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Report **Final case report of analysis of newspaper editorials**

Case report **Switzerland ¹**

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Part I: Analytic Summary

Introduction

This report intends to depict the degrees and forms of Europeanisation of media-transmitted public spheres putting a particular focus on the contribution of the media as an active agent of Europeanisation in its own right. Although Europeanisation has been understood in numerous studies (theoretically and empirically, internationally as well as with respect to Switzerland) primarily as the Europeanisation of policies and politics (e.g. Börzel, Risse 2000, Héritier 2001; Green Cowles, Caporaso and Risse 2001, Mach, Häusermann, Papadopoulos 2001; Fischer, Nicolet, Sciarini 2002), we intend to approach this key concept of recent political research from a slightly different angle. While interactions between the European level and the national or sub-national levels can be observed as far as public policies and politics are concerned, political communication and its forum – the public sphere¹ – might also be subject to changes due to the more recently incorporated additional supranational “*niveau*” in a structure of multi-level governance. With respect to this “second face” of Europeanisation – namely the Europeanisation of the public sphere – normative implications are of relevance, as already pointed out in our report on political claims making by collective actors: In order to allow for democratic policymaking and the implication of civil society into the democratic process, the Europeanisation of politics and policies should ideally go hand in hand with an “enlargement” of public sphere to the same spatial frame. The absence of a genuine European public sphere, despite the increased shift of competences to the supranational European level, is being seen as a core element of the often cited “democratic deficit” of the EU (e.g. Koopmans, Erbe 2003).

While our report on the claims making of collective actors (WP2) focused on the role of actors such as governmental agencies, political parties, interest groups and other social society actors, this report is concerned with the voice of the media. The mentioned analyses of claims making by collective actors assumed the media to “mirror” political debate/reality, by being a platform for the expression of political opinions and standpoints. This present part of our research looks at the media as being a political actor in its own right (see also Page 1996), using the communicative forum established by themselves (namely the media-transmitted public sphere) for the expression of their own political opinion. Particular formats, marked off the regular news-coverage, such as editorials and commentaries are designated for such

¹ By public sphere we refer to a forum of communication or an arena of public debate in which mass media is the predominant locus of communication.

purposes (see also Neidhardt, Eilders, Pfetsch 1998:6). It is therefore the journalistic claims making within these “vessels” that this part of our media content analyses has concentrated on.

The role of the media in a non-EU member country, such as Switzerland, constitutes a somewhat particular case when investigating into the Europeanisation of public sphere under the assumption that the Europeanisation of a national public spheres could have beneficial effects on the reduction of the democratic deficit. Other than in EU member states a low level of Europeanisation of the public sphere does not represent an immediate sign of democratic deficit or of an unsatisfactory adaptation to the new additional dimension of multi-level governance. Nonetheless, we expect Swiss media to give rise to communicative linkages between the Swiss national level and the European level as well as EU member states. We do so for the following reasons. Firstly, Switzerland maintains strong economic relations with the EU and its member countries. We therefore expect media actors to pay considerable attention to European policies as well as political decisions and measures in the member states, whereof four are additionally neighbouring countries. Secondly, the issue of Swiss European integration has been part of the Swiss national political agenda during the years under study and has divided the political elite as well as citizens. The way of bilateral negotiations and agreements chosen by Switzerland after the rejection of EEA membership in 1992 led to the conclusion of a series of seven agreements in a first round; in 2000 these agreements have been approved of by Swiss citizens in popular vote. The initiative “Yes to Europe!” called for an immediate start of accession negotiations, but was refused in popular vote in 2001. Further bilateral negotiations (II) have been taken up in 2002 and are ongoing as this report is written.

Before presenting our results, we consider it to be appropriate to briefly outline our theoretical assumptions concerning the forms of Europeanisation of public spheres. Independently from the Swiss context, researchers investigating the phenomenon of Europeanisation of the public sphere assume in many cases implicitly that a European public sphere would have to develop along the lines of national public spheres: including trans-national, genuine European media, trans-national political mobilization and trans-national organisations of interest mediation. However, studies undertaken so far (e.g. Schlesinger 1999) have to reject such assumptions. A genuine European public sphere, a common communicative space for Europe, does not or only marginally exist, e.g. via print media such as European Voice addressing an elite public. Frequently, the main reason given for the non-existence of a European public sphere is the linguistic diversity within Europe (e.g. Grimm 1995 in: Van de Steeg 2002).

Gerhards (2000) accepts that a genuine supranational European public sphere has not developed so far and will not evolve in the near future. He suggests however to introduce a new conceptualisation of the European public sphere. In his view, the arenas of communication – the public spheres – remain national, while Europeanisation of national public spheres takes place in two ways: firstly, European issues and actors are covered more and more frequently and secondly, covered issues are being discussed and evaluated in a way which exceeds a pure focus on nation state. For the analysis presented here, we accept Gerhard's first criterion insofar as we adhere to the idea that Europeanisation can be observed within national public spheres. Concerning Gerhard's second criterion, we join Koopmans and Erbe (2003) in their interpretation and assert it to be too restrictive. Rather we consider that we can speak of Europeanisation also if national media focus increasingly on national affairs in – respectively between – (other) EU member states.

Forms of Europeanisation

With respect to these very brief theoretical considerations, we can distinguish three possible forms of Europeanisation (Koopmans, Statham 2002). We attract however the reader's attention to the fact that these forms are ideal types, which can not all be found empirically when looking at the claims making of media/journalists who are by definition all of one particular national origin.

1. *Supranational Europeanisation*: As mentioned above, the development of a genuine trans-national public sphere can not yet be observed and seems thus far not realistic in the short term. While European institutions as well as parties are an acknowledged fact and other European groups of interest mediation are evolving, the major obstacle for a genuine supranationalisation of public debate is the lack of European mass media and therewith an institutionalisation of a genuine European arena of communication. Nonetheless, it is imaginable that political debates and negotiations taking place amongst European institutions, European parties and other European groups of interest mediation enter national public spheres via national media. While we generally consider this phenomenon as a case of supranational Europeanisation we have to be aware that such cases can not be found in the present analysis, since the claims makers (journalists) are all characterised by their Swiss national scope.
2. *Vertical Europeanisation*: Given the less demanding criteria, we expect vertical Europeanisation, defined as communicative linkages between the national and

European level, to be a fairly frequent form of Europeanisation. Given that the scope of claimants in the recent analysis is predefined as Swiss national, this category only comprises cases of communicative linkages between Swiss journalists and European collective actors (bottom-up version of vertical Europeanisation).²

3. *Horizontal Europeanisation*: By horizontal Europeanisation we no longer refer to direct references to European actors and issues, but to an increased interest in public political debate in and between EU member states reflected in Swiss print media. Even though Switzerland is not institutionally linked to EU member states, we assume Swiss journalists to comment upon national issues in EU member states and to address EU member state actors, since the formulation of policies in neighbouring countries becomes increasingly important for Switzerland, as an export-oriented country in the centre of a Europe that is growing closer together.

Speaking of Europeanisation and its different forms, we have however to be aware of the fact that this phenomenon can only be judged relative to other forms characterising the public sphere. In order to do so we have to distinguish Europeanisation from pure national debate on the one hand and internationalisation of public debate on the other hand.

4. *National politics*: The category “national politics” comprises firstly pure national Swiss debates, but secondly also communicative linkages between Switzerland and non-EU countries or supranational institutions.
5. *International politics*: Another form of de-nationalisation of political debate besides Europeanisation is internationalisation. The latter phenomenon or more precisely speaking process, is characterised by an increasing prominence of public debate within and between non-EU countries or communicative linkages between non-EU countries and non-EU supranational institutions. This form of internationalisation however – just as supranationalisation – can not be found in the data presented here, since all our claims makers are by definition Swiss journalists.

Though the terminology suggests that our dependant variable (Europeanisation) is to be understood as a dynamic concept, we will not be able to provide detailed analyses of the time dimension due to our short period of study and the lack of historical reference points. Our analyses can however account for differences across policy fields. With respect to the latter we assume that degree and forms of Europeanisation vary depending on the existing degree of shift of competences to the European level. We suggest policy domains with strong EU

² For a more detailed outline of the forms of Europeanisation see also the Swiss national case report on WP2.

competences to have a stronger tendency towards Europeanisation than policies where competences remain at the national level. Common European policies such as monetary politics or agricultural policy should therefore be found to show more evidence of supranational or vertical forms of Europeanisation than policy domains based on intergovernmental decision making (e.g. asylum policy or Troop deployment) (Koopmans, Statham 2002).

Results

Bases on these theoretical and conceptual considerations, we will now present our empirical results on the forms and degrees of Europeanisation of Swiss public sphere induced by Swiss media actors. Various indicators will be taken into consideration such as the scope of addressees, the scope of the issue addressed and the scope of concerned actors (object actors). As a second order dimension we will also include aspects, which allow us to look at the evaluation of the European project given by Swiss journalists. Indicators such as the journalists own positioning on conflict lines, the position regarding European integration, the subjective attitude of journalists regarding European integration or the framing of journalistic claims will be used for this purpose.

Results – part one: forms and degrees of Europeanisation

Taking into consideration the event which initiates the writing of an editorial or commentary in Swiss newspapers gives us a first hint about the importance of the European level within the journalistic claims making in Swiss newspapers. Our results show (*table 2.2a*) that more than in all other three newspapers under study, events with a European scope induce the publishing of an editorial in the NZZ. While national events remain the most important incentive for the expression of the newspapers own opinion, such events are in comparison much less important for the NZZ. This characteristic opposes the NZZ most dominantly to the Blick where – in line with the general focus of the newspaper – 88 per cent of all editorials are written on the basis of an event with a Swiss special frame. The NZZ's self-definition as an internationally oriented medium can be considered as one major explanation. Furthermore, and contrary to e.g. Le Temps which publishes only one editorial a day, the NZZ issues commentaries in all three major sections (national, international and economic news) which rises the potential for “foreign” events to be taken into consideration. Concerning Le Temps

we might want to note that events with a spatial reference to EU member states (horizontal Europeanisation) are slightly more important than in the other three newspapers.

Looking at initiating events for editorials in different policy fields, provides a first indicator for a particular pattern of “Europeanisation” which will reappear when considering addressees as well as the scope of issues themselves. It is for those policy fields which are characterised by the highest shift of competences to the European level that initiating events located at this same level are most important. Accordingly, monetary politics, agriculture and the meta-issue of European integration show significantly higher levels of events with a European scope than all other four policy domains. With respect to monetary politics, such events are even much more important than national Swiss events. Inversely, none of the commentaries on issues concerning retirement and education – the two policy fields most strongly bound to the national level – has been incited by an event at the European level. In these cases, as well as in immigration, national happenings remain predominant. This finding can at least partly be explained by specific debates present in Swiss public sphere during our period of study, such as the vote on the asylum initiative in 2002. It shows however also that little attention is being paid to foreign political debates of these issues and that foreign events are not taken as a hint to reflect on national Swiss policies. German and French events – certainly of particular interest because of their spatial closeness as the two “large neighbours” – are most present amongst all events with an EU member state scope, indicating a certain degree of horizontal Europeanisation.

The spatial frame of actors addressed by journalists in their claims provides a further indicator for the forms and degrees of the Europeanisation of Swiss public sphere as far as the implication of the media as a political actor is concerned. Looking at differences across newspapers, our analysis shows that the tabloid paper (Blick) exclusively addresses Swiss actors. Its French-speaking equivalent – the regional newspaper Le Matin – addresses at least some European or non-European supranational actors, though levels remain marginal. The NZZ represents the newspaper most frequently calling on European actors (21 per cent), therewith showing the highest degree of vertical Europeanisation. Le Temps journalists call upon EU actor less than half as often as their NZZ colleagues. In terms of horizontal Europeanisation however, both newspapers show similar degrees – addressing EU member state actors in 13 and 12 per cent of their claims respectively. When interpreting these differences between the two quality newspapers we have to baring in mind Le Temps’ policy of publishing just one editorial a day which might lead the editors to chose national over “foreign” issues and therewith reduce the probability of European addressees. The NZZ on

the other hand, explicitly distinguishes between commentaries in the national and international news section, giving more potential to European issues and actors to enter (“its”) public sphere.

Differentiating addressees along policy lines shows us – as already in the case of initiating events above – that those policy fields in which the EU holds the most competences are also those where European addresses are most frequent. National actors on the other hand, remain predominant as addressees in those policy areas which continue to be regulated at the national level, such as pension and retirement policy (97 per cent), education (89 per cent) as well as immigration (88 per cent). The most Europeanised domain is clearly monetary politics, topping even the meta-issue of European integration. Considering however that the public debate about European integration strongly involves questions of Swiss participation in the integration process this relatively lower level of vertical Europeanisation is not as surprising as it might seem at first sight. In estimating the degree of Europeanisation we also have to take into consideration the fairly high level of horizontal Europeanisation indicated by the 17 per cent of claims in which national actors from EU member states figure as addressees. The view editorials on agriculture show a comparatively fairly high degree of vertical Europeanisation. Horizontal Europeanisation however consists solely in the presence of French national actors as targets of Swiss journalists’ claims, which is not significantly higher than the presence of US national actors. Interestingly enough, and entirely against presumed distribution of power in this policy field, Swiss journalists never address any supranational actor (e.g. WTO) in their comments on agricultural policy. The inverse is the case when it comes to troop deployment. While European addresses are completely absent, editorials on troop deployment are the only commentaries involving non-EU supranational addressees. A brief look at the spatial frame of different types of addresses not only reveals the absolute dominance of state and party actors. It shows also that journalists, when addressing European level actors or actors from EU member states, focus on precisely this category. Additionally, many further state actors are hidden in the category “general/unspecified”, which includes all calls upon whole politics, such as “the EU” or “Italy”. Communicative linkages with civil society actors are completely “underdeveloped”, which indicates their low level of involvement at the European level. More generally speaking this result may hint at a lack of implication of civil society in the democratic policy making at the European level. Almost all economic interest group actors, fellow journalists and other civil society actors journalist call upon are of Swiss national origin.

In terms of special provenance of *positively* evaluated addressees the varying structure of commentaries in the different newspapers is once more reflected (*table 5.2a*). Blick and Le Matin (almost) entirely focus on Swiss national actors. The difference between the NZZ and Le Temps in the amount of supported EU actors is even more pronounced than the one we saw above concerning all addressees. 28 per cent of all positively evaluated addressees in NZZ's claims are of EU, further 10 per cent of EU member state origin. In Le Temps, the latter group accounts for 17 per cent of positively evaluated addressees while only 7 per cent are EU supranational actors. In terms of forms of Europeanisation we can state that the level of vertical Europeanisation is higher in the NZZ than in Le Temps while the inverse is true for horizontal Europeanisation as far as positively evaluated addresses are concerned.

A cross issue comparison also reveals familiar patterns. As far as troop deployment and retirement policy are concerned, Swiss national actors are the only supported ones. In the latter case the result might not surprise, pension and retirement policy being largely a national issue, where little attention is being paid even to national debates abroad (compare also results of claims making by collective actors – WP2). The issue of troop deployment however – though also part of the Swiss national political agenda – is generally characterised by the involvement of actors outside Europe as well as of non-European supranational scope. As *table 6.2b* shows, these actors appear however much more frequently as criticised actors, suggesting that journalists agree with national actors political choices in this policy domain while contesting those of “foreign” actors. With regard to the degree of Europeanisation of claims making we may note that agriculture displays the highest level of positively evaluated EU actors (40 per cent). – A fact which seems fairly surprising, given the well known antagonisms in the philosophy of the CAP and Swiss agricultural policy. Less surprising is the similarly high level of positively evaluated addressees in monetary politics (38 per cent) indicating a considerable degree of vertical Europeanisation. Remarkably enough, even US national actors outweigh Swiss national actors as positively evaluated addressees in journalistic claims making – suggesting that Swiss media pays more attention to foreign monetary policy than to national political decisions and events (see also *table 7.4*). Contrary to these results the distribution of spatial frames of positively evaluated addresses in the meta-issue of European integration shows evidence for the strong national (Swiss) focus in that field (53 per cent of positively evaluated addressees). This reflects accurately the vivid debates about Switzerland approaching the EU in the context of direct democratic votes during the period of study – such as the vote on bilateral agreements in 2000 or on the initiative “Yes to Europe!” in 2001. In terms of vertical Europeanisation it is however

interesting to note that positively evaluated addressees are as frequently EU actors (11 per cent) as they are non-EU European actors. This result seems to provide evidence for the continuing relevance of non-EU forms of integration; the predominant focus on EU issues – as we will see when looking at issue scopes – contradicts this interpretation. Outstanding is the meta-issue of European integration also with respect to its high level of horizontal Europeanisation (23 per cent).

A look at the distribution of negatively evaluated addressees completes the picture concerning addressees in general as well as positively evaluated addressees. The tabloid as well as the regional newspaper (almost) exclusively criticise Swiss national actors. The level of negatively evaluated national addressees is however also higher for the NZZ and Le Temps compared to those of positively evaluated addressees. In Le Temps e.g. more than 72 per cent of criticised actors are of Swiss national origin compared to “only” 64 per cent of positively evaluated addressees. In terms of Europeanisation it is not surprisingly once again NZZ’s editorialists who refer to EU actors most frequently among all four newspapers under study. However – and this is remarkable – EU actors figure less frequently amongst criticised addresses than amongst positively evaluated actors. An analysis across issue fields shows also some remarkable trends. As already indicated above, UN and other supranational (non-European) actors account for over a quarter of criticised actors in the issue field of troop deployment (hinting at an internationalisation of this policy field), although they were completely absent amongst the positively evaluated actors. Secondly, US national actors represent with one third the most frequently criticised group of addressees in the field of monetary politics – as compared to 12 per cent amongst positively evaluated addressees. Inversely, EU actors in this same policy field are far less often criticised (13 per cent) by Swiss journalists than they are positively referred to (28 per cent). These results suggest a fairly high support for EU monetary policy and much less esteem for US-American monetary policy by Swiss editorialists. Thirdly, when commenting on the meta-issue of European integration, Swiss editorialist – who seem fairly reluctant in supporting EU actors (11 per cent) – significantly more frequently criticise EU actors (21 per cent). On the horizontal Europeanisation dimension however the inverse is the case: national EU member state actors figure much more frequently among positively evaluated addressees (23 per cent) than among criticised actors (12 per cent).

With regard to the Europeanisation of political claims-making, the issue scope of the editorials is of key concern. It is striking to see that the spatial and/or political scope of the substantive content of the commentaries in all four Swiss newspapers is very much

concentrated on either the EU (48 per cent on average) or Switzerland (35 per cent on average). In other words, nearly half of the commentaries were triggered by events with a European issue scope. This finding is in sharp contrast with the predominant scope of addressees (*table 4.3a*) where European actors on average only account for 13 per cent of all addressees. It thus seems as if European issues much more easily enter the Swiss public sphere through editorials than do European actors. Or put alternatively, that editorialists frame the substantial contents of their claims frequently with regard to Europe, though they discuss national issues, addressing national actors. It has to be noted, however, that the editorialists of the tabloid and regional newspaper *Blick* and *Le Matin* more strongly emphasise national issues than the two quality papers *NZZ* and *Le Temps*. This is not much a surprise given the clear focus of the two tabloid format newspapers (*Blick* and *Le Matin*) on national issues such as pensions (*table 7.1*).

