



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Context in political communication : measurement and effects on political behavior

van Kempen, H.M.A.

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

van Kempen, H. M. A. (2008). Context in political communication : measurement and effects on political behavior.

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.

References

- Aarts, K., & Semetko, H. A. (2003). The divided electorate: Media use and political involvement. *The Journal of Politics*, 65(3), 759-784.
- Almond, G. & Verba, S. (1963). *The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Anderson, P. J., & Weymouth, A. (1999). *Insulting the public? The British press and the European Union*. London: Longman.
- Ansolabehere, S., & Iyengar, S. (1995). *Going negative. How political advertisements shrink and polarize the electorate*. New York: The Free Press.
- Ansolabehere, S., Iyengar, S., Simon, A., & Valentino, N. (1994). Does attack advertising demobilize the electorate? *American Political Science Review*, 88, 829-838.
- Arbuckle, J. L. (2003). Amos 5.0. Chicago, IL: SmallWaters.
- Baker, D. (2001). Britain and Europe: The argument continues. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 54(2), 276-288.
- Baldassare, M. (1985). Trust in local government. *Social Science Quarterly*, 66(3), 704-712.
- Bartels, L. (1993). Messages received: The political impact of media exposure. *American Political Science Review*, 87(2), 267-285.
- Bartels, L. (2006). Three virtues of panel data for the analysis of campaign effects. In H.E. Brady & R. Johnston (Eds.). *Capturing campaign effects*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Beck, P.A., Dalton, R.J., Greene, S. & Huckfeldt, R. (2002). The Social Calculus of Voting: Interpersonal, Media, and Organizational Influences on Presidential Choices. *The American Political Science Review*, 96 (1), 57-73.
- Becker, L. B., & Schoenbach, K. (Eds.). (1989). *Audience responses to media diversification: Coping with plenty*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Bennett, W. L., & Entman, R. M. (Eds.). (2001). *Mediated politics. Communication in the future of democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Berelson, B. R., Lazarsfeld, P. F., & McPhee, W. N. (1954). *Voting: a study of opinion formation in a presidential campaign*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Blais, A. (2000). *To Vote or Not to Vote: The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Blondel, J., Sinnott, R., & Svensson, P. (1998). *People and parliament in the European Union. Participation, democracy and legitimacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blumler, J.G. (1983a). Communication and turnout. In J.G. Blumler (Ed.). *Communicating to voters. Television in the first European Parliamentary elections* (pp. 181-209). London: Sage.
- Blumler, J.G. (1983b). Was it a European election to voters? In J.G. Blumler (Ed.). *Communicating to voters. Television in the first European Parliamentary elections* (pp. 319-334). London: Sage.
- Blumler, J. G., & Gurevitch, M. (1975). Towards a comparative framework for political communication research. In S. H. Chaffee (Ed.), *Political communication. Issues and strategies for research* (pp. 165-193). Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Blumler, J. G., & Gurevitch, M. (1995). *The crisis of public communication*. London: Routledge.

