Thematic Section
Action and Interaction in Political Communication

Roland Burkart* & Uta Russmann**

JOURNALISM, DEMOCRACY AND THE ROLE OF DOUBTS: AN ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN COMMUNICATION IN AUSTRIA

The present study examines 539 press releases of political parties and 369 articles in daily newspapers during the course of the 2008 Austrian National Elections. The theoretical frame of reference is the "Theory of Communicative Action" by Jürgen Habermas resp. his perspective of understanding. Habermas points out four validity claims (intelligibility, truth, truthfulness and legitimacy) each communication partner needs to accept in order to achieve understanding. If one partner has doubts about the fulfillment of these claims, a discourse as a kind of "repair-mechanism" is needed in order to rebuild understanding. Drawing from this perspective, we conceive journalists as public "discourse advocates." The aim of the analysis is to examine the "culture of doubts" in political campaign communication and mass media coverage of the Austrian National Elections. The results show that the overall number of doubts cast in the analyzed news articles is higher than in the parties' press releases. A closer look at the different validity claims reveals that doubts about legitimacy and truthfulness are dominant – and in sum, the quality press poses more questions for discussion.

Keywords: journalism, doubts, Habermas, Theory of Communicative Action, discourse.

* University of Vienna, roland.burkart@univie.ac.at
** University of Innsbruck, uta.russmann@uibk.ac.at

1. Information Dissemination – a Democratic Function of Journalism

In this article we focus on the role of journalism in democratically organized societies. Following the traditional information-function of the mass media (McQuail 1994: 79 ff.; Ronneberger 1971; Saxer 1974; Schulz 2008), journalists serve the public interest by disseminating relevant information on diverse issues. In democratic societies there is to a certain extent "a collective interest in political information" (Russ-Mohl 1994: 83 f.). Especially in times of election campaigns media coverage should inform about the main facts and figures offered via press releases and other pr-activities by political actors and parties. For decades it has been argued that media can be seen as "the principal institutions of the public sphere," because they "distribute the information necessary for citizens to make an informed choice at election time" and they "enable the people to shape the conduct of government by articulating their views" (Curran 1991: 29).

However, dissemination is an essential but not a sufficient requirement for journalistic activities. Especially in election campaigns journalists resp. the media create a public sphere similar to the ancient Greek agora or the Roman forum (Wreschniok 2009), where different political actors offered their viewpoints and asked for consent. Nevertheless: by highlighting the concept of the agora and by referring to the (deliberative) perspective of democracy a "need to justify decisions made by citizens and their representatives" can be assumed and "leaders should therefore give reasons for their decisions, and respond to the reasons that citizens give in return" (Gutmann & Thompson 2004: 3).

Journalists can serve this need by interpreting and analyzing the viewpoints of political actors – mainly expressed in press releases of the political parties. Within this perspective, the role of journalists is sometimes seen as similar to that of agents or middlemen[1] or as spokesmen of the voiceless masses[2]. Journalists are somehow "commissioned" to communicate with the political actors in place of interested citizens who have no chance of a direct face-to-face encounter with these people. In other words: Journalists have to establish a more or less permanent communica-

---

[1] In German: "Gesprächsanwälte" (Glotz & Langenbucher 1969: 27).
[2] In German: "Wortführer der sprachlosen Massen" (Ronneberger 1974: 204).

tion process with political actors – they act as a kind of "public agent"[3], by entering into a dialogue with those looking for approval and trust from the voters.

1.1. Understanding as an Essential Journalistic Claim

If you take this demand seriously, first and foremost the possibilities of how to successfully establish such communication processes have to be addressed. Referring to the Habermasian "Theory of Communicative Action (TCA)" (1984, 1987, 2001) we argue that the inherent telos of communication is mutual understanding between the involved subjects. Within this perspective we explicitly claim that there is a "public need for understanding" in democratically organized societies. Journalists can serve this need if they create speech situations, which are in line with the Habermasian perspective of understanding.

In his seminal work, Habermas analyzes the conditions of understanding by an examination of speech-acts. From this, he infers the rational conditions for mutual understanding in communicative action (Habermas 1984: 305 ff.). Communication always happens as a multi-dimensional process and each participant needs to accept the validity of certain quasi-universal demands or claims in order to achieve understanding. This implies that the partners in the communication process must trust each other to fulfill the following validity claims:

- Intelligibility (means: they are convinced of being able to use the proper grammatical rules)
- Truth (means: they are sure that they are talking about something which the partner also accepts as real)
- Truthfulness (means: they agree on being honest to each other and on not misleading the partner)
- Legitimacy (means: they assume that they are acting in accordance with mutually accepted values and norms).

[3] With this concept we sympathize with the perspective of the investigative as well as the so called watchdog-journalism (see e.g. Jarren & Wessler 2002: 203 f.; Nagel 2007).