The distribution of issue scopes by policy fields strongly reflects – with the exception of the field of European integration that is per definition Europeanised – the actual distribution of competences between the European and national levels. Thus, monetary politics has a dominant EU scope, which mirrors that the EU level has become the key player in this domain with the creation of the EMU and ECB, and the adoption of the Euro within the last years. Agriculture, a communitarised policy field of long date, is the second-most Europeanised of our issue fields. However, almost half of all commentaries on agriculture have a Swiss national scope; a result related to the fact that in Switzerland as a non-EU member agricultural policy remains in national competences – put apart the inclusion of an agricultural dossier in the first round of bilateral agreements. Other than concerning addresses, the issue scope also reveals a considerable degree of internationalisation of agricultural policy debate, which is the effect of the growing importance of supranational (non-EU) institutions such as WTO. Immigration is the third policy field that shows at least some degree of Europeanisation with 16 per cent of all commentaries having a European issue scope. But here, too, the national scope is by far the most dominant (73 per cent), which is to be explained by several popular votes in Switzerland during the time of our study on the one hand, and still relatively minor European prerogatives in this policy field. Whereas editorials on pensions and educational matters almost entirely deal with Swiss issues, commentaries on troop deployment have a high share of supranational and multilateral scopes. Overall, these trends confirm and even accentuate our earlier findings on addressees (*table 4.3b*): some degree of Europeanisation can be found in commentaries on monetary politics and – to a

lesser extent – on agriculture and immigration whereas questions of troop deployment are rather put in an international framework.

An analysis of the distribution of issue scopes across newspapers allows for estimation to what extent different spatial framings of issues are induced by newspapers or constitute an overall characteristic of Swiss public sphere.³ With respect to five policy fields we can assert considerable convergence between the newspapers. (1) Commentaries on monetary politics relate in both newspapers to a very small range of countries – particularly the US and Switzerland. These two countries are however heavily outweighed by claims with a European frame of reference (53 per cent on average), indicating a very strong degree of Europeanisation of this policy field within Swiss national public sphere. (2) As regards editorials on troop deployment both quality newspapers concentrate their claims making on issues with a multilateral scope, or – less extensively – issues with (non-EU) supranational scopes. (3) Claims making on pension schemes and retirement has in both newspapers a clear Swiss national focus; a finding that is explained by various popular votes on such topics during the period of study (see also explanation to *table 7.2e*). (4) High convergence between the two quality newspapers is once again revealed with respect to educational matters, where both papers predominantly comment upon issues with a Swiss national scope. (5) Least surprisingly, both newspapers concentrate in their claims making on the meta-issue of EU integration on issues with an EU scope of reference. This result highlights nicely that organisations such as EFTA, the Council of Europe or OECE are of clearly less importance than the EU even for a country such as Switzerland that is a member of the former, but not of the EU.

The editorial line seems to account for some differences within the two other policy domains (immigration and agriculture); or, put differently, newspapers do not put the same emphases in the spatial framing of their claims. Though interpretation has to be undertaken carefully due to very low number of cases, European issue scopes tend to be more numerous in commentaries on agricultural policy in *Le Temps* than in the *NZZ*, while for national scopes and (non-European) supranational scopes the inverse is the case. As the distribution of issue scopes in the field of immigration uncovers, *Le Temps* is a somewhat deviant case. Not only *Le Temps* devotes significantly more editorials to the issue of immigration, but also places them mostly in a context that goes beyond the Swiss national borders. In fact, about one third of all commentaries on immigration have a European scope in *Le Temps* whereas editorials in

³ Due to the very small number of cases both for *Le Matin* and *Blick*, interpretations have to be restricted to the quality papers *NZZ* and *Le Temps*.

the NZZ are almost exclusively dedicated to Switzerland. This strong national focus is rather surprising and sharply contrasts with the otherwise outward-looking editorial line of this quality paper. Thus the slight Europeanisation in this policy field as identified above is the result of the editorial line of Le Temps rather than a general phenomenon in all Swiss newspapers.

In order to conclude this section on the forms and degrees of Europeanisation of journalistic claims making, we shall have a brief look at those actors being either positively or negatively affected by the potential realisation of a journalists' claim – the object actors.

It is little of a surprise that Le Matin and Blick – who make almost no claims with a European scope of reference – equally do not advocate EU level actor's interests. Rather, in line with earlier findings – the NZZ and Le Temps reveal some extent of Europeanisation as far as positively evaluated object actors are concerned. The defence of EU member state actors has to be relativised in the case of the NZZ by the same proportion of claims defending national actors' interests outside Europe. We may therefore with respect to the NZZ neither speak of horizontal Europeanisation nor of nationalisation (in the sense explained in the introduction of this paper) of editorialists' claims making, while for Le Temps, the latter trend even slightly outweighs the former. Interestingly, Swiss editorialists defend EU actors' interests as often as Swiss national actors' interests when commenting on monetary politics. Any form of horizontal Europeanisation in the field of monetary politics has to be denied, given that Swiss editorialists defend more frequently US national actors' interests than those of EU member state actors. Much attention to EU actors is furthermore being paid in the fields of agriculture and European integration, which might be – as already indicated above – an implicit effect of the localisation of power at the European level in these policy domains. Inversely, in the most nationally dominated policy fields (retirement and education) journalists (nearly) exclusively refer to Swiss national actors, when mentioning a beneficiary of their claim.

With respect to negatively evaluated object actors our interpretations have to remain careful given the very low number of cases. The latter instance is however interesting in itself: Swiss editorialists make four times less often reference to negatively evaluated object actors than to positively evaluated actors. Among all actors whose interests would be “injured” by the realisation of the journalists' claim, Swiss national actors figure most recurrently. A slight (vertical) European dimension can be observed in both Le Temps and NZZ. However, since both quality papers' editorialists less frequently make reference to EU member state actors than to a series of national actors outside the EU we might speak of nationalisation rather than

horizontal Europeanisation as far as negatively affected object actors are concerned. The extremely low number of cases does not allow for a detailed cross issue comparison. We might nonetheless want to note that 50 per cent of all negatively evaluated object actors within the meta-issue of European integration are Swiss national actors; a hint towards the idea that Swiss editorialists are prepared to defend claims against “national interests”. This stands contrary to the results concerning monetary politics, where only one single (among 12) negatively evaluated object actors has a Swiss national scope, while the majority of negatively affected actors are of European or EU-member state origin.

This brief look at those actors being positively or negatively affected by the realisation of journalists’ claims, leads us to the second issue we will address in a few words in the following section. By looking at variables such as conflict lines, the journalists’ position toward European integration as well as frames, we will investigate into the perspectives taken by Swiss editorialists with regard to the European project.

Results – part two: commentators’ evaluation of the European project

When commenting on issues with a spatial reference to Europe, we expect journalists to frequently express their positions with regard to a series of different contested dimensions of the European integration process (such as the degree of deepening, the degree of widening, the question of the relationship between Europe and the USA, the future vision of Europe as a “Europe of the nations” or a more “federal Europe” and many more). As our analyses show, Swiss editorialists position themselves on a series of such conflict lines, however only when commenting on the European integration process itself. With the sole exception of two claims on monetary politics, journalists never bind their argument concerning a specific policy field to a vision of the European integration project. The cross newspaper comparison reveals interesting differences: the two tabloid-format newspapers (Blick and Le Matin) (nearly) exclusively focus on the “involvement in the European project” in their attempts to underpin their arguments; all these cases derive from claims where journalists comment upon their vision of Swiss membership in the EU. This same conflict line proves to be also the predominant one in NZZ’s and Le Temps’ commentaries. Journalists of the latter newspaper underline their argument however much more frequently with a clear position on one of the conflict lines than NZZ commentators do. Seemingly, Le Temps exhibits a greater willingness to “show colours” than the NZZ. The latter, on the other hand, appears to be much more prepared to take a clear stance with respect to EU *internal* aspects, such as EU reforms,

citizenship or the EU's influence in the world. Interestingly, none of Swiss commentators is concerned with identity questions such as e.g. values and beliefs common to the EU member states or the sense of belonging and the notion of political community; nor do Swiss editorialists express any stance on questions of the functioning of the EU such as the level of transparency and accountability that works best for the EU, the level of problem solving or the type of entity the EU is or should be.

Not only do journalists make reference to certain conflict lines. Rather, they also implicitly or explicitly advocate the extension of rights, resources and competences of the European institutions. As our analysis shows, they do so only in those policy fields where competences were *already* shifted at least partly to the EU level: particularly in the fields of agriculture, immigration and European integration itself and much less so in the domain of monetary politics. The latter is by no means surprising, since member states gave up almost all competences to the benefit of the European level. Cutting along newspapers lines, it is interesting to see that the NZZ as well as Le Matin on average defend almost neutral positions with respect to an increase of rights, resources and competences of European institutions. The Blick most prominently advocates positions with positive effects on European institutions, which underlines the tabloids' commitment to European integration. The same holds true, though less clearly, for Le Temps.

Apart from the objective position taken by editorialist with view to an increase of competences, resources and rights of EU institutions, we also measured their subjective position towards the EU and the integration process expressed by Swiss editorialists. As in the objective dimension, Blick journalists are overall the most enthusiastic advocates of the European integration process, followed by Le Temps, who seems however to loose some of its optimistic view over the years of study. While the NZZ's attitude remains positive, it is fairly "discreet". A strong "decline" of support for the integration process can be observed in the case of Le Matin. While in the year 2000 its journalists where very much in favour of the European project – largely in the context of the debate of Swiss popular vote on bilateral agreements between the EU and Switzerland – they are far less so in 2002. The trend of "loosing illusions" and becoming more sceptical with regard to the European integration process and the EU as such is partly also confirmed when looking at different policy fields. The subjective stance of editorialist commenting on the meta-issue of European integration falls slightly over the years. (Common) monetary politics however enjoys increasing support by Swiss journalists over our period of study. Interestingly enough, among the ten most frequent commentators of each newspaper who expressed a subjective attitude regarding

European integration, only two commentators express on the mean a negative attitude. These are – somewhat surprisingly – the chief editor of the NZZ (Hugo Büttler) as well as one of the political correspondents of the Blick (Georges Wüthrich). While Hugo Büttler tends to go in line with his fellow journalists expressing often a rather neutral or ambivalent attitude towards the European project, Georges Wüthrich’s position is perfectly contrary to the position expressed by his chief editor Jürg Lehmann⁴.

In a last attempt to investigate into the stances of editorialists towards the European integration process, we will consider the frames they use in order to underline their argumentation.⁵ Interestingly enough, the editorialist of the NZZ – a newspaper generally perceived as very economy-oriented – use economic frames less often than their colleagues from Le Temps. For the latter newspaper – openly pro-European for mainly “idealistic” reasons – one would expect identity and value frames to be of particular importance; we find this expectation confirmed by empirical results. The NZZ on the other hand seems very much preoccupied by constitutional and democratic aspects and makes reference to frames internal to the integration process much more frequently than its French-speaking counterpart. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that historical frames (such as reference to fascism or the cold war) are with one sole exception inexistent as a justification for journalists’ claims.

Concluding our analytical overview of the claims making by journalists within commentaries and editorials, we want to emphasize the following general lines that become apparent. Although a national scope of reference remains in most dimensions the predominant spatial frame, certain tendencies of Europeanisation do exist. Or put otherwise: Swiss national journalists *do* make *various* references the European level as well as EU member states in addressing actors, in framing issues accordingly as well as in defending or “harming” actors’ interests. However, the different newspapers do so in varying forms and to varying degrees. The two tabloids (Blick and Le Matin) remain extensively concentrated on the Swiss national level, which is accurately explained by the two newspapers’ editorial line. Though, particularly the Blick reveals to take a very pro-European stance in those view occasions where its journalists refer to European actors and issues. The NZZ on the other hand shows significantly higher levels of vertical Europeanisation as compared to the other three newspapers. The horizontal dimension of Europeanisation yet again is most dominant in Le Temps. The reason for this striking difference remains unexplained so far.

⁴ Jürg Lehmann has been replaced as chief editor in spring 2003 by Werner de Schepper.

⁵ Due to the very low number of cases for Le Matin and Blick, the interpretations can only focus on the NZZ and Le Temps.

With respect to differences across policy fields, our assumption that the distribution of competences affects the degree of Europeanisation of public debate on different political domains proves to be valid. Generally monetary politics, agriculture and partially immigration show higher levels of (vertical) Europeanisation; so does, also little surprisingly, the meta-issue of European integration itself. Interestingly, it is also with respect to these policy fields that journalists advocate a further shift of competences to the European level, which – put in a provocative way – suggests little willingness (and maybe imagination) from the part of Swiss editorialists to further deepen the integration process – with or without Switzerland.

Part II: Commented Tables

Article-level: General overview

Table 1.1 Number of commentaries coded per year and paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
2000	48	36	35	32	41
2001	30	30	32	24	29
2002	22	34	33	44	30
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (282)</i>	<i>100 (265)</i>	<i>100 (75)</i>	<i>100 (59)</i>	<i>100 (681)</i>

As *table 1.1* shows, most commentaries have been coded from the Neue Zürcher Zeitung (NZZ) and Le Temps, which reflects these newspapers' strong focus on foreign and home politics as well as economy. The tabloid format and editorial line of both Le Matin and Blick can be hold accountable for the fact that little priority is being given to commenting political events which constituted our main interest. Additionally, as Le Matin is a regional paper, main attention is being paid to local politics which are – as consequence of the definition of our policy fields – of minor magnitude.

Table 1.2 Number of commentaries coded per section and paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Mixed international/national news section	-	100	-	98	47 (323)
Regional/local news section	35	-	-	-	-
Commentary pages	31	-	-	-	-
Business/Economy section	34	-	-	-	15 (100)
International news section	-	-	-	-	13 (87)
National news section	-	-	-	2	14 (96)
No differentiation between sections	-	-	-	-	-
Section unknown	-	-	100	-	11 (75)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (282)</i>	<i>100 (265)</i>	<i>100 (75)</i>	<i>100 (59)</i>	<i>100 (681)</i>

The distribution of sections where coded commentaries were printed, as displayed in *table 1.2*, reflects the newspapers' structures in terms of placement of commentaries. The NZZ provides commentaries basically in three newspaper sections. They always appear in the same place and the same easily identifiable format/layout, but not necessarily every day in each

section. On Saturdays a main editorial is being printed on the front page. Le Temps on the other hand, publishes one editorial a day on the upper half of the front page. The latter may contain national as well as international news and has therefore to be classified as “mixed section”. Although Le Matin is divided into different sections, they were however not visible in the online-archive we used for the selection of the commentaries. Therefore all these commentaries had to be coded as “section unknown”. The Blick – as fairly typical for tabloids – does not spell out sections systematically, which made a classification in most of the cases impossible.

Table 1.3 Number of main commentaries coded per paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Yes	-	100	100	98	58 (398)
Not identifiable / not applicable	100	-	-	2	42 (283)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (282)</i>	<i>100 (265)</i>	<i>100 (75)</i>	<i>100 (59)</i>	<i>100 (681)</i>

Le Temps as well as Le Matin generally publish one main editorial a day, which is clearly identifiable as such. For the Blick the same holds true, with one single exception where an additional editorial has been published in the context of a popular vote concerning army reform comprising issues of troop deployment. In the case of the NZZ however, the classification of main editorial or not is not applicable, since one or more commentaries are being issued a day.

Table 1.4 Number of newspapers’ own campaigning in commentaries per paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
No	98	97	100	100	98 (667)
Yes	2	3	-	-	2 (14)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (282)</i>	<i>100 (265)</i>	<i>100 (75)</i>	<i>100 (59)</i>	<i>100 (681)</i>

As *table 1.4* shows, the newspapers selected for our study are virtually not concerned with own campaigning. Out of all 681 commentaries coded over the three years of study, only 14 commentaries can be said to be part of the newspapers’ campaign on a political issue.

Table 1.5 Number of commentaries with and without claims (in %)

No	18
Yes	82
<i>Total</i> <i>(N)</i>	<i>100</i> <i>(681)</i>

Table 1.5 shows that 82 per cent of all commentaries coded contained a claim. The remaining 18 per cent are commentaries in which one of the 7 policy issues of interest to us has been mentioned, but was not subject – not even marginally – to the journalist’s claim.

Article-level: Initiating event

Table 2.1a Types of initiating events per paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Political decision	32	23	27	29	27 (186)
Executive action	2	6	6	-	3 (24)
Judicial action	0	-	-	-	0 (1)
Non-specified statement	1	4	4	-	3 (18)
Meeting	18	13	10	12	15 (99)
Direct-democratic action	17	17	25	19	18 (121)
Protest action	1	1	1	3	1 (10)
Communicative events partly directed to the media	9	9	7	10	9 (61)
Communicative events directed only to the media	-	3	1	5	2 (11)
Communicative events initiated by the media	0	1	5	-	1 (7)
External political crisis	4	4	5	-	4 (27)
Internal political crisis	-	1	-	2	1 (4)
Natural crisis	0	0	-	2	0 (3)
Economic developments	5	6	5	10	6 (38)
Societal developments	-	1	-	-	0 (2)
Biographical political events	1	1	-	-	1 (7)
Elections	6	5	-	5	5 (33)
Other objective extra-discursive events	4	5	4	3	4 (29)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (282)</i>	<i>100 (265)</i>	<i>100 (75)</i>	<i>100 (59)</i>	<i>100 (681)</i>

As tables 2.1a and 2.1b show, political decisions, direct-democratic action as well as meetings are the most frequent initiating events for commentaries to be written. Judicial action, natural crisis and societal developments on the other extreme least frequently incite journalists to publish an editorial or commentary. Table 2.1a shows furthermore that this pattern hardly varies comparing the four newspapers. While political decisions are the most important category of initiating events for all four newspapers, Le Temps shows the broadest range of initiating events. Events related to direct democratic action seems to be of particular influence on the writing of commentaries in Le Matin – with 25 per cent more so than in the other three newspapers.

Table 2.1b Types of initiating events per issue field (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European Integration	Total (N)
Political decision	50	17	20	9	35	25	23	27 (186)
Executive action	6	4	3	8	-	2	4	3 (24)
Judicial action	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0 (1)
Non-specified statement	1	10	-	6	1	6	2	3 (18)
Meeting	8	17	8	7	13	9	21	15 (99)
Direct-democratic action	3	4	36	21	25	8	19	18 (121)
Protest action	-	10	6	-	2	-	0	1 (10)
Communicative events partly directed to the media	2	21	11	6	6	18	10	9 (61)
Communicative events directed only to the media	-	-	3	-	2	3	2	2 (11)
Communicative events initiated by the media	-	-	1	-	2	3	1	1 (7)
External political crisis	1	4	5	31	-	2	2	4 (27)
Internal political crisis	-	-	1	-	2	-	0	1 (4)
Natural crisis	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	0 (3)
Economic developments	24	3	-	-	7	3	1	6 (38)
Societal developments	-	-	1	-	-	-	0	0 (2)
Biographical political events	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	1 (7)
Elections	3	-	2	6	2	6	8	5 (33)
Other objective extra-discursive events	2	-	3	6	2	13	5	4 (29)
Total (N)	<i>100</i> (100)	<i>100</i> (29)	<i>100</i> (66)	<i>100</i> (52)	<i>100</i> (109)	<i>100</i> (63)	<i>100</i> (262)	<i>100</i> (681)

A detailed look at types of initiating events per policy field offers some fairly nice results (*table 2.1b*). It shows on the one hand, that e.g. political decisions are of over-dimensional importance in the field of monetary politics while they are of negligible importance in the case of troop deployment. Meetings, on the other hand, most prominently figure as initiating event for commentaries on European integration. In no other policy field, communicative events partly directed to the media – such as public speeches or the publication of a report – are as important as initiating event as in the case of agricultural policy. Commentaries and editorials on troop deployment are – less surprisingly – predominantly incited by some kind

of external political crisis. Direct democratic action constitutes an important stimulus for commentaries in four out of our seven policy fields under study, but most importantly in immigration policy, where 36 per cent of commentaries were initiated by direct democratic action. This result reflects actual political events. Clearly, for those policy fields not subject to popular vote in the period of study, this action form is of virtually no weight.

