

# 10. Appendix

## 10.1. Overview of Items Included in the Literature Review

Study	Method	Independent variable(s)	Control variable(s)	Mediating variable(s)	Moderating variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Effect / Relationship
<i>General Media Use</i>							
Becker & Whitney 1980	Representative telephone survey in Ohio	Television & newspaper dependencies (regularly use, pay attention to national & local affairs)	Age, education	-	-	Trust	Differential; yes on trust in local government, no for national government
Bennett, Rhine, Flickinger, & Bennett 1999	Data from the 1996 National Election Study, 1997 Pew Center Poll	Exposure to news and entertainment television programs, newspaper, talk radio	Education, gender, race, partisanship, ideology, family income, economic perceptions, and faith in people	-	-	Trust in government	No
Hetherington 1996	National Election Studies	Media use	Cost of living evaluation, Bush feeling Thermometer, party identification, talk about politics	Evaluation of economy	-	Vote for Bush	Yes
Hetherington 1998	National Election Studies	Television consumption & attention	Education, age, race, income, sex	-	-	Political trust	No
Hibbing & Theiss-Morse 1998	Public Perceptions of Congress Survey	Television reliance, radio reliance	Age, sex, income, education, knowledge, ideology, party ID, race, external efficacy, political involvement	-	-	Emotional feelings towards congress (fear, anger, disgust)	Yes

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Holtz-Bacha 1990	Representative survey of West-German electorate	Television use, newspaper use	Age, sex, education, political interest	-	-	Political alienation	No for use of political information
Johnson & Kaye 2003	Online survey of politically interested Web users	Intensity of web use, reliance on the web	-	-	-	Trust in government	No for intensity, yes for web reliance
Leshner & McKean 1997	Representative telephone survey in Columbia	Use of television news for political and government information	Education, age, income, race, gender, party identification, voter registration, political interest	-	-	Political cynicism	No
Moy, Pfau & Kahlor 1999	Representative telephone survey in Midwestern county	Exposure & attention to different media sources	Sex, age, education, political partisanship, institutional expertise	-	-	Confidence in various political institutions	No effects on confidence in presidency or government
Moy & Pfau 2000	Representative telephone survey in Midwestern county & Content Analysis	Media use (interpreted as variance as regards presentation of confidence in institutions)	Sex, age, education, income, party ID	Political knowledge	-	Confidence in government and presidency (and other institutions)	Generally rather indirect effects via expertise
Newton 1999	British Social Attitudes survey of 1996	Television use	Income, education, gender, age, government ID	-	-	Trust & cynicism	No for use of political information, yes for general television use

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Norris 2000	World Value Surveys 1995-97	Television use (intensity)	Gender, class, education, age and more	-	-	Regime support, institutional confidence	In some countries only: small effect on regime support, no effect on institutional confidence
O'Keefe 1980	Representative personal survey in Summit County, Ohio	Television reliance, newspaper reliance	-	-	-	Political alienation	No negative effects
Pfau, Moy, Holbert, Szabo, Lin, & Zhang 1998	Representative telephone survey & Content Analysis	Talk radio use	Sex, age, education, income, expertise, party ID	-	-	Confidence in congress and presidency	No
Pinkleton, Austin, & Fortman 1998	Random telephone survey of Washington state voters	Active media use (actively seek information, pay attention to news)	Demographic variables	-	-	Political cynicism	Potentially reciprocal relationship between active media use and cynicism
Pinkleton & Austin 2002	Random telephone survey of Washington state voters	Media use & media satisfaction measures	Education	-	-	Political cynicism (trust measures)	Negative relationship with active media use.
Robinson 1976	National Election Studies & experimental studies	Television reliance (use only TV)	-	-	-	Political efficacy	Yes

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Wolling 1999	Personal survey with electorate of major city in Germany, Representative Studies of German electorate, Content Analysis	Media use	Sex, age, identification with government parties, evaluation of economy, life satisfaction, disadvantages through politics, political deficits	-	Political interest, trust in media	Efficiency and legitimacy of governmental system, efficiency of government, identification with political community, confidence in political institutions	Media use in general increased support; stronger effects for political interested and credible media outlets
Wolling 2009	Representative panel survey for German electorate	Internet use	Socialization, economy perception, political experiences, interpersonal communication, use of other media sources	-	-	Satisfaction with democracy	No
<i>Use of specific media content aspects</i>							
Durr, Gilmour, & Wolbrecht 1997	Content analysis & survey data matched at aggregate level	Negativity of media coverage in New York Times	Variety of political process aspects (major bills, veto overrides) and individual approval measures were controlled	-	-	Public support for the Congress	Yes
Iyengar, Kinder, Peters, & Krosnick 1984	Experimental studies	Media attention to national issues (energy, defense, inflation)	-	Issue accessibility	Political knowledge	General performance, competence, evaluation of integrity	Yes for general performance and competence, no for evaluation of integrity