As long as neither of the partners have doubts about the fulfillment of these claims, the communication process will function without interruption. However, as Habermas argues, these circumstances would represent an ideal – they hardly ever occur in reality. Often, basic rules of communication are violated and therefore a discourse is needed as a kind of "repair-mechanism."

The term discourse, as used by Habermas, implies that all participants involved must have the opportunity to doubt the intelligibility of statements, the truth of assertions, the truthfulness of expressions and the legitimacy of interests. Only if plausible answers are given, the flow of communication will continue.

1.2. Discoursive Journalism

This is exactly where our current research starts. Over a decade ago, the idea of such a perspective on journalism was coined "discoursive journalism" (Burkart 1998: 170) and the journalist's role was defined as a "discourse advocate" (ibid.) who – instead of the general public – is able to cast doubts on political actors, their attitudes, behavior, etc.[4] Discoursive journalism is close to the role perception of advocative journalism as well as to that of the critical controller uncovering deficiencies. Compared to international standards (Donsbach & Patterson 2003), this self-conception is strongly developed in many democratically organized societies (Donsbach & Patterson 2003). For instance, more than half of the German journalists (58 %) regard it as their professional duty to "criticize social ills" (Weischenberg, Malik & Scholl 2006: 106). In Austria, three quarters (75 %) of the journalists agree with this position (Kaltenbrunner et al. 2008) and also in the US the media's role as a watchdog is strongly respected: 71 % of the journalists see it as one of their responsibilities to "investigate claims and statements made by the government" (Weaver et al. 2007: 140 f.).

Even though the idea of discoursive journalism is close to this journalistic role conception, the two are not identical: while the typical role of the

---

[4] In the meantime Carsten Brosda (2008: 160 ff.) has elaborated this concept extensively.
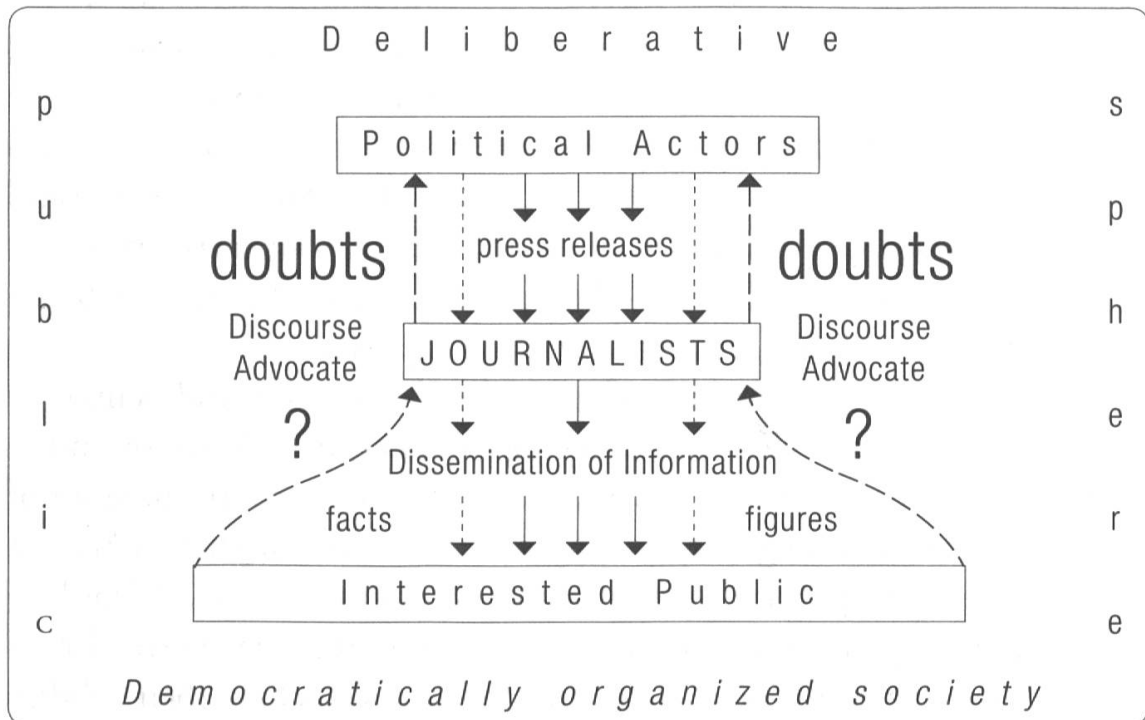
critic puts journalism itself in a position where it is stylized to be a kind of "Fourth Estate" (see critically: Boventer 1993), the discursive journalist is rather someone who initiates or keeps up the process of understanding between electorate and those elected. If at all and to what extent this is the case can only be touched superficially within the frame of the study presented here. First, we would like to ask if and in how far the prerequisites are given at all. Therefore, we need to take a closer look at the products of professional communicators – these are the press releases of political parties and the (political) coverage by the journalists.