Table 2.2a Scopes of initiating events per paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	0	1	-	1	1 (6)
Other supranational	3	1	-	-	2 (10)
EU	19	8	7	2	12 (81)
Other European supranational	3	2	-	2	2 (16)
Multilateral	3	3	-	2	2 (16)
Bilateral	4	2	-	2	3 (17)
Germany	3	2	-	-	2 (12)
France	1	5	-	-	3 (18)
UK	0	-	2	-	0 (2)
Italy	1	0	2	-	1 (4)
Spain	-	1	-	-	0 (2)
Netherlands	-	0	-	-	0 (1)
Other pre-1995 EU members	5	4	-	3	4 (27)
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	39	60	85	88	56 (384)
Upcoming enlargement countries	1	-	-	-	0 (3)
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	3	1	-	-	2 (10)
Turkey	2	1	1	-	1 (8)
Russia	1	1	1	-	1 (7)
USA	8	5	1	-	5 (37)
Japan	0	-	-	-	0 (1)
Middle East	0	2	-	-	1 (5)
Rest of the world	4	1	1	-	2 (14)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (282)</i>	<i>100 (265)</i>	<i>100 (75)</i>	<i>100 (59)</i>	<i>100 (681)</i>

As *table 2.2a* shows, the NZZ is the newspaper for which events with a European scope initiate far more editorials than in all other three newspapers. Hand in hand with this result, *table 2.2a* shows additionally that the NZZ is the least focused on national events as inducement for publishing the newspapers own opinion on an issue. This characteristic opposes the NZZ most dominantly to the Blick. One main reason for the strong “outward orientation” of the NZZ as portrayed in the initiating events may be the newspapers self-definition as an internationally oriented medium. Furthermore one has to bare in mind that the fact that the NZZ publishes commentaries in all three major sections including international news and economy rises the potential for “foreign” scopes of initiating events, as compared e.g. to Le Temps with just one editorial a day. As can be seen in *table 2.2a* editorials are caused by a wide range of initiating events (scopes) and slightly more attention is being paid to EU member countries than in the other newspapers under study. The regional and the tabloid newspaper’s commentaries are predominantly inspired by national events – a result in perfect harmony with these newspapers’ general editorial line.

Monetary politics is the field in which the share of editorials initiated by a European event is the greatest compared to all other six policy fields, even taking into account the meta-issue of European integration as such (see *table 2.2b*). None of the commentaries on issues concerning pension schemes and retirement as well as immigration on the other hand has been incited by an event at the European level. As will be seen below, Germany and France – as the two “large neighbours” – are most present amongst all EU member states.

Table 2.2b shows furthermore a predominance of national happenings as initiating events for editorials in the fields of pension and retirement, immigration as well as education. This is certainly on the one hand an effect of the actual national character of the issue – including specific debates present in Swiss public sphere during our period of study, such as the vote on the asylum initiative in 2002. On the other hand, these results also show evidence for the fact that little attention is being paid to debates abroad concerning these issues and that such debates are not taken as a hint to reflect on national policies even within Switzerland.

Table 2.2b Scopes of initiating events per issue field (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European Integration	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	-	-	1	4	-	-	1	1 (6)
Other supranational	2	7	-	2	1	-	2	2 (10)
EU	31	11	1	2	-	-	17	12 (81)
Other European supranational	-	-	-	-	-	5	5	2 (16)
Multilateral	5	-	1	6	3	2	1	2 (16)
Bilateral	2	3	1	8	-	-	3	3 (17)
Germany	1	3	5	2	-	2	2	2 (12)
France	1	7	1	-	3	6	3	3 (18)
UK	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0 (2)
Italy	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	1 (4)
Spain	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0 (2)
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0 (1)
Other pre-1995 EU members	4	-	2	2	-	-	8	4 (27)
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	22	55	82	38	91	79	47	56 (384)
Upcoming enlargement countries	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0 (3)
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	-	-	9	-	-	2	2 (10)
Turkey	1	-	2	-	-	-	2	1 (8)
Russia	-	-	2	4	-	-	1	1 (7)
USA	20	14	-	9	1	3	2	5 (37)
Japan	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 (1)
Middle East	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	1 (5)
Rest of the world	9	-	2	4	-	3	-	2 (14)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (100)</i>	<i>100 (29)</i>	<i>100 (66)</i>	<i>100 (52)</i>	<i>100 (109)</i>	<i>100 (63)</i>	<i>100 (262)</i>	<i>100 (681)</i>

Claims-level: Commentators

Table 3.1a Names of commentators per paper

Newspaper	Commentator	%	N
NZZ	Gemperle, Reinhold	21	44
	Schwarz, Gerhard	9	19
	Kramer, Hansrudolf	7	15
	Schoch, Claudia	7	15
	Saxer, Matthias	5	11
	Wehrli, Christoph	5	11
	Stieger, Cyrill	4	9
	Doepfner, Andreas	4	8
	Frenkel, Max	4	8
	Lezzi, Bruno	4	8
	<i>Total</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>148</i>
Le Temps	Hoesli, Eric	14	33
	Miéville, Daniel Stanislas	8	19
	Enderlin, Serge	8	18
	Wuthrich, Bernard	8	18
	Béguin, Jean-Marc	7	16
	Roth, Jean-Jacques	6	13
	Campiotti, Alain	4	10
	Jeannerat, Ignace	4	9
	Kuntz, Joëlle	4	9
	Modoux, François	4	9
<i>Total</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>154</i>	
Le Matin	Dousse, Anne	39	24
	Tauxe, Chantal	18	11
	Gattoni, Jean-Pierre	11	7
	Pittet, Denis	5	3
	Mendicino, Fedele	3	2
	Molnar, Laszlo	3	2
	Pillar, Daniel	3	2
	Rocchi, Ludovic	3	2
	Bernard, Bridel	2	1
	Brélaz, Marie-José	2	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>89</i>	<i>55</i>	
Blick	Lehmann, Jürg	39	20
	Bertolami, Silvio	12	6
	Moser, Urs	12	6
	Wüthrich, Georges	10	5
	De Schepper, Werner	6	3
	Dorer, Christian	6	3
	Rohmund, Susanne	4	2
	Siegenthaler, Marcel	4	2
	Walther, Ueli	4	2
	Jost, Beat	2	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>99</i>	<i>50</i>	

Table 3.1a shows the ten most frequent commentators per paper. It principally shows that in the cases of Le Temps and the NZZ the ten most frequent journalists account for a lesser share of commentaries than in the case of Le Matin and Blick. This has to be interpreted largely as the consequence of greater respectively more limited human resources within the different newspapers. The table reveals furthermore that the chief editor of the NZZ Hugo Bütler does not figure amongst the most prominent editorialists. This is contrary to Le Temps,

where the (now former) editor Eric Hoesli signed significantly more editorials than his fellow journalists. The same observation – in an even stronger form – is true for Jürg Lehmann, chief editor of the Blick during our period of study, who wrote himself almost 40 per cent of editorials published on our seven fields of interest. In terms of presence of the chief editor amongst top-ten editorialists Le Matin resembles the NZZ. It is Anne Dousse, a parliamentary correspondent in Bern, who wrote the greatest share of commentaries of interest to us.

Table 3.1b Names of commentators per issue field

Issue field	Commentator	%	N
Monetary politics	Gemperle, Reinhold	24	20
	Schwarz, Gerhard	23	19
	Jeannerat, Ignace	8	7
	Meier, Walter	7	6
	Hofmann, Daniel	6	5
	Benoit-Godet, Stéphane	5	4
	Deruaz, Alexandra	2	2
	Rohmund, Susanne	2	2
	Stieger, Cyrill	2	2
	Berger, Ralph	1	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>68</i>	
Agriculture	Gemperle, Reinhold	22	5
	Bitterli, Heinz	9	2
	Compiotti, Alain	9	2
	Wirz, Claudia	9	2
	Crisinel, Anne	4	1
	Dousse, Anne	4	1
	Etwareea, Ram	4	1
	Miéville, Daniel Stanislas	4	1
	Minor, Andreas J.	4	1
	Moser, Urs	4	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>73</i>	<i>17</i>	
Immigration	Wehrli, Christoph	18	10
	Dousse, Anne	9	5
	Hoesli, Eric	7	4
	Modoux, François	7	4
	Taxe, Chantal	7	4
	Roth, Jean-Jacques	5	3
	Camina, Marc	4	2
	Enderlin, Serge	4	2
	Kuntz, Joëlle	4	2
	Lehmann, Jürg	4	2
<i>Total</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>38</i>	
Troop deployment	Lezzi, Bruno	22	8
	Béguin, Jean-Marc	8	3
	Campiotti, Alain	8	3
	Enderlin, Serge	5	2
	Hoesli, Eric	5	2
	Kuntz, Joëlle	5	2
	Péclet, Jean-Claude	5	2
	Spillmann, Markus	5	2
	Büthler, Hugo	3	1
	Christen, Anton	3	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>26</i>	

Table 3.1b Names of commentators per issue field (continued)

Issue field	Commentator	%	N
Pensions and retirement	Wuthrich, Bernard	18	16
	Dousse, Anne	11	10
	Schoch, Claudia	9	8
	Bertolami, Silvio	6	5
	Lehmann, Jürg	5	4
	Moser, Urs	5	4
	Neukom, Alfred	5	4
	Saxer, Matthias	5	4
	Enz, Werner	3	3
	Petignant, Yves	3	3
	<i>Total</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>61</i>
Education	Dufour, Nicolas	15	8
	Lietti, Anna	9	5
	Busslinger, Laurent	8	4
	Hoesli, Eric	8	4
	Hagenbüchle, Walter	6	3
	Arsever, Sylvie	4	2
	Béguin, Jean-Marc	4	2
	Friedrich, Roger	4	2
	Pittet, Denis	4	2
	Campiotti, Alain	2	1
	<i>Total</i>	<i>64</i>	<i>33</i>
European integration	Hoesli, Eric	10	21
	Gemperle, Reinhold	8	18
	Miéville, Daniel Stanislas	8	18
	Kramer, Hansrudolf	6	13
	Lehmann, Jürg	6	13
	Enderlin, Serge	5	12
	Béguin, Jean-Marc	4	8
	Dousse, Anne	4	8
	Schoch, Claudia	3	7
	Doepfner, Andreas	3	6
	<i>Total</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>124</i>

Table 3.1b essentially shows that particularly monetary politics, but also to some lesser extend agriculture are policy fields with relative high specialisation of journalists, since the top-ten editorialists account for 80 and 73 per cent of commentaries in these fields respectively. The broadest range of journalists writing on an issue can be found concerning the meta-issue of European integration, where the top-ten journalists wrote “only” 57 per cent of all editorials published on this issue.

Table 3.2a seems to uncover a different journalistic style in French-speaking Swiss newspapers as compared to German-speaking Swiss newspapers. The quality paper (Le Temps) and the regional paper (Le Matin) – stylistically very close to a tabloid – are much less reluctant to express a call for change or for the situation to remain as it is than their German-speaking counterparts NZZ (quality paper) and Blick (tabloid). Compared to 29 per cent of claims calling for a change in both NZZ and Blick, Le Temps and Le Matin seem much more offensive in their demands on political actors and the expression of the newspapers opinion, as shown by the 43 per cent of cases with a call for a change in Le

Temps and even 56 per cent of all commentaries in Le Matin. This might have to do with a certain self-understanding of the journalists as either analysts or advocates of solutions or concrete political actors themselves.

Table 3.2a Calls for change per paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
No call for change / not to change expressed	62	49	39	61	54 (302)
Call for change	29	43	56	29	38 (214)
Neutral / ambivalent attitude as to whether change is needed	7	1	-	4	3 (18)
Call for the situation to remain as it is	2	7	5	6	5 (27)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (212)</i>	<i>100 (235)</i>	<i>100 (62)</i>	<i>100 (52)</i>	<i>100 (561)</i>

Table 3.2b Calls for change per issue field (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European Integration	Total (N)
No call for change / not to change expressed	72	39	39	62	52	34	57	54 (302)
Call for change	21	52	41	35	37	57	39	38 (214)
Neutral / ambivalent attitude as to whether change is needed	1	9	5	3	3	2	3	3 (18)
Call for the situation to remain as it is	6	-	15	-	8	7	1	5 (27)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (82)</i>	<i>100 (23)</i>	<i>100 (56)</i>	<i>100 (37)</i>	<i>100 (88)</i>	<i>100 (53)</i>	<i>100 (222)</i>	<i>100 (561)</i>

An analysis across policy fields shows some differentiation. Monetary politics clearly seems to be the policy field, where commentaries remain to a large extent “analyses” rather than a “political declaration”. In tendency, the same holds true for troop deployment, European integration as well as pension scheme and retirement policy. Education, agriculture and immigration on the other hand prove to be more contested policy fields, inciting journalists to express particularly calls for change but also ambivalent attitudes or calls for the situation to remain as it is. An analysis across issue fields and newspapers confirms (at least partly) the interpretation on journalistic style and specificities of the policy fields.

Table 3.3a Conflict line of commentator per paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Leadership in Europe	-	6	-	-	3 (4)
Involvement in the European Project	47	64	90	100	68 (94)
Future of Europe	6	5	-	-	4 (5)
Political levels	3	-	-	-	1 (1)
Decision making within EU	-	1	-	-	1 (1)
EU reform	8	1	-	-	3 (4)
Values	-	-	-	-	-
Citizenship	9	-	-	-	2 (3)
Political information	-	-	-	-	-
Deepening	3	1	-	-	1 (2)
Widening	6	12	10	-	9 (12)
Identity	-	-	-	-	-
Relations between EU MS	-	3	-	-	1 (2)
Type of entity	-	-	-	-	-
EU influence in the world	6	-	-	-	1 (2)
Europe and the USA	3	6	-	-	4 (5)
Europe a la carte	6	1	-	-	2 (3)
Reforms and enlargement	3	-	-	-	1 (1)
Level of problem solving	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (34)</i>	<i>100 (70)</i>	<i>100 (20)</i>	<i>100 (15)</i>	<i>100 (139)</i>

Table 3.3a reveals some interesting aspects of commentaries in Swiss newspapers. Firstly, it has to be noted that only about a fourth of all claims in commentaries make reference to a conflict line concerning the European integration process. This is largely the effect of our composition of policy fields, as *table 3.3b* below will also provide evidence for. Secondly, in terms of differences between newspapers, we can observe that it is Le Temps' editorialists who most often make reference to a conflict line. Clearly, the quality newspapers refer to a far wider range of conflict lines than the regional paper or the tabloid. For the latter, taking a position on the whole variety of aspects concerning European integration can be resumed to the question of involvement in the European project. This might be the case because of a strong focusing on national Swiss debate about Switzerland's integration into EU-Europe. It is the same conflict line which is also predominant in the case of the two quality newspapers, although in different degrees. More than in Le Temps editorialists of the NZZ seem to

comment on the EU's proper debate (such as EU influence in the world, EU reform, Citizenship and democracy etc.), regardless of Swiss implication in it.

Table 3.3b Conflict line of commentator per issue field (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European Integration	Total (N)
Leadership in Europe	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3 (4)
Involvement in the European Project	-	-	-	-	-	-	69	68 (94)
Future of Europe	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4 (5)
Political levels	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1 (1)
Decision making within EU	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1 (1)
EU reform	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3 (4)
Values	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Citizenship	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2 (3)
Political information	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Deepening	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1 (2)
Widening	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	9 (12)
Identity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Relations between EU MS	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1 (2)
Type of entity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
EU influence in the world	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1 (2)
Europe and the USA	50	-	-	-	-	-	3	3 (5)
Europe a la carte	50	-	-	-	-	-	1	2 (3)
Reforms and enlargement	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1 (1)
Level of problem solving	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (2)</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>100 (137)</i>	<i>100 (139)</i>

In none of the six substantive policy fields, with the exception of two editorials concerning monetary politics, commentators refer to any conflict line concerning the European integration process. 137 out of the 139 claims including a conflict line treat the meta-issue of European integration itself. A very wide range of conflict dimensions are addressed; interestingly however, Swiss editorialists are not concerned with values and beliefs common to EU member states and the EU (values); the level of transparency and accountability that works best for the EU (political information); the sense of belonging and the notion of

political community (identity); the type of entity the EU is or should be (type of entity); nor are commentators concerned with the level of problem solving. This might simple be the consequence of non-implication of Switzerland in the EU and fact that Switzerland is and will not be affected by any changes in these respects in the medium term.

Table 3.4a Position regarding European integration by newspaper and year

Newspaper	Year	Mean position	N
NZZ	2000	.02	58
	2001	.10	29
	2002	.24	21
	<i>Total</i>	.08	108
Le Temps	2000	.48	58
	2001	.32	34
	2002	.40	30
	<i>Total</i>	.42	122
Le Matin	2000	.00	11
	2001	.18	11
	2002	.17	6
	<i>Total</i>	.11	28
Blick	2000	.80	10
	2001	.33	6
	2002	.50	4
	<i>Total</i>	.60	20
Overall total	2000	.27	137
	2001	.23	80
	2002	.33	61
	<i>Total</i>	.27	278

Table 3.4a shows that commentators' claims published in the NZZ as well as in Le Matin have almost neutral, but slightly positive effects on the rights, resources and competences of European institutions. The Blick most prominently advocates positions with positive effects on European institutions. This result underlines the tabloids' commitment to European integration. The same can be said to be true, though less clearly, for Le Temps whose commentators also advocate developments giving further rights, resources and/or competences to European institutions.

Taking into account differences between policy domains (table 3.4b), we firstly have to note that policy fields characterised by no or little competences at the European level (troop deployment; retirement and pension; education) are not at all subject to commentators' reflections concerning any deepening of EU integration. In agriculture and immigration policy as well as the issue fields of European integration itself as well as in monetary politics commentators advocate at mean slightly positively for the extension of rights, resources and competences of European institutions.

Table 3.4b Position regarding European integration by policy field and year

Issue field*	Year	Mean position	N
Monetary politics	2000	.11	19
	2001	.08	12
	2002	.23	13
	<i>Total</i>	<i>.14</i>	<i>44</i>
Agriculture	2000	.67	3
	2001	.00	2
	2002	.00	1
	<i>Total</i>	<i>.33</i>	<i>6</i>
Immigration	2000	.00	3
	2001	.25	4
	2002	1.00	2
	<i>Total</i>	<i>.33</i>	<i>9</i>
European integration	2000	.29	112
	2001	.26	62
	2002	.33	45
	<i>Total</i>	<i>.29</i>	<i>219</i>
Overall total	2000	.27	137
	2001	.23	80
	2002	.33	61
	<i>Total</i>	<i>.27</i>	<i>278</i>

* No case exists within the issue fields of troop deployment, retirement and pension as well as education which have been evaluated regarding European integration.

Table 3.5a Subjective attitude regarding European integration by newspaper and year

Newspaper	Year	Mean position	N
NZZ	2000	.10	58
	2001	.10	29
	2002	.24	21
	<i>Total</i>	<i>.13</i>	<i>108</i>
Le Temps	2000	.78	58
	2001	.62	34
	2002	.60	30
	<i>Total</i>	<i>.69</i>	<i>122</i>
Le Matin	2000	.82	11
	2001	.45	11
	2002	.33	6
	<i>Total</i>	<i>.57</i>	<i>28</i>
Blick	2000	.80	10
	2001	1.00	6
	2002	.25	4
	<i>Total</i>	<i>.75</i>	<i>20</i>
Overall total	2000	.50	137
	2001	.44	80
	2002	.43	61
	<i>Total</i>	<i>.46</i>	<i>278</i>

Other than *tables 3.4a* and *3.4b*, *table 3.5a* presents the commentators subjective attitude towards the EU and the European integration process. It shows that journalists of the Blick are overall the most enthusiastic advocates of the European integration process (although not in 2002), followed by Le Temps, where however also a slight decline over time can be

remarked. While the NZZ's attitude remains positive, it is fairly "discreet". A strong "decline" of support for the integration process can be observed in the case of Le Matin. While in the year 2000 its journalists were very much in favour of the European project – largely in the context of the debate of Swiss popular vote on bilateral agreements between the EU and Switzerland – they are far less so in 2002.

