

Contents

Preface	xi
I. The Theory and Methodology of Discourse Networks	
1. Introduction	3
2. Actor-centered approaches to discourse	7
2.1. The Advocacy Coalition Framework	9
2.2. Veto player analysis	16
2.3. Punctuated Equilibrium Theory	17
2.4. Policy paradigms and social learning	21
2.5. Collective symbolic coping	23
2.6. Civic arenas	25
2.7. Multiple streams	26
2.8. Argumentative discourse analysis and discourse coalitions	28
2.9. Epistemic communities	30
2.10. Comparison of actor-centered approaches	32
3. Content-oriented approaches to discourse	37
3.1. Critical discourse analysis	38
3.2. Category-based content analysis	40
3.3. Frame mapping and the co-occurrence approach	41
3.4. Clause- or grammar-based methods and knowledge graphs	43
3.5. Semantic networks	45
3.6. Comparison of content-oriented approaches	48
4. Hybrid approaches: linking actors and contents	53
4.1. Decomposition analysis	53

4.2.	Political claims analysis	54
4.3.	Conclusions for a new discourse methodology	57
4.4.	Policy network analysis	60
5.	The methodology of discourse network analysis	61
5.1.	Coding procedure	61
5.2.	Affiliation networks	62
5.3.	Actor congruence networks	64
5.4.	Concept congruence networks	69
5.5.	Conflict networks	71
5.6.	Time window networks	72
5.7.	Attenuation networks	78
5.8.	Software implementation	84
5.8.1.	Encoding statements	84
5.8.2.	Network export facilities	86

II. A Showcase: German Pension Politics, 1993–2001

6.	German pension politics in the 1990s and the 2001 Riester reform	91
6.1.	Dimensions of pension systems and the status quo in the 1990s	93
6.1.1.	Pay-as-you-go versus capital cover systems	93
6.1.2.	Public versus private pension systems	97
6.1.3.	Voluntary versus mandatory contributions	98
6.1.4.	Intra-generative redistribution versus equivalence	98
6.1.5.	Risk balance	101
6.1.6.	The pension formula	102
6.2.	Demographic change and the pension gap	104
6.2.1.	Demographic Transition as a complex long-term risk	105
6.2.2.	Mortality	106
6.2.3.	Fertility	107
6.2.4.	Inconsistent solution concepts in the demographic debate	110
6.2.5.	Migration	111
6.3.	The 2001 Riester reform	112
6.3.1.	The 1999 Pension Reform Act	112
6.3.2.	Changes in the 2001 reform	113
6.4.	Positive analyses of the policy outcome	117

7.	Description of the dataset and univariate analysis	125
7.1.	Coding procedure	125
7.2.	Media bias and validity	128
7.2.1.	Record coding	129
7.2.2.	Data coding	133
7.2.3.	Indexing	134
7.3.	Actors in the pension discourse	134
7.3.1.	Government	135
7.3.2.	Social actors	136
7.3.3.	Liberal actors	136
7.3.4.	Financial sector	137
7.3.5.	Young actors	137
7.3.6.	Scientists	137
7.3.7.	Other actors	137
7.4.	Univariate analysis: concepts in the pension discourse . . .	138
7.4.1.	System change	140
7.4.2.	Retrenchment within the PAYG paradigm	151
7.4.3.	Strengthening the insurance principle	160
7.4.4.	Increasing the number of contributors	167
8.	Empirical analysis of the German pension discourse in the 1990s	183
8.1.	Discourse activity over time	184
8.2.	Cross-sectional actor congruence, 1993–2001	188
8.3.	Longitudinal change	199
8.4.	Analysis of political parties	209
8.5.	Identification of ideologies	214
8.6.	Discussion and conclusion	218

III. Models of Discursive Behavior

9.	The contagious dimension of political discourse	225
9.1.	Attention and interaction in media discourse	225
9.1.1.	Discursive contagion in existing theories	226
9.1.2.	Two types of contagion	227
9.1.3.	Hypotheses	228
9.2.	Methods and data	230
9.2.1.	Operationalization	231
9.2.2.	Support versus resistance	231

9.2.3.	Exponential random graph models with dyadic dependence	232
9.2.4.	Estimation	233
9.2.5.	Dichotomization of edge weights	234
9.2.6.	Control variables	234
9.2.7.	Data	236
9.2.8.	Potential caveats	237
9.3.	Results and goodness of fit	239
9.4.	Discussion	244
10.	An agent-based model of political discourse	249
10.1.	A formal model of political discourse	251
10.1.1.	Definitions and basic setup	251
10.1.2.	Exogenous ideology	252
10.1.3.	Endogenous ideology	252
10.1.4.	Concept popularity (bandwagoning)	252
10.1.5.	Actor similarity (coalition formation)	253
10.1.6.	Concept similarity	253
10.1.7.	Actor's history (self-consistency)	254
10.1.8.	Rare concepts (agenda-setting)	255
10.1.9.	Government coherence	255
10.1.10.	Normalization	256
10.1.11.	Utility functions	257
10.2.	Analysis	258
10.2.1.	Measurement	258
10.2.2.	Betweenness centralization	258
10.2.3.	Ideological polarization	259
10.2.4.	Number of components	261
10.2.5.	Proportion of concepts still alive	261
10.2.6.	Number of recent concept changes	262
10.3.	Results	262
10.4.	Discussion	272
11.	Conclusion	275
11.1.	Main achievements	275
11.2.	Potential weaknesses	276
11.3.	Outlook	278

IV. Appendix

Laws and legislative decrees	283
List of actors in the dataset	285
Software manual	291
1. Installation	291
2. Tutorial for beginners	292
3. In-depth description	299
3.1. File format	299
3.2. Dealing with articles	300
3.3. Recoding statements	302
3.4. Regular expressions highlighter	302
3.5. Within-actor contradictions	303
3.6. The bottom bar	303
3.7. Exporting time series statistics	305
3.8. Exporting network data	307
4. rDNA. A Package to Control Discourse Network Analyzer from R	315
4.1. Motivation	315
4.2. Functionality	315
4.3. Examples	316
5. FAQ: Frequently Asked Questions	317
Bibliography	321
Index	349