. (1999). Multilevel analysis: An introduction to basic and advanced multilevel modeling. Sage Publications. *Thousand Oaks, CA*.
- Stemers, J. (2001). In search of a third way: Balancing public purpose and commerce in German and British public service broadcasting. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 26(1), 69-87.
- Steenbergen, M. R., & Jones, B. S. (2002). Modeling multilevel data structures. *American Journal of Political Science*, 46(1), 218-237.
- Sunstein, C. R. (2001). *Republic.com*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Swanson, D. L., & Mancini, P. (1996). Patterns of modern electoral campaigning and their consequences. In D. L. Swanson & P. Mancini (Eds.), *Politics, media, and modern democracy: an international study of innovations in electoral campaigning and their consequences* (pp. x, 288 p.). Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- Syngellakis, A. (1997). Television in Greece. In J. Coleman & B. Rollet (Eds.), *Television in Europe* (pp. 101-110). Exeter: Intellect.
- Temple, M. (2006). Dumbing down is good for you. *British Politics*, 1(2), 257-273.

- Tomlinson, A. (1990). *Consumption, identity, and style: Marketing, meanings, and the packaging of pleasure*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Tsfati, Y., Tukachinsky, R., & Peri, Y. (2009). Exposure to news, political comedy, and entertainment talk shows: Concern about security and political mistrust. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 21(4), 399-423.
- Tunstall, J. (2008). *The media were American: U.S. mass media in decline*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Turow, J. (1997). *Breaking up America: Advertisers and the new media world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Turow, J. (2000). Segmenting, signalling and tailoring: Probing the dark side of target marketing. In R. Anderson & L. Strate (Eds.), *Critical studies in media commercialism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- UNESCO. (1987). *Statistical year book 1986/1987*: UNESCO.
- Uribe, R., & Gunter, B. (2007). Are 'sensational' news stories more likely to trigger viewers' emotions than non-sensational news stories? A content analysis of British TV news. *European Journal of Communication*, 22(2), 207-228.
- van der Brug, W., & Van Spanje, J. (2009). Immigration, Europe and the 'new' cultural dimension. *European Journal of Political Research*, 48(3), 309-334.
- van der Wurff, R. (2004). Supplying and viewing diversity: The role of competition and viewer choice in Dutch broadcasting. *European Journal of Communication*, 19(2), 215-237.
- van der Wurff, R. (2005). Competition, concentration and diversity in European television markets. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 29, 249-275.
- van der Wurff, R., & Van Cuilenburg, J. (2001). Impact of moderate and ruinous competition on diversity: The Dutch television market. *Journal of Media Economics*, 14(4), 213-229.
- van Kempen, H. (2007). Media-party parallelism and its effects: A cross-national comparative study. *Political Communication*, 24(3), 303-320.
- van Spanje, J. (2010). Contagious parties: Anti-immigration parties and their impact on other parties' immigration stances in contemporary Western Europe. *Party Politics*, 16(5), 563-586.
- Vatter, A. (2009). Lijphart expanded: Three dimensions of democracy in advanced OECD countries? *European Political Science Review*, 1(1), 125-154.
- Vliegthart, R., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2007). Real-world indicators and the coverage of immigration and the integration of minorities in Dutch newspapers. *European Journal of Communication*, 22(3), 293-314.
- Voltmer, K. (2000). Structures of diversity of press and broadcasting systems: The institutional context of public communication in western democracies. *WZB working paper*.
- Walgrave, S., & De Swert, K. (2004). The making of the (issues of the) Vlaams Blok. *Political Communication*, 21(4), 479-500.
- Walgrave, S., & Van Aelst, P. (2006). The contingency of the mass media's political agenda-setting power: Toward a preliminary theory. *Journal of Communication*, 56(1), 88-109.

- Wang, T. (2012). Presentation and impact of market-driven journalism on sensationalism in global TV news. *International Communication Gazette*, 74(8), 711-727.
- Webster, J. G. (2005). Beneath the veneer of fragmentation: Television audience polarization in a multichannel world. *Journal of Communication*, 55(2), 366-382.
- Webster, J. G. (2009). The role of structure in media choice. In T. Hartmann (Ed.), *Media choice: A theoretical and empirical overview* (pp. 221-233). New York: Routledge.
- Webster, J. G. (2011). The duality of media: A structural theory of public attention. *Communication Theory*, 21(1), 43-66.
- Webster, J. G., & Ksiazek, T. (2012). The dynamics of audience fragmentation: Public attention in an age of digital media. *Journal of Communication*, 62(1), 39-56.
- West, D. M. (2001). *The rise and fall of the media establishment*. Boston: St. Martin's.
- Wigbold, H. (1979). Holland: The shaky pillars of hilversum. In A. Smith (Ed.), *Television and political life: Studies in six European countries* (pp. 191-231). London: Macmillan.
- Wilke, J., & Heimprecht, C. (2013). Formal features and sources in foreign news. In A. A. Cohen (Ed.), *Foreign news on television. Where in the world is the global village?* (pp. 107-128). New York: Peter Lang.
- Wu, F., & Huberman, B. A. (2007). Novelty and collective attention. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 104(45), 17599-17601.
- Zaller, J. (1992). *The nature and origins of mass opinion*: Cambridge University Press.