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Iyengar & Simon 1993	Content analysis & National Election Survey	Media attention to Gulf crisis	-	Importance of foreign policy	-	Evaluation of Bush	Yes
Kepplinger 2000	Content Analysis & Representative Survey for German Electorate	Media presentation of political actors	-	-	-	Trust in political actors	Yes
Kiousis 2003	Longitudinal time-series design (media content & survey)	Media coverage on Monica Lewinsky scandal	Economic indicators, time	-	-	Evaluation of Bill Clinton	Yes for perceived favorability, less effects on job approval
Kleinmijhuis, van Hoof & Oegema 2006	Representative survey with Dutch electorate & Content Analysis matched	Negative ton	Sex, age, education, and political knowledge, prior vote	-	-	Political trust	Yes
Krosnick & Brannon 1993	National Election Survey	Media attention to Gulf war crisis	Gender, race, age, education, region	Importance of Bush's handling of the crisis	Political knowledge, political interest, levels of media exposure	Evaluation of Bush	Stronger effects for knowledgeable, greater priming effects with lower levels of exposure & interest
Krosnick & Kinder 1990	National Election Survey	Media attention to Central Asia	Gender, age, education, income, region, party identification	Importance of the US intervention in Central Asia	-	Evaluation of Bush's performance	Yes

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Maurer 2003b	6-wave representative panel survey of electorate in major German city & Content Analysis matched	Negative presentations of political actors in the media	Age, sex, education, political interest, party ID, political expectations	Perception of media coverage	-	Confidence in democracy	Moderate effects
McGraw & Ling 2003	Experimental study	News article on abortion and the Family Medical Leave Act with responsibility either for president or feminist movement	Gender, religion, media trust, political knowledge, partisan identification, feminist identification	Impact of approval of performance on that issue	Political knowledge and media trust	General evaluation of President and feminist movement	Yes for presidential evaluation, no for evaluation of feminist movement
Miller, Goldenberg & Erbring 1979	National Election Survey & Content Analysis matched	Media cynicism	Policy dissatisfaction, incumbent support, media exposure	-	Level of media exposure	Trust in government	Yes; stronger effects for individuals with high levels of media exposure
Miller & Krosnick 1996	Experimental studies & survey data	Media attention to issues	-	Accessibility and relevance of issue	Media exposure, political knowledge	Presidential evaluation	Yes, diverging findings as regards role of moderators
Miller & Krosnick 2000	Experimental studies	Media article on a certain issue	-	Priming: perceived importance of that issue	Political knowledge, trust in media	Presidential performance evaluation	Yes, in particular when trust in media and political knowledge is high
Morris & Clawson 2007	Survey data & Content analysis matched	Media attention to political scandals, conflict and compromise, legislative maneuvering	Economic expectations and presidential approval	-	-	Public support	Yes for scandals and legislative maneuvering, no for conflict and compromise

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Mutz & Reeves 2005	Experimental studies	Level of incivility in television debates	-	-	Individual propensity for conflict avoidance	Trust in political institutions and actors	Yes
Patterson 1996	Content Analysis & Survey Data	Interpretative media style, horse race	-	-	-	Satisfaction with political leaders, the congress and the presidency	Yes
Pfau 1987	Experimental study	Televised intraparty political debates	-	-	Viewer expectancies regarding language use	Attitudes about participating candidates	Yes, viewer expectancies as important moderator
Tewksbury 1999	Experimental study	Television news profile of a political candidate	-	-	Consumption goals, political expertise	Evaluation of political candidate	Yes, in particular for evaluation as consumption goal
Wolling 1999	Personal survey with electorate of major city in Germany, Representative Studies of German electorate, Content Analysis matched	Amount of negative statements	Sex, age, identification with government parties, evaluation of economy, life satisfaction, disadvantages through politics, political deficits	-	Political interest, trust in media	Efficiency and legitimacy of governmental system, efficiency of government, identification with political community, confidence in political institutions	Negativity decreased political support, other variables such as personalization and conflict orientation showed no effects; stronger effects for political interest and credible media outlets
Wolling 2001	Personal survey with electorate of major city in Germany & Content Analysis matched	Media attention to political scandals	Media use, economy perception, etc	-	-	System legitimacy	No