Table 3.5b Subjective attitude regarding European integration by policy field and year

Issue field*	Year	Mean position	N
Monetary politics	2000	.16	19
	2001	.08	12
	2002	.31	13
	<i>Total</i>	<i>.18</i>	<i>44</i>
Agriculture	2000	.00	3
	2001	.00	2
	2002	.00	1
	<i>Total</i>	<i>.00</i>	<i>6</i>
Immigration	2000	.00	3
	2001	.25	4
	2002	.50	2
	<i>Total</i>	<i>.22</i>	<i>9</i>
European integration	2000	.58	112
	2001	.53	62
	2002	.47	45
	<i>Total</i>	<i>.54</i>	<i>219</i>
Overall total	2000	.50	137
	2001	.44	80
	2002	.43	61
	<i>Total</i>	<i>.46</i>	<i>278</i>

* No case exists within the issue fields of troop deployment, retirement and pension as well as education which have been evaluated regarding European integration.

Swiss editorialists seem largely to take a positive view on the European integration process, as so long as the European project itself is concerned. When it comes to material (communitarised) policies, the picture changes: journalists seem to be more reluctant although still positive about the EU and the integration process. In terms of trend over time, *table 3.5b* reveals a stable situation concerning agricultural policy on the one hand, and increasing positive attitudes towards monetary politics – at the moment of institutionalisation of the euro – and immigration policy⁶. The view on European integration in general becomes somewhat less positive over the period of study, declining from a mean position of .58 to .47.

⁶ One has however to bear in mind the low number of cases when interpreting these results.

Table 3.5c Subjective attitude regarding European integration by newspaper and commentator

Newspaper	Commentator	Mean position	N
NZZ	Gemperle, Reinhold	.19	36
	Kramer, Hansrudolf	.21	14
	Stieger, Cyrill	.38	8
	Doepfner, Andreas	.29	7
	Schoch, Claudia	.00	7
	Schwarz, Gerhard	.00	6
	Saxer, Matthias	.00	5
	Bütler, Hugo	-.25	4
	Frenkel, Max	.00	4
Meier, Reinhard	.00	2	
Le Temps	Hoesli, Eric	.86	21
	Miéville, Daniel Stanislas	.72	18
	Enderlin, Serge	.80	15
	Béguin, Jean-Marc	1.00	8
	Roth, Jean-Jacques	.29	7
	Krimm, Roland	1.00	6
	Campiotti, Alain	.60	5
	Kuntz, Joëlle	1.00	5
	Benoit-Godet, Stéphane	.50	4
Comina, Marc	.75	4	
Le Matin	Dousse, Anne	.75	8
	Taxe, Chantal	.43	7
	Gattoni, Jean-Pierre	.40	5
	Molnar, Laszlo	.00	2
	Bernard, Bridel	1.00	1
	Brélaz, Marie-José	1.00	1
	Hamel, Ian	1.00	1
	Mendicino, Fedele	1.00	1
	Pailleron, André	.00	1
Pillard, Daniel	1.00	1	
Blick*	Lehmann, Jürg	.85	13
	De Schepper, Werner	.50	2
	Walther, Ueli	1.00	2
	Dorer, Christian	1.00	1
	Moser, Urs	1.00	1
	Wüthrich, Georges	-1.00	1

* only 6 commentators of the Blick express a subjective attitude regarding European integration

Table 3.5c presents an overview over the ten most frequent commentators of each newspaper who expressed a subjective attitude regarding European integration. The reader might notice easily that only two commentators express on the mean a negative attitude, namely – and somewhat surprisingly – the chief editor of the NZZ (Hugo Bütler) as well as one of the political correspondents of the Blick (Georges Wüthrich). While Hugo Bütler tendentially goes in line with his fellow journalists expressing often a rather neutral or ambivalent attitude towards the European project, Georges Wüthrich’s position is perfectly contrary to the position expressed by his chief editor (Jürg Lehmann).

Claims-level: Addressees, supporters and opponents

Table 4.1a Presence of addressee by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
No indirect object actor	8	13	11	8	11 (61)
Addressee	47	45	61	42	47 (264)
Supported actor	26	22	15	17	22 (125)
Opponent	19	20	13	33	20 (112)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (213)</i>	<i>100 (235)</i>	<i>100 (62)</i>	<i>100 (52)</i>	<i>100 (562)</i>

As *table 4.1a* shows, most commentaries – regardless of the newspaper published in – do address an actor either in a neutral way, as supported actor or opponent. Le Matin however seems to identify more frequently than the other newspapers’ editorialists an actor to call upon – demanding him/her to do or leave something. The Blick on the contrary, less frequently addresses an actor directly or (in case no addressee is mentioned) refers to a supported actor. In using a fairly “negative” or “accusatory” style – maybe proper to tabloids – the Blick brings up (only) criticised actors in one third of the cases.

Table 4.1b Presence of addressee by issue field (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European Integration	Total (N)
No indirect object	11	9	7	11	11	15	11	11 (61)
Addressee	40	44	41	57	50	55	47	47 (264)
Supported actor	42	17	25	8	11	24	21	22 (125)
Opponent	7	30	27	24	28	6	21	20 (112)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (83)</i>	<i>100 (23)</i>	<i>100 (56)</i>	<i>100 (37)</i>	<i>100 (88)</i>	<i>100 (53)</i>	<i>100 (222)</i>	<i>100 (562)</i>

Troop deployment and education are the policy fields in which the newspapers editorialists have visibly the least difficulty to identify an addressee, although this is the case in at least 40 per cent of the claims in all the issue fields (see *table 4.1b*). No other policy field knows as many claims mentioning no direct addressee but (only) supported actors than monetary

politics. This might be the consequence of the fairly uncontested role and largely approved decisions taken by the key players of monetary policy such as the Swiss National Bank, the European Central Bank or still the Federal Reserve. Agriculture, pension policy and immigration prove to be the policy fields in which commentators most frequently exclusively refer to an opponent in their claims.

Table 4.2a Addressee by newspaper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Politicians	2	2	5	7	3 (14)
Former states(wo)men	0	3	-	2	2 (8)
Government/executive	49	50	51	40	48 (243)
Legislative	4	10	20	6	8 (42)
Judiciary	-	-	-	-	-
Police and internal security agencies	-	-	-	-	-
Military	2	1	2	2	1 (7)
Central Banks	18	6	-	4	10 (49)
Social security executive organisations	-	-	-	-	-
Other state executive agencies	3	1	-	-	2 (8)
Political parties	8	9	7	23	10 (49)
<i>State and party actors</i>	86	82	85	84	84 (420)
Unions and employees	1	1	-	-	1 (4)
Employers organisations and firms	0	3	2	6	2 (11)
Farmers and agricultural organisations	0	0	-	-	0 (2)
Economists and financial experts	-	0	-	2	0 (2)
<i>Economic interest groups</i>	2	4	2	8	3 (19)
<i>Media and journalists</i>	0	1	-	2	1 (3)
Churches and religious organisations and groups	-	0	-	-	0 (1)
Education professionals and organisations	1	4	5	-	3 (13)
Other scientific and research professionals or organisations	-	2	2	-	1 (5)
Students, pupils and their parents	-	-	-	-	-
Other professional organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Consumer organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Migrant organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Pro- and anti-European campaign organisations and groups	1	2	4	4	2 (9)
Solidarity and human rights organisations	-	-	-	-	-
Welfare organisations	-	-	-	-	-
Racist and extreme right organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-

Peace movement organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Organisations and groups of the elderly	-	-	-	-	-
Women's organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Environmental organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Terrorist groups	-	-	-	-	-
Rebel forces / guerrilla	-	-	-	-	-
Other civil society organisations and groups	2	1	-	2	1 (6)
<i>Other civil society actors</i>	4	9	11	6	7 (34)
Whole polities	8	4	2	-	5 (25)
Whole economies	-	-	-	-	-
The general public	-	-	-	-	-
Unknown / unspecified actors	-	-	-	-	-
<i>General / unknown / unspecified</i>	8	4	2	-	5 (25)
<i>Total (N)</i>	100 (195)	100 (203)	100 (55)	100 (48)	100 (501)

Table 4.2a shows that by far the most frequent addressees (in the sense of direct addressee, supported actor or opponent) are state and party actors. Interestingly, however, different newspapers give more or less space to certain actors within this more general category. In the NZZ e.g. 18 per cent of commentators' claims address central banks. Le Matin addresses in 20 per cent of the cases the legislative while the Blick pays particular attention to political parties (23 per cent). In tendency, Swiss German-speaking newspapers pay less attention to other civil society actors (other than economic interest groups and media) than Swiss French-speaking media seem to do.

Striking differences across policy fields are portrayed in table 4.2b. Government and executive play a much less important role as addressees in the field of monetary politics than in all other six policy fields. Agriculture presents the opposite case, with governmental actors accounting for 76 per cent of addressees, which might indicate the strong "executive" orientation and institutional closeness of this policy field. Issue specific actors are of great importance in the three policy fields education, immigration and monetary politics. Not surprisingly, given the strong independence of the Swiss National Bank as well as the European Central Bank, Central banks are the core actor addressed concerning monetary policy. Within troop deployment, the second policy field referred to, military clearly plays a role as addressee, while concerning education matters educational professionals as well as other scientific and research professionals or organisations are addressed. Political parties on the other hand, play an important role in the fields of immigration and retirement policy – two policy fields which political parties made to their key concern not least in the context of popular votes on immigration and retirement law reforms.

Table 4.2b Addressee by issue field (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European Integration	Total (N)
Politicians	-	-	2	6	4	7	2	3 (14)
Former states(wo)men	-	-	2	-	-	-	3	2 (8)
Government/executive	25	76	46	58	45	44	56	48 (243)
Legislative	-	5	10	-	15	2	12	8 (42)
Judiciary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Police and internal security agencies	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Military	-	-	-	21	-	-	-	1 (7)
Central Banks	66	-	-	-	-	-	-	10 (49)
Social security executive organisations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other state executive agencies	-	-	2	-	-	7	2	2 (8)
Political parties	-	-	19	6	21	-	11	10 (49)
<i>State and party actors</i>	91	81	81	91	85	60	86	84 (420)
Unions and employees	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	1 (4)
Employers organisations and firms	4	-	-	-	7	2	1	2 (11)
Farmers and agricultural organisations	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	0 (2)
Economists and financial experts	-	-	-	-	1	-	0	0 (2)
<i>Economic interest groups</i>	4	9	-	-	13	2	1	3 (19)
<i>Media and journalists</i>	-	5	-	-	-	-	1	1 (3)
Churches and religious organisations and groups	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	0 (1)
Education professionals and organisations	-	-	-	-	-	29	-	3 (13)
Other scientific and research professionals or organisations	-	-	2	-	-	9	-	1 (5)
Students, pupils and their parents	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other professional organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Consumer organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Migrant organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pro- and anti-European campaign organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2 (9)
Solidarity and human rights organisations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Welfare organisations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Racist and extreme right organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peace movement organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Organisations and groups of the elderly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Women's organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Environmental organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Terrorist groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rebel forces / guerrilla	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other civil society organisations and groups	-	-	6	6	1	-	-	1 (6)

<i>Other civil society actors</i>	-	-	10	6	1	38	5	7 (34)
Whole polities	5	5	9	3	1	-	7	5 (25)
Whole economies	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The general public	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unknown / unspecified actors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>General / unknown / unspecified</i>	5	5	9	3	1	-	7	5 (25)
<i>Total (N)</i>	100 (74)	100 (21)	100 (52)	100 (33)	100 (78)	100 (45)	100 (198)	100 (501)

Table 4.2c Addressee by year (in %)

	2000	2001	2002	Total (N)
Politicians	3	3	3	3 (14)
Former states(wo)men	3	-	1	2 (8)
Government/executive	46	43	58	48 (243)
Legislative	8	8	9	8 (42)
Judiciary	-	-	-	-
Police and internal security agencies	-	-	-	-
Military	1	3	1	1 (7)
Central Banks	8	17	6	10 (49)
Social security executive organisations	-	-	-	-
Other state executive agencies	2	1	1	2 (8)
Political parties	10	12	8	10 (49)
<i>State and party actors</i>	81	87	86	84 (420)
Unions and employees	0	1	1	1 (4)
Employers organisations and firms	1	1	4	2 (11)
Farmers and agricultural organisations	1	-	-	0 (2)
Economists and financial experts	1	1	-	0 (2)
<i>Economic interest groups</i>	3	3	6	3 (19)
<i>Media and journalists</i>	1	-	1	1 (3)
Churches and religious organisations and groups	-	1	-	0 (1)
Education professionals and organisations	3	2	1	3 (13)
Other scientific and research professionals or organisations	1	1	1	1 (5)
Students, pupils and their parents	-	-	-	-
Other professional organisations and groups	-	-	-	-
Consumer organisations and groups	-	-	-	-
Migrant organisations and groups	-	-	-	-
Pro- and anti-European campaign organisations and groups	3	1	-	2 (9)
Solidarity and human rights organisations	-	-	-	-
Welfare organisations	-	-	-	-
Racist and extreme right organisations and	-	-	-	-

groups				
Peace movement organisations and groups	-	-	-	-
Organisations and groups of the elderly	-	-	-	-
Women's organisations and groups	-	-	-	-
Environmental organisations and groups	-	-	-	-
Terrorist groups	-	-	-	-
Rebel forces / guerrilla	-	-	-	-
Other civil society organisations and groups	2	1	-	1 (6)
<i>Other civil society actors</i>	9	6	3	7 (34)
Whole polities	6	4	5	5 (25)
Whole economies	-	-	-	-
The general public	-	-	-	-
Unknown / unspecified actors	-	-	-	-
<i>General / unknown / unspecified</i>	6	4	5	5 (25)
<i>Total (N)</i>	100 (221)	100 (135)	100 (145)	100 (501)

An analysis over time shows only marginal differences during the three years of study (see *table 4.2c*). Government and executive seem to rise in importance over the three year of study, accounting for 58 per cent in 2002 as compared to 46 per cent in 2000 and 43 per cent in 2001. Central banks prove to be particularly often called upon in the year 2001, the preparatory year for the introduction of the Euro in coins and banknotes. Economic interest groups are of slightly more importance in 2002 than in the years of comparison; for civil society actors the inverse trend can be observed. These developments are linked to the actual debates in the years of study, such as Swiss EU integration in 2000 and questions of retirement involving e.g. employers' organisations and firms in 2002.

Table 4.3a presents differences between newspapers concerning the spatial frame of actors addressed. It shows interestingly enough that the analysed tabloid paper only addresses Swiss actors – with not a single exception. Its French-speaking equivalent – the regional newspaper *le Matin* – does so to a somewhat lesser extent addressing also supranational actors at the international level and within Europe as well as specifically EU actors. Given the regional feature of this newspaper this result might be rather surprising. The *NZZ* – in harmony with its editorial line – addresses in more than half of the claims expressed in commentaries actors outside Switzerland. Actors with a European scope therein account for 21 per cent of addressees – almost twice as much as in the case of *Le Temps*. The difference between the two quality newspapers has to be interpreted baring in mind that *Le Temps* publishes just one editorial a day, while the *NZZ* explicitly distinguishes between commentaries in the national and international news section, giving therewith more potential to European issues and actors to enter (“its”) public sphere.

Table 4.3a Addressee scope by newspaper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	0	0	2	-	1 (3)
Other supranational	2	0	-	-	1 (5)
EU	21	11	5	-	13 (67)
Other European supranational	4	2	2	-	2 (12)
Multilateral	0	1	-	-	1 (3)
Bilateral	-	-	-	-	-
Germany	4	3	-	-	3 (14)
France	2	6	-	-	3 (15)
UK	2	-	2	-	1 (4)
Italy	0	1	2	-	1 (3)
Spain	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU members	3	2	2	-	2 (9)
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	47	69	85	100	65 (327)
Upcoming enlargement countries	2	-	-	-	1 (4)
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	0	-	-	-	0 (1)
Turkey	0	-	-	-	0 (1)
Russia	-	-	-	-	-
USA	8	4	-	-	5 (24)
Japan	1	-	-	-	0 (1)
Middle East	1	-	-	-	0 (2)
Rest of the world	3	1	-	-	1 (6)
Total (N)	<i>100 (195)</i>	<i>100 (203)</i>	<i>100 (55)</i>	<i>100 (48)</i>	<i>100 (501)</i>

Table 4.3b Addressee scope by issue field (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European Integration	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	1 (3)
Other supranational	1	-	-	12	-	-	-	1 (5)
EU	31	14	4	-	-	-	20	13 (67)
Other European supranational	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	2 (12)
Multilateral	1	-	-	-	-	3	0	1 (3)
Bilateral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Germany	3	-	4	3	-	2	4	3 (14)
France	-	10	-	-	1	2	6	3 (15)
UK	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1 (4)
Italy	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1 (3)
Spain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU members	6	-	-	-	-	2	2	2 (9)
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	28	67	88	61	97	89	56	65 (327)
Upcoming enlargement countries	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1 (4)
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0 (1)
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0 (1)
Russia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
USA	22	9	2	9	1	2	-	5 (24)
Japan	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 (1)
Middle East	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	0 (2)
Rest of the world	7	-	2	-	-	-	-	1 (6)
Total (N)	100 (74)	100 (21)	100 (52)	100 (33)	100 (78)	100 (45)	100 (198)	100 (501)

Table 4.3b can be interpreted as clear indicator of the “Europeanisation” of the different policy fields under study. In terms of addressees, pension and retirement policy, education as well as immigration prove to be the most nationally focused issues. The most Europeanised domain is clearly monetary politics, topping even the meta-issue of European integration. This is however not as surprising as it might seem at first sight, since the debate about European integration on the one hand strongly involves questions of Swiss participation in the

integration process and on the other hand also includes aspects of the relationship between EU member countries and the EU (15 per cent addressing EU member state actors). Editorials on troop deployment, for their part, do not address EU or other European supranational actors at all, but are the only commentaries involving non-EU supranational addressees. The view editorials on agricultural policy include surprisingly a certain number of French and US-American addressees, but no supranational addressees such as e.g. WTO and no actors of other EU member state origin, while the EU level makes up one seventh of actors called upon.

Table 4.3c Addressee scope by year (in %)

	2000	2001	2002	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	1	-	1	1 (3)
Other supranational	1	2	-	1 (5)
EU	15	13	11	13 (67)
Other European supranational	5	1	1	2 (12)
Multilateral	-	2	-	1 (3)
Bilateral	-	-	-	-
Germany	2	2	4	3 (14)
France	3	1	5	3 (15)
UK	0	1	1	1 (4)
Italy	-	-	2	1 (3)
Spain	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU members	3	-	2	2 (9)
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	65	65	65	65 (327)
Upcoming enlargement countries	1	1	-	1 (4)
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	0	-	-	0 (1)
Turkey	-	-	1	0 (1)
Russia	-	-	-	-
USA	2	10	5	5 (24)
Japan	0	-	-	0 (1)
Middle East	1	-	-	0 (2)
Rest of the world	1	2	2	1 (6)
Total (N)	100 (221)	100 (135)	100 (145)	100 (501)

As table 4.3c reveals, in terms of special frames the actors addressed in commentators' claims remain fairly stable over the three year period of study. In all years actors of Swiss origin account for 65 per cent of addressees. Slightly more attention is being paid to EU member state actors in 2002 than in previous years and in tendency the inverse is true for EU supranational actors as well as other European supranational actors.