- Blumler, J. G., McLeod, J. M., & Rosengren, K. E. (Eds.). (1992). *Comparatively speaking: Communication and culture across space and time*. Newbury Park/London/New Delhi: Sage.
- Brady, H. E., Verba, S., & Schlozman, K.L. (1995). Beyond Ses: A Resource Model of Political Participation. *American Political Science Review*, 89 (2), 271-294.
- Brants, K., & Van Kempen, H. (2002). The ambivalent watchdog: the changing culture of political journalism and its effects. In R. Kuhn & E. Neveu (Eds.), *Political journalism. New challenges, new practices* (pp. 168-186). London: Routledge.
- Brynin, M., & Newton, K. (2003). The national press and voting turnout: British General Elections of 1992 and 1997. *Political Communication*, 20, 59-77.
- Browne, M. W. and R. Cudeck (1992). Alternative ways of assessing model fit. *Sociological Methods and Research*, 21, 230-258.
- Budge, I., Crewe, I., & Farlie, D. (1976) (Eds.). *Party Identification and Beyond*. London: John Wiley and Sons.
- Campbell, A., Converse, P. E., Miller, W. E., & Stokes, D. E. (1960). *The American voter*. New York: Wiley.
- Cappella, J. N., & Jamieson, K. H. (1997). *Spiral of cynicism: the press and the public good*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 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.
- Carey, S., & Burton, J. (2004). The influence of the press in shaping public opinion towards the European Union in Britain. *Political Studies*, 52(3), 623-640.
- Chaffee, S.H. (1986). Mass media and interpersonal channels: Competitive, convergent or complementary? In G. Gumpert and R. Cathcart (Eds.), *Inter/Media: Interpersonal communication in a media world* (pp. 62-80). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chan, S. (1997). Effects of attention to campaign coverage on political trust. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 9(3), 286-296.
- Cho, J. (2005). Media, Interpersonal Discussion, and Electoral Choice. *Communication Research*, 32(3), 295-322.
- Converse, P. (1964). The nature of belief systems in mass publics. In: D. Apter (ed.). *Ideology and discontent*. New York: Free Press.
- Converse, P. (1972). Change in the American electorate. In A. Campbell & P. Converse (Eds.), *The human meaning of social change* (pp. 263-337). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Cotton, J. L. (1985). Cognitive dissonance in selective exposure. In D. Zillmann & J. Bryant (Eds.), *Selective exposure to communication*. Hillsdale: Erlbaum.
- Dalton, R. J. (1996). *Citizen politics. Public opinion and political parties in advanced western democracies*. Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House Publishers.
- Dalton, R. J., Beck, P. A., & Huckfeldt, R. (1998). Partisan cues and the media: Information flows in the 1992 Presidential election. *American Political Science Review*, 92, 111-126.
- Dalton, R. J., McAllister, I., & Wattenberg, M. P. (2000). Consequences of partisan dealignment. In R. J. Dalton & M. P. Wattenberg (Eds.), *Parties without partisans. Political change in advanced industrial democracies*. (pp. 37-63). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Dekker, P. (Ed.). (2002). *Niet-stemmers. Een onderzoek naar achtergronden en motieven in enquêtes, interviews en focusgroepen*. The Hague, Social and Cultural Planning Office.
- Delli Carpini, M. X. (2000). Gen.com: Youth, civic engagement, and the new information environment. *Political Communication* 17, 341-349.
- Delli Carpini, M. X., & Keeter, S. (1996). *What Americans know about politics and why it matters*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- De Vreese, C. H. (2004). The effects of strategic news on political cynicism, issue evaluations, and policy support: a two-wave experiment. *Mass Communication & Society*, 7(2), 191-214.
- De Vreese, C. H., & Semetko, H. A. (2002). Cynical and engaged. Strategic campaign coverage, public opinion and mobilization in a referendum. *Communication Research*, 29(6), 615-641.
- Dimitras, P. E. (1997). Greece. In B. Stubbe Østergaard (Ed.), *The media in Western Europe. The Euromedia Handbook* (pp. 98-109). London: Sage.
- Dogan, M., & Pelassy, D. (1990). *How to compare nations: Strategies in comparative politics* (2 ed.). Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers.
- Edelstein, A. S. (1982). *Comparative communication research*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Esser, F., & Pfetsch, B. (Eds.). (2004). *Comparing political communication. Theories, cases, and challenges*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Festinger, L. (1957). *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Finkel, S.E. (1985). Reciprocal Effects of Participation and Political Efficacy: A Panel Analysis. *American Journal of Political Science*, 29(4), 891-913.
- Franklin, M. (1992). The decline of cleavage politics. In M. Franklin, T. Mackie & H. Valen (Eds.), *Electoral change. Responses to evolving social and attitudinal structures in western countries* (pp. 383-405). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Franklin, M. (1996). Electoral participation. In L. Le Duc, R.G. Niemi, & P. Norris (eds). *Comparing democracies. Elections and voting in global perspective*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Franklin, M. (2003). The voter turnout puzzles. *Analise Social* 38, 321-338.
- Franklin, M. (2004). *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies Since 1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Franklin, M., Mackie, T., & Valen, H. (Eds.). (1992). *Electoral change. Responses to evolving social and attitudinal structures in Western countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gamson, W. A. (1992). *Talking politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gimpel, J. G., Dyck, J. J., & Shaw, D. R. (2004). Registrants, voters, and turnout variability across neighborhoods. *Political Behavior*, 26(4), 343-375.
- Graber, D. A. (1993). Political communication: Scope, progress, promise. In A. W. Finifter (Ed.), *Political science: The state of the discipline. Part II* (pp. 305-332). Washington: American Political Science Association.
- Graber, D. A. (2005). Political communication faces the 21st century. *Journal of Communication*, 55(3), 479-507.
- Granberg, D., & Holmberg, S. (1991). Self-reported turnout and voter validation. *American Journal of Political Science*, 35(4), 448-459.
- Gunther, R. & Mughan, A. (Eds.). (2000). *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Gunther, R., Puhle, H.J., & Montero, J.R. (2007) (Eds.). *Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting on Four Continents*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Gurevitch, M., & Blumler, J. G. (2004). State of the art of comparative political communication research: poised for maturity? In F. Esser & B. Pfetsch (Eds.), *Comparing political communication. Theories, cases, and challenges*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ha, S. (2004). *Who accepts the news?: News coverage of Presidential campaigns, voters' information processing ability, and media effects susceptibility*. Austin: The University of Texas.
- Hadenius, S., & Weibull, L. (1999). The Swedish newspaper system in the late 1990s. Tradition and transition. *Nordicom Review*, 20(1), 129-152.
- Hadenius, S., & Weibull, L. (1999). The Swedish newspaper system in the late 1990s. Tradition and transition. *Nordicom Review*, 20(1), 129-152.
- Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: three models of media and politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hofstetter, C. R., Donovan, M. C., Klauber, M.R., Cole, A., Huie, C.J., & Yuasa, T. (1994). Political talk radio – a stereotype reconsidered. *Political Research Quarterly*, 47(2), 467-479.
- Holbert, L. H., & Stephenson, M. T. (2003). The importance of indirect effects in media effects research: Testing for mediation in Structural Equation Modeling. *Journal of broadcasting and electronic media*, 47(4), 556-572.
- Holtz-Bacha, C. (1990). Videomalaise revisited: media exposure and political alienation in West Germany. *European Journal of communication*, 5, 73-85.
- Huckfeldt, R., & Sprague, J. (1995). *Citizens, politics and social communication: Information and influence in an election campaign*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Iyengar, S. (2002). *Experimental Designs for Political Communication Research: From Shopping Malls to the Internet*. Paper prepared for a workshop in mass media economics, June 25-26, London School of Economics. Available for downloading at <http://pcl.stanford.edu/common/docs/research/iyengar/2002/expdes2002.pdf>
- Iyengar, S., & Kinder, D. R. (1987). *News that matters: Television and American opinion*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Iyengar, S., Peters, M. D., & Kinder, D. R. (1982). Experimental demonstrations of the “not-so-minimal” consequences of television news programs. *American Political Science Review*, 76(4), 848-858.
- Janowitz, M., & Marvick, D. (1956). *Competitive pressure and democratic consent*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- Johnsson-Smaragdi, U. (1989). Sweden: Opening the doors – Cautiously. In L. B. Becker & K. Schoenbach (Eds.), *Audience responses to media diversification: Coping with plenty*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Jones, D. A. (2002). The polarizing effect of new media messages. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 14(2), 158-174.
- Jones-Correa, M.A. & Leal, D.L. (2001). Political Participation: Does Religion Matter? *Political Research Quarterly*, 54 (4), 751-770.
- Journalism.org (2007). *The state of the news media 2007*. Available for downloading at <http://www.stateofthenewsmedia.com/2007>