We try to take up the idea of journalism's role as a middleman or spokesman of the voiceless masses trying to establish a process of understanding between political actors and (interested) citizens. In the spirit of the TCA, understanding-oriented journalists should take their chance in casting doubts on political messages and on political actors. According to the Habermasian idea of understanding, journalists have several possibilities to question the politicians' messages and disbelieve their validity claims: They have the option to doubt the intelligibility of statements, the truth of propositions, the truthfulness of the involved political actors as well as the legitimacy of their interests.

Drawing from this theoretical perspective we assume that news coverage that is oriented towards communicative principles of understanding can promote the development of a deliberative public sphere. In this article, we can only make a first approach towards this proposition: Whether and to what extent we will find empirical evidence for this assumption depends on a broader analysis of the media coverage, which we will be able to do within an on-going research project.[5] Figure 1 illustrates this theoretical context of a discoursive journalism.

Figure 1: Discoursive Journalism

Source: Burkart & Russmann 2010

The graphic first shows political actors who send a message (e.g., via press releases) to the media, which the journalists then disseminate to the interested public (continuous line). In the sense of their function as "discourse advocate" journalists – as representatives of the interested citizens – doubt the politicians' remarks in different ways. By doing so, the journalists act as "mouthpiece" of interested citizens or (as mentioned above) as "spokesmen of the voiceless masses" (broken line) that usually have no opportunity to ask political actors any questions. An empirical testing of how often and by whom such doubts are voiced at all and what types of doubts we are talking about, helps identify the conditions for the process of understanding between the electorate and the elected.

However, the model already transcends the first empirical data provided in this paper by outlining the role of discoursive journalism in the global context of a deliberative public. It is about to outline the idea of a "discourse cycle," kept up by discoursive journalists who (representative for the interested citizens) articulate doubts about the activities of political actors (broken line). Thereby, they again provoke the political

actors to rethink their viewpoints and to justify or modify them. Only when this process has been initiated or is being kept up, journalism can provide a contribution towards an understanding (and thereby towards the creation of a deliberative public sphere) "weil ein Verstehen kommunikativer Akte voraussetzt, dass der Verstehende zu den erhobenen Geltungsansprüchen Stellung bezieht und sie folgerichtig [...] einer diskursiven Prüfung unterzieht." (Brosda 2008: 165) Finally, in this context one needs to differentiate whether journalists generate doubts about the actions of political actors and their behavior of their own accord or if they just reflect those doubts articulated by the political actors themselves. Therefore, it is necessary to explore the „culture of doubting" in the press releases of the political parties – this already takes place exemplarily in the study presented here.[6]

2. Research Question and Method

The present study will address the following research questions:
- *RQ1:* Do political actors cast doubts on political opponents and/or their messages via press releases and if they do to what extent?
- *RQ2:* Do journalists cast doubts on political messages and on political actors and if they do to what extent?
- *RQ3:* Do journalists pass on the different doubts expressed by the political actors (in the press releases) to the general public?
- *RQ4:* Do journalists exploit the possibility of casting doubts on the politicians and their actions?

In this article, we examine the role of doubts in political campaign communication and mass media coverage of the 2008 Austrian National Elections. We chose to conduct the study on campaign communication as "election campaigns are among the most important events in the lives of democracies and societies in transition. Campaigns often constitute the high points in public debate about political issue" (Semetko 2008). Press releases of political parties are a typical PR-tool. With respect to the

---

[6] One further question (transcending the attempt presented here) would be if different types of doubts provoke different discourse qualities.

agenda building process press releases are very important inputs onto the political discussion in our democratically organized societies and they influence the media coverage by means of these relations. The mass media cover politicians, parties and their politics, and additionally provide a platform for discussion in the public interest. Following our main research questions, the findings presented will focus on the media coverage by comparing its output.