Table 4.3d Addressee scope by broad addressee category (in %)

	State and party actors	Economic interest groups	Media and journalists	Other civil society actors	General / unknown / unspecified	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	1	-	-	-	-	1 (3)
Other supranational	1	-	-	-	-	1 (5)
EU	14	-	-	-	40	13 (67)
Other European supranational	3	-	-	-	4	2 (12)
Multilateral	0	5	-	3	-	1 (3)
Bilateral	-	-	-	-	-	-
Germany	3	-	-	-	-	3 (14)
France	3	5	-	3	-	3 (15)
UK	1	-	-	-	-	1 (4)
Italy	0	-	-	-	4	1 (3)
Spain	-	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU members	2	-	-	-	8	2 (9)
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	63	90	100	94	40	65 (327)
Upcoming enlargement countries	1	-	-	-	-	1 (4)
Other European countries ex CIS	0	-	-	-	-	0 (1)
Turkey	0	-	-	-	-	0 (1)
Russia	-	-	-	-	-	-
USA	6	-	-	-	4	5 (24)
Japan	0	-	-	-	-	0 (1)
Middle East	1	-	-	-	-	0 (2)
Rest of the world	1	-	-	-	-	1 (6)
Total (N)	100 (420)	100 (19)	100 (3)	100 (34)	100 (25)	100 (501)

All journalists and media figuring as addressees and almost all economic interest group and other civil society actors being addressed are characterised by a national Swiss scope. EU European actors are most frequently referred to as “whole politics” pushing the category “general/unknown/unspecified actors”. State and party actors addressed are just as all other actors predominantly of Swiss origin; a whole series of other special scopes figure however in the list (see *table 4.3d*). Interestingly enough, Swiss journalists never pretend to intervene in Russian, Spanish, Dutch, Austrian, Swedish or Finnish affaires – at least not by directly calling upon these countries representatives.

Claims-level: Positively evaluated addressees and supporters

Table 5.1a Positively evaluated addressees by newspaper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Politicians	-	2	-	-	1 (1)
Former states(wo)men	1	9	-	11	5 (7)
Government/executive	43	48	70	34	46 (67)
Legislative	4	9	10	-	6 (9)
Judiciary	-	-	-	-	-
Police and internal security agencies	-	-	-	-	-
Military	-	-	-	11	1 (1)
Central Banks	38	8	-	11	22 (32)
Social security executive organisations	-	-	-	-	-
Other state executive agencies	3	-	-	-	1 (2)
Political parties	2	5	-	11	3 (5)
<i>State and party actors</i>	<i>91</i>	<i>81</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>78</i>	<i>86</i> <i>(124)</i>
Unions and employees	1	2	-	-	1 (2)
Employers organisations and firms	-	2	-	11	1 (2)
Farmers and agricultural organisations	-	-	-	-	-
Economists and financial experts	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Economic interest groups</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>3</i> <i>(4)</i>
<i>Media and journalists</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>2</i> <i>(2)</i>
Churches and religious organisations and groups	-	2	-	-	1 (1)
Education professionals and organisations	-	3	-	-	1 (2)
Other scientific and research professionals or organisations	-	7	-	-	3 (4)
Students, pupils and their parents	-	-	-	-	-
Other professional organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Consumer organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Migrant organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Pro- and anti-European campaign organisations and groups	-	2	20	-	2 (3)
Solidarity and human rights organisations	-	-	-	-	-
Welfare organisations	-	-	-	-	-
Racist and extreme right organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Peace movement organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Organisations and groups of the elderly	-	-	-	-	-
Women's organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Environmental organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Terrorist groups	-	-	-	-	-
Other civil society organisations and groups	-	-	-	11	1 (1)
<i>Other civil society actors</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>8</i> <i>(11)</i>

Whole polities	6	-	-	-	3 (4)
Whole economies	-	-	-	-	-
The general public	-	-	-	-	-
Unknown / unspecified actors	-	-	-	-	-
<i>General / unknown / unspecified</i>	6	-	-	-	3 (4)
<i>Total (N)</i>	100 (68)	100 (58)	100 (10)	100 (9)	100 (145)

State and party actors are the predominant positively evaluated addressees and supported actors in all four newspapers under study, although the NZZ's editorialists particularly tend to mention them in a positive way (see *table 5.1a*). The interpretation of results concerning the Le Matin and Blick is however to be undertaken very carefully in light of the few cases included. Comparing NZZ and Le Temps nonetheless, it is remarkable to note that 14 per cent of positively addressed or supported actors are other civil society groups, while in the NZZ this category of actors is completely ignored.

Table 5.1b offers not much of a surprise and presents once more a fairly coherent picture: positively addressed or supported actors are issue specific. Yet again the number of cases is so small for certain categories that we have to set aside any interpretation. Looking at monetary politics and the meta-issue of European integration – which account together for 93 out of 145 cases – we see that central banks are the actor featuring by large most frequently as supported actors in the field of monetary politics. In the latter policy domain, the spectrum of actors is generally very limited. European integration on the contrary presents a somewhat broader range of positively evaluated actors including also a small number of economic interest groups and other civil society actors.

Table 5.1b Positively evaluated addressees by issue field (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European Integration	Total (N)
Politicians	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	1 (1)
Former states(w)men	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	5 (7)
Government/executive	18	80	57	75	47	64	55	46 (67)
Legislative	-	-	15	-	13	-	9	6 (9)
Judiciary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Police and internal security organisations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Military	-	-	-	25	-	-	-	1 (1)
Central Banks	80	-	-	-	-	-	-	22 (32)
Social security executive organisations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other state executive agencies	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1 (2)
Political parties	-	-	14	-	13	-	2	3 (5)
<i>State and party actors</i>	98	80	86	100	80	64	83	86 (124)
Unions and employees	-	-	-	-	13	-	-	1 (2)
Employers organisations and firms	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1 (2)
Farmers and agricultural organisations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Economists and financial experts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Economic interest groups</i>	-	-	-	-	13	-	4	3 (4)
<i>Media and journalists</i>	-	20	-	-	-	-	2	2 (2)
Churches and religious organisations and groups	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	1 (1)
Education professionals and organisations	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	1 (2)
Other scientific and research professionals or organisations	-	-	7	-	-	22	-	3 (4)
Students, pupils and their parents	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other professional organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Consumer organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Migrant organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pro- and anti-European campaign organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2 (3)
Solidarity and human rights organisations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Welfare organisations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Racist and extreme right organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peace movement organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Organisations and groups of the elderly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Women's organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Environmental organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Terrorist groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rebel forces / guerrilla	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other civil society organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	1 (1)
<i>Other civil society actors</i>	-	-	14	-	7	36	5	8 (11)
Whole polities	2	-	-	-	-	-	6	3 (4)
Whole economies	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The general public	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unknown / unspecified actors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>General / unknown / unspecified</i>	2	-	-	-	-	-	6	3 (4)
Total (N)	100 (40)	100 (5)	100 (14)	100 (4)	100 (15)	100 (14)	100 (53)	100 (145)

Table 5.2a Scope of positively evaluated addressees by newspaper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	-	-	-	-	-
Other supranational	2	-	-	-	1 (1)
EU	28	7	-	-	16 (23)
Other European supranational	6	3	-	-	4 (6)
Multilateral	-	2	-	-	1 (1)
Bilateral	-	-	-	-	-
Germany	4	9	-	-	5 (8)
France	-	5	-	-	2 (3)
UK	2	-	10	-	1 (2)
Italy	-	-	-	-	-
Spain	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU members	4	3	10	-	4 (6)
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	40	64	80	100	56 (81)
Upcoming enlargement countries	-	-	-	-	-
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	-	-	-	-
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-
Russia	-	-	-	-	-
USA	12	5	-	-	8 (11)
Japan	1	-	-	-	1 (1)
Middle East	-	-	-	-	-
Rest of the world	1	2	-	-	1 (2)
Total (N)	100 (68)	100 (58)	100 (10)	100 (9)	100 (145)

In terms of special provenance of positively evaluated addressees the varying structure of commentaries in the different newspapers is once more reflected (*table 5.2a*). The NZZ addressing in total more European actors than the other newspapers does so also to a larger share in a positive way. 28 per cent of all positively evaluated addressees are of EU, further 10 per cent of EU member state origin. In Le Temps, the latter group accounts for 17 per cent of positively evaluated addressees while only 7 per cent are EU supranational actors. Given already the results in *table 4.3a*, it is not surprising to find the results confirmed that Le Matin's and the Blick's editorialists (almost) entirely focus on Swiss national addressees.

Table 5.2b Scope of positively evaluated addressees by issue field (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European Integration	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other supranational	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (1)
EU	38	40	-	-	-	-	11	16 (23)
Other European supranational	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	4 (6)
Multilateral	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1 (1)
Bilateral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Germany	-	-	14	-	-	7	9	5 (8)
France	-	-	-	-	-	7	4	2 (3)
UK	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1 (2)
Italy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU members	5	-	-	-	-	7	6	4 (6)
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	23	60	79	100	100	79	53	56 (81)
Upcoming enlargement countries	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Russia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
USA	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 (11)
Japan	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (1)
Middle East	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rest of the world	2	-	7	-	-	-	-	1 (2)
Total (N)	100 (40)	100 (5)	100 (14)	100 (4)	100 (15)	100 (14)	100 (53)	100 (145)

Comparing across policy fields, considerable differences are once more revealed (*table 5.2b*). All positively evaluated addressees concerning troop deployment and retirement policy are Swiss national actors. In the latter case the result might not surprise, pension and retirement policy being largely a national issue, where little attention is being paid to even national debates abroad (compare also WP2 results). The issue of troop deployment however – though also part of the Swiss national political agenda – is generally characterised by the involvement of actors outside Europe as well as of non-European supranational scope. As *table 6.2b* will show below, these actors appear much more frequently as criticised actors. One might draw the careful conclusion from these results that Swiss editorialists do agree with the position of

Swiss actors on this issue, while they do more frequently not agree with other actors' position. Concerning monetary politics, three major actor groups account for 94 per cent of all positively evaluated addressees – actors with a European scope being the most prominent, followed by the US actors even before Swiss actors themselves. We might once again draw the careful conclusion that these actors' positions are little contested by Swiss editorialists. About half the supported actors in the debate about the meta-issue of European integration are of Swiss origin. However, further 23 per cent of positively evaluated addressees have an EU-member state scope, 11 per cent are EU actors and another 11 per cent have a non-EU European scope. Taking into account the issue concerned, these results seem not very surprising, it is nonetheless interesting to note that the dimension of “horizontal Europeanisation” is much stronger than the vertical dimension.

Claims-level: Negatively evaluated addresses and opponents

Table 6.1a Negatively evaluated addressees by newspaper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Politicians	5	-	7	6	4 (8)
Former states(wo)men	-	1	-	-	0 (1)
Government/executive	47	54	48	40	49 (108)
Legislative	4	9	11	6	7 (16)
Judiciary	-	-	-	-	-
Police and internal security agencies	-	-	-	-	-
Military	3	-	4	-	1 (3)
Central Banks	6	2	-	3	4 (8)
Social security executive organisations	-	-	-	-	-
Other state executive agencies	1	4	-	-	1 (3)
Political parties	16	15	15	30	18 (39)
<i>State and party actors</i>	82	85	85	84	84 (186)
Unions and employees	1	1	-	-	1 (2)
Employers organisations and firms	1	4	-	3	1 (5)
Farmers and agricultural organisations	-	1	-	-	1 (1)
Economists and financial experts	-	1	-	3	1 (2)
<i>Economic interest groups</i>	3	7	-	6	5 (10)
<i>Media and journalists</i>	-	-	-	3	0 (1)
Education professionals and organisations	-	4	7	-	2 (5)
Other scientific and research professionals or organisations	-	-	4	-	1 (1)
Students, pupils and their parents	-	-	-	-	-
Other professional organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Consumer organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Migrant organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Pro- and anti-European campaign organisations and groups	3	-	-	6	2 (4)
Solidarity and human rights organisations	-	-	-	-	-
Welfare organisations	-	-	-	-	-
Racist and extreme right organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Peace movement organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Organisations and groups of the elderly	-	-	-	-	-
Women's organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Environmental organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Terrorist groups	-	-	-	-	-
Rebel forces / guerrilla	-	-	-	-	-

Other civil society organisations and groups	5	1	-	-	2 (5)
<i>Other civil society actors</i>	8	5	11	6	7 (15)
Whole polities	8	3	4	-	5 (10)
Whole economies	-	-	-	-	-
The general public	-	-	-	-	-
Unknown / unspecified actors	-	-	-	-	-
<i>General / unknown / unspecified</i>	8	3	4	-	4 (10)
<i>Total (N)</i>	100 (77)	100 (85)	100 (27)	100 (33)	100 (222)

As already seen above, state and party actors are the main addressees – as *table 6.1a* shows – also in a negative way. It is however interesting to note that editorialists of the *Blick*, criticise party actors more than twice as often as other newspapers’ commentators. Economic interest groups are in comparison more frequently subject to critique in *Le Temps* and educational professionals as well as other scientific and research professionals in *Le Matin*.

Table 6.1b Negatively evaluated addressees by issue field (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European Integration	Total (N)
Politicians	-	-	4	6	2	12	3	4 (8)
Former states(w)men	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	0 (1)
Government/executive	33	73	32	50	46	41	55	49 (108)
Legislative	-	9	4	-	9	-	11	7 (16)
Judiciary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Police and internal security agencies	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Military	-	-	-	19	-	-	-	1 (3)
Central Banks	53	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 (8)
Social security executive organisations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other state executive agencies	-	-	4	-	-	6	1	1 (3)
Political parties	-	-	28	13	28	-	19	18 (39)
<i>State and party actors</i>	86	82	76	88	85	59	89	84 (186)
Unions and employees	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	1 (2)
Employers organisations and firms	7	-	-	-	7	6	-	1 (5)
Farmers and agricultural organisations	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	1 (1)
Economists and financial experts	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	1 (2)

<i>Economic interest groups</i>	7	9	-	-	13	6	1	5 (10)
<i>Media and journalists</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0 (1)
Education professionals and organisations	-	-	-	-	-	29	-	2 (5)
Other scientific and research professionals or organisations	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	1 (1)
Students, pupils and their parents	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other professional organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Consumer organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Migrant organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pro- and anti-European campaign organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2 (4)
Solidarity and human rights organisations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Welfare organisations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Racist and extreme right organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peace movement organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Organisations and groups of the elderly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Women's organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Environmental organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Terrorist groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rebel forces / guerrilla	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other civil society organisations and groups	-	-	12	12	-	-	-	2 (5)
<i>Other civil society actors</i>	-	-	12	12	-	35	5	7 (15)
Whole polities	7	9	12	-	2	-	4	5 (10)
Whole economies	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The general public	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unknown / unspecified actors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>General / unknown / unspecified</i>	7	9	12	-	2	-	4	4 (10)
<i>Total (N)</i>	100 (15)	100 (11)	100 (25)	100 (16)	100 (46)	100 (17)	100 (92)	100 (222)

An analysis across policy fields (*table 6.1b*) shows, also concerning negatively evaluated addressees particular policy specific patterns. In editorials on monetary policy e.g. over 50 per cent of actors negatively addressed are central banks; in education policy almost 30 per cent of criticised actors are educational professionals; in troop deployment about 20 per cent of opponents and negatively evaluated addressees are military representatives. Political parties – who had taken strong positions on these issues and had made them core issues of their mobilisation – are particularly disapproved of concerning their positions on immigration and pension policy.

Table 6.2a Scope of negatively evaluated addressees by newspaper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	-	1	3	-	1 (2)
Other supranational	3	-	-	-	1 (2)
EU	18	11	4	-	11 (24)
Other European supranational	3	2	4	-	2 (5)
Multilateral	-	-	-	-	-
Bilateral	-	-	-	-	-
Germany	4	1	-	-	2 (4)
France	4	6	-	-	4 (8)
UK	3	-	-	-	1 (2)
Italy	1	1	4	-	1 (3)
Spain	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU members	1	1	-	-	1 (2)
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	48	72	85	100	69 (154)
Upcoming enlargement countries	1	-	-	-	1 (1)
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	-	-	-	-
Turkey	1	-	-	-	0 (1)
Russia	-	-	-	-	-
USA	9	5	-	-	5 (11)
Japan	-	-	-	-	-
Middle East	1	-	-	-	0 (1)
Rest of the world	3	-	-	-	1 (2)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (77)</i>	<i>100 (85)</i>	<i>100 (27)</i>	<i>100 (33)</i>	<i>100 (222)</i>

Table 6.2a presents the results of the distribution of negatively evaluated addressees in terms of spatial frame across newspapers. It shows, just as tables 5.2a and 4.3a, that NZZ's editorialists refer to EU actors more frequently than their colleagues from other newspapers. This is also the case for actors from EU member countries, who are more often negatively referred to by NZZ journalists. Interestingly enough national Swiss actors account for more than 70 per cent of all negatively evaluated addressees in Le Temps, which might be the effect of Le Temps concentrating strongly on national politics. Le Matin and the Blick once again (almost) exclusively address Swiss political actors in a criticising manner.

Table 6.2b Scope of negatively evaluated addressees by issue field (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European Integration	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	1 (2)
Other supranational	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	1 (2)
EU	13	9	8	-	-	-	21	11 (24)
Other European supranational	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	2 (5)
Multilateral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bilateral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Germany	7	-	-	6	-	-	2	2 (4)
France	-	18	-	-	2	-	5	4 (8)
UK	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1 (2)
Italy	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1 (3)
Spain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU members	7	-	-	-	-	-	1	1 (2)
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	27	55	88	50	94	100	59	69 (154)
Upcoming enlargement countries	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1 (1)
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0 (1)
Russia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
USA	33	18	4	13	2	-	-	5 (11)
Japan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Middle East	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	0 (1)
Rest of the world	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (2)
Total (N)	100 (15)	100 (11)	100 (25)	100 (16)	100 (46)	100 (17)	100 (92)	100 (222)

Analysing in a final step also negatively evaluated addressees across policy fields, *table 6.2b* shows some interesting differences, although interpretation has to be undertaken with precaution given the low number of cases. In an attempt to sum up the presented results we may note that those actors figure most frequently as criticised actors who are mostly involved in the different issues. E.g. in the field of troop deployment UN actors, other supranational non-EU actors and US actors are most prominently mentioned alongside Swiss national actors who account for half of the criticised actors – mostly in the context of the reform of military

law implicating provisions concerning the deployment of Swiss soldiers within international peace keeping forces. As already seen above, Swiss national actors – in line with the focus of the respective debates – are the core category of actors being criticised by editorialists when it comes to education, retirement and immigration policy. In absolute numbers many more actors are being criticised (92) than supported (53) by Swiss commentators when it comes to European integration as such. While still almost 60 per cent of negatively evaluated actors are of Swiss origin, nonetheless slightly more than 20 per cent are EU actors and another 12 per cent are EU member state actors. Whether these actors are being criticised in the context of Swiss European integration or whether editorialists “intervene” in EU “internal” affairs has to be seen in further analyses below.

Claims-level: Issues and aims per paper

Table 7.1 Policy field per paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Monetary politics	27	8	5	6	15 (83)
Agriculture	5	3	2	8	4 (23)
Immigration	7	11	19	9	10 (56)
Troop deployment	8	7	1	4	7 (37)
Pensions and retirement	13	14	23	29	16 (88)
Education	4	14	11	6	9 (53)
European integration	36	43	39	38	39 (222)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (213)</i>	<i>100 (235)</i>	<i>100 (62)</i>	<i>100 (52)</i>	<i>100 (562)</i>

As *table 7.1* shows the meta-issue of European integration is the domain amongst the seven policy fields under study, which Swiss newspapers comment upon most frequently. This is particularly the case in *Le Temps* and least in the *NZZ*. In the latter journal monetary politics is – in sharp contrast to all other newspapers – the subject of 27 per cent of all commentaries. This is to be seen as the effect of the newspapers’ editorial line as well as its policy to publish an editorial in each main section – therewith also in the economies section. Agriculture and troops deployment are visibly of marginal interest to Swiss commentators. In the case of agriculture this might be the consequence of little actual debate about the issue during the period of study. When it comes to troop deployment Swiss newspapers seem not to be tempted to intervene in foreign debates about troop deployment which actually did take place in this very period. Pension and retirement on the other hand preoccupy *Blick*’s editorialists who devote almost 30 per cent of commentaries within our seven fields of interest to this issue. As in the case of *Le Matin* this might be the effect of Swiss national debate about a series of aspects of retirement and pension policy. *Le Matin* is at the same time also the journal devoting most space to editorials concerning immigration policy. Interestingly enough the two French-speaking journals dedicate more attention to educational issues than their German-speaking counterparts, which might be due to debates concerning the regrouping of university subjects amongst universities in the French-speaking regions of Switzerland.