- Judge, G.G., Griffiths, W.E., Hill, R.C., Lütkepohl, H., & Lee, T.C. (1985). *The theory and practice of econometrics*. 2nd ed. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Katz, E., & Lazarsfeld, P. F. (1955). *Personal influence: the part played by people in the flow of mass communications*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- Kim, J., Wyatt, R.O., & Katz, E. (1999). News, talk, opinion, participation: The part played by conversation, in deliberative democracy. *Political Communication*, 16 (4), 361-386.
- King, G., Keohane, R. O., & Verba, S. (1994). *Designing social inquiry. Scientific inference in qualitative research*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kitty, A. (2005). *Outfoxed: Rupert Murdoch's war on journalism*. New York: The Disinformation Company.
- Kleinnijenhuis, J. (1990). *Op zoek naar nieuws. Onderzoek naar journalistieke informatieverwerking en politiek*. Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij.
- Kleinnijenhuis, J., & Scholten, O. (1989). Veranderende verhoudingen tussen media en politieke partijen. *Acta Politica*, 24, 433-460.
- Krosnick, J. A., & Kinder, D. R. (1990). Altering the foundation of support for the president through priming. *American Political Science Review*, 84(2), 497-512.
- Lake, R. L., & Huckfeldt, R. (1998). Social capital, social networks, and political participation. *Political Psychology*, 19(3), 567-584.
- Lang, A. (2000). The limited capacity model of mediated message processing. *Journal of Communication*, 50(1), 46-70.
- Lavine, H. (2001). The electoral consequences of ambivalence toward presidential candidates. *American Journal of Political Science*, 45(4), 915-929.
- Lauf, E. (2001). The vanishing young reader. Sociodemographic determinants of newspaper use as a source of political information in Europe, 1980-98. *European Journal of Communication Research*, 16 (2), 233-243.
- Lazarsfeld, P. F., Berelson, B., & Gaudet, H. (1944). *The people's choice. How the voter makes up his mind in a Presidential campaign*. New York / London: Columbia University Press.
- Lazarsfeld, P. F., & Menzel, H. (1969). On the relation between individual and collective properties. In A. Etzioni (Ed.), *A sociological reader on complex organizations* (pp. 499-516). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, inc.
- Leighley, J. E. (1990). Social interaction and contextual influences on political participation. *American Politics Quarterly*, 18(4), 459-475.
- Lilleker, D. G. (2006). *Key concepts in political communication*. London: Sage.
- Liska, A. E. (1990). The Significance of Aggregate Dependent Variables and Contextual Independent Variables for Linking Macro and Micro Theories. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 53(4), 292-301.
- Livingstone, S. (2003). On the challenges of cross-national comparative media research. *European Journal of Communication*, 18(4), 477-500.
- Long, J. S., & Freese, J. (2003). *Regression models for categorical dependent variables using Stata, revised edition*. College Station, TX: Stata Press.
- Marsh, M. (1998). Testing the Second-Order Election Model after Four European Elections. *British Journal of Political Science*, 28, 591-607.