The analyzed material consists of press releases of the five political parties in the Austrian Parliament *(SPOE, OEVP, FPOE, Green Party* and *BZOE)* and the coverage of selected daily newspapers six weeks prior to the 2008 Austrian National Elections *(Neue Kronen Zeitung/ "Krone," Kurier, Der Standard, Die Presse)*[7]. The media selection includes Austria's largest newspaper, the *"Krone"* and the *Kurier* representing Austria's yellow press and two quality papers *Die Presse* and *Der Standard*, two of Austria's leading daily newspapers. The sample includes 539 press releases and 369 news articles of the following three weeks: August 19–25 ("pre-election period"), September 02–08 ("half time") and September 23–28, 2008 ("final stage"). The data were analyzed by quantitative and qualitative content analyses. First, we measured the main topics of all press releases and news articles as only those which refer to the policy-dimension were selected for the actual sample. Particularly, in press releases and news articles dominated by a "substantial" political topic (policy-issue) the involved actors (politics and media) present their tasks and goals for the next legislative period. We assume that in many cases the discussion about political tasks, goals as well as about problem solving solutions brings out different conflicts between the involved actors. Hence, the selected material gives us the opportunity to examine political conflicts, so-called "Streitkulturen" (Sarcinelli 1990). Second, we analyzed the number and types of doubts found in parties' press releases and news articles. As outlined above and in accordance with the Habermasian perspective of understanding, we assume that political actors and journalists now and then cast doubts

---

[7] The newspapers were selected a) due to the time frame of the research project: All selected newspapers have been published for more than 40 years *(Der Standard* succeeded the *Arbeiterzeitung)*, and b) to be able to analyse the quality press *(Der Standard* and *Die Presse)* as well as the yellow press *("Krone"* and *Kurier),* thereby capturing a broad spectrum of the media output.

on different political actors, their messages and actions. We distinguish between four types of doubts:

- *Intelligibility:* Doubts on "intelligibility" are expressed if political actors or journalists question whether the statement of a participant is formulated in such a way that the members of the addressed public will be able to understand it (e.g., he/she uses too many technical terms; he/she doesn't use the proper grammar; the expressions he/she uses are too complex).

- *Truth:* Doubts on "truth" are expressed if political actors or journalists question whether a statement pertaining to a specific circumstance (e.g., situation, fact, occurrence) of a political actor is a proven fact (e.g., the facts and figures are wrong; it didn't happen that way; the situation was totally different from the one described).

- *Truthfulness:* Doubts on "truthfulness" are expressed if political actors or journalists claim that a political actor is not trustworthy. For example, they allege that someone has lied and/or political actors are accused of lacking honesty or integrity (e.g., he/she is lying to us; he/she is bluffing; he/she is not acting according to his/her promise).

- *Legitimacy:* Doubts on "legitimacy" are expressed if political actors or journalists question the appropriateness of political actors' actions and their behavior (e.g., acting like this is wrong; this is something you just can't do; he/she is not acting in accordance to mutually accepted values and norms).

In the present study, all statements which question these validity claims with regard to a particular communication partner and therefore address them as *problem* are classified as "doubts." Therefore the doubts cast are always determined with regard to at least one political actor (politician or political party), statement or proposition. The four types of doubts are coded according to their appearance in the press releases and the news articles. Each doubt cast is coded only once, i.e. in case a political actor or a journalist literally repeats him-/herself in a single press release or news article only the first statement is coded. In the event that a specific doubt is not determinable it is coded as such.[8]

---

[8] In our present study this never occured.

3. Results

3.1. More Doubts in News Articles than in Press Releases

The results show that the overall number of doubts cast in the analyzed news articles is higher than in the parties' press releases (Figure 2): Only one third (31 %) of the press releases reveal doubts expressed by a political actor. However, in almost half (44 %) of the news articles we can find doubts that are either expressed by the journalists themselves – this is what we refer to as the journalistic perspective – or doubts cast by political actors that are passed on by the journalists in their articles. This is what we refer to as the political perspective. (We will discuss further the role of these two perspectives below.)

In Figure 3, the comparison of the four analyzed newspapers reveals that there is a clear distinction between the quality press *(Standard* and *Presse)* and the yellow press *(Kurier* and *Krone)*: In about one third of the published articles in each quality newspaper we can find doubts whereas in less than 20% of the news articles in the *Krone* and only in 13 % of the articles in the *Kurier* doubts are cast on politicians, parties and/or their politics. In sum, the quality press poses more questions for discussion.

3.2. Doubts on Legitimacy dominate

Habermas maps four validity claims, which have to be fulfilled in order for the communication process going on without interruption. As this "ideal communication situation" hardly ever occurs in *political reality,* the question remains which validity claim(s) do politics and the media most likely express doubts on: Is it the intelligibility of statements, the truth of assertions, the truthfulness of expressions or the legitimacy of interests? To assess differences between the four validity claims, we will first compare press releases and news articles.