Table 7.2a Monetary politics: issues within issue field by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
General unspecified	10	10	-	33	11 (9)
Interest rate adjustments	50	53	-	67	50 (41)
EMU convergence criteria and stability pact	15	-	-	-	11 (9)
EMS / ERM	-	-	-	-	-
Exchange rate intervention	7	16	-	-	9 (7)
Independence central banks	2	-	-	-	1 (1)
Eurozone-outsiders: relations with “pre-ins” (ERM2) and accession states	-	-	-	-	-
Common Currency (ECU, Euro)	9	16	100	-	13 (11)
Dynamics of Euro campaigns	-	-	-	-	-
Other specific	7	5	-	-	6 (5)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (58)</i>	<i>100 (19)</i>	<i>100 (3)</i>	<i>100 (3)</i>	<i>100 (83)</i>

To get a better understanding of the issue agendas within the seven policy fields, the following *tables 7.2a to 7.2f* show the relative importance of different sub-issues in each policy field under study. Due to the low number of cases, Le Matin and Blick are excluded from our subsequent interpretations.

As can be seen from *table 7.2a*, interest rate adjustments are clearly the most frequent issue in the two quality newspapers NZZ and Le Temps, accounting for more than half of all commentaries on monetary politics. Remarkably, European issues like the common currency Euro or the EMU convergence criteria and stability pact amount only to a fourth of all commentaries in the NZZ and even less so in Le Temps. This relative absence of the major European topics in the field of monetary politics can probably be related to the fact that Switzerland is not a member of the EU and as such not directly concerned by the EMU/Euro.

When analysing the issue agendas within the field of agriculture (*table 7.2b*), one has to bear in mind that Swiss editorialists generally pay little attention to agricultural issues, as shown by *table 7.1*. In the period under study, both quality papers devoted their commentaries to three different agricultural sub-issues: the reform of the systems of subsidies, subsidies and international trade as well as BSE. Whilst BSE got particular attention from the French-speaking Le Temps, the NZZ was more prone to cover issues relating to subsidies and international trade, which confirms once more the openness of the NZZ towards international events and actors.

Table 7.2b Agriculture: issues within issue field by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Reform of the system of subsidies	20	38	100	25	31 (7)
Subsidies and enlargement of the European Union	-	-	-	-	-
Subsidies and international trade	50	12	-	-	26 (6)
BSE	30	50	-	50	39 (9)
Foot and mouth disease	-	-	-	-	-
Other diseases	-	-	-	-	-
Quotas for livestock and dairy production	-	-	-	25	4 (1)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (10)</i>	<i>100 (8)</i>	<i>100 (1)</i>	<i>100 (4)</i>	<i>100 (23)</i>

Table 7.2c Immigration: issues within issue field by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
General evaluation or policy direction	14	-	-	-	4 (2)
Institutional framework, responsibilities, procedures, costs	22	12	-	-	11 (6)
Entry and border controls	-	8	-	-	3 (2)
Expulsion/deportation	7	28	33	-	21 (12)
Migration programs and quotas	57	48	67	100	59 (33)
Role of third parties in preventing migration	-	-	-	-	-
Visa and consular policy	-	-	-	-	-
Actions relating to smuggling and illegal entry	-	4	-	-	2 (1)
Other specific issues	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (14)</i>	<i>100 (25)</i>	<i>100 (12)</i>	<i>100 (5)</i>	<i>100 (56)</i>

Table 7.2c depicts an interesting convergence between all four Swiss newspapers. In fact, all papers concentrate in their commentaries on migration topics on the sub-issue of migration programs and quotas, which accounts for 48 per cent of all editorials on immigration policy in Le Temps up to 100 per cent in Blick. This strong focus might be related to several popular votes in Switzerland such as the “18% initiative” (federal vote on September 24th, 2000) that intended to restrict the number of foreigners in Switzerland to 18 per cent of the population or the “asylum initiative” (federal vote on November 24th, 2002) that planned to send back asylum seekers who had arrived from safe third countries. Besides these federal votes on

migration programs and quotas, a vivid debate about the deportation of “*sans-papiers*” took place in French-speaking Switzerland, pushing this issue in editorials of *Le Temps* and *Le Matin*.

Table 7.2d Troop deployment: issues within issue field by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
General unspecific reference to deployment of troops	6	-	-	50	5 (2)
Deployment of troops for military aggression against / attack on foreign sovereign territory	6	25	-	-	13 (5)
Deployment of troops for military invasion of foreign sovereign territory	5	-	-	-	3 (1)
Deployment of troops in covert aggressive operations against perceived hostile regimes/groups	11	6	-	-	8 (3)
Deployment of troops for peace-keeping	72	69	100	-	68 (25)
Deployment of troops to rescue/protect civilians facing aggression	-	-	-	-	-
Deployment of troops in times of crisis, civil emergency or in response to catastrophic events	-	-	-	-	-
Deployment of troops for non-military humanitarian purposes	-	-	-	50	3 (1)
Deployment of troops in the context of military alliances	-	-	-	-	-
Other specific reference to deployment of troops	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (18)</i>	<i>100 (16)</i>	<i>100 (1)</i>	<i>100 (2)</i>	<i>100 (37)</i>

Like agricultural policy, troop deployment rarely was the object of commentaries in the four Swiss newspapers under study. But if this policy field got the attention of Swiss editorialists, it was mostly to comment upon the deployment of troops for peace-keeping operations (*table 7.2d*). This might not only be the effect of military intervention of this kind abroad, but also the Swiss-internal debate in the framework of military reform about the participation of armed Swiss soldiers in international peace-keeping missions.

With regard to pensions and retirement, some interesting similarities between newspapers can be highlighted. On the one hand, all four papers but particularly the tabloids *Blick* and *Le Matin* pay a lot of attention to this policy field in their editorials (*table 7.1*). On the other hand, all papers primarily focus on the reform of the state pension scheme when commenting events in this issue field. This finding can easily be explained by two federal votes in Switzerland, which initiated public debates about the reform of the “Old Age and Invalidity

Insurance” (AHV)⁷. Similarly, editorials about retirement ages in all papers but the NZZ are to be seen in the context of two popular votes that were held in November 2000 on the issue of early retirement for men and women⁸. Reforms of the private pension scheme – the second pillar of the Swiss pension system – became the object of editorials in the year 2002 when the Swiss government initiated a public controversy about the minimal interests to be given on professional pension funds, i.e. the second pillar of the Swiss pension scheme (see also *table 8.2e* below).

Table 7.2e Pensions and retirement: issues within issue field by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
General	-	-	-	-	-
Demographic changes: ageing population	-	-	7	-	1 (1)
Retirement age	-	25	36	13	17 (15)
Income levels in retirement, poverty in retirement	-	-	-	-	-
State versus private pension schemes	-	-	-	-	-
State pension scheme	89	47	36	54	59 (52)
Private pension scheme	11	28	21	33	23 (20)
Other specific	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (27)</i>	<i>100 (32)</i>	<i>100 (14)</i>	<i>100 (15)</i>	<i>100 (88)</i>

Educational matters triggered by far the most commentaries in Le Temps, and this paper also shows the widest variety of sub-issues in its editorials (*table 7.2f*). The diversity between newspapers is rather large even if all papers seem to assign some relevance to matters of curricula in their editorials. Apart from that, Le Temps seems particularly concerned with questions of administrative power allocation; a topic that arose in the context of debate about University restructuring and regrouping in the French-speaking part of Switzerland.

⁷ Bundesbeschluss über die Volksinitiative „Überschüssige Goldreserven in den AHV-Fonds“(Goldinitiative) und über den Gegenentwurf „Gold für AHV, Kantone und Stiftung“ (Eidgenössische Abstimmungen vom 22.9.2002) sowie Volksinitiative „Für eine gesicherte AHV – Energie statt Arbeit besteuern“ (Eidgenössische Abstimmung vom 2.12.2001).

⁸ Volksinitiative „Für eine Flexibilisierung der AHV – gegen die Erhöhung des Rentenalters für Frauen“ und Volksinitiative „Für ein flexibles Rentenalter ab 62 für Frau und Mann“ (Eidgenössische Abstimmungen vom 26. November 2000).

Table 7.2f Education: issues within issue field by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
General unspecified	33	9	14	-	13 (7)
Structural issues	11	9	29	-	11 (6)
Resource allocation	-	9	14	-	8 (4)
Private education	-	3	-	-	2 (1)
Administrative power allocation	-	26	14	-	19 (10)
Curriculum	56	17	15	67	27 (14)
Information and communication technologies	-	-	-	-	-
Scholarships and fees	-	-	-	-	-
Problems at school	-	15	-	-	9 (5)
Other specific issues	-	12	14	33	11 (6)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (9)</i>	<i>100 (34)</i>	<i>100 (7)</i>	<i>100 (3)</i>	<i>100 (53)</i>

Table 7.2g European integration: issues within issue field by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
General European integration, not specific	5	6	17	-	6 (14)
National versus European identity, shared values	-	1	4	-	1 (2)
Role of a specific country and balance of power between member states	17	14	4	5	13 (29)
Relationship between EU and national/regional levels, future constitution	7	6	-	5	5 (12)
Institutional structure and relationship between EU institutions	4	2	-	-	2 (5)
Defending the EU's core tasks / balance between different policy areas	1	1	-	-	1 (2)
Relationship between EU institutions and public	5	2	-	-	3 (6)
Enlargement	31	38	42	55	38 (84)
Budget: Financing the EU and spending EU funds	-	-	-	-	-
Other specific EU integration	-	-	-	-	-
Associational agreements and treaties between the EU and non-EU countries	25	26	29	35	27 (59)
Personnel issues within the EU / discussions about candidates for EU positions	-	-	-	-	-
Non-EU forms of European integration	5	4	4	-	4 (9)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (74)</i>	<i>100 (101)</i>	<i>100 (24)</i>	<i>100 (20)</i>	<i>100 (222)</i>

In all four papers, two sub-issues are the dominant object of editorials on European integration: EU enlargement and associational agreements between the EU and non-EU countries (*table 7.2g*). The attention paid to EU enlargement is to be explained on the one hand by the historical enlargement of the EU to the Eastern European countries and, on the other hand, by a federal vote in Switzerland on the popular initiative “Yes to Europe!” in March 2001 (see also *table 8.2g* for the distribution of this sub-issue over time). This initiative was launched by the New European Movement Switzerland in 1996 and called upon the Swiss government to immediately open membership negotiations with the EU.

The importance of the sub-issue “associational agreements with the EU” in Swiss newspaper editorials is entirely explained by the bilateral negotiations between Switzerland and the EU, which were a dominant issue on the political agenda in Switzerland throughout the period of our study. In fact, the Swiss accepted in May 2000 in a referendum vote a first package of seven bilateral agreements with the EU⁹. In June 2001, the EU and Switzerland agreed on a second round of bilateral negotiations in ten areas. These were still ongoing in the year 2002. The two quality papers NZZ and Le Temps dedicated in the third place several editorials to the discussion of the role of a specific country within the EU. This focus might be related to the “Haider debate” in spring 2000 when the 14 EU member states imposed sanctions on Austria as a reaction of the participation of the extreme right-wing party FPÖ under its leader Jörg Haider in the Austrian government. Both quality papers strongly opposed these unilateral sanctions against a small EU member country; the issue was mainly taken up with reference to the potential role and weight that Switzerland itself may have as a small country, once it would join the European Union.

With regard to the Europeanisation of political claims-making, the issue scope of the editorials is of key concern. It is striking to see that the spatial and/or political scope of the substantive content of the commentaries is in all four Swiss newspapers very much concentrated on either the EU (48 per cent on average) or Switzerland (35 per cent on average). In other words, nearly half of the commentaries were triggered by events with a European issue scope. This finding is in sharp contrast with the predominant scope of addressees (*table 4.3a*) where European actors only account for 13 per cent of all addressees. It thus seems as if European issues much more easily enter the Swiss public sphere through editorials than do European actors. It has to be noted, however, that the editorialists of the two

⁹ Bundesbeschluss über die Genehmigung der sektoriellen Abkommen zwischen der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft einerseits und der Europäischen Gemeinschaft sowie gegebenenfalls ihren Mitgliedstaaten oder der Europäischen Atomgemeinschaft andererseits (Eidgenössische Abstimmung vom 21.5.2000).

tabloids *Le Matin* and *Blick* more strongly emphasise national issues than the two quality papers *NZZ* and *Le Temps*. This is not surprising given the clear focus of both tabloids on national issues such as pensions (*table 7.1*).

Table 7.3 Issue scope by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	1	1	2	2	1 (8)
Other supranational	3	1	-	-	2 (9)
EU	50	51	43	38	48 (272)
Other European supranational	2	2	2	-	2 (9)
Multilateral	6	6	2	4	6 (31)
Bilateral	1	3	-	-	2 (9)
Germany	1	-	-	-	0 (2)
France	0	1	-	-	0 (3)
UK	-	-	-	-	-
Italy	0	-	-	-	0 (1)
Spain	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU-members	-	-	-	-	-
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	27	32	51	56	35 (194)
Upcoming enlargement countries	-	-	-	-	-
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	-	-	-	-
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-
Russia	-	-	-	-	-
USA	6	2	-	-	3 (16)
Japan	0	-	-	-	0 (1)
Middle East	-	-	-	-	-
Rest of the world	3	1	-	-	1 (7)
Total (N)	100 (213)	100 (235)	100 (62)	100 (52)	100 (562)

Table 7.4 depicts the distribution of issue scopes by policy fields. Besides the field of European integration that is per definition Europeanised, the issue scopes tend to reflect the actual distribution of competences between the European and national levels. Thus, monetary politics has a dominant EU scope, which mirrors that the EU level has become the key player in this domain with the creation of the EMU and ECB, and the adoption of the Euro within the last years. Agriculture, a communitarised policy field of long date, is the second-most

Europeanised of our issue fields. However, almost half of all commentaries on agriculture have a Swiss national scope; a result that might be due to the fact that Switzerland as a non-EU member has witnessed several national public controversies in the field of agriculture over the last years particularly in the context of further reform of the public financing of Swiss agriculture.

Table 7.4 Issue scope by policy field (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European integration	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	-	-	-	22	-	-	-	1 (8)
Other supranational	-	18	2	11	-	-	-	2 (9)
EU	53	26	16	-	-	-	96	48 (272)
Other European supranational	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2 (9)
Multilateral	4	-	5	54	1	7	-	5 (31)
Bilateral	2	-	2	13	-	2	-	2 (9)
Germany	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	0 (2)
France	-	4	-	-	1	2	-	1 (3)
UK	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Italy	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	0 (1)
Spain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU-members	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	17	48	73	-	96	83	-	35 (194)
Upcoming enlargement countries	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Russia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
USA	16	4	-	-	1	2	-	3 (16)
Japan	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 (1)
Middle East	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rest of the world	7	-	-	-	-	2	-	1 (7)
Total (N)	100 (83)	100 (23)	100 (56)	100 (37)	100 (88)	100 (53)	100 (222)	100 (562)

Immigration is the third policy field that shows at least some degree of Europeanisation with 16 per cent of all commentaries having a European issue scope. But here, too, the national

scope is by far the most dominant (73 per cent), which is to be explained by several popular votes in Switzerland during the time of our study (see explanations on *table 7.2c*) on the one hand, and still relatively minor European prerogatives in this policy field. Whereas editorials on pensions and educational matters almost entirely deal with Swiss issues, commentaries on troop deployment have a high share of supranational and multilateral scopes. Overall, these trends confirm and even accentuate our earlier findings on addressees (*table 4.3b*): some degree of Europeanisation can be found in commentaries on monetary politics and – to a lesser extent – on agriculture and immigration whereas questions of troop deployment are rather put in an international framework.

The subsequent *tables 7.5a* to *7.5g* indicate whether the distribution of issue scopes differs across newspapers. Due to the very small number of cases both for Le Matin and Blick, most interpretations will however be restricted to the quality papers NZZ and Le Temps.

Table 7.5a Monetary politics: issue scope by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	-	-	-	-	-
Other supranational	-	-	-	-	-
EU	54	53	100	-	53 (44)
Other European supranational	-	-	-	-	-
Multilateral	3	5	-	-	4 (3)
Bilateral	-	10	-	-	2 (2)
Germany	-	-	-	-	-
France	-	-	-	-	-
UK	-	-	-	-	-
Italy	-	-	-	-	-
Spain	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU-members	-	-	-	-	-
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	14	16	-	100	17 (14)
Upcoming enlargement countries	-	-	-	-	-
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	-	-	-	-
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-
Russia	-	-	-	-	-
USA	17	16	-	-	16 (13)
Japan	2	-	-	-	1 (1)
Middle East	-	-	-	-	-
Rest of the world	10	-	-	-	7 (6)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (58)</i>	<i>100 (19)</i>	<i>100 (3)</i>	<i>100 (3)</i>	<i>100 (83)</i>

As shown by *table 7.5a*, there are no significant variations between the NZZ and Le Temps as far as the distribution of issue scopes in the field of monetary policy is concerned. In fact, commentaries on monetary politics relate in both papers to a very small range of countries; especially the EU, Switzerland and the USA. More concretely, a majority of all editorials have a European scope (53 per cent on average), which is significantly more than all commentaries concerning Switzerland or the USA taken together.

Table 7.5b Agriculture: issue scope by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	-	-	-	-	-
Other supranational	30	13	-	-	18 (4)
EU	20	50	-	-	26 (6)
Other European supranational	-	-	-	-	-
Multilateral	-	-	-	-	-
Bilateral	-	-	-	-	-
Germany	-	-	-	-	-
France	-	12	-	-	4 (1)
UK	-	-	-	-	-
Italy	-	-	-	-	-
Spain	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU-members	-	-	-	-	-
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	40	25	100	100	48 (11)
Upcoming enlargement countries	-	-	-	-	-
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	-	-	-	-
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-
Russia	-	-	-	-	-
USA	10	-	-	-	4 (1)
Japan	-	-	-	-	-
Middle East	-	-	-	-	-
Rest of the world	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (10)</i>	<i>100 (8)</i>	<i>100 (1)</i>	<i>100 (4)</i>	<i>100 (23)</i>

Table 7.5b reveals some varieties across newspapers with regard to the distribution of issue scopes in agriculture politics. European issue scopes tend to be more frequent in commentaries of Le Temps than in the NZZ, but the very small number of editorials in both papers does not allow for further interpretations.

Table 7.5c Immigration: issue scope by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	-	-	-	-	-
Other supranational	-	4	-	-	2 (1)
EU	-	32	8	-	16 (9)
Other European supranational	-	-	-	-	-
Multilateral	-	12	-	-	5 (3)
Bilateral	-	4	-	-	2 (1)
Germany	7	-	-	-	2 (1)
France	-	-	-	-	-
UK	-	-	-	-	-
Italy	-	-	-	-	-
Spain	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU-members	-	-	-	-	-
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	93	48	92	100	73 (41)
Upcoming enlargement countries	-	-	-	-	-
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	-	-	-	-
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-
Russia	-	-	-	-	-
USA	-	-	-	-	-
Japan	-	-	-	-	-
Middle East	-	-	-	-	-
Rest of the world	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>(N)</i>	<i>(14)</i>	<i>(25)</i>	<i>(12)</i>	<i>(5)</i>	<i>(56)</i>

As the distribution of issue scopes in the field of immigration uncovers, Le Temps is a somewhat deviant case compared to the other three newspapers (*table 7.5c*). Not only Le Temps devotes significantly more editorials to the issue of immigration, but also places them mostly in a context that goes beyond the Swiss national borders. In fact, about one third of all commentaries on immigration have a European scope in Le Temps whereas editorials in the three other papers are almost exclusively dedicated to Switzerland. This strong national focus might have been expected for Le Matin and Blick, the two tabloid papers, but is rather surprising as far as the NZZ is concerned and sharply contrasts with the otherwise outward-looking editorial line of this quality paper. Thus the slight Europeanisation in this policy field as identified above (*table 7.4*) is the result of the editorial line of Le Temps rather than a general phenomenon in all Swiss newspapers.