- McAllister, I. (forthcoming, 2007). The personalization of politics. In Dalton, R.J., & Klingemann, H.D. (Eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McClurg, S. D. (2003). The role of social networks in explaining political participation. *Political Research Quarterly*, 56(4), 449-464.
- McCombs, M. (2004). *Setting the agenda. The mass media and public opinion*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- McFadden, D. (1973). Conditional logit analysis of qualitative choice behavior. In Zarembka, P. (Ed.), *Frontiers in econometrics* (pp. 105-142). New York: Academic Press.
- McLeod, J. M., Becker, L. B., & Byrnes, J. E. (1974). Another look at the agenda-setting function of the press. *Communication Research*, 1, 131-166.
- McLeod, D. M., Kosicki, G.M., & McLeod, J. M. (2002). Resurveying the boundaries of political communication effects. In J. Bryant and D. Zillmann (Eds.), *Media effects: advances in theory and research*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- McLeod, J. M., Scheufele, D. A., & Moy, P. (1999). Community, communication and participation: The role of mass media and interpersonal discussion in local political participation. *Political Communication*, 16, 315-336.
- McLeod, J. M., Scheufele, D. A., Moy, P., Horowitz, E. M., Holbert, R. L., Zhang, W., Zubric, S., & Zubric, J. (1999). Understanding deliberation. The effects of discussion networks on participation in a public forum. *Communication Research*, 26(6), 743-774.
- McNair, B. (1999). *An introduction to political communication* (2 ed.). London/New York: Routledge.
- McQuail, D. (1992). *Media performance. Mass communication and the public interest*. London: Sage.
- McQuail, D. (2005). Comparing media systems. Three models of media and politics. Review. *European Journal of Communication*, 20(2), 266-268.
- Miller, W. L. (1991). *Media and voters. The audience, content, and influence of press and television at the 1987 general election*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Milner, H. (2002). *Civic literacy. How informed citizens make democracy work*. Hanover: University Press of New England.
- Mokken, R.J. (1971). *A Theory and Procedure of Scale Analysis*, The Hague: Mouton.
- Moon, D. (1992). The Determinants of Turnout in Presidential Elections: An Integrative Model Accounting for Information. *Political Behavior*, 14(2), 123-140.
- Morrell, M.E. (2003). Survey and experimental evidence for a reliable and valid measure of internal political efficacy. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 67(4), 589-602.
- Mutz, D. C. (2002). The consequences of cross-cutting networks for political participation. *American Journal of Political Science*, 46(4), 838-855.
- Mutz, D. C., & Martin, P.S. (2001). Facilitating communication across lines of political difference: The role of mass media. *American Political Science Review*, 95(1), 97-114.
- Newton, K. (1999). Mass media effects: mobilization or media malaise? *British Journal of Politics*, 29, 577-599.
- Newton, K., & Brynyn, M. (2001). The national press and party voting in the UK. *Political Studies*, 49, 265-285.
- Niedermayer, O. (1990). Turnout in the European elections. *Electoral Studies*, 9, 45-50.
- Niemi, R.G., Craig, S.C., & Mattei, F. (1991). Measuring internal political efficacy in the 1988 national election study. *American Political Science Review*, 85 (4), 1407-1413.