Looking at the findings of the different doubts our analysis of press releases reveals more or less the same results for all parties. Political actors in general doubt the legitimacy of other political actors: With 77 %, doubts on legitimacy score highest, followed by doubts on the truthfulness (20 %) of the political actors (see Figure 4). The results for news

Figure 2: Sample of Analysis: Press Releases and News Articles with and without Doubts
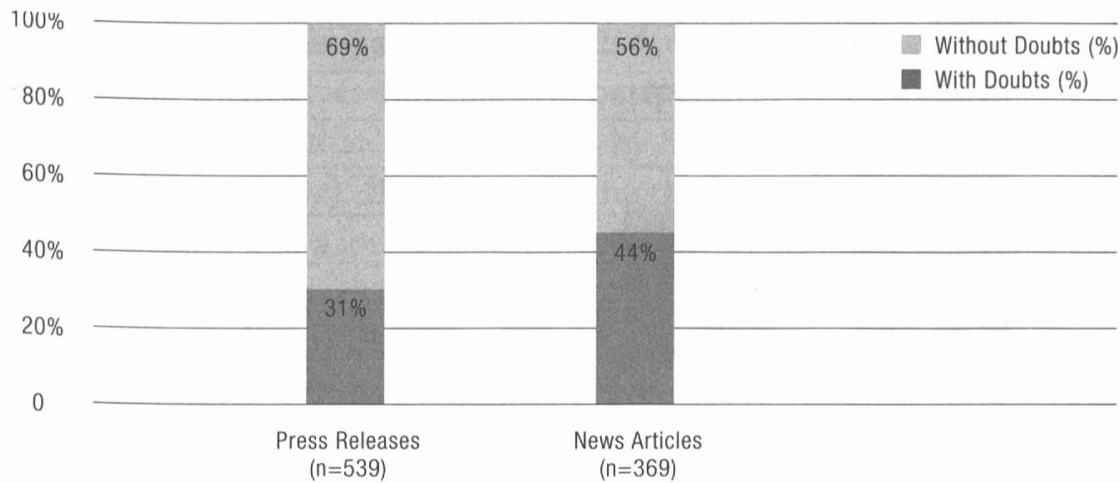
Source: Burkart & Russmann 2010

Figure 3: News Articles with and without Doubts
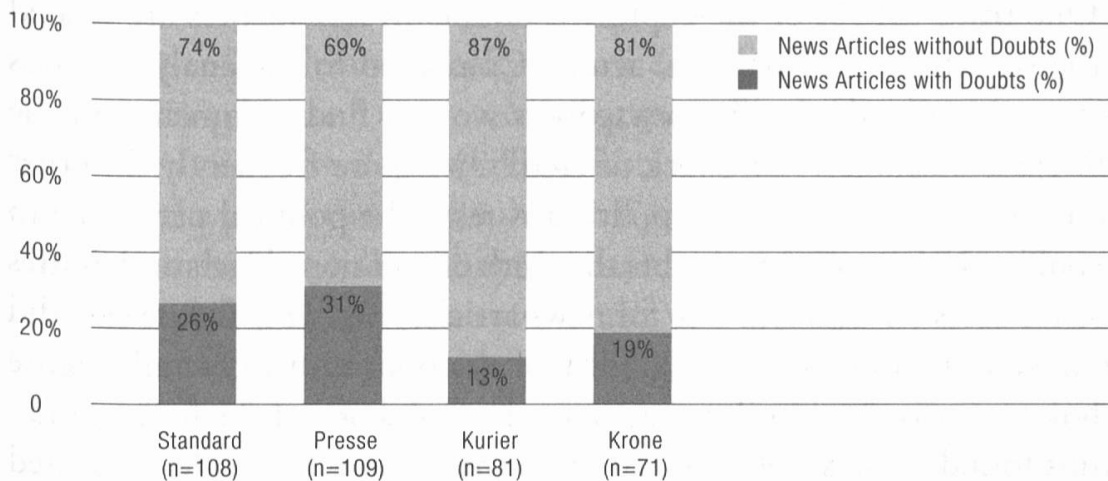
Source: Burkart & Russmann 2010