Table 7.5d Troop deployment: issue scope by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	17	19	100	50	22 (8)
Other supranational	17	6	-	-	11 (4)
EU	-	-	-	-	-
Other European supranational	-	-	-	-	-
Multilateral	61	50	-	50	54 (20)
Bilateral	5	25	-	-	13 (5)
Germany	-	-	-	-	-
France	-	-	-	-	-
UK	-	-	-	-	-
Italy	-	-	-	-	-
Spain	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU-members	-	-	-	-	-
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	-	-	-	-	-
Upcoming enlargement countries	-	-	-	-	-
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	-	-	-	-
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-
Russia	-	-	-	-	-
USA	-	-	-	-	-
Japan	-	-	-	-	-
Middle East	-	-	-	-	-
Rest of the world	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>(N)</i>	<i>(18)</i>	<i>(16)</i>	<i>(1)</i>	<i>(2)</i>	<i>(37)</i>

The issue scopes of commentaries on questions of troop deployment are quite similar between the two quality papers NZZ and Le Temps (*table 7.5d*). In both papers, multilateral scopes are predominant, followed by supranational issue scopes that account for one third respectively a quarter of all editorials.

Table 7.5e Pensions and retirement: issue scope by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	-	-	-	-	-
Other supranational	-	-	-	-	-
EU	-	-	-	-	-
Other European supranational	-	-	-	-	-
Multilateral	-	3	-	-	1 (1)
Bilateral	-	-	-	-	-
Germany	-	-	-	-	-
France	4	-	-	-	1 (1)
UK	-	-	-	-	-
Italy	4	-	-	-	1 (1)
Spain	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU-members	-	-	-	-	-
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	89	97	100	100	95 (84)
Upcoming enlargement countries	-	-	-	-	-
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	-	-	-	-
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-
Russia	-	-	-	-	-
USA	3	-	-	-	1 (1)
Japan	-	-	-	-	-
Middle East	-	-	-	-	-
Rest of the world	-	-	-	-	-
Total (N)	100 (27)	100 (32)	100 (14)	100 (15)	100 (88)

Table 7.5e confirms the clear national (Swiss) focus of editorials on pension schemes and retirement in all four newspapers; a finding that is explained by various popular votes on such topics during the period of study (see explanations to *table 7.2e*). In fact, the NZZ is the only paper that also dedicates some editorials to national public debates about pension schemes in countries such as France, Italy and the USA.

Table 7.5f Education: issue scope by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	-	-	-	-	-
Other supranational	-	-	-	-	-
EU	-	-	-	-	-
Other European supranational	-	-	-	-	-
Multilateral	-	6	14	33	7 (4)
Bilateral	-	3	-	-	2 (1)
Germany	11	-	-	-	2 (1)
France	-	3	-	-	2 (1)
UK	-	-	-	-	-
Italy	-	-	-	-	-
Spain	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU-members	-	-	-	-	-
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	89	82	86	67	83 (44)
Upcoming enlargement countries	-	-	-	-	-
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	-	-	-	-
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-
Russia	-	-	-	-	-
USA	-	3	-	-	2 (1)
Japan	-	-	-	-	-
Middle East	-	-	-	-	-
Rest of the world	-	3	-	-	2 (1)
Total (N)	100 (9)	100 (34)	100 (7)	100 (3)	100 (53)

With regard to education, all four newspapers predominantly commented upon issues with a national scope (*table 7.5f*). Whereas the German-speaking quality paper NZZ paid also some attention to educational matters in Germany, the French-speaking quality paper Le Temps proves to be less concentrated on one foreign country and devoted some editorials to educational politics in a wider range of countries.

Table 7.5g finally indicates that editorials on European integration issues almost entirely deal with the European Union and only marginally relate to other European supranational entities. This result highlights nicely that organisations such as EFTA, the Council of Europe or OSCE are of clearly less importance than the EU even for a country such as Switzerland that is a member of the former, but not of the EU.

Table 7.5g European Integration: issue scope by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	-	-	-	-	-
Other supranational	-	-	-	-	-
EU	95	96	96	100	96 (213)
Other European supranational	5	4	4	0	4 (9)
Multilateral	-	-	-	-	-
Bilateral	-	-	-	-	-
Germany	-	-	-	-	-
France	-	-	-	-	-
UK	-	-	-	-	-
Italy	-	-	-	-	-
Spain	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU-members	-	-	-	-	-
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	-	-	-	-	-
Upcoming enlargement countries	-	-	-	-	-
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	-	-	-	-
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-
Russia	-	-	-	-	-
USA	-	-	-	-	-
Japan	-	-	-	-	-
Middle East	-	-	-	-	-
Rest of the world	-	-	-	-	-
Total (N)	100 (77)	100 (101)	100 (24)	100 (20)	100 (222)

Claims-level: Issues and aims per year

Table 8.1 Policy field by year (in %)

	2000	2001	2002	Total (N)
Monetary politics	13	18	14	15 (83)
Agriculture	3	3	7	4 (23)
Immigration	9	11	10	10 (56)
Troop deployment	5	13	3	7 (37)
Retirement and pension schemes	11	8	29	16 (88)
Education	11	7	10	9 (53)
European integration	48	40	27	39 (222)
<i>Total</i> (N)	<i>100</i> (236)	<i>100</i> (159)	<i>100</i> (167)	<i>100</i> (562)

Since the salience of political issues varies over time, one might expect that editorials mirror distinct temporal issue cycles. *Table 8.1* indicates however a surprising stability of several policy fields over time. In fact, the share of editorials on monetary politics, immigration and education is almost constant in the three-year period of our study, and agricultural matters only gain slightly in importance over time. Retirement and pension schemes, for its part, sharply gains in significance in the year 2002, probably as a result of controversial debates about the second pillar of the Swiss pension scheme, the professional pension fund. European integration, by contrast, is significantly less often commented upon in 2002 than in the previous years. This relative loss of attention might be due to the absence of a popular vote on a European integration issue in Switzerland – contrary to the years 2000 and 2001 that both witnesses important popular votes and political campaigns on the Swiss European policy. The issue of troop deployment, finally, peaks in 2001 is most probably related to a referendum vote in Switzerland concerning the deployment of armed Swiss troops for UN peace-keeping operations¹⁰, but might also be due to the terrorist attacks on the USA and subsequent preparations of war against Afghanistan.

¹⁰ Änderung vom 6. Oktober 2000 des Bundesgesetzes über die Armee und die Militärverwaltung (Eidgenössische Abstimmung vom 10.6.2001).

Table 8.2a Monetary politics: issues within issue field by year (in %)

	2000	2001	2002	Total (N)
General unspecific	10	10	13	11 (9)
Interest rate adjustments	40	76	29	50 (41)
EMU convergence criteria and stability pact	7	4	25	11 (9)
EMS / ERM	-	-	-	-
Exchange rate intervention	10	3	13	9 (7)
Independence central banks	3	-	-	1 (1)
Eurozone-outsiders: relations with “pre-ins” (ERM2) and accession states	-	-	-	-
Common Currency (ECU, Euro)	20	7	12	13 (11)
Dynamics of Euro campaigns	-	-	-	-
Other specific	10	-	8	6 (5)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (19)</i>	<i>100 (3)</i>	<i>100 (3)</i>	<i>100 (83)</i>

Interest rate adjustments were in all three years the most frequent issue within the field of monetary politics that editorialists commented upon (*table 8.2a*). This holds especially true for the year 2001 when three quarter of all commentaries were devoted to this sub-issue. European topics were the second-most important sub-issues in 2000 and 2002: the common currency Euro and the EMU convergence criteria and stability pact respectively. The former were above all triggered by the relative depreciation of the Euro in relation to the US dollar whereas commentaries on the EMU were mostly about the fact that Germany and Portugal had trespassed the criteria of the stability pact without being sanctioned by ECOFIN.

BSE was the privileged object of commentaries in 2000 and 2001 whereas reforms of the system of subsidies were the dominant issue in 2002 (*table 8.2b*). This has too be seen as the reflection of numerous BSE cases – not least in Germany – in this period as well as ongoing debate about the reform of the agricultural subsidies system – also within Switzerland.

Table 8.2b Agriculture: issues within issue field by year (in %)

	2000	2001	2002	Total (N)
Reform of the system of subsidies	-	20	55	31 (7)
Subsidies and enlargement of the European Union	-	-	-	-
Subsidies and international trade	14	20	36	26 (6)
BSE	86	60	-	39 (9)
Foot and mouth disease	-	-	-	-
Other diseases	-	-	-	-
Quotas for livestock and dairy production	-	-	9	4 (1)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (7)</i>	<i>100 (5)</i>	<i>100 (11)</i>	<i>100 (23)</i>

Table 8.2c Immigration: issues within issue field by year (in %)

	2000	2001	2002	Total (N)
General evaluation or policy direction	-	6	6	4 (2)
Institutional framework, responsibilities, procedures, costs	-	6	29	11 (6)
Entry and border controls	-	6	6	3 (2)
Expulsion/deportation	18	35	12	21 (12)
Migration programs and quotas	82	41	47	59 (33)
Role of third parties in preventing migration	-	-	-	-
Visa and consular policy	-	-	-	-
Actions relating to smuggling and illegal entry	-	6	-	2 (1)
Other specific issues	-	-	-	-
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (22)</i>	<i>100 (17)</i>	<i>100 (17)</i>	<i>100 (56)</i>

In all three years, migration programs and quotas were the most frequent topics commented upon in commentaries on immigration politics (*table 8.2*). A certain change over time can however be observed insofar as in recent times editorialists in Switzerland pay attention to a much wider range of immigration topics than in the year 2000. In this year, a vast majority of commentaries dealt with migration programs and quotas; most presumably as a reaction to the federal vote on the so-called “18% initiative”, which was voted in September 2000 and called for a limitation of foreign residents in Switzerland to 18 per cent of the population.

Table 8.2d Troop deployment: issues within issue field by year (in %)

	2000	2001	2002	Total (N)
General unspecific reference to deployment of troops	8	5	-	5 (2)
Deployment of troops for military aggression against / attack on foreign sovereign territory	-	20	20	13 (5)
Deployment of troops for military invasion of foreign sovereign territory	-	-	20	3 (1)
Deployment of troops in covert aggressive operations against perceived hostile regimes/groups	8	10	-	8 (3)
Deployment of troops for peace-keeping	84	65	40	68 (25)
Deployment of troops to rescue/protect civilians facing aggression	-	-	-	-
Deployment of troops in times of crisis, civil emergency or in response to catastrophic events	-	-	-	-
Deployment of troops for non-military humanitarian purposes	-	-	20	3 (1)
Deployment of troops in the context of military alliances	-	-	-	-
Other specific reference to deployment of troops	-	-	-	-
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (12)</i>	<i>100 (20)</i>	<i>100 (5)</i>	<i>100 (37)</i>

Two developments can be observed with regard to commentaries on questions of troop deployment (*table 8.2d*). On the one hand, issues concerning the deployment of troops for peace-keeping operations steadily decrease from 84 per cent of all commentaries in 2000 to 40 per cent in 2002. On the other hand, the deployment of troops for military attack on or invasion of foreign countries gain more and more in importance over the same period. This development might be related to the terrorist attacks on the USA in September 2001 (“09/11”), and the subsequent preparations of war against Afghanistan and Iraq.

The distribution of sub-issues in the field of retirement and pension schemes over time mirrors nicely the actual political debates in Switzerland at that time (*table 8.2e*). In the year 2000, discussions about the reform of the “Old Age and Invalidity Insurance” (AHV) – the first pillar of the Swiss pension scheme – and early retirement were the dominant topics and the objects of three popular votes in that year (see explanations *table 7.2e* above). In the following year, no popular vote was held, but parliamentary debates about the 11th revision of the AHV were going on, including also the issue of flexible retirement ages. In 2002, the reform of the first pillar somewhat lost the attention of Swiss editorialists, resulting in a decline of this topic from 74 per cent in 2000 to about one half of all commentaries in 2002. Instead, 40 per cent of all commentaries were triggered by a debate about the reform of the 2nd pillar of the Swiss pension scheme, the so-called professional pension funds.

Table 8.2e Retirement and pension schemes: issues within issue field by year (in %)

	2000	2001	2002	Total (N)
General	-	-	-	-
Demographic changes: ageing population	-	8	-	1 (1)
Retirement age	22	23	12	17 (15)
Income levels in retirement, poverty in retirement	-	-	-	-
State versus private pension schemes	-	-	-	-
State pension scheme	74	69	48	59 (52)
Private pension scheme	4	-	40	23 (20)
Other specific	-	-	-	-
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (27)</i>	<i>100 (13)</i>	<i>100 (48)</i>	<i>100 (88)</i>

Table 8.2f Education: issues within issue field by year (in %)

	2000	2001	2002	Total (N)
General unspecific	16	9	12	13 (7)
Structural issues	8	28	6	11 (6)
Resource allocation	4	-	18	8 (4)
Private education	-	9	-	2 (1)
Administrative power allocation	16	9	29	19 (10)
Curriculum	44	18	6	27 (14)
Information and communication technologies	-	-	-	-
Scholarships and fees	-	-	-	-
Problems at school	8	9	12	9 (5)
Other specific issues	4	18	17	11 (6)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (25)</i>	<i>100 (11)</i>	<i>100 (17)</i>	<i>100 (53)</i>

With regard to education, commentaries about matters of curricula sharply declined over the period 2000-2002 from 44 per cent of all editorials to only 6 per cent (*table 8.2f*). At the same time, questions of administrative power administration and other specific issues caught more and more attention of Swiss editorialists. This development might be related to at least partly to debates about the regrouping of university subjects at certain Swiss universities.

Table 8.2g European integration: issues within issue field by year (in %)

	2000	2001	2002	Total (N)
General European integration, not specific	6	6	7	6 (14)
National versus European identity, shared values	-	2	2	1 (2)
Role of a specific country and balance of power between member states	19	2	13	13 (29)
Relationship between EU and national/regional levels, future constitution	7	3	4	5 (12)
Institutional structure and relationship between EU institutions	3	2	2	2 (5)
Defending the EU's core tasks / balance between different policy areas	1	-	2	1 (2)
Relationship between EU institutions and public	-	6	4	3 (6)
Enlargement	31	58	27	38 (84)
Budget: Financing the EU and spending EU funds	-	-	-	-
Other specific EU integration	-	-	-	-
Associational agreements and treaties between the EU and non-EU countries	27	20	36	27 (59)
Personnel issues within the EU / discussions about candidates for EU positions	-	-	-	-
Non-EU forms of European integration	6	1	2	4 (9)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (113)</i>	<i>100 (64)</i>	<i>100 (45)</i>	<i>100 (222)</i>

Despite a remarkable stability over time with regard to most sub-issues in the field of European integration, table 8.2g shows some interesting developments. In fact, the “Haider debate” that arose in spring 2000 as a reaction of the participation of the FPÖ in the Austrian government seems to be reflected in the peak of the issue “role of a specific country in the EU” in the year 2000. With regard to EU enlargement, it has to be noted that the peak in 2001 can not be attributed to the forthcoming Eastern enlargement of the EU, but has to be explained by a federal vote on the initiative “Yes to Europe!” in March 2001, which intended to oblige the Swiss government to immediately open membership negotiations with the EU.

Claims-level: Main aspect commented upon

Table 9.1 Aspect commented upon by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Substantial issue is commented upon	68	57	45	54	60
Political dispute is commented upon	32	43	55	46	40
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (212)</i>	<i>100 (235)</i>	<i>100 (62)</i>	<i>100 (52)</i>	<i>100 (561)</i>

The underlying idea of this variable can be resumed as follows: Taking media as an active actor within public sphere, we were interested in knowing whether commentators focus on the substantial issues of a policy debate – such as arguments in favour and/or against Swiss integration into the European project – or whether media comment in a way that puts the political dispute in the forefront. As can be seen in *table 9.1*, the two quality newspapers as well as the German-speaking tabloid Blick concentrate in a majority of editorials on the substantial aspects of an issue. Only the French-speaking regional newspaper with strong tabloid characteristics (Le Matin) comments more frequently on the political dispute over an issue than on substantial arguments.

Table 9.2 Aspect commented upon by issue field (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European integration	Total (N)
Substantial issue is commented upon	87	70	68	62	52	77	45	60
Political dispute is commented upon	13	30	32	38	48	23	55	40
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (83)</i>	<i>100 (23)</i>	<i>100 (56)</i>	<i>100 (37)</i>	<i>100 (88)</i>	<i>100 (53)</i>	<i>100 (221)</i>	<i>100 (561)</i>

A cross issue field comparison shows that the meta-issue of European integration is the only one that gives rise to more comments on the political dispute than on substantial issues. The issue of pension schemes and retirement comes very close to this situation. In all other policy fields, but particularly in the very technical domain of monetary politics, Swiss journalists comment significantly more frequently on substantial issues than on the political dispute.

Claims-level: Object actors

Table 10.1a Presence of object actor by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
No object actor	18	6	13	15	12 (69)
Object actor present	82	94	87	86	88 (493)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (213)</i>	<i>100 (235)</i>	<i>100 (62)</i>	<i>100 (52)</i>	<i>100 (562)</i>

Tables 10.1a as well as 10.1b depict the presence of object actors in journalists' claims. With object actors we refer to all those actors whose interests are either negatively or positively affected by the realisation of the claim. As table 10.1a reveals, a share of 88 per cent of claims on average include an object actor. Most recognisably, only 6 per cent of commentaries in Le Temps lack the mention of an object actor.

Table 10.1b Presence of object actor by policy field (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European integration	Total (N)
No object actor	17	22	7	11	15	4	12	12 (69)
Object actor present	83	78	93	89	85	96	88	88 (493)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (83)</i>	<i>100 (23)</i>	<i>100 (56)</i>	<i>100 (37)</i>	<i>100 (88)</i>	<i>100 (53)</i>	<i>100 (222)</i>	<i>100 (562)</i>

Cross issue field comparison (see table 10.1b) depicts that in agriculture object actors are least frequently included in a journalistic claim, while in the domain of education and immigration “the concerned” seem to be most easily identifiable.

In table 10.2a we find evidence that the precise identification of the negatively or positively affected actors seems to be somewhat difficult. Most references are made in all newspapers to the general categories whole policies or whole economies. While the patterns of the two quality newspapers resemble strongly, the regional as well as the tabloid newspaper show some interesting differences. Commentators in Le Matin by far least often see state or party actors as the ones being concerned by their claim. Rather their claims affect to a significantly

higher degree civil society actors (other than economic interest groups or media) which might be due to the many claims on immigration policy (*table 7.1*) and a therewith great number of migrant organisations and groups as objects of the claims. Claims in the tabloid newspaper Blick on the other hand, involve significantly more frequently economic interest groups than claims in all other three newspapers do; a result which can be linked to the importance of pension and retirement issue in the commenting of the Blick, involving traditionally employers organisations as well as trade unions.

