Switzerland			Germany		
Election of government			Election of chancellor		
Election Day: 12/12/1963	Election Day: 12/7/1983	Election Day: 12/10/2003	Election Day: 10/17/1963	Election Day: 3/30/1983	Election Day: 10/22/2002
Coding period			Coding period		
12/12/1964 - 12/11/1965	12/7/1984 - 12/61985	12/10/2004 - 12/9/2005	10/17/1964 – 10/16/1965	3/30/1984 - 3/29/1985	10/22/2003 – 10/21/2004
NZZ 28	NZZ 45	NZZ 60	SZ 54	SZ 62	SZ 100
Blick 15	Blick 8	Blick 31	Bild 27	Bild 16	Bild 31
		Tages-Anzeiger 80			Freie Presse 66
Total articles 43	Total articles 53	Total articles 171	Total articles 81	Total articles 78	Total articles 207

Note. Entries are number of coded news articles

Legend. For the coding period between 12/12/1964 and 12/11/1965, 28 articles from the "NZZ" and 15 articles from "Blick" were coded, resulting in an amount of 43 articles in total for the period of 1964/1965.

Table 4.1. Content Analysis Sample

4.2.2. Codebook and Reliability

The codebook was used for the analysis of print and television news and encompassed four variable blocks. First, formal aspects were considered (name of publication or broadcasting channel, length, placing, journalistic genre, and use of quotations). Second, thematic aspects were coded (political institution, type of decision-making processes, policy cycle, and policy field). Third, references in media coverage to various aspects of political decision-making processes were coded. And fourth, the media's attention to aspects of political legitimacy was coded. The codebook for the analysis of television newscasts[42] was largely the same as the press codebook but includes some additional variables on images and pictures and vari-

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42 The introductory or concluding moderation and the actual news report were coded as two separate articles.

ables on specific aspects of the presentation of political negotiations. The following variables were included in the data analysis conducted in the framework of this study. The variables were measured with dichotomous variables in the form of a question. For more detailed information about the variables, the codebook (in German language) can be requested from the author.

- *Power struggle*: Does the article refer to power struggles or discord between political institutions or actors?
- *Accusation*: Do political actors blame each other or accuse somebody of something?
- *Compromise*: Does the article focus on consensus-seeking endeavors or the search for political compromises?
- *Understanding*: Does the article refer to political actors talking to each other, listening to each other, or mutual understanding?
- *Winning and losing*: Does the article refer to winners or losers among political actors?
- *Collective attribution*: Does the article present political decisions as the result of joint interests and motives?
- *Collective action:* Does the article refer to collective actions and the role of joint behavior?
- *Inability*: Does the article refer to the inability of political actors, institutions or processes to solve political problems?
- *Failure*: Does the article refer to the failure of political actors, processes or institutions?

To test intercoder reliability, each coder observed the same subset of the sample that consists of 50 newspaper articles.[43] Reliability was calculated using the Software program PRAM (Program for Reliability Assessment with Multiple Coders). To evaluate inter-coder reliability, Holsti's R is used. In Table 4.2, the average values over all coder pairs are given. The variables collective attribution and collective action appeared to be somewhat problematical. Accordingly, the findings should be interpreted with caution.

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43 There was another reliability test for the television analysis. The results do not differ significantly from the reliability results reported here.

Variables	Holsti's R
Medium	1.00
Length	0.93
Placement	0.97
Journalistic genre	0.78
Collective attribution	0.67
Collective action	0.62
Compromise	0.81
Understanding	0.75
Power Struggle	0.81
Accusation	0.78
Winning and Losing	0.88
Inability	0.75
Failure	0.87

Note. For item wordings see description in the text above.

Table 4.2. Intercoder Reliability

4.2.3. Procedure

The relevant material was collected by researching online data-bases and online archives as well as in libraries. The title and the first paragraph of all articles within the relevant sections of the selected newspaper issues were read. Based on this information, a decision was made as to whether an article was relevant or not. The newscasts were taken from online archives. Four students of mass communication at the University of Zurich coded the material. Three sessions of coder training took place in April 2007. An additional training session for the content analysis of television newscasts was conducted in September 2007. Coding was done at computer workstations at the University of Zurich from May 2007 until October 2007. The data material was randomly distributed across time and coders in order to reduce systematic biases. An online platform was set up to facilitate the communication among the coders and the author. Potential difficulties in the coding process were therefore transparent and traceable. Moreover, the online platform was used to supply the coders with information and current updates.