Figure 4: Different Doubts in Press Releases and Media Coverage

Source: Burkart & Russmann 2010

articles show that doubts on the legitimacy of political actors are, just as in press releases, the most common, but with 63 % on a lower level.
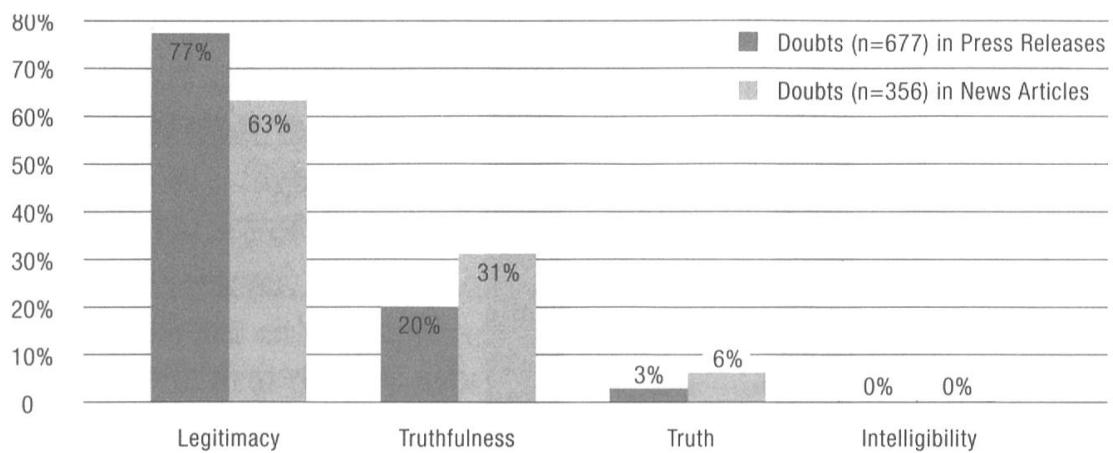
One third (31 %) of the expressed doubts in newspapers are related to the truthfulness of political actors. Compared to the analyzed press releases this reveals that in newspapers we can find comments on the politicians' dishonesty and lack of credibility more frequently. In other words, it is assumed that the politicians resp. the political parties lie to the public! Hardly anyone doubts the truth of mentioned facts and figures (3 % for press releases and 6 % for news articles) and only in one case did the media question the intelligibility of the politicians. Overall, Figure 4 shows more or less similar results for the frequency of the four validity claims found in press releases and in the media coverage. The presented results indicate that politics get their "message" into the press.

However, knowing more about the different doubts tells us nothing as yet about the role of the journalists. Especially in times prior to elections it is important that journalists strive to critically observe and question politicians, parties and their politics as even in modern democracies most citizens do not have a chance of meeting face-to-face with the candidates running for office.

3.3. Journalist's Communicator Role dominante in Yellow Press

We now turn to the information-role of political journalism in detail. Therefore, we distinguish the analyzed doubts into those cast by the journalists themselves (journalistic perspective) and doubts expressed by political actors that are passed on by the journalists in their articles (political perspective). By distinguishing the journalist's role into a political perspective and a journalistic perspective, we will gain a more specific understanding of the democratic role of journalism. Do journalists simply observe the political discussion, i.e. by acting as a mediator, and cater to the public interest by informing people about the political discussion (facts and figures)? Or do they rather take an active role in interpreting, analyzing and questioning the statements and viewpoints of political actors – this refers to the journalist's role as a communicator.[9] The latter perspective actually addresses the idea that only news coverage that is oriented towards communicative principles of understanding can promote the development of a deliberative public sphere. Critical journalists should question the politicians' messages along the validity claims. In doing so, journalists become (as mentioned above) "discourse advocates" resp. "public agents" of democratically organized societies.

Examining Figure 5, one notices that journalists of quality papers such as *Standard* and *Presse* do report on doubts as expressed by political actors. Just as in the press releases, doubts on legitimacy (*Standard* 34%, *Presse* 44%) score highest followed by doubts on truthfulness (13%). But the analysis reveals a different picture for the yellow press: *Krone* and *Kurier* hardly transfer the doubts expressed by the political actors in their press releases. Instead, we find the yellow press generates doubts independently. Especially the journalists of *Krone* interpret and analyze the viewpoints of political actors (legitimacy = 34%, truthfulness = 18%). By actively expressing doubts on the political actors they become actors in the democratic discourse – just as the quality press does, but less frequently than journalists of the yellow press.

---

[9] Originally, the (similar) differentiation between "mediator" and "communicator" goes back to Langenbucher (1974).

Figure 5: Different Doubts in Media Coverage
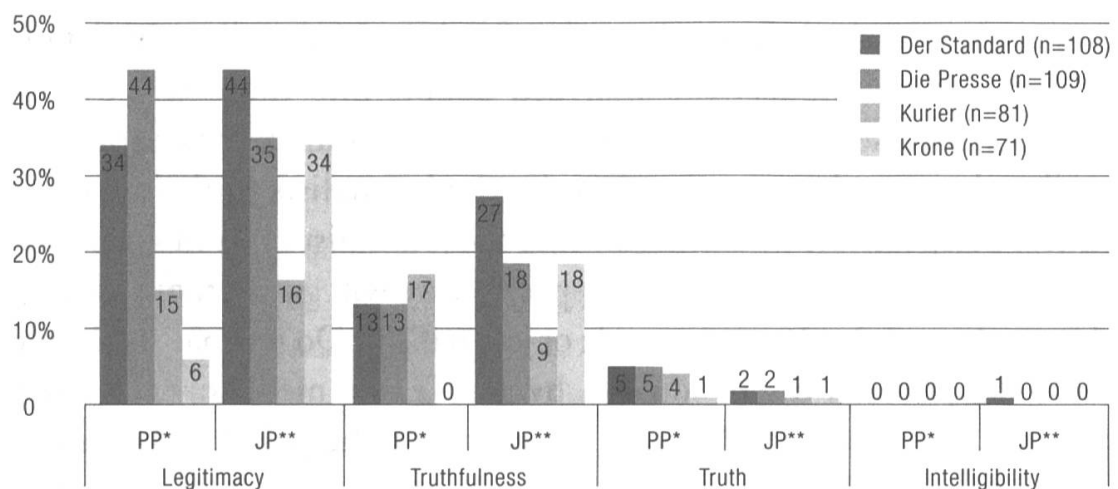
* Political Perspective (journalist's role as mediator);
** Journalistic Perspective (journalist's role as communicator)
Source: Burkart & Russmann 2010