<i>Media frames</i>							
Study	Method	Independent variable(s)	Control variable(s)	Mediating variable(s)	Moderating variable(s)	Dependent Variable(s)	Effect / Relationship
Cappella & Jamieson 1997	Experimental studies	Strategy frames	-	-	-	Political cynicism	Yes
De Vreese 2004	Experimental study	Strategy frames	Political knowledge, political efficacy	-	-	Political cynicism	Yes for short-term effects, no for long-term effects
De Vreese 2005	2-wave panel surveys and content analysis	Strategy frames	Gender, age, education, government evaluation, political sophistication, the respondent's level of cynicism	-	-	Political cynicism	Yes; Effects are contingent upon the level of strategic reporting in news coverage: yes for Denmark, no for Netherlands
De Vreese & Semetko 2002	2-wave panel surveys and content analysis	Strategy frames	Gender, age, education, political efficacy, campaign involvement, government approval, EU skepticism	-	-	Political cynicism	Yes
Druckman 2001b	Experimental Studies	Media frames: framing Ku Klux Klan rally in terms of free speech vs. Public order	-	Importance of free speech vs. Public safety	Trust in source / trust in medium	Tolerance of Ku Klux Klan	Yes, trust moderates the relationship between frames and tolerance
Druckman & Neslon 2003	Experimental Study	Media frames: framing the McCain-Feingold reform bill in terms of free speech vs. Special interest	-	Importance of free speech vs. Special interest	Need to evaluate (NE)	Support for McCain-Feingold	Stronger priming effects for individuals with low NE

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Iyengar 1987	Experimental Studies	Issue framing (in contrast to episodic framing)	-	Systemic attribution of responsibility	-	Assessment of presidential performance	Yes
Matthes 2007b	Survey data & Content analysis	Media frames	Political ideology, education, age, sex	-	Modus of information processing (online vs. memory-based)	Attitude toward government, political opposition, unemployed people	Stronger effects for memory-based processing
Shen 2004	Experimental study	Media frames (character vs. issue)	-	-	Individual schemas	Voter cognitions	Schemas moderated the impact of media frames on voter cognitions
Valentino, Beckmann & Buhr 2001	Experimental study	Strategy frames	-	-	Partisanship and political sophistication (education)	Confidence in government	Yes but only for non partisans
Valentino, Buhr & Beckmann 2001	Experimental study	Strategy frames	-	-	-	Negative reactions to candidate, policy initiative or characteristics of the story	Yes

Note: This table presents an overview of empirical findings regarding the relationship between political media information and attitudes of political confidence. Thereby I selected only the aspects that are relevant with regard to the present study's research interest. Hence, the studies might encompass more findings than the ones presented here.

## 10.2. Overview of Items Used in the Study

*Process preferences:* In the following question we would like to know more about your political preferences. Citizens hold different preferences regarding how political decisions should be made in democratic systems. Please answer according to the following scale, how important

do you consider the following preferences. The scale ranges from 1 (not important at all) to 7 (very important). How important is it for you, that...

- ... political parties sometimes concede a point to the other side? [**concede**]
- ... politicians give consideration to diverging interests when searching for solutions? [**div interests**]
- ... political decisions are based on compromises? [**compromise**]
- ... political problems are solved as fast as possible? [**fast**]
- ... political decision-making processes are simple and short? [**simple process**]
- ... politicians do avoid delays when making political decisions? [**avoid delays**]
- ... politicians are decisive and force their points? [**force points**]
- ... one political side is able to put their plans through? [**put plans through**]
- ... certain politicians could give hierarchical orders, if a decision has to be taken? [**hierarchical orders**]
- ... politicians tread each other with respect. [**respect**]
- ... politicians treat each other fairly. [**fair**]
- ... there are no losers of political decisions. [**no losers**]
- ... political actors give clear orders as to how to proceed further after a decision has been taken. [**clear orders**]
- ... political decisions are not hampered by quarrels between political parties. [**no quarrels**]
- ... political decisions are not hampered by power struggles. [**no power struggles**]
- ... political opponents do not insist on their opinions. [**no persistence**]

(Given in parentheses are denotations of variables in figures and tables.)

*Process perceptions:*

Now we would like to know how, in your opinion, political decisions are actually made in Switzerland. Please answer according to the following scale and indicate to what extent the following statements on political decision-making processes in Switzerland, in your opinion, apply or not apply. The scale ranges from 1 (does not apply at all) to 7 (fully applies).

Political parties sometimes concede a point to the other side. [**concede**]

Politicians give consideration to diverging interests when searching for solutions. [**div interests**]

In Switzerland political decisions are based on compromises. [**compromise**]

In Switzerland political problems are solved as fast as possible. [**fast**]

Political decision-making processes in Switzerland are time-consuming.\* [**simple process**]

Political decision-making processes in Switzerland are time-consuming.\* [**simple process**]