Table 10.2a Object actor type by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Politicians	-	-	-	-	-
Former states(wo)men	-	-	-	-	-
Government/executive	6	10	6	7	8 (39)
Legislative	2	1	-	-	1 (4)
Judiciary	1	-	-	-	0 (1)
Police and internal security agencies	-	-	-	-	-
Military	3	2	-	-	2 (10)
Central banks	2	0	-	-	1 (5)
Social security executive organisations	1	1	-	-	1 (4)
Other state executive agencies	-	-	-	-	-
Political parties	4	4	4	16	5 (25)
<i>State and party actors</i>	19	18	9	23	18 (88)
Unions and employees	2	1	2	16	3 (14)
Employers organisations and firms	3	4	-	2	3 (14)
Farmers and agricultural organisations	2	1	-	4	2 (8)
Economists and financial experts	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Economic interest groups</i>	6	6	2	23	7 (36)
<i>Media and journalists</i>	-	-	-	-	-
Churches and religious organisations	-	-	-	-	-
Educational professionals and organisations	2	6	-	-	3 (16)
Other scientific research professionals and institutions	-	-	2	-	0 (1)
Students, pupils, and their parents	3	5	7	5	4 (22)
Other professional organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Consumer organisations and groups	2	2	2	2	2 (9)
Migrant organisations and groups	3	6	17	2	6 (30)
Pro- and anti-European campaign organisations and groups	-	2	-	-	1 (4)

Welfare organisations	-	0	-	-	0 (1)
Organisations and groups of the elderly	2	2	9	2	3 (15)
Women's organisations and groups	-	1	-	-	0 (1)
Solidarity and human rights organisations	-	-	-	-	-
Racist and extreme right organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Environmental organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-
Rebel forces/guerrilla	-	1	-	-	0 (1)
Other civil society organisations and groups	-	2	4	2	1 (7)
<i>Other civil society actors</i>	12	26	41	13	22 (107)
Whole polities	33	32	26	21	31 (151)
Whole economies	21	12	2	9	14 (69)
The general public	9	5	20	11	9 (42)
Unknown/unspecified actors	-	-	-	-	-
<i>General/unknown/ unspecified</i>	63	50	48	41	53 (262)
<i>Overall total (N)</i>	100 (174)	100 (221)	100 (54)	100 (44)	100 (493)

The latter interpretation is being enhanced by results presented in *table 10.2b*, where it is shown that in no other policy field, trade unions (therewith employees) and employers (organisations) are as concerned by claims than when it comes to retirement and pension schemes. Speaking in more general terms, we may not that it is policy specific actors that are the ones being most frequently negatively or positively affected by journalists claims; farmers and their organisations in agricultural policy, pupils and students in educational policy, migrants and their representative bodies in immigration policy, and whole economies when it comes to monetary issues.

Table 10.2b Object actor type by policy field (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European integration	Total (N)
Politicians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Former states(women)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Government/executive	4	-	2	18	7	4	11	8 (39)
Legislative	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1 (4)
Judiciary	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0 (1)

Police and internal security agencies	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Military	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	2 (10)
Central banks	3	11	-	-	-	-	-	1 (5)
Social security executive organisations	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	1 (4)
Other state executive agencies	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Political parties	-	-	10	-	8	-	7	5 (25)
<i>State and party actors</i>	7	11	11	48	22	4	21	18 (88)
Unions and employees	-	-	4	-	15	-	1	3 (14)
Employers organisations and firms	-	-	-	-	11	-	3	3 (14)
Farmers and agricultural organisations	-	39	-	-	-	-	0	2 (8)
Economists and financial experts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Economic interest groups</i>	-	39	4	-	25	-	4	7 (36)
<i>Media and journalists</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Churches and religious organisations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Educational professionals and organisations	-	-	-	-	-	31	-	3 (16)
Other scientific research professionals and institutions	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	0 (1)
Students, pupils, and their parents	-	-	2	-	1	39	-	4 (22)
Other professional organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Consumer organisations and groups	1	39	-	-	-	-	1	2 (9)
Migrant organisations and groups	-	-	56	-	-	2	-	6 (30)
Pro- and anti-European campaign organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1 (4)
Welfare organisations	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	0 (1)
Organisations and groups of the elderly	-	-	-	-	20	-	-	3 (15)
Women's organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	0 (1)
Solidarity and human rights organisations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Racist and extreme right organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Environmental organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rebel forces/guerrilla	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	0 (1)
Other civil society organisations and groups	-	-	-	-	5	4	1	1 (7)
<i>Other civil society actors</i>	1	39	58	3	29	78	3	22 (107)
Whole polities	16	-	-	46	4	4	58	31 (151)
Whole economies	70	-	12	-	-	8	6	14 (69)
The general public	6	11	4	3	20	6	8	9 (42)
Unknown/unspecified actors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>General/unknown/unspecified</i>	91	11	27	49	24	18	72	53 (262)
<i>Overall total (N)</i>	100 (69)	100 (18)	100 (52)	100 (33)	100 (75)	100 (51)	100 (195)	100 (493)

Table 10.2c Object actor scope by year (in %)

	2000	2001	2002	Total (N)
Politicians	-	-	-	-
Former states(women)	-	-	-	-
Government/executive	6	9	9	8 (39)
Legislative	1	1	-	1 (4)
Judiciary	1	-	-	0 (1)
Police and internal security agencies	-	-	-	-
Military	2	4	-	2 (10)
Central banks	1	1	1	1 (5)
Social security executive organisations	-	-	3	1 (4)
Other state executive agencies	-	-	-	-
Political parties	4	7	5	5 (25)
<i>State and party actors</i>	15	23	18	18 (88)
Unions and employees	2	1	5	3 (14)
Employers organisations and firms	1	2	6	3 (14)
Farmers and agricultural organisations	1	1	4	2 (8)
Economists and financial experts	-	-	-	-
<i>Economic interest groups</i>	4	4	15	7 (36)
<i>Media and journalists</i>	-	-	-	-
Churches and religious organisations	-	-	-	-
Educational professionals and organisations	4	1	3	3 (16)
Other scientific research professionals and institutions	-	1	-	0 (1)
Students, pupils, and their parents	5	4	4	4 (22)
Other professional organisations and groups	-	-	-	-
Consumer organisations and groups	3	1	1	2 (9)
Migrant organisations and groups	6	8	4	6 (30)
Pro- and anti-European campaign organisations and groups	1	1	1	1 (4)
Welfare organisations	1	-	-	0 (1)
Organisations and groups of the elderly	2	1	6	3 (15)
Women's organisations and groups	1	-	-	0 (1)
Solidarity and human rights organisations	-	-	-	-
Racist and extreme right organisations and groups	-	-	-	-
Environmental organisations and groups	-	-	-	-
Rebel forces/guerrilla	-	1	-	0 (1)
Other civil society organisations and groups	1	1	2	1 (7)
<i>Other civil society actors</i>	24	19	21	22 (107)

Whole polities	37	27	24	31 (151)
Whole economies	14	19	10	14 (69)
The general public	6	9	12	9 (42)
Unknown/unspecified actors	-	-	-	-
<i>General/unknown/ unspecified</i>	57	54	46	53 (262)
<i>Overall total (N)</i>	100 (211)	100 (138)	100 (144)	100 (493)

Concerning the distribution of object actors over the years of study, as presented in *table 10.2c*, not much has to be said. Differences between the years 2000, 2001 and 2002 are marginal with the only exception of economic interest groups actors who reveal to be more often concerned in the most recent year than in the previous years; this is most probably the effect of debates on pension schemes and retirement which were vivid in that year particularly due to the lowering of interest rates for second pillar retirements funds.

As undertaken also with respect to addresses of claims, we also want to have a closer look at in the subsequent tables on the scopes of positively and negatively evaluated object actors, in order to see who benefits from journalists claims and whose interests are being “harmed”.

Table 10.3a provides firstly an insight into positively evaluated object actors by newspapers. It basically repeats patterns we are fairly familiar with by now. The two tabloid-format newspapers (Blick and Le Matin) defend particularly strongly the interests of national Swiss actors. Slightly deviating, Le Matin also puts considerable evidence on the defence of actors with a multilateral scope. This somewhat surprising result is explained by high number of editorials on immigration issues, where Le Matin visibly takes part for migrants – often coded as multilateral, if they come from a multitude of not distinguishable national backgrounds. In terms of Europeanisation of public sphere – as far as the defence of certain actors’ interests is concerned – it is once again the NZZ which figures on top of the list (23 per cent), closely followed by Le Temps (18 per cent).

Table 10.3a Scopes of positively evaluated object actors by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	-	-	-	-	-
Other supranational	-	1	-	-	0 (1)
EU	23	18	5	-	16 (53)
Other European supranational	-	1	-	-	0 (1)
Multilateral	5	9	19	3	9 (28)
Bilateral	-	-	-	-	-
Germany	1	-	-	-	0 (1)
France	1	1	-	-	1 (3)
UK	-	-	-	-	-
Italy	-	-	-	-	-
Spain	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU members	10	2	5	-	5 (14)
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	42	61	67	97	60 (195)
Upcoming enlargement countries	3	-	-	-	1 (3)
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	1	2	-	1 (3)
Turkey	-	1	-	-	0 (1)
Russia	1	1	2	-	1 (4)
USA	8	2	-	-	3 (10)
Japan	-	-	-	-	-
Middle East	3	1	-	-	1 (4)
Rest of the world	3	1	-	-	2 (5)
Total (N)	100 (91)	100 (164)	100 (42)	100 (29)	100 (326)

Along the lines of *table 10.3a*, *table 10.3b* presents scopes of positively evaluated addressees differentiated for policy fields. Interestingly, Swiss editorialists defend EU actor interests as often as Swiss national actors' interests when commenting on monetary politics. Given that comments focus most frequently on these to spatial frames as well as the USA, it is not astonishing that US actor's interests are also fairly frequently referred to, while other countries do not seem to play any particular role. Only in the domain of agriculture and European integration, Europeanisation reaches a comparative level (30 and 26 per cent respectively). As indicated already above, the majority of object actors in the immigration field have a multilateral scope, which hides different individual migrants not further specified in the editorialist's claim. Almost exclusively national positively evaluated object actors can

be found in the fields of pension and education – two areas strongly bound to Swiss national context.

Table 10.3b Scopes of positively evaluated object actors by issue fields (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European integration	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other supranational	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	0 (1)
EU	36	30	5	-	-	-	26	16 (53)
Other European supranational	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0 (1)
Multilateral	2	-	57	5	-	5	-	9 (28)
Bilateral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Germany	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0 (1)
France	-	10	-	-	-	3	1	1 (3)
UK	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Italy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU members	2	-	2	-	-	-	10	5 (14)
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	36	60	26	62	98	90	55	60 (195)
Upcoming enlargement countries	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1 (3)
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	1 (3)
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0 (1)
Russia	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1 (4)
USA	17	-	-	9	-	2	-	3 (10)
Japan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Middle East	-	-	-	19	-	-	-	1 (4)
Rest of the world	7	-	3	5	-	-	-	2 (5)
Total (N)	100 (42)	100 (10)	100 (42)	100 (21)	100 (46)	100 (40)	100 (125)	100 (326)

Table 10.4a Scopes of negatively evaluated object actors by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	-	-	-	-	-
Other supranational	-	2	-	-	1 (1)
EU	14	15	20	-	14 (12)
Other European supranational	3	-	-	-	1 (1)
Multilateral	-	-	-	-	-
Bilateral	-	-	-	-	-
Germany	3	-	-	-	1 (1)
France	-	7	-	-	4 (3)
UK	-	-	-	-	-
Italy	3	2	-	-	2 (2)
Spain	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU members	7	-	-	-	2 (2)
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	42	61	60	100	58 (51)
Upcoming enlargement countries	4	-	-	-	1 (1)
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	2	-	-	1 (1)
Turkey	7	-	20	-	4 (3)
Russia	7	2	-	-	3 (3)
USA	-	4	-	-	2 (2)
Japan	-	-	-	-	-
Middle East	3	-	-	-	1 (1)
Rest of the world	7	5	-	-	5 (4)
Total (N)	100 (29)	100 (46)	100 (5)	100 (8)	100 (88)

Firstly, it is important to note that Swiss editorialist mention positively evaluate object actors almost 4 times as often as negatively evaluated object actors. The very low number of cases therefore only allows for some speculative interpretation of the two quality newspapers, whereas the tabloid as well as the regional newspaper has to be disregarded. NZZ and Le Temps concentrate in their claims making on negatively evaluated national Swiss actors. While the levels Europeanisation are fairly similar, NZZ's editorialists more frequently make reference to a series of national (non-EU member state) actors we have to speak of nationalisation (in the terms defined in the introduction) rather than horizontal Europeanisation as far as this variable is concerned.

Table 10.4b Scopes of negatively evaluated object actors by issue fields (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European integration	Total (N)
Supranational: UN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other supranational	-	33	-	-	-	-	-	1 (1)
EU	34	-	-	-	-	-	19	14 (12)
Other European supranational	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1 (1)
Multilateral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bilateral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Germany	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (1)
France	8	-	-	-	-	-	5	4 (3)
UK	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Italy	8	-	-	-	-	-	3	2 (2)
Spain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other pre-1995 EU members	9	-	-	-	-	-	2	2 (2)
Austria, Finland, Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	9	67	100	-	100	80	50	58 (51)
Upcoming enlargement countries	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1 (1)
Other European countries (ex. CIS)	-	-	-	33	-	-	-	1 (1)
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	4 (3)
Russia	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	3 (3)
USA	9	-	-	33	-	-	-	2 (2)
Japan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Middle East	-	-	-	34	-	-	-	1 (1)
Rest of the world	17	-	-	-	-	20	2	5 (4)
Total (N)	100 (12)	100 (3)	100 (4)	100 (3)	100 (19)	100 (5)	100 (42)	100 (88)

The extremely low number of cases included in *table 10.4b* does not allow for detailed interpretation. We however might want to note that 50 per cent of all negatively evaluated object actors within the meta-issue of European integration are Swiss national actors – a hint towards the idea that Swiss editorialists are prepared to defend claims that go against national interests. This stands contrary to the results concerning monetary politics, where only one single (among 12) negatively evaluated object actors has a Swiss national scope, while the majority of negatively affected actors are of European or EU-member state origin.

Claims-level: Frames

Table 11.1a Presence of frame by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
No frame	85	80	84	86	83 (272)
Frame present	15	20	16	14	17 (57)
Total (N)	100 (143)	100 (132)	100 (32)	100 (22)	100 (329)

Table 11.1a purely shows what share of journalists claim's made in editorials contains a frame concerning the EU and the European integration process. As becomes obvious, very few claims do contain such frames; variation across newspaper are almost inexistent, with the slight exception of Le Temps, where more claims than in other newspapers include a justification for the political demand pronounced.

Table 11.1b Presence of frame by issue field (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European integration	Total (N)
No frame	92	86	100	100	-	-	80	83
Frame present	8	14	-	-	-	-	20	17
Total (N)	100 (50)	100 (7)	100 (9)	100 (1)	-	-	100 (262)	100 (329)

The analysis across issue fields depicts clearly that frames concerning the European Union and the integration process are almost only relevant when it comes to European integration as an issue journalists comment upon. To some extent, frames are also present in claims on monetary politics, which is most probably due to this policy fields' strong link with the European integration process. That no frames at all are included in journalists' claims on the national issue field education and retirement is little of a surprise.

Table 11.2a Frame type by paper (in %)

	NZZ	Le Temps	Le Matin	Blick	Total (N)
Identity, normative and value frames	23	30	20	-	25 (14)
Constitutional and governance frames	36	22	20	33	28 (16)
Economic frames	9	15	20	33	14 (8)
Other instrumental frames	-	18	-	34	10 (6)
Historical frames	5	-	-	-	2 (1)
Frames internal to the integration process	27	15	40	-	21 (12)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (22)</i>	<i>100 (27)</i>	<i>100 (5)</i>	<i>100 (3)</i>	<i>100 (57)</i>

Due to the very low number of cases for Le Matin and Blick, the interpretation of *table 11.2a* can only rely on the NZZ and Le Temps. Interestingly enough, the editorialist of the NZZ – a newspaper generally perceived as very economy-oriented – use economic frames less often than their colleagues from Le Temps. For the latter newspaper – openly pro-European for mainly “idealistic” reasons – one would expect identity and value frames to be of particular importance. This is an assumption verified by empirical results presented in the above table. The NZZ on the other hand seems very much preoccupied by constitutional and democratic aspects and makes reference to frames internal to the integration process much more frequently than its French-speaking counterpart. Finally, we may not fail to notice that historical frames are with one sole exception inexistent as a justification for journalists’ claims.

Table 11.2b does not allow for much interpretation. We may note however that two groups of frames predominantly serve as justification of claims concerning European integration: constitutional and governance frames as well as identity, normative and value frames. Frames internal to the integration process – such as the necessity of institutional reforms prior to enlargement – follow on the third place.

Table 11.2b Frame type by policy field (in %)

	Monetary politics	Agriculture	Immigration	Troop deployment	Pensions and retirement	Education	European integration	Total (N)
Identity, normative and value frames	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	25 (14)
Constitutional and governance frames	25	-	-	-	-	-	29	28 (16)
Economic frames	50	-	-	-	-	-	11	14 (8)
Other instrumental frames	-	100	-	-	-	-	10	10 (6)
Historical frames	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2 (1)
Frames internal to the integration process	25	-	-	-	-	-	21	21 (12)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (4)</i>	<i>100 (1)</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>100 (52)</i>	<i>100 (57)</i>

Table 11.2c Frame type by year (in %)

	2000	2001	2002	Total (N)
Identity, normative and value frames	33	-	17	25 (14)
Constitutional and governance frames	25	56	17	28 (16)
Economic frames	17	11	8	14 (8)
Other instrumental frames	8	11	17	10 (6)
Historical frames	-	-	8	2 (1)
Frames internal to the integration process	17	22	33	21 (12)
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>100 (36)</i>	<i>100 (9)</i>	<i>100 (12)</i>	<i>100 (57)</i>

The analysis of frame types across the three years of our study reveals some slight differences. Identity, normative and value frames were of particular importance in journalistic claims making in 2000. This has to be understood in the context of the debate about Austria and its role within the EU after the FPÖ's participation in Austrian government and bilateral sanctions imposed on Austria by EU member states.

Noteworthy is also the increase in the importance of frames internal to the integration process; proceeding EU enlargement might be the main reason for this category of frames to become more important.

Table 11.3 Twenty-five most often mentioned frames

Frame	N
Institutional reforms before enlargement	9
Democracy	8
Community of values	2
Unity	2
Equality among countries	2
Human rights	2
Subsidiarity	2
Economic growth	2
National exports	2
Islam	1
Social justice	1
Solidarity	1
Peace	1
Civil society	1
Corruption	1
Credibility	1
Legitimacy	1
Acceptance of the EU by citizens	1
Relation with USA	1
National interest	1
Political stability	1
Influence in international relations	1
Cope with trans-national social problems	1
Economic stability	1
National economy	1

Note: The following frames also appear once: competition in Europe, social standards, cold war, common currency before political integration.

Table 11.3 offers an overview over the 25 most frequently used frames. Above all, it demonstrates that a fairly wide range of frames are being referred to by Swiss editorialists. Two frames, however dominate: the pragmatic frame institutional reforms before enlargement and the “idealistic” frame democracy.

Table 11.4a What the EU should not be/lead to

Frame	N
Institutional reforms before European identity	1
Other	1

Little can be said about table 11.4a, it not that journalists seem not incited to use negative definitions of the European project as justification for their claims. The same interpretation seems to be justified with view to the inexistent table 11.4b.

Table 11.4b What the EU is not / does not lead to
Inexistent because there is no case

Table 11.4c What the EU is / leads to

Frame	N
Unity	2
Equality among countries	2
Democracy	2
Social justice	1

Other than *table 11.4d* below, *table 11.4c* mentions those frames used in justifications which make reference to the actual state of the European project. Interestingly, all these frames represent positive values of significant magnitude, allowing for the speculation, that – if journalists make reference to a frame as justification for their claim – they do so in order to enhance their positive view of the European integration project.

Table 11.4d What the EU should be / should lead to: ten most often mentioned frames

Frame	N
Democracy	2
Economic growth	2
National exports	2
Community of values	1
Corruption	1
National interest	1
Political stability	1
Economic stability	1
National economy	1
Competition in Europe	1

Concluding our analyses, *table 11.4d* shows the ten most often mentioned frames that are being used by journalists in a normative way; or put differently, these claims reflect what journalists expect the European integration project to be. Regrouping these frames roughly, we notice a tendency towards a predominance of economic frames, while “political” frames, such as democracy or political stability, seem not to preoccupy journalists further, maybe simply because of their perception that these aspects are already fulfilled, as *table 11.4c* might suggest.

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