Distinguishing between the political and the journalistic perspective with regard to all analyzed validity claims, the quality press is clearly more balanced as far as reporting on doubts cast by politicians in their press releases as well as on interpreting, analyzing and questioning their statements and viewpoints.

4. Conclusions and Discussion

The present study examines 539 press releases of political parties and 369 articles in daily newspapers over the course of the 2008 Austrian National Elections. The initial aim of our analysis was to investigate whether and to what extent political actors express doubts on the four validity claims and how the media cover this. Based on the Theory of Communicative Action by Jürgen Habermas, we developed the idea of a (democratic and functional) "culture of doubts" and conceived journalists as public "discourse advocates."

Overall, a comparison between the analyzed press releases and news articles shows more doubt in the media coverage than in the parties' press releases. A closer look at the different validity claims reveals that doubts on the legiti-

macy and truthfulness are dominant. Moreover, only in a few articles did we find doubts on truth and in only one single case doubt on the intelligibility of a political actor was expressed. In the analyzed press releases, doubts on truth hardly occur and doubts on intelligibility do not occur at all.

In the course of the analyzed political discussion, political actors and journalists for the most part focus doubts on legitimacy. This is in line with general political practice: In political reality, the discussion most often focuses on the rules of a society and how adequate these rules actually are for a respective society – moreover, a principal discussion about the legitimacy of those rules is crucial for the continued existence of democratic societies (e.g., Kuhlmann 1999). Therefore the dominance of doubts on legitimacy seems to be an indicator for a typical democratic communication culture. The non-existing doubts on the truth of mentioned facts and figures and the hardly ever-occurring doubts on the intelligibility of the politicians' messages give us an idea of the highly professionalized campaign communication in the course of the 2008 Austrian National Elections.

A comparison of the two quality papers *(Standard* and *Presse)* and the two yellow papers *(Kurier* and *Krone)* shows that in general doubts on parties, politicians, and their politics are more often expressed in articles of the quality press than in the yellow press. Distinguishing between the political and the journalistic perspective for all analyzed validity claims we find that journalists of quality papers transfer doubts of press releases just as much as they cast doubts independently. Journalists of the yellow press, however, exploit the possibility of interpreting and analyzing the viewpoints of political actors and cast doubts on them more often than just report on doubts expressed by the political actors in their press releases. Especially journalists of the *Krone* become actors in the democratic discourse by actively expressing doubts on the political actors and their actions. At least in a formal sense, the often-slammed yellow press does in fact exploit the function of the discourse advocate (as described in this article).

Nevertheless, at this stage of our research project, we cannot make any proposition about the quality of the media output. This is the focus of the longitudinal study (outlined above)[10]: Our aim is to explore whether and

---

[10] For more details see: Burkart, Russmann & Grimm 2010 (in print).

to what extent there is a correlation between the expressed doubts and the quality of the media coverage.

References

BOVENTER, H. (1993). Sind Journalisten die Vierte Gewalt? Demokratie und Medien. In: H. BOVENTER (ed.). Medien und Demokratie. Nähe und Distanz zur Politik. Konstanz: UVK: 127–143.

BROSDA, C. (2008). Diskursiver Journalismus. Journalistisches Handeln zwischen kommunikativer Vernunft und mediensystemischem Zwang. Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag.

BURKART, R. (1998). Von verständigungsorientierter Öffentlichkeitsarbeit zum diskursiven Journalismus. In: W. DUCHKOWITSCH et al. (eds.). Journalismus als Kultur. Analysen und Essays. Festschrift für Wolfgang R. Langenbucher zum 60. Geburtstag. Opladen/Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag: 163–172.

BURKART, R.; RUSSMANN, U. & GRIMM, J. (2010, in print). Selbstkontrolle durch Qualität – oder: Wie verständigungsorientiert ist Journalismus? Ein empirischer Messversuch anhand der Berichterstattung über Europathemen im Rahmen des Nationalratswahlkampfes 2008 in Österreich. In: H. PÖTTKER & C. SCHWARZENEGGER (eds.). Europäische Öffentlichkeit und journalistische Verantwortung. Köln: Herbert van Halem.