- Niemöller, B. & Van Schuur, W.H. (1983). Stochastic Models for Unidimensional Scaling: Mokken and Rasch. In D. McKay, N. Schofield & P. Whiteley (Eds.), *Data Analysis and the Social Sciences* (pp. 120-170). London: Frances Pinter.
- Noelle-Neumann, E. (1984). *The spiral of silence*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Norris, P. (2000). *A virtuous circle: Political communication in postindustrial societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, P. (2001). *Digital Divide. Civic Engagement, Information Poverty, and the Internet Worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, P., Curtice, J., Sanders, D., Scammell, M., & Semetko, H. A. (1999). *On message. Communicating the campaign*. London: Sage.
- Oppenhuis, E. (1995). *Voting behavior in Europe. A comparative analysis of electoral participation and party choice*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
- Österlund-Karinkanta, M. (2004). Finland. In M. Kelly, G. Mazzoleni & D. McQuail (Eds.), *The media in Europe. The Euromedia handbook* (pp. 54-64). London: Sage.
- Paek, H.J., Yoon, S.H., & Shah, D.V. (2005). Local news, social integration, and community participation: Hierarchical linear modeling of contextual and cross-level effects. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 82(3), 587-606.
- Patterson, T. E. (1993). *Out of order*. New York: Vintage.
- Patterson, T. E. (1998). Political roles of the journalist. In D. Graber, D. McQuail & P. Norris (Eds.), *The politics of news: the news of politics* (pp. 17-32). Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press.
- Patterson, T. E. (2002). *The vanishing voter. Public involvement in an age of uncertainty*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Patterson, T. E., & Donsbach, W. (1993). *Press-party parallelism: a cross-national comparison*. Paper presented at the Annual meeting of the International Communication Association, Washington, D.C.
- Peter, J. (2003). *Why European TV news matters. A cross-nationally comparative analysis of TV news about the European Union and its effects*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.
- Peter, J. (2004). Our long 'return to the concept of powerful mass media' – a cross-national comparative investigation of the effects of consonant media coverage. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 16(2), 144-168.
- Powell, G.B. (1986). American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective. *American Political Science Review*, 80(1), 17-43.
- Price, V., & Zaller, J. (1993). Who gets the news? *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 57(2), 133-164.
- Przeworski, A., & Teune, H. (1970). *The logic of comparative social inquiry*. New York: Wiley-Interscience.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon&Schuster.
- Ragin, C. C. (1987). *The comparative method. Moving beyond qualitative and quantitative strategies*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Rokkan, S., & Torsvik, P. (1970).
- Reif, K. & Schmitt, H. (1980). Nine second-order elections: a conceptual framework for the analysis of European election results. *European Journal of Political research*, 8, 3-44.