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. London/New York: Routledge: 27–56.

DONSBACH, W. & PATTERSON, T. (2003). Journalisten in der politischen Kommunikation: Professionelle Orientierungen von Nachrichtenredakteuren im internationalen Vergleich. In: F. ESSER & B. PFETSCH (eds.). Politische Kommunikation im internationalen Vergleich. Grundlagen, Anwendungen, Perspektiven. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag: 281–304.

GLOTZ, P. & LANGENBUCHER W.R. (1993, reprint). Der missachtete Leser: Zur Kritik der deutschen Presse. München: Reinhard Fischer (*ex libris kommunikation* Vol. 1).

GUTMANN, A. & THOMPSON, D. (2004). Why deliberative Democracy? Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

HABERMAS, J. (1984). The Theory of Communicative Action Vol. 1. Reason and the Rationalization of Society. Boston: Beacon Press.

HABERMAS, J. (1987). The Theory of Communicative Action Vol. 2. Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason. Boston: Beacon Press.

HABERMAS, J. (2001). On the Pragmatics of Social Interaction: Preliminary Studies in the Theory of Communicative Action. Cambridge: Polity.

JARREN, O. & WESSLER, H. (eds.) (2002). Journalismus – Medien – Öffentlichkeit. Eine Einführung. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.

KALTENBRUNNER, A. et al.(2008). Der Journalisten-Report II. Österreichs Medienmacher und ihre Motive. Eine repräsentative Befragung. Wien: Facultas wuv.

KUHLMANN, C. (1999). Die öffentliche Begründung politischen Handelns. Zur Argumentationsrationalität in der politischen Massenkommunikation. Opladen/Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.

LANGENBUCHER, W.R. (1974). Kommunikation als Beruf. Ansätze und Konsequenzen kommunikationswissenschaftlicher Berufsforschung. *Publizistik* 3-4/1974; *Publizistik* 1-2/1975: 256–277.

McQUAIL, D. (1994). Mass Communication Theory. An Introduction. London: Sage.

NAGEL, L.-M. (2007). Bedingt ermittlungsbereit. Investigativer Journalismus in Deutschland und in den USA. Berlin: Lit-Verlag.

RONNEBERGER, F. (1971). Sozialisation durch Massenkommunikation. In: F. RONNEBERGER (ed.). Sozialisation durch Massenkommunikation. Stuttgart: Enke: 32–101.

RONNEBERGER, F. (1974 [1964]). Die politischen Funktionen der Massenkommunikation. In: W.R. LANGENBUCHER (ed.). Zur Theorie der politischen Kommunikation. München: Piper: 193–205.

RUSSMANN, U. (2010). Verständigungsorientierte Kommunikationsprozesse in der öffentlichen politischen Diskussion. Das VÖA-Modell in der Wahlkampfkommunikation. In: W. HÖMBERG et al. (eds.). Kommunikation und Verständigung. Theorie – Empirie – Praxis. Festschrift für Roland Burkart. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag: 171–182.

RUSS-MOHL, S. (1994). Der I-Faktor. Qualitätssicherung im amerikanischen Journalismus. Modell für Europa? Zürich: Edition Interfrom.

SARCINELLI, U. (1990). Auf dem Weg in eine kommunikative Demokratie? Demokratische Streitkultur als Element politischer Kultur. In: U. SARCINELLI (ed.). Demokratische Streitkultur. Theoretische Grundpositionen und Handlungsalternativen in Politikfeldern. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag: 29–51.

SAXER, U. (1974). Funktionen der Massenmedien in der modernen Gesellschaft. In: R. KURZROCK (ed.). Systemtheorie. Berlin: Colloquium Verlag Otto H. Hess: 22–33.

SCHULZ, W. (2008). Politische Kommunikation. Theoretische Ansätze und Ergebnisse empirischer Forschung 2 (2nd ed.). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.

SEMETKO, H.A. (2008). Election Campaign Communication. In: W. DONSBACH (ed.). The International Encyclopedia of Communication 4: 1481–1487.

WEAVER, D. et al. (2007). The American Journalist in the 21st Century. U.S. News People at the Dawn of the Millennium. Erlbaum: Mahwah.

WEISCHENBERG, S.; MALIK, M. & SCHOLL, A. (2006). Die Souffleure der Mediengesellschaft. Report über die Journalisten in Deutschland. UVK: Konstanz.

WRESCHNIOK, R. (2009). The Agora of the 21st century: On the Invention of the Many-to-one Communication. In: J. KLEWES & R. WRESCHNIOK (eds.). Reputation Capital. Building and maintaining Trust in the 21st Century. London/New York: Springer: 299–310.