- Rokkan, S., & Torsvik, P. (1970). The voter, the reader and the party press: an analysis of political preference and newspaper reading in Norway. In S. Rokkan, A. Campbell, P. Torsvik & H. Valen (Eds.), *Citizens, Elections, Parties* (pp. 397-416). New York: David McKay.
- Roncarolo, F. (2002). A crisis in the mirror: old and new elements in Italian political communication. In R. Kuhn & E. Neveu (Eds.), *Political journalism. New challenges, new practices* (pp. 69-91). London: Routledge.
- Sabato, L. J. (1991). *Feeding frenzy. How attack journalism has transformed American politics*. New York: The Free Press.
- Salokangas, R. (1999). From political to national, regional and local. The newspaper structure in Finland. *Nordicom Review*, 20(1), 31-76.
- Schmitt, H. (1990). Party Attachment and Party Choice in the European Elections of June 1989. A cross-national comparative analysis of the post-electoral surveys of the European Voters Study 1989. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 2(2), 169-184.
- Schmitt, H. & Thomassen, J. (Eds.). (2000): *Political Representation and Legitimacy in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University press.
- Schmitt-Beck, R. (2004). Political communication effects. The impact of mass media and personal conversations on voting. In F. Esser & B. Pfetsch (Eds.), *Comparing political communication. Theories, cases, and challenges* (pp. 293-322). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Schönbach, K. (1983). *Das unterschätzte Medium. Politische Wirkungen von Presse und Fernsehen im Vergleich*. München: K.G. Saur.
- Semetko, H. A. (1996). The media. In L. LeDuc, R. G. Niemi & P. Norris (Eds.), *Comparing democracies. Elections and voting in global perspective* (pp. 254-279). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Seymour-Ure, C. (1974). *The political impact of mass media*. London / Beverly Hills: Constable / Sage.
- Seymour-Ure, C. (2002). New Labour and the media. In A. King (Ed.), *Britain at the polls, 2001* (pp. 117-142). New York: Chatham House Publishers.
- SOU. (1965: 22). *Dagstidningarnas ekonomiska villkor. Betänkande av pressutredningen*. Stockholm: Esselte AB.
- Stojarová, V., Šedo, J., Kopeček, L., & Chytilík, R. (2007). Political parties in Central and Eastern Europe. In search of consolidation. Stockholm: International IDEA.
- Swanson, D. L. (1992). Managing theoretical diversity. In J. G. Blumler, J. M. McLeod & K. E. Rosengren (Eds.), *Comparatively speaking: Communication and culture across space and time*. Newbury Park/London/New Delhi: Sage.
- Van der Brug, W., & Van der Eijk, C. (Eds.) (2007). *European Elections and Domestic Politics. Lessons from the Past and Scenarios for the Future*. Southbend, University of Notre Dame Press.
- Van der Brug, W., Van der Eijk, C., & Franklin, M. (2007). *The Economy and the Vote*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van der Eijk, C., & Franklin, M. (1996). *Choosing Europe?* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Van Der Eijk, C. & Franklin, M. (2004). Potential for Contestation on European matters at National Elections in Europe. In G. Marks & M. Steenbergen (Eds.), *European Integration and Political Conflict* (pp. 32-50). New York: Cambridge University Press).

- Van der Eijk, C., Franklin, M., Mackie, T., & Valen, H. (1992). Democracy. Implications of the developmental process. In M. Franklin, T. Mackie & H. Valen (Eds.), *Electoral change. Responses to evolving social and attitudinal structures in Western countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Kempen, H. (2006). Press-party parallelism and its effects in Sweden. A longitudinal study 1979-2002. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 29(4), 406-421.
- Van Kempen, H. (2007). Media-party parallelism and its effects. A cross-national comparative study. *Political Communication*, 24(3), 303-320.
- Van Kempen, H., & Brants, K. (2002). Een digitaal onderonsje. Electronische democratie en politieke participatie. *Tijdschrift voor beleid, politiek en maatschappij*, 29(2), 92-100.
- Voltmer, K. (2000). *Structures of diversity of press and broadcasting systems: The institutional context of public communication in Western democracies*. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum für Sozialforschung (WZB).
- Voogt, R. J. J., & Van Kempen, H. (2002). Nonresponse bias and stimulus effects in the Dutch National Election Study. *Quality & Quantity*, 36, 325-345.
- Wattenberg, M. P. (1984). *The decline of American political parties 1952-1980*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Weibull, L. (1983). Political factors in newspaper readership. *Communication Research*, 10(3), 311-331.
- Weibull, L. (1995). Media diversity and choice. In K. E. Gustafsson (Ed.), *Media structure and the state. Concepts, issues, measures* (pp. 149-170). Göteborg: Mass Media Research Unit Publications.
- Westerståhl, J., & Janson, C. (1958). *Politisk press. Studier till belysning av dagspressens politiska roll i Sverige*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Widaman, K.F., & Thompson, J.F. (2003). On Specifying the Null Model for Incremental Fit Indices in Structural Equation Modeling. *Psychological Methods*, 8(1), 16-37.
- Worcester, R. M. (1995). Index of partisanship: a methodology for determining change in the political bias of newspapers' readers. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 7, 66-71.
- Zaller, J.R. (1992). *The nature and origins of mass opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zaller, J.R. (1996). The myth of massive media impact revived: New support for a discredited idea. In D.C. Mutz, P.M. Sniderman, & R.A. Brody (Eds.), *Political persuasion and attitude change* (pp. 17-78). Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Zaller, J. R. (2002). The statistical power of election studies to detect media exposure effects in political campaigns. *Electoral Studies*, 21, 